



**Regional, National, and Local Identities in Central Europe and the
Black Sea Region in the last 100 years**

Bucharest, 11-12 October 2018



N. IORGA INSTITUTE OF HISTORY
CENTRE FOR MEMORY AND IDENTITY STUDIES (CSMI)
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CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

OCTOBER 11, 2018

10.00-11.00: KEYNOTE SPEAKER

ŞTEFAN DORONDEL, 'MODERNIZATION' OF NATURE AND STATE BUILDING IN
SOUTHEAST EUROPE

Panel 1: 11.00-13.00

National Identity and Minorities in South-Eastern Europe

Chair: Emilia Zankina (Associate Professor, American University in Bulgaria)

Marek Figura, Anna Kuleszewicz, *The Belarusian People's Republic and its Role in Shaping the Contemporary Belarusian National Identity*

Alexander Nikolov, "Who is Bulgarian?: "Ethnic" vs. "Civic" and the Specific Case of the Pomaks and the Gagauz in Bulgaria

Alla Kondrasheva, Stavros Parastatov, *The Greeks of Tsalka: Culture, Language and the Problems of Preserving the Identity*

Panel 2: 14.00-16.00

Minorities and Trans-National Identities in the Black Sea Region

Chair: Alexander Nikolov (Professor St. Kliment Ohridski, Sofia University)

Yana Volkova, *Extraterritorial Citizenship as a State-led Reterritorialization Project: the Romanian Case*

Giorgos Antoniou, *Sephardic, European, Ottoman, and Greek: Assimilation, Education and Salonica Jews (1915-1943)*

Wenjing Guo, *Families from East Europe in Paris: Homeless or Seasonal Workers in Mobility*

Liviu Mihail Iancu, *Equivocal Ancient Foreigners and Building Modern Identities: Conceptual Approaches of the 20th Century Romanian Archaeologists to the Greek Colonists of Histria in the Black Sea*

Panel 3: 16.00-19.00

Identities in the Communist and Post-communist Times

REGIONAL, NATIONAL, AND LOCAL IDENTITIES IN CENTRAL EUROPE AND THE BLACK SEA
REGION IN THE LAST 100 YEARS

Chair: **Claudia-Florentina Dobre** (CSMI/N. Iorga Institute)

Cristofer Scarboro, *Bit, Kultura and the Ambivalences of Consumer Desire in Late Socialist Bulgaria*

Mioara Anton, *Identity Dilemmas in Socialist Romania. Young Generation between Ideological Standards and Western Temptation*

Jakub Wojtkowiak, *The Contractual Identity of the Red Army Officers from Central and Eastern Europe During the Time of the "Great Purge" in the USSR*

Francesco Zavatti, *Filtering and Adapting Foreign Cultural Influences in Ceausescu's Romania*

Nicoleta Șerban, *The Plan of Rural Systematisation and the Hungarians*

October 12, 2018

10.00-11.00: Keynote Speaker

VICTOR RIZESCU, *REFASHIONING THE NATION ALONG VERTICAL FAULT-LINES:
ROMANIAN ENTANGLEMENTS OF CORPORATIST PROJECTS AND POLICIES*

Panel 4: 11.00-13.00

Ethnic and Gender Identity

Chair: **Adrian Stoicescu** (Lecturer, University of Bucharest)

Emilia Zankina, *Women Representation and Identities in Southeastern Europe*

Izabela Skórzyńska, *Microherstory as the Construction of the Intergenerational Identities of Women Living During the Communist Period.*

Mirosław Szumiło, *An Ethnic Group or a Nation? Problems of National Identity of the Lemkos in Poland*

Bernadette Jonda, *The Sorbs – Germans national minority between Extinction and Rebirth*

Panel 5: 14.00-15.30

Minorities and Symbolic Identities

Chair: **Cristofer Scarboro** (Professor at King's College in Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania)

Saharneau Eudochia, **Sorin Scutelnic**, *New Tendency toward Identity's Reconfiguration between Interculturalism and Transculturalism*

Ekaterina V. Klimenko, *From National Identity to State Legitimacy: Remembering the Revolution in Contemporary Russia*

Panel 6: 15.30-17.30

Visual and Literary Representations of Identities

Chair: Marek Figura (Associate Professor, 'Adam Mickiewicz' University of Poznań)

Marta Cobel-Tokarska, *Literary Description of Central Europe in the Era of Transformation and Post-transformation: Between Familiarity and Foreignness.*

Dominik Gutmeyr, *The Visualization of Linguistic Identity. The Case of the Georgian Alphabet.*

Adrian Stoicescu, *'Arrested' Otherness – Identity Building in the Romanian Censored Movies*

Emilia Cernăianu, *Nostalgia for the Oriental Elements. The Role of Visual Art in Making of the National Identity.*

ȘTEFAN DORONDEL

'MODERNIZATION' OF NATURE AND STATE BUILDING IN SOUTHEAST EUROPE

The environmental transformations in Eastern Europe in modern times hardly benefitted from systemic attention. The political regimes have radically changed along the nineteenth and twentieth century (the foundation of nation states and the penetration of capitalist relations, the integration into the socialist system and then the disintegration of the socialism and the takeover of neoliberalism) and so the state relations with the natural environment. Social engineering was doubled by engineering the environment. The beginning of the twentieth century witnessed a frantic activity in importing new technologies from the western world which were expected to radically change an untamed nature and to transform it into productive natural resources. This talk explores the way in which the state formation in Southeast Europe as a socio-political process intertwines with the transformation of nature which was meant to contribute to the welfare of the new nation states. Within the establishment of nation-states, experts were commissioned by the new political elite to tame the 'savage nature' and to put it at work for the new state. A new bureaucracy rose whose technical knowledge was necessary to deal with the new technologies which were considered essential for the newly emerged states. Ports, the newly built levees, bridges and roads – in short, the large infrastructure – were all a token of the modernity to which the new states aspired. By exploring the modern visions on politics, economics and environment through the eyeglasses of environmental history and political ecology I strive to bring new theoretical insights into the state formation and nation building in Eastern Europe.

Stefan Dorondel is a Senior Researcher at the Francisc I. Rainer Institute of Anthropology and affiliated with the Institute for Southeast European Studies of the Romanian Academy. He has published extensively on land tenure and land use change in postsocialist countries. Currently his research is focused on rivers and wetlands and state formation in Eastern Europe, natural disasters and climate change issues. His field of expertise includes environmental history and anthropology, economic anthropology and political anthropology. List of publications: *Moartea și apa. Ritualuri funerare, simbolism acvatic și structura lumii de dincolo în imaginarul țăranesc* [Death and Water. Funerary Rituals, Water Symbolism, and the Otherworld Imaginary Among the Peasants from Southern Romania]. Paideia, București, 2004; *Disrupted Landscapes. State, Peasants, and the Politics of Land in Postsocialist Romania*. Berghahn Books, Oxford and New York, 2016; (with Thomas Sikor, Johannes Stahl and Phuc Xuan To), *When Things Become Property: Land Reform, Authority and Value in Postsocialist Europe and Asia*. Berghahn Books, Oxford and New York, 2017; He also co-edited a number of volumes and special issues: (with Stelu Serban), *Between East and West. Studies in Anthropology and Social History*, Romanian Cultural Institute, Bucharest, 2005; (with Thomas Sikor), *Private Property: Postsocialist Promises and Experiences*, in *Annuaire Roumain d'Anthropologie*, Vol. 46, 2009: 55-120; (with Daniel and Ursula Münster), *Fields and Forests: Ethnographic Perspectives on Environmental Globalization*, a special issue of *RCC Perspectives* 5, 2012; (with Stelu Serban), *At the Margins of History. The Agrarian Question in Southeast Europe*, a special issue of *Martor*, vol. 19, 2014;

(with Oane Visser, Petr Jehlicka and Max Spoor), *Post-socialist Smallholders: Silence, Resistance and Alternatives*, a special issue of *Canadian Journal of Development Studies* (in print).

