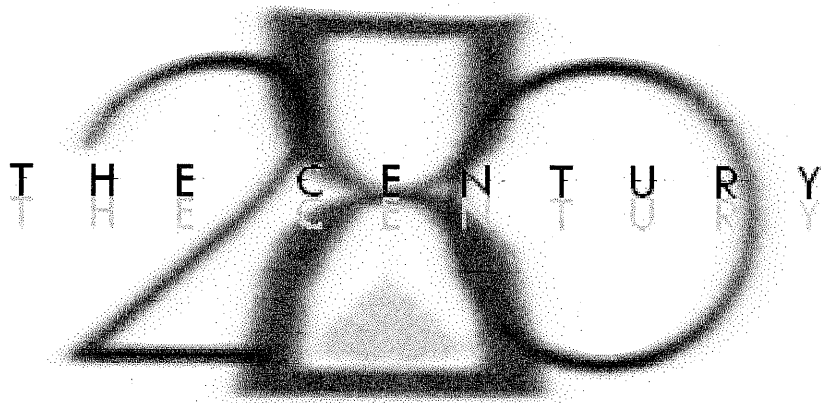**4/2000**

ISHA Journal – THE CENTURY

THE SELECTION OF PAPERS FROM THE 11TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE

OF INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS OF HISTORY ASSOCIATION

19-23 APRIL 2000, ZAGREB, CROATIA

INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS OF HISTORY ASSOCIATION

11th Annual Conference

THE 20 CENTURY

19 - 23 April 2000 - ZAGREB, Croatia

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL

It is usual to prepare a collection of papers presented in workshops after every ISHA conference, so we are doing the same after the 11th Annual Conference, held in Zagreb in April 2000. Although there is no dead line for publishing an ISHA Journal, it is best to have it in printed form by the next annual conference. This time it is happening much earlier, some half a year after The Century was held. Our intention was to do it even before the summer, but due to a number of circumstances that was not possible. Therefore, we are satisfied with this autumn because we are still in time - the century will end in a month or two.

In the Info Bulletin distributed before the Conference, we made it clear that we would publish those papers whose full text versions came to us in e-format. It is well known that ISHA papers sometimes are only in notes, sometimes more or less successfully improvised, or maybe based on video presentation. It was not our intention to force anyone to write a real scholar paper, but, unfortunately, it is still impossible to print oral presentations. So, this is not a selection of the best and the most interesting papers – which, of course, does not mean that some are not all that – but a collection of those papers whose authors showed interest in having them published. If by any chance there were too many of them, workshop leaders helped us make a choice. The leaders wrote the introductory texts for their workshops, as well.

While editing we tried to intervene into the texts as little as possible, both from the historical and linguistic point. Historical interpretation of the subjects was left to the authors' freedom, so we do not bare the responsibility for any possible mistakes. We left the titles, subtitles, footnotes and bibliography in their original form. Visual materials that we got from the authors are enclosed to the text. During the application period we asked the participants to proof edit their papers, but not all of them did so. As far as the language part is concerned, the language editor made the spelling and grammar corrections leaving the style untouched.

We did not want the Journal to be simply a collection of papers, but also to give a hint of the atmosphere in Zagreb in those days. Because of that we made the introductory chapter about the Conference, and Fun Pages. We cannot be sure if we succeeded in being just a bit entertaining, but you can always read any of the twenty-four papers whose authors we are thanking for their cooperation.

We would also like to thank Ana who scanned the photos, and Kristina who found the printing house willing to sponsor the printing of the Journal. We did the layout by ourselves, hopefully with as little technical mistakes as possible. Well, we give the ISHA Journal – The Century to all members of the International Students of History Association and to the wider public, hoping that nobody will like it less than the Zagreb Conference itself.

November 2000   Editors

THE CENTURY CONFERENCE

WORKSHOPS

1. Wars
2. Prominent Individuals
3. Destinies of Nations and States
4. Religions, Ideologies and Movements
5. The Way of Living
6. Art and Culture
7. The Media, Technology, Propaganda
8. Attitude to History

Wednesday 19	Thursday 20	Friday 21	Saturday 22	Sunday 23
	7.30-8.30 breakfast	7.30-8.30 breakfast	7.00-8.15 breakfast	8.30-10.00 breakfast
↓↓↓↓↓ ARRIVAL checking in (hostel)	9.30 workshops – introduction 10.00-10.45 opening lectures 11.00-13.00 workshops	9.30-10.30 workshops 10.45-11.45 workshops 12.00-13.00 workshops	8.30 EXCURSIONS 1. Varaždin, Trakošćan 2. Kumrovec, Krapina, D. Stubica 3. Trakošćan, Kumrovec, Klanjec 4. ZAGREB	11.00-12.30 Conclusions & Closing of the Conference (Hotel I) checking out ↓↓↓↓↓ DEPARTURE
	13.30 lunch SC/Cvjetno/FER	13.30 lunch SC/Cvjetno/FER	lunch packet	
free time 17.00-18.00 AB-meeting (hostel)	15.00-16.00 16.15-17.15 workshops / free time / 17.30 AB-meeting	/ free time / 15.00 AB-meeting 17.00-18.30 workshops	16.00 LA (FF, D III) 19.00 BUS: FF>hostel	
17.30-19.00 dinner	19.30-20.30 dinner	19.30-20.30 dinner	21.00 ISHA 10th Anniversary GALA DINNER (Hotel Dubrovnik)	
20.00-21.00 Opening Ceremony (NSK – National and University Library) 22.00 Ice-Breaking Party (Sokol Club)	22.00 The Century BALL (Pauk)	free time		