VICTOR RIZESCU

REFASHIONING THE NATION ALONG VERTICAL FAULT-LINES: ROMANIAN ENTANGLEMENTS OF CORPORATIST PROJECTS AND POLICIES

Originally shaped as an alternative to the syndical model for the representation of professional interests—and resting on the qualified rejuvenation of the guild tradition within the frame of modern social life—the corporatist design was later appropriated by various streams of the Right as an all-encompassing political project, meant to contain the class-based divisiveness of society on the basis of vertically-branded occupational categories, thus allowing the enhanced mobilization of national energies for the sake of modernizing breakthroughs and/or expansionist endeavors. Already well-entrenched in the interwar period, the double-edge nature of the phenomenon has survived in the various contexts of post-war neo-corporatist experimentation (itself taking place both within the horizon of peripheral delayed development and in the milieu of affluent western democracies in search for elaborating more effective welfare arrangements).

The memory of the Romanian engagement with the corporatist model suffers from the customary association of the issues of social policy and professional representation with the syndical model alone, being mostly confined, moreover, to recording the theoretical pronouncements in the field delivered by Mihail Manoilescu, the ideological advocacy promoted in continuation to them by his National-Corporatist League—functioning as a rather marginal embodiment of right-wing politics in the national context of the time—and the unaccomplished efforts targeted at the implementation of the vision deployed under the Carolist regime. This talk is correspondingly intended to describe in outline the full scope of institutional endeavors targeted at the corporatist restructuring of the Romanian state and society—indebted to the institutional inertia involving the arrangements of the traditional sort, whose removal occurred along three successive stages, between 1873 and 1933, but also intertwined with the local liberal and the socialist departures of syndical politics—together with the entire range of ideological patterns and trends involved. Disclosing the Romanian entanglements of corporatism sheds new light on the comparative intricacies of the subject.

Victor Rizescu

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Associate professor at the Department of Political Science of the University of Bucharest, with studies in History and in Philosophy at the University of Bucharest, at the Central European University and at Oxford University and holding a Ph.D. in History from the Central European University. Teaching in the fields of comparative history and historical sociology, Romanian history and political theory. Former deputy chief-editor of the journal *Cuvântul*. The list of publications includes the books *Ideologii românești și est-europene*, București, Ed. Cuvântul, 2008 (editor); *Tranziții discursive. Despre agende culturale, istorie intelectuală și onorabilitate ideologică după comunism*, București, Corint, 2012;

Ideology, Nation and Modernization: Romanian Developments in Theoretical Frameworks, București, Ed. Universității din București, 2013; *Canonul și vocile uitate. Secvențe dintr-o tipologie a gândirii politice românești*, București, Ed. Universității din București, 2015; *Development, Left and Right: Ideological Entanglements of Reformist Projects in Pre-communist Romania* (under revision; proposed for Ed. Universității din București). Participation in international conferences held in Romania, Moldova, Bulgaria, Ukraine, Greece, Hungary, Poland, Germany, Norway, the United Kingdom and the United States. Reseaches underway on the development of social policies, labor legislation and welfare institutions in Romania, in relation to the politics of professional representation.

MIOARA ANTON

IDENTITY DILEMMAS IN SOCIALIST ROMANIA. YOUNG GENERATION BETWEEN IDEOLOGICAL STANDARDS AND WESTERN TEMPTATION

The creation of a socialist identity was one of the most important aim of the Ceausescu's regime. Press campaigns, TV programs, legislative measures, and public conferences were intended to bring the youth back into the right path of building the communist society. The belonging to the socialist nation meant developing a common mentality, a common culture and strengthen the homogeneity of society. The years of liberalizations (1965-1968) had led to the 'contamination' of youth with Western cultural productions which entered into contradiction with the rigid norms of the socialist system. From Ceausescu's perspective, the young were tempted by anarchist ideas which required an increase the ideological education. Consequently, the party decided to intervene to impose discipline and educate the young generation according to the objectives of socialist society, which meant an interruption of the liberalization course. The ideal young communist imagined by the regime, devoted to the party and country, fully social integrated, was endangered by the avalanche of cultural models imported from the West. Jeans, colorful shirts, fashion of the long hair, both for women and men, and strong colours of everyday clothing shocked in a conservative socialist society. On the contrary, the regime wanted to promote the exemplary young citizen whose interests, aspirations and ideals were the same with those of socialist society.

The Securitate secret police was deeply involved in the surveillance and correction of the youths' behaviour. State control was directed at leisure, student club activities, the limitation of distribution of Western music and movies or listening to foreign radio stations, especially Radio Free Europe. Despite the all restrictions and political pressure, the young generation did not give up to individualizing itself within socialist society. On contrary, the temptation for the Western cultural products was perpetuated among the young generation. Until the end of the communist regime, all these products circulated through unauthorized networks and even through the official state channels.

The aim of this paper is to analyze on the one hand the strategies of the party to discipline the young generation in order to create a socialist consciousness; and at the other hand, to offer an explanation concerning to the attempt of the young generation to create a cultural identity based on Western influences. Developed especially in the 70s and restricted by the Communist Party and Securitate during the 80s, this process, visible in the urban and university areas, meant the adaptation of the Western pop culture at the national context. The answer of the communist officials presupposed both the annihilation and confiscation of these tendencies. In the first case, were imagined different strategies to control the leisure of the youth. In the second case the Communist Party and Securitate invented surrogate manifestation in order to control the youth energies, the most known example being 'Cenaclul Flacăra'.

Mioara Anton is senior researcher at 'Nicolae Iorga' Institute of History, Romanian Academy. Secretary of the joint commission of historians from Romania and the Russian Federation since 2006. She is the copy-editor of the journal *Studies and Materials of Contemporary History*. She is also an associate lecturer at the Faculty of History, University of Bucharest. Her research covers various aspects of the Romanian communism history (foreign policy, Romanian intelligentsia, question of minorities, everyday life, social history), the Second World War history. She has published extensively on Romania during the Second World War and the communist period. Recent publications: *The Governed and Governors. Letters to power*.

1945-1965, Iași, 2013; *War and Propaganda. Romania on the Eastern Front (1941-1944)*, Bucharest, 2007 (book awarded with Romanian Academy Prize in 2009), *Breaking the Circle. The Foreign Policy of Gheorghiu-Dej's regime* (Bucharest, 2007), editor of *Romania and the Warsaw Treaty. The Conferences of the Foreign Ministers and Their Deputies. 1966-1991*, Romanian Diplomatic Documents, Bucharest, 2009 and co-editor of *The Romanian Intelligentsia in the Archives of Communism. Studies and Documents*, co-author, Nemira Publishing House, Bucharest, 2006.

GIORGOS ANTONIOU

SEPHARDIC, EUROPEAN, OTTOMAN, AND GREEK: ASSIMILATION, EDUCATION AND SALONICA JEWS (1915-1943)

The paper examines, from two different perspectives, the coexistence of Christians and Jews in the interwar Greek and Jewish educational system, in two different levels of education: higher and music educational institutions. The paper is based upon, until recently, unknown archives (Aristotle University Archives, State Conservatory archives) and examines the personal and social trajectories of members of the Jewish communities from interwar period to the Holocaust.

The paper examines two diverse group of Jewish students. The 700 Jewish students of the State music conservatory (1915-1943) and the 80 students of Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (1928-1943). Despite the impressive discrepancy in Jewish enrolment between the two institutions, the two institutions share the Venizelist model of ethnic and religious assimilation of minorities in the ethnically mixed city of Thessaloniki. The paper examines the process of Hellenization of Thessaloniki through the lives of Jewish students, their social networks with Christian fellow students and the consequences of their exposure to indirect and direct Greek national education. One of these consequences seems to be a much higher than the average rate of survival of these two groups of students, as the paper concludes. The paper, thus, examines the individual chances of survival picking upon social capital, as an explanatory variable.

Giorgos Antoniou holds the endowed Jewish Studies Chair in Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. Previously He has taught at the University of Cyprus, Yale University, International Hellenic University and other institutions. His current interests include memory and the Holocaust, Civil Wars and digital Humanities.

EMILIA CERNĂIANU

NOSTALGIA FOR THE ORIENTAL ELEMENTS. THE ROLE OF VISUAL ART IN MAKING OF THE NATIONAL IDENTITY

As a *gate* 'for coming in' or 'for getting out of' Orient, Romania placed itself for a long period on a versatile border between a Western European world and an Oriental world that, for this particular geographical area, was exclusively referred to as the Ottoman Empire. Geographical position, history and religion are commonly seen as primary features that shape the national identity. In addition to or instead of them people, connected to their close environment, build up an identity based on their own preferences. An important aspect is to see that an individual's identity keeps changing during the whole

lifetime and so does the national identity. Here, the visual art is an important agent, a good witness (or alibi), reliable and sometimes witty, because it contains not only concrete pictures but explicit or implicit symbols which are able to reveal the frame of a very complex construction that is the cultural identity. Under the Ottoman Empire the Balkan Peninsula was infused by oriental elements: social customs and habits, administrative rules, garments, objects, foods and their respective words, and so on. Locals didn't need an exotic taste for oriental fashion, or a *concept of orientalism* as Edward Saïd advanced. The Middle Orient came along with the ottoman rulers, therefore it was not necessary for an 'imaginary' or 'metaphoric' Orient in this context. On the contrary, the almost unbelievably fast modernization, that took place in the first part of the 19th century, provoked the need for imminent disposal, for getting rid of the *orientalism* in order to clean up the place for the *Western civilization*. For a while, *oriental elements* were eliminated fast and firm. After gaining independency from the Ottoman Empire and reinforcing it by becoming a Kingdom, Romania knew that it was accepted and included, once and for all, into the Western European world. Gradually, the *oriental elements* became another nostalgic aspect about the past.

Starting from this point on, this paper proposes to explore the imagery of a process that concerns modernity, the transition from old to new, a series of steps back and forward, rather a struggle to eliminate and preserve at the same time something that is a symbol of *old*, transformed into a fine-touch of a sophisticated *new*. While all Ottoman official items were eradicated in just few decades, *oriental elements* remained as exquisite ornamental pieces. Here are some examples: Theodor Aman painted domestic layout with oriental flavour (e.g. with his painting *L'ancienne regime* [*The Old Regime*] an allegory painted in 1881); Ion Georgescu at the World's Fair in Paris (Exposition Universelle) in 1889, presented a self-portrait with a turban; Carol Popp de Szathmari made dozens of illustrations from the Oriental world and explicitly declared that the Western life was not able to inspire him any longer. For these artists the significations of various oriental elements were substantially different than those of the Western art, contributing to a certain national identity that combines old and new into an eclectic vision.

Emilia Cernăianu graduated from the National University of Fine Arts in Bucharest with degrees in *History of Art* and *History and Methodology of Image Research*, she got a Ph.D. scholarship from the same institution. She is a freelancer curator and publisher. Her main interests are art philosophy, aesthetics, history of art, visual culture and the word-image relationship.

MARTA COBEL-TOKARSKA

LITERARY DESCRIPTION OF CENTRAL EUROPE IN THE ERA OF TRANSFORMATION AND POST-TRANSFORMATION: BETWEEN FAMILIARITY AND FOREIGNNESS

The topic fits into the perspective of approaching literature at the epistemological level: as a source of knowledge. The subject of the analysis is how Central Europe is subjectively shown in texts of two contemporary writers, Andrzej Stasiuk and Ziemowit Szczerek. The method is a qualitative analysis of literature, classified as a kind of personal document. The context here is travel / travel literature: the journey can be regarded as an activity well based in the culture and co-creating discourse. Postcolonial theory applied to Central and Eastern Europe is an obvious analytical perspective. I am following Robert Young's approach (which also suggests that in fact, Central Europe and 'real' postcolonial world cannot be simply compared). Young thinks that postcolonialism, based on fundamental compassion for subordinates, peasants, and poor and all kinds of excluded people distances themselves from the high culture of the elite, and supports the culture and knowledge of subordinate groups, historically

recognized as of little value, but in postcolonialism treated as a rich source of valuable culture. The sympathies and interests of post-colonialism are therefore focused on those who are located on the margins of society, and whose cultural identity has been changed or pushed into uncertainty by the forces of global capitalism.

The second perspective is the sociology of literature. As Marian Golka wrote in *Sociology of Art [Socjologia sztuki]*, I choose one of the primary themes of sociology of art: "exploring the image of social life in art, and thus examining how a social issue is expressed in its products. (...) The image of social life reflected in art is not, of course, the only reflection of it, but certain truths about this life can be seen and, above all, understood, only through the products of art (...)."

I think that we can still speak about the presence of the Central European myth in the discursive community. Paradoxically, Central Europe, of which Poland is a part, remains unknown, and the texts of both authors for many readers are often the first source of information about this region. These stories are criticized for 'orientalising' or praised for "giving voice to subalterns". I would like to present the tension between those two approaches and show that for people socialized in our region it is possible to cross the orientalising perspective, but it is impossible to completely free himself from it.

Marta Cobel-Tokarska, a Ph.D., works at the Sociology of Culture Department at the Academy of Special Education in Warsaw. She is interested in the issues of borderland of sociology of culture, anthropology, literature and recent history. Currently interested in the idea of Central Europe (its representation in literature, culture and accounts of travellers) and the social history of the Polish People's Republic. Her book *Bezludna wyspa, nora, grób (Desert Island, Burrow, Grave. Hiding Places of Jews in Occupied Poland during the War, IPN 2012)* was awarded the KLIO prize for the best historical monograph of 2013 and was nominated for the Historical Award of the weekly magazine *Polityka*. She is a member of the Polish Sociological Association.

MAREK FIGURA, ANNA KULESZEWICZ

THE BELARUSIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC AND ITS ROLE IN SHAPING THE CONTEMPORARY BELARUSIAN NATIONAL IDENTITY

The territory of modern Belarus was inhabited by the East Slavic tribes in the early Middle Ages, which gradually assimilated the Baltic population previously living here. This process of slavisation has fundamental importance on shaping the cultural distinctiveness of the ancestors of today's Belarusians. A critical factor for the formation of the separated of Belarusians was the fact that their lands consisted of a part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania for several centuries. Later they created a union with Poland: the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. One of the effects of this union was the gradual polonisation of the Lithuanian and Russian elites. This process continued even after the fall of the former Commonwealth at the end of the 18th century, when the lands of today's Belarus came under the rule of Tsarist Russia. Polonisation, however, did not include the masses of the peasant population who managed to preserve their cultural and linguistic separateness.

At the same time, the beginnings of a national awakening in this part of Europe engulfed also the Belarusians. The initiation of this process was associated with the ideas of romanticism, which explored a valuable element of the folk culture earlier ignored. Research and fascination with folklore was preceded by the process of progressive emancipation of the peasant population, which became the basis

for the Belarusian national movement. The national liberation of the Belarusian people was connected with their social liberation from the power of both the 'Polish lords' and the tsarist officials.

At the beginning of the twentieth century the Belarusian awakening accelerated. In 1902, a group of Belarusian students in St. Petersburg created the Belarusian Revolutionary *Hromada* party, consolidating Belarusian intelligentsia. After the outbreak of World War I, the lands of western Belarus were under German occupation in 1915. Their authorities supported the Belarusian movement, considering it as a counterweight to the strong position of the Poles. The outbreak of the revolution in Russia in 1917 and the overthrow of tsar, created conditions for the emergence of a mass Belarusian movement on the Russian side of the front.

All these processes led to the creation of the Belarusian People's Republic (BNR) in Minsk, proclaimed by the Executive Committee of the Council of the First All-Belarusian Congress, in March 1918. And although BNR did not manage to develop a fully independent state, it demonstrated aspirations in this direction. This has left a lasting mark on the Belarusian consciousness, relevant to this day: the symbolism and tradition of the BNR were recalled in 1991, after the Republic of Belarus proclaimed its independence. And although in 1995 the national symbolism, as a result of the referendum, was changed to refer to the Soviet times, it remained important for national-conscious Belarusians. Moreover, its presence in recent years has been growing. The BNR has become the current symbol of the desire for the Belarusians own state, which peaks the Belarusian national awakening process. This symbol is worth analysing in its historical and current dimensions.

Marek Figura – Associated professor, historian, head of the Department of Research on Political and Social Changes in Eastern Europe and Asia at the Eastern Institute of Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań (Poland). Research interests: recent history and contemporary situation of Eastern European countries. Author of several dozen scientific publications published in Poland, Ukraine and Belarus, among this: *Polish-Ukrainian conflict in the press of Western Poland in the years 1918-1923*, Wydawnictwi Poznańskie, Poznań 2001; *Russia in the political thought of Władysław Studnicki*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, Poznań 2008; editor of the collective works: *Poland in the face of transformation in the East*, Poznań 1996; *Understanding Russia*, Tropy, Poznań 1997; *Faces of the East in Polish culture*, Poznań 1999; *In the shadow of fighting empires. Eastern Europe in the First World War*, Poznań, 2016.

Anna Kuleszewicz – Ph.D. student at the Eastern Institute of the University of Adam Mickiewicz in Poznań (Poland). She is the author of numerous scientific publications in Polish and English as well as press articles (cooperation with *New Eastern Europe*) and reportages, winner of many scientific awards. Main research interests: History and present situation of Belarus, formation of Belarusian national identity, historical fate and contemporary situation of Poles in Belarus. She is currently preparing the publication of her first monograph about the relationship between the inhabitants of Belarusian lands and the region of Wielkopolska in the interwar period.

WENJING GUO

FAMILIES FROM EAST EUROPE IN PARIS: HOMELESS OR SEASONAL WORKERS IN MOBILITY

The figures of families living in the street appear every winter on the media in Paris. The homelessness occupies a bigger place in the media when the weather is getting colder. For several years, this

communication pattern based on the emotions favors more frequently the homeless women and families, instead of a homeless single man. Under the media spot, the women threatened by the violence of living in the street or the children and babies suffering in the arms of their parents outside during the winter seem to induce more mixed reactions of pity, anger, fear, or blame. These images of homeless women and children become new phenomena of urban policies in terms of social welfare, urban planning and management of public space in and around cities.

Among these images, 'Roma families', 'Romanians families' or 'families from East Europe' seem to be interchangeable in common language when it refers to the families we can see in the street. These families cumulate different stereotypes, constructed as ethnically homogenized. The distinction seems to be difficult and the 'Bulgarian families' attract less attention. The stigmatizations associated to these people include the 'family ties' of the Romanian or Roma families, compared to the mainstream nuclear family structure in French society. Especially, it causes problems when it comes to the administrative categories in the social welfare system. For example, it's complicated to provide shelters for the families living in the camps or sleeping in the street: Rarely a shelter can provide a room for a family with five or six children; or the families accept difficultly the case when their parent(s) or grandparent(s) cannot go to the same shelter as they do because the latter is not inside the category of shelters for 'family'. Meanwhile, their living place in the suburb turns into the symbol of insalubrious camp and fieldwork of humanitarian intervention of NGOs. The evictions are organized and force the people to move from one place to other and to build camp further from the city. When it comes to their way of making living, mendacity and thievery are regularly used to highlight the problems of these families, because they use and implicate their children in those two activities and deprive them from school education.

My research is based on the working experiences in the outreach teams of Paris on the homelessness issue. I try to, by this communication, to interrogate the construction and the evolution of images of these 'homeless families' by the media and by the institutional social services, in particular after the release of free circulation in UE, and after the migration crisis in Europe since 2015. Some discourses considerate these families are the seasonal workers who take advantages of the free circulation in UE and of the social welfare system in France. While others treat them as victim of organized crime, forced to work as beggars in the street. The essential questions in these discourses would be: are they the ideal poor worthy of help? Do they represent a threat to the city because of their poverty, living conditions, socio and cultural backgrounds, or simply being a legal EU migrant?

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DOMINIK GUTMEYR

THE VISUALIZATION OF LINGUISTIC IDENTITY. THE CASE OF THE GEORGIAN ALPHABET

Questions of language are always related to the negotiation of identity, no matter whether concerning individuals or social groups. Given the centrality of language in many nation building processes, there

are many aspects of language policy that aim to take an influence on the development of language and its societal role. These policies can also materialize in discourses and/or usage of a particular script or writing systems. Under the premise that language and script may constitute central elements in today's nation building processes, I argue that the Georgian alphabet hold a particularly important role in the articulation of a post-Socialist identity within the country's society. For this purpose, I draw on recent studies on language nationalism in Georgia before analyzing 1) public speeches and 2) architectural projects in the era Saakashvili as well as 3) Georgia's campaign for the 2018 Frankfurt Book Fair – "Georgia. Made by Characters", by which I will both demonstrate how linguistic identity is visualized in public space and how the alphabet can be used for imagining as well as branding a nation.

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LIVIU MIHAIL IANCU

EQUIVOCAL ANCIENT FOREIGNERS AND BUILDING MODERN IDENTITIES: CONCEPTUAL APPROACHES OF THE 20TH CENTURY ROMANIAN ARCHAEOLOGISTS TO THE GREEK COLONISTS OF HISTRIA IN THE BLACK SEA

The main objective of this research is to survey how the Romanian archaeologists conceptualised the role of the ancient Greek dwellers of the city of Histria in the historical development of the Lower Danube region before the Roman conquest of Moesia and particularly their connections and interactions with the local communities of the Getae that they encountered at their arrival, depending on their own education and the changing ideological environment with regard to the definition of modern Romanian identity in the 20th century. A secondary objective is that of assessing the changes which occurred during the transmission of these approaches from the academic milieu to wider audiences, through public education and touristic advertising, under the influence of official ideology. The main methods used are the textual analysis of the works of the most important archaeologists that have conducted excavations at Histria and have acted as directors of the site since the beginning of the systematic research of the city in 1914 (Vasile Pârvan, Scarlat Lambrino, Emil Condurachi, Dionisie Pippidi, Petre Alexandrescu, Alexandru Suceveanu) and the subsequent comparison of the results both to their personal biographies and to the official ideology in place during their researches. A second comparison is made with texts aimed to more general audiences, like school textbooks and tourist guides books, in order to assess the way the conceptual approaches of the researchers were transformed in their transmission to the great public.

The topic is notably interesting as the ancient Greeks who lived on the territory of present day Romania have never been claimed as direct contributors to the Romanian ethnogenesis like the Getae, the Romans or the Slavs. Not being 'ancestors' of the Romanian nation (and of any other modern neighbouring nations) and therefore presenting a rather small stake in forging ethnic and national identities, the ancient West Pontic Greeks and their civilization are expected to be rather marginal to modern

ideological debates. Nevertheless, it seems that even such remote academic fields are permeated by the influence of competing ideologies, although in a much more equivocal manner than the historical topics which are central to building national identities. The main hypothesis of the research is that there are basically two conceptual approaches, with certain variations: a Westernizing, cosmopolitan view, influenced by the Western classical ideal, that emphasizes the achievements of the West Pontic Greek civilization *per se*, and a local, nationalistic view, that tries to draw cultural equality between the indigenous Getae and the Greek settlers, whose achievements are granted only through nationalistic appropriation. Furthermore, the research attempts to verify the assumption that no matter how complex and neutral the academic conceptual approaches are, the transmission to larger audiences, especially through general education and in nationalistic regimes, is partly confiscated by the official ideologies in place.

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BERNADETTE JONDA

THE SORBS – A GERMAN NATIONAL MINORITY BETWEEN EXTINCTION AND REBIRTH

One of four recognized autochthonous national minorities / ethnic groups living in Germany are the Sorbs. They inhabit a region southeast of Berlin, the Lusatia. They have their own language but through a gradual and increasing assimilation between the 17th and 20th centuries many Sorbs no longer speak that language. It is estimated that this national minority counts about 60,000 people. I will describe the most important stages in the development of the identity of this people since 1918. I will begin by describing the consequences of the First World War for the Sorbs, then addressing their persecution in the Nazi era. Then I will explain the situation in the GDR. I will pay special attention to the years after 1989: to the efforts to ensure the existence of the people (for example by promoting culture and language).

I will also focus on the dangers that this minority has faced in recent centuries. First and foremost, it is about the consequences of lignite dumping in Lusatia, which had threatened the existence of Sorbian villages since decades.

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EKATERINA V. KLIMENKO

FROM NATIONAL IDENTITY TO STATE LEGITIMACY: REMEMBERING THE REVOLUTION IN CONTEMPORARY RUSSIA¹

In the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia's political elites had to face the challenge of nation-building: 'Russians' had to be imagined (Anderson 1991) as the political community legitimizing the very existence of the newly-established Russian state. While national communities are crucial for legitimacy of modern states (Calhoun 1997), collective memories, in turn, are central to national imaginings (Alonso 1988). In Russia, national memory, allowing for forging the nation itself, hence, for legitimizing the state, needed to be discovered (or, more precisely, invented (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). Crucial for this enterprise was interpreting the Soviet past. And although the latter was used for political purposes by both, Boris Yeltsin (who attempted to break with it), and Vladimir Putin (who established continuity with it), a politically usable interpretation of the Russian Revolution, that the Soviet era began with, was never found. Such is the consensus that have emerged in 2017, the year of the Revolution's 100th anniversary.

Questioning this consensus, I argue that the specific interpretation of the Revolution – forming part of a broader historical narrative – has been developed in contemporary Russia. Being the result of cooperation of the Russian Orthodox Church and the state, this interpretation – and the narrative it is nested within – allow for forging the positive national identity of Russians as well as for legitimizing the 'strong' and 'stable' centralized state that became the trademark of contemporary Russia's political regime. Basing on the analysis of the historical exhibition "Russia: My History", crucial for production and dissemination of these interpretation of the Revolution, and broader historical narrative, I outline their key traits, and explain why they are likely not only to acquire the status of 'official' ones, but also to become widely accepted by the Russian society.

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¹ This paper is written within the project "From the Enemy of the People to the Holy Martyr: The Analysis of the Celebration of the 100th Anniversary of the Revolution 1917 and the 80th Anniversary of the Great Terror in Russia" funded by the Polish National Science Center (UMO-2016/21/B/HS6/03782 (2017-2020)), and headed by Dr. Zuzanna Bogumil from Maria Grzegorzewska Academy of Special Education.

ALLA KONDRASHEVA, STAVROS PARASTATOV

THE GREEKS OF TSALKA: CULTURE, LANGUAGE AND THE PROBLEMS OF PRESERVING THE IDENTITY

The Greeks of Tsalka (the region in the south of present-day Georgia) or the Urums (not to be confused with the Urums of the Crimea) are a Greek subethnos, incorporating culture elements of many peoples of the Near East – Turks, Armenians, Assyrians, etc., that can be traced in their language, folklore and rituals. Being descendants of the Greeks of the Trebizond Empire, the Urums lived for several centuries under the rule of the Osman, and at the time of the migration to the Trialeti plateau (the Tsalka region) they forgot their native language by going to Turkish. After the migration to the territory of the Russian Empire as a result of several waves of migration (after the Russian-Turkish war of 1828-1829 until the end of the 19th century), the language and culture of the Urum Greeks received a separate vector of development, and by the end of the 20th century, partly influenced by the Georgian, Tatar (Azerbaijani) and Russian cultures.

Today the Greeks of Tsalka are a few Greek subethnos, numbering about 50 thousand representatives and living mainly in the south of Russia, as well as in the north of Greece, where many moved after the collapse of the Soviet Union. In the Tsalka region of present-day Georgia Urum left several thousand people and this figure decreases every year due to the constant emigration as well as the natural loss of population, since most of the Greek population of the Tsalka district are representatives of the older generation.

Of particular interest is the language of the Greeks of Tsalka, belonging to the Oghuz group of the Turkic family, but having an essential Greek substratum, noticeable both at the lexical and grammatical levels of their language. In addition, almost 200 years of residence in the orbit of Russian civilizational influence, which served as the only educational channel for the Urum Greeks, their language was considerably enriched by many Russianisms.

Despite the fact that there is a sufficient number of publications devoted to the history, culture and life of this Greek subethnos, its detailed ethnographic and linguistic research has not been carried out until today. This article aims to fill these gaps, that is, a significant portion of the study will be devoted to the language and poorly studied rituals of the Greeks of Tsalka. The relevance of this study is due, among other things, to the rather low rate of assimilation of the Greeks of Tsalka, who have a sufficiently strong level of self-awareness. Living compactly in the north of Greece and in the south of Russia, they try to observe the traditions of their ancestors and not forget their language, which they call – “bizim dilja”, that is “our language”.

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ALEXANDAR NIKOLOV

WHO IS A BULGARIAN?: 'ETHNIC' VS. 'CIVIC' AND THE SPECIFIC CASE OF THE POMAKS AND THE GAGAUZ IN BULGARIA

This paper aims to present one existing dilemma of modern Bulgarian national identity, namely the controversial idea about the essence of the Bulgarian nation and certain specific implications on it. Historically Bulgarians had a pre-modern identity formed in the frames of the First and the Second Bulgarian Empire. The character, the extent and the stability of this identity is debatable, however there were couple of landmarks related to it. Namely there was the Orthodox faith, the official language of the State and the Church (Slavic Old Bulgarian (Old Church Slavonic), combined with Cyrillic alphabet, and Bulgarian autocephalous Patriarchate.

The Ottoman conquest put Bulgarians in different situation. They became part of a large community of conquered 'dhimmi' and their main characteristic was the Christian Orthodox faith and the Slavic-Bulgarian language degraded almost completely to a simple vernacular. The vast majority of Bulgarians became part of the 'Rum millet', the 'Greek-Orthodox' community, shaped by the culturally dominant Greeks. Smaller Bulgarian groups became Catholics or Protestants. A portion of the Bulgarian population was absorbed into the Muslim community, partly keeping its language and some folklore traditions (later known mostly as Pomaks) or completely assimilated into Turks.

The emergence of Bulgarian nationalism in the beginning of the 19-th century (as a mass movement) was connected mostly to language, ecclesiastical autonomy and educational emancipation from the dominant Greek culture. The image of the 'real' Bulgarian gradually coincided with the Bulgarian-speaking Orthodox population united in the newly established Bulgarian Exarchate (1870), regarded by some researchers as a 'proto-state' in the limits of the Ottoman Empire. All groups that did not correspond to this image were regarded as 'aliens' or 'traitors'. Thus, Bulgarian Catholics and Protestants were treated with certain suspicion, however, accepted to some extent into the broader national project. Quite different was the attitude to the Patriarchists (labelled as Graecomans or Serbomans) who, because of different reasons, did not accept the ecclesiastical rule of the 'schismatic' Bulgarian Exarchate. They were treated as 'enemies and traitors'. Indeed many of them, later accepted the Greek or the Serbian national option.

The foundation of the autonomous Bulgarian principality (1878) created the controversy between the 'ethnic' and the 'civic' option for the Bulgarian nation. This controversy is still present in Bulgarian debate and Bulgarian policy toward ethnic minorities and specific groups, such as Pomaks (Bulgarian-speaking Muslims) and Gagauz (Turkish-speaking Orthodox Christians) who did not 'meet the standard' for the 'real' Bulgarian and thus became target of many experiments of the internal policy of the Bulgarian state. The full absence of coherent idea about the essence of the Bulgarian nation (along the lines of 'ethnic' and 'civic') was and still is source of conflicts, misunderstandings and historiographical myths that exist in Bulgarian public space. The main focus of the paper would be related to different concepts about the origin and identity of the Pomaks and Gagauz in Bulgaria, that are a product of academic and non-academic milieu.

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Peoples of the East in the Crusaders' Propaganda Treatises 1270-1370"). He is author of one monograph and many studies and articles in the field of the Medieval History, and co-author of several textbooks in History as well. His main interests are in the field of the crusaders' propaganda, imagology, frontier societies, migrations, medieval proto-national identities. Alexandar Nikolov translated several texts from Medieval Latin into Bulgarian, among them *Casus Sancti Galli*, the famous chronicle of the St. Gall monastery in modern Switzerland, several treatises of the crusaders' propaganda (treatises of William Adam, Pseudo-Brocardus, William of Tripoli, Leodrisio Crivelli, Pierre Dubois), texts of Erasmus of Rotterdam, Filippo Buonaccorsi-Callimachus etc.

ALLA PAPTOVA

IDENTITY AND IMAGE OF THE PAST: THE INTERRELATION AND TENDENCIES OF EVOLUTION

The birth of nations is accompanied by the creation of an image of the past, in which the meanings of events are determined and the symbolic space is structured. Although the picture of the world in the image of the past is ethnocentric, it contains layers of different levels - civilizational, regional, ethno-regional. The image of the past fills the value of the system of identities. The change in the system of identities under the influence of socio-cultural and geopolitical transformations entails a revision of the image of the past.

Therefore, the countries of the post-Soviet space had to decide on the assessments of the Soviet period in their history. By building new configurations of alliances, they also review the civilizational significance of the empires in which they were included in the past. This changes the evaluation of historical events in the image of the past. The post-Soviet space represents an excellent opportunity to examine the mechanisms and ways of cultural influence, since despite the similarity of the historical destinies of peoples who gained independence because of the collapse of the USSR, there are differences that also affect the image of the past.

These differences are related to the degree of development of the image of the past and the development of the system of identities. If the civil identity has not been properly developed, this leads to the development of various variants of ethno-regional identity and ethno-regional images of the past. A well-developed image of the past is shared by the diaspora. The emergence of an information society contributes to the diversity of identities on a personal level. Individuals can construct their vision of the image of the past, finding for this as a group of minded people, and ready-made ideas, meanings and arguments.

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EUDOCHIA SĂHĂRNEANU, SORIN SCUTELNIC

NEW TENDENCY TOWARD IDENTITY'S RECONFIGURATION BETWEEN INTERCULTURALISM AND TRANSCULTURALISM

There are many traditions, libraries, important anthropological schools who study the cultural relationships between two (bicultural research) or more cultures (intercultural research) in a relatively outlined geographic space. As a result, we have a number of methodologies and concepts: acculturation, enculturation, communication barriers, migration and adaptation, self-images and hetero-images, etc.

Nowadays, due to the impact of information technologies, mankind has begun a movement of transcending the cultural-axiological space and the intercultural links, into other, far more extensive and more difficult palpable spheres. Under these circumstances, new identities are built, and the methodologies from interculturalism may be inefficient and incomplete to represent this new transcultural identity. This is a reason why we need a new paradigm, which can propose different methodological research and which can explain the spiritual-value dimension.

- The emergence of new virtual societies that come to satisfy the subject's needs as well the psychological as pragmatic level, thus generating new global identity constructs.
- The present days passes through an ontological metamorphosis of replacing intercultural realities with a new texture of transculturality.
- The process of cultural issues and intercultural communities - being Romanian, Balkan or European it is not the final destination, but a form of transition to a new human conditions.
- The language, as the foundation of communication, no represents the limit of culture, but it has a functional-pragmatic character.
- The issue of migrative tensions in the context of interculturalism, will be substituted by the subject's multifunctionality in various virtual societies: work, leisure, reading circles, etc.
- Under the impact of the economical regression of many national currencies, we have new crypto-currencies, which ensures the economic dimension of these new societies.
- The subject with a transcultural identity has a mosaic character. He physically, can live in any corner of the planet and be part of a particular culture, respecting its values, traditions and rituals; at the same time it is framed in a multitude of global sporadic projects: job, interest companies, operating with crypto-currencies by purchasing products from online stores etc.

This new tendency of humanity conditions, request new research's directions and new evaluation of his everyday's problems: from the practices of production to leisure. This topic has gained a degree of autonomy from the socio-political context of the region, he's less merged with the culture it belongs to, because it does not depend on a country's economical and social problems, he can do his studies at a distance, he can communicate with a set of friends from social media, he is working in international companies. He can be anywhere and at the same time nowhere.

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CRISTOFER SCARBORO

THE HISTORICAL TASK OF RELATING CONSUMPTION TO IDEOLOGY HAUNTED THE LATE SOCIALIST BALKANS

Increasingly as the socialist systems moved to middle age—into developed socialism—consumption became the measure through which both the state and its would-be subjects were to understand the ‘good life’ in late socialism. The state socialist system’s legitimacy, from above and below, was premised on the promise of ever expanding horizons—measured in the square footage of apartment buildings and cars rolling off assembly lines. This story was understood through the logic of the cold war competition with capitalism, and modernizing discourses of development (which outside of Europe was closely, and fatefully, understood as westernization). Visions of consumption—images of desire and repulsion—often read in dialogue with products from the imagined capitalist world framed the Bulgarian understandings of a life well (or not so well) lived. Conveniently, for those convinced that there were no alternatives to the capitalist order, the collapse of the socialist systems seemed to point to the inadequate delivery on the promises of consumption.

The collapse of the state socialist system was absolutely born from displeasure over the inadequate fulfillment of the promises of modernity measured in consumer goods. But this displeasure also carried within it the current of dissatisfaction with those very promises. The Eastern European state-socialist systems were remarkably good at producing stuff by almost any other historical measure. Bulgarian sources of the era reveal the emptiness of that stuff. Readings of *Bit i kultura* (Daily Life and Culture) a Bulgarian trade journal geared to the producers and consumers of household goods reveals consumption as an alienating process in two primary trajectories. First, by moving towards consumer goods as the central legitimizing trope for the communist systems, the leaders of these regimes quickly discovered the impossibility of satisfying those demands. The tyranny of more—the insatiability of consumption—doomed the system to a Sisyphean attempt for new and better diversions (diversions that the West was simply better designed to fulfill). The race to a satisfying life in socialist Eastern Europe was run against boredom.

Second was alienation born of toil and bewilderment. Consumption was designed to be a transformative process—changing both people’s orientation in time and socialist ideology as it had previously been understood (people moved from the future-oriented, collectivist process of building socialism to the more sedentary, personal, and present-focused living in developed socialism). New worlds were indeed being born and people had to know how to live this good life with all its successes and failures. Creating this good live would take work, education and organization. It also meant finding meaning in the goods themselves.

This paper investigates the creation of Bulgarian alternatives to the promises of consumer socialism—late socialist Bulgarians saw promises of modernity met, and found themselves underwhelmed. In these stories, Bulgarians were defining themselves within the competing discourses of socialism and communism; “western” and “not-quite;” and producer and consumer. It was a big job.

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IZABELA SKÓRZYŃSKA

MICROHERSTORY AS THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE INTERGENERATIONAL IDENTITIES OF WOMEN LIVING DURING THE COMMUNIST PERIOD

Women and men shared the experience of the past defined by socialism, the impact of contemporary social and cultural circumstances on their life and on their awareness of what they were experiencing and how it influenced their life was different. Because of these differences, we can speak about women, if not in the category of generations then, following Karl Mannheim, most certainly in the category of relations or 'generational unity', which 'sometimes differ radically by attitudes and ways of reacting to what was common to all – and what is common and historically defined is the "generational location" in a particular time' (Mannheim). Therefore, by recognising the inner differentiation of generations, in terms of differences for women and men through 'generational location in time' and reactions to this location, we can better understand the female aspect of the social revolution that took place after 1945 in Central and Eastern Europe without overemphasising the argument about women's trauma and suffering, as well as their passiveness and supine surrender to whatever fate brought. It is true that during the war and then during the (re) building of the socialist country, women began to fulfil new social roles, only to once again get stuck and return in the 1960s to a paternalistic order of family, community and state. However, after taking a closer look, many gaps and cracks have been revealed, still visible and heard every time women recall their experiences of living in a socialist country, emphasising their agency as pupils, students, workers, daughters, mothers, wives, grandmothers, and neighbours and friends acting not only in harmony, but also against the political demand for their emancipation. This does not change the fact that women, who lived during communism, do not feel this generational unity, nor are they aware of the uniqueness of their life in those days. Many of my Polish narrators started the interviews by saying that their life was not important. It was clear already at the interview stage how the lives of our narrators were rich in the complex everyday life made up of their efforts, failures and victories. Similarly, the abundant collection of journals and diaries reveal the outstanding agency of women, their commitment to family, professional and social life, their organisational and planning abilities, and their growing awareness of what they expected from life and when and how they wanted to achieve this. Even if women who have lived in a socialist country do not feel that they participated in something exceptional (that they shared a common experience of the past determined by the same social and cultural background), my research demonstrates that the stories of the lives of women living in communism form a *microherstory* of a generational unity of women, with

emphasis put not only on distinctiveness, but also on exceptionality and the specificity of these unities on the social and cultural horizon of the history of communism.

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ADRIAN STOICESCU

'ARRESTED' OTHERNESS – IDENTITY BUILDING IN THE ROMANIAN CENSORED MOVIES

Romanian cultural productions were severely altered after 1971, when Nicolae Ceausescu incorporated his experience from the visits in the Asian communist countries into a set of guidelines which were to shape, among others, the future course of all artistic forms. Such guidelines did not bring particularly new ideas in terms of what artistic creations must contain, but rather the urge to intensify the mass multiplication of the avatars spinning off the 'new man' already created by the communist regime propaganda.

At the same time, the 'native', local culture existing on the Romanian territory continued to live with various degrees of perturbation that eventually led to its transformation. Complementarily, as a reaction to cope with and live up to the envisaged new cultural reality standards, as imposed by the party propaganda, an alternative, reactive, artificial culture was developed which eventually created a rather heterogeneous mix of identity and otherness within the same culture. Consequently, each of these levels of cultural realities were incorporated in the identity of the same community which, as a result, triggered its division into smaller new ones, pretty much invented communities driven by their own enforced or enforceable culture. Not only was the 'national' culture reshaped by entanglement of other sometimes alien cultures, but the community itself developed into a variety of smaller groups held together by one of the layers the national culture was decomposed into.

From this point of view, the creation of a national identity becomes an intricate game among the different layers of culture which showcase a sometimes critical play on identity and otherness. For the culture of the 'new man' the traditions the community shares are samples of alterity and, in its turn, the new culture is seen as foreign and the reaction to it may be one of rejection. When sensing otherness, each group develops a certain type of attitude, ranging between peaceful dissidence and swift reprisal.

As a result, the forms of such reprisal come in various shapes and the purpose of this paper is to analyze one of these forms, censorship. If failing to fictionalize the ideals and identity profiles of new socially accepted individual, the artistic productions were immediately disposed of under the watchful eye of censorship. This was the case, among others, of some movies created by otherwise very valuable directors after the guidelines from 1971. Dubbed as deviant from the party ideological line, movies like 'Falez de nisip' (Sandy Coastlines) (1971), 'Reconstituirea' (The Reenactment) (1971), 'Am o idee' (I've Got an Idea) (1981), 'De ce trag clopotele' (Why Bells Toll) (1981), 'Fructele padurii' (The Forest Fruits) (1983), and 'Radeti ca-n viata' (Laugh as in life) (1983) were either withdrawn days after their release or never reached the public before the fall of communism.

The paper will look at the realities depicted in such movies as examples of clashes between various types of identities forging the national culture of such years. It is not the case of an official identity, but rather the one composed of everyday snippets of life joined together to paint the picture of the construction of a nation's culture and identity.

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MIROŚLAW SZUMIŁO

AN ETHNIC GROUP OR A NATION? PROBLEMS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY OF THE LEMKOS IN POLAND

The Lemkos are an ethnic sub-group inhabiting a stretch of the Carpathian Mountains known as Lemkivschyna or Lemkovyna – a region stretching along the border between Poland and Slovakia. Lemkos are classified as a branch of Ukrainians or as a sub-group of Rusyns (Ruthenians), an East Slavic minority distinct from the Ukrainians. The history of Lemkos in Poland since 1918 is an interesting example of the formation of two opposite identities within one ethnic group. On the one hand, as part of the Ukrainian nation, on the other as a separate ethnic group with its own traditions and language.

The paper covers the following topics: the genesis of separateness of Lemkos as Carpathian highlanders; religious divisions among the Lemkos (Greek Catholic and Orthodox); rivalry between the separatism of the Rusyns and the Ukrainian national movement in the Lemkovyna; formation of the Lemko language; policy of the Polish state (Second Polish Republic) towards the Lemkos; Operation Vistula in 1947 - deportation of the Lemkos together with the Ukrainians to the northern and western lands of Poland; struggle for identity in the conditions of the communist regime in Poland; national revival after 1989: division into two opposing organizations; current identity status of Lemkos in Poland.

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NICOLETA ȘERBAN

THE PLAN OF RURAL SYSTEMATISATION AND THE HUNGARIANS DURING COMMUNISM IN ROMANIA

In 1988, Ceausescu had this obsession for the Rural systematisation. This plan meant demolition of all villages from Romania and move the rural population (10 million people) to agro-industrial centers. That meant moving a population by force from their ancient communities, razing the patrimony and the traditions old from generations.

Rural systematisation would have meant the dilution of the remaining Hungarian population from the small villages, which would have lost their architecture, social cohesion, education in their language and everything related to their culture. But the reality was that all the villages in Romania were on the list to be demolished. Systematization can not be described as an anti-minority process, but as a means of homogenizing the Romanian society.

This pharaonic project provoked a great protest movement in Europe. The first to trigger an alarm signal were Hungarians from Hungary and also the Hungarian Exile. Hungarians were afraid that the first will be erased the Magyar villages from Transylvania, with their entire patrimony and traditions. The minority issue was a problem for the entire European Community. When the territorial systematization plan gained a nationalist color, being interpreted as a new form of oppression to which national minorities are subjected, the matter became more complicated. Hungarian minority in Romania was the most numerous (about 2 million). The international context was such as to allow for concrete protest actions, Ceausescu remained isolated and international discontent with his policy grew more and more.

The Hungarians were extremely active, the attacks launched were of unprecedented virulence, media and official appeals being heard more and more in the Western press. In January 1989 there was issued the Statement of about 350 Hungarian personalities as a sign of solidarity with the Romanian people and cohabiting nationalities, oppressed by the Ceausescu regime. In 1988-1989, the subject of erasing Transylvanian villages was the main subject in Hungary. The Hungarian Church used its connections in order to trigger an alarm signal. Also, different Hungarian associations, Academia, journalists, etc.

From inside the country, there was Lazlo Tokes's voice that denounced the project of systematisation. He identified himself as belonging to the Hungarian minority, dissident and defender of human rights in Romania and the Hungarian community protected him.

On June 27, 1988, a great protest was held in Budapest, attended by 20,000 people. The manifestation was on all European news channels. Meanwhile, the conflict between the Romanian and the Hungarian authorities increased.

Romanian Exile was grateful that this way it created agitation around the Romanian villages, but members of the Romanian exile had always explained that – because of the publicity - there would be a misunderstanding to believe that only the Hungarian villages were in danger.

The agitation that has been created around the issue of minorities, especially the Hungarian one, has substantially contributed to the internationalization of the Romanian case at the level of political and media factors.

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YANA VOLKOVA

EXTRATERRITORIAL CITIZENSHIP AS A STATE-LED RETERRITORIALIZATION PROJECT: THE ROMANIAN CASE

Intensive migration, advances in communication technology and transportation accelerate continuously social interaction across state borders, creating new transnational identities that ignore state boundaries. Scholars are just beginning to turn their attention to the role of the state in the production of this new form of extra-territorial spaces and identities. Being challenged by the process of globalization states haven't lost their significance, but have to adapt to the changing environment by the process of spatial restructuring of their power deploying new instruments for achieving national interests. Stemming from the constructivist approach to identities I argue that a growing number of states all over the world are deploying reterritorialization projects aiming to construct ties between target population abroad and the territorialized nation. By interacting with different types of target population abroad state erase *international* boundaries at the same time highlighting *imaginary* boundaries that separate target population from the other. A rapidly growing body of literature on *kin states*, *transnationalism* and *diasporas* tries to explain these processes by exploring various aspects of interaction between states and its emigrants or kin minorities abroad.

Due to the major geopolitical changes during the XX century, collapses of multinational empires and shifts of state borders millions of people found themselves incorporated into national projects of the newly-formed independent nation-states. On the other hand, after the end of the Cold War reterritorialization practices proliferated in post-Communist Europe, reflecting growing interest of the kin states in their kin minorities (or majorities) abroad. This process goes hand-in-hand with a strong tendency of re-imagination of citizenship. One of the mechanisms of kin-state policy is extraterritorial citizenship that refers to the rights and duties connecting the citizens of host state to their kin-states. It may include the formal citizenship of the kin state (such as double citizenship of state of residence and of the kin state) or different kinds of benefit laws, which often provide preferential treatment on the basis of ethnic self-identification (such as the Hungarian Card or the Polish Charter). Citizenship builds up links to new forms of political participation, stimulates closer cooperation and can serve to enlarge national identity across territorial borders. Romania represents prominent case for more thorough examination of broad and multidimensional reterritorialization process that are currently taking place in different parts of the world. These processes may include citizenship and migration policy as a means of including/excluding, symbolic nation-building through such instruments as official rhetoric, institution-building, etc. Further analysis of above-mentioned aspects of state-led reterritorialization in Romania will provide better understanding of the new type of political and transnational processes that

are taking place in the South-Eastern Europe and shed light on the mechanism of shaping and re-shaping transnational social fields and identities.

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EMILIA ZANKINA

WOMEN REPRESENTATION AND IDENTITIES IN SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

Women representation in politics has long been on the agenda of policy-makers and scholars alike. The basic principle of representation, with women comprising about half of the world's population, and the need to represent and promote women's issues on the political agenda are some of the key arguments of why women need to be represented in politics. Despite this basic understanding, women representation greatly varies across regions and throughout history. Southeastern Europe has witnessed dramatic changes in that regard in the last century with women representation being virtually absent before World War Two, then being forced and mandated by communist regimes in the region, to then experiencing a sharp drop in the post-communist period.

In addition to political dynamic, women representation is largely influenced by cultural and historical factors. The current paper examines historical and cultural legacies that influence the representation of women in Southeast Europe. Special focus is given to the influence or lack thereof of Western feminist ideas in the region and the effects of the communist emancipation project. The paper further emphasizes the regional differences and great variation in women's experiences and identities, deepened by dramatic events such as the Yugoslav Wars. The paper argues that despite regional differences women in Southeastern Europe share distinct experiences and identities that are qualitatively different from those of women in Western countries. Despite still prevailing macho culture across the region, women representation in Southeastern Europe surpasses the levels in many Western countries. Moreover, we see women in Southeastern Europe occupying more prominent and powerful positions than many of their Western counterparts. The paper delves into the unique cultural and historical experiences in the region to examine such differences.

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FRANCESCO ZAVATTI

FILTERING AND ADAPTING FOREIGN CULTURAL INFLUENCES IN CEAUSESCU'S ROMANIA

Identity is a process by which communities imagine themselves, according to Benedict Anderson. Communities are primarily imagined by intellectuals who, with their works, root the imagined world in the everyday life. The twentieth century's totalitarian and authoritarian regimes put barriers to imagination by allowing only selected texts to reach their community of reference. Although, cultural diplomacy in the twentieth century had played a major role in showcasing the states' cultural supremacy globally and in preserving or increasing international political legitimacy. Across the Iron Curtain, contacts between intellectuals and cultural diplomats, as well as organizing common initiatives, were favoured or prevented according to the needs of each state. While the Western countries did not put legal barriers to visiting the Soviet bloc or to the import/export of texts, the Soviet camp filtered the foreign cultural influences according to their political exigencies. How were those Western influences handled?

This paper is aimed at analysing the filtering and adapting of foreign cultural influences in Ceausescu's Romania, with a specific focus on the means by which the communist regime, and in particular the Romanian Communist Party History Institute (ISISP), dealt with the foreign historians and the foreign historical narratives aiming to contribute to Romania's imaginative process. The paper is based on the administrative archive of the ISISP. Founded in 1951, ISISP was aimed in its early years at writing the Romanian Communist Party (RCP) history, at translating the Soviet texts of Marxism-Leninism, and at preserving the RCP's archive from deterioration. With the reaction to de-Stalinization implemented by Gheorghiu-Dej, it gradually rediscovered the national narrative and tried painfully to establish the cultural foreign contacts which had been left into oblivion since the war times or in some cases had never existed. Romania was preparing its way towards autonomy from the Soviet Union in all fields and foreign cultural ties were a powerful means for the regime at international level. ISISP focused mostly on taking contact with Western leftist institutions, but the outcomes had not been rewarding nor durable.

With the arrival to power of Nicolae Ceausescu in 1965, Gheorghiu-Dej's strategy was potentiated. Abundant resources were given to ISISP for promoting international contacts, organizing common events, inviting foreigners and even publish their texts. From the waves of Radio Free Europe, the exiled communities rivalled the hearts and minds of the Romanians with the Romanian regime's propaganda. There was no better means than inviting in Romania foreign intellectuals (possibly Westerners) for legitimizing the regime at home and for showing that imagining another Romania was not possible. The seventies were favourable for this deed: the decolonization in Africa and Asia had resurrected narratives of national emancipation and the disruption of communism as a Soviet-led global movement gave to the national-communists worldwide a possibility to reciprocally reaffirm their diversity. The eighties, with the discourse of the human rights, did not favour national-communist Romania's legitimacy. Although, there were still foreigners which, until the eighties, offered support to the rediscovery of Romanian nationalism.

The paper focuses on the cultural imports dealt by ISISP in the 1950s-1980s, and ISISP's role in filtering and adapting the publishing of foreign historical texts and in inviting and dealing with foreign historian and publishers.

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JAKUB WOJTKOWIAK

THE CONTRACTUAL IDENTITY OF THE RED ARMY OFFICERS FROM CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE DURING THE TIME OF THE "GREAT PURGE" IN THE USSR

Red Army officers who joined the Bolshevik service during the revolution and civil war in Russia often changed or concealed their nationality. This concerned mainly the nations of Central and Eastern Europe, regarded in the Soviet Union as hostile. In the period of the Great Purge, the nationality of these officers became all the more contractual. The party organs of the Red Army and the Soviet secret police (NKVD), started to decide about the nationality of a particular person. In my paper, I will depict why, how and with what effect for the Red Army officers from Central and Eastern Europe, those Soviet identity practices worked.

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The '**Nicolae Iorga**' Institute of History of Bucharest is a research centre affiliated to the Romanian Academy. Its area of expertise covers all historical periods as well as all the territories surrounding Romania, i.e. Western Europe, Balkans, Central Europe and the Caucasus with a special interest in the study of the Black Sea Region.



The **Centre for Memory and Identity Studies** (CSMI) focusses on the individual/collective/cultural memory and on the social/cultural/national/civic identity of Europe with a special focus on central and eastern parts of the continent. Its purpose is to establish bridges between the civic and the academic worlds.

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