FROM *FUN* TO FUN
OR A LOOK AT THE ORGANISING TROUBLES AND JOYS

IGOR DUDA

If one wants to go back to the very beginning, an island would be the right place. There were almost a hundred students there, a fortress, a meeting, a dinner, a party – everything surrounded by the sea with floating pieces of ice. If somebody cannot recognize the scenery, it is Suomenlinna near Helsinki and it is April 1998. It seems that the same story is repeating every year, so it has become a sort of *locus communis* of all ISHA conferences. The title of the story would be: who is going to organize the next conference? The atmosphere where everything usually happens is spiced with an almost apocalyptic atmosphere, though it never ends with fires or floods. Well, so far at least. An organizer is always somewhere out there, waiting for the decent level of panic, the right moment for disclosure. However, in Helsinki it was expected that the section that had the most numerous delegation could organize the conference of 1999. The only problem was that ISHA Zagreb was not ready for the task, no matter if it had enough members and if it had organized a seminar in 1997. The conflict between expectations and reality culminated that evening in Suomenlinna. ISHA Zagreb had a long meeting and after a vivid discussion, concluded that it had not been able to organize the following conference. In the mean time everybody else was having dinner and started the party. When the red and exhausted faces came out from the meeting, the dinner was already over and the pasta that was left, unfortunately, was not quite enough.

Hungry or not, next day at the LA ISHA Zagreb proposed itself as the organising section of the conference in 2000. Those who were waiting the panic to reach its maximum that time were people from ISHA Heidelberg, the sudden organizers of the 1999 conference. At the moment it was clear that in Heidelberg there would be no stressful pressure accompanying the search for the organizers, but also that ISHA Zagreb found a brand new serious *entertainment.*

We started to *amuse* ourselves in autumn that year. We thought if we got only negative reactions from the possible sponsors, in Heidelberg we would have to announce that we were not able to organize the conference. Our Department of History was glad that the students were active on the international level, and in February 1999 the Department Council decided to support us as much as they can, but since all answers coming from the sponsors were negative, money was still the real problem. In the mean time we had a month long discussion about the topic and the workshops, and the leaflet, containing the logo and the explanation of the workshops, which we presented in Heidelberg at the end of March 1999, was the only certain thing we had at the moment. Though there was no money on our bank account at the time of the 10th Conference, and though we decided we would leave the whole

project in that case, we did not do it. So, at the LA ISHA Zagreb became the official organiser of the 11th Annual ISHA Conference.

We wanted to collect the money as soon as possible, but sponsors were not used that somebody was asking them to finance an event that would be held in a year. When one said it would be in the year 2000, it looked even more distant and they were only laughing asking us to come a couple of months before the event. Moreover, in 1999 the economical situation in Croatia became worse. It was also the election year, and since the changes were expected, nobody was certain what would happen afterwards. Is it worth to get a promise from the minister of science who will probably not be that in a couple of moths and whose budget for the year 2000 does not exists?

Nevertheless, we had to proceed with the preparations. In October 1999 the plan was made, all deadlines were settled, and new round of applications was sent to the sponsors. As planned, at the end of November the first information about the Conference, together with the Application forms, was sent to all ISHA sections. In December the list of more than fifty tasks was made and a group of ten people took the responsibility for everything. From that moment it was clear who has to do what, but also that Ana Đorđević, Kristina Jurić, Ivan Lajnvas, Renata Mikloška and writer of this article are in charge of the most of the job and of coordinating all the activities.

Of course, there were problems. First we did not have the address list of all ISHA sections and it took us a month to have it. We did not know the exact place of a sponsor's office, so once somebody had to follow him after seeing him at the main square. A day after we put the web pages of the Conference online, the faculty server broke down, and stayed broken for more than a week. At the end of November, only a day before we sent the first information to the sections, we found out that the old hostel would be closed and that there would not be enough place in the new one, which was, by the way, practically in the suburbs. Just when the first Application forms were supposed to arrive, the secretary of the Department (to whose office our mail is coming) went to Rome for a week. Speaking of the political changes, we got thirty thousand kunas from the City of Zagreb, only a day before the dissolution of the City Council. At that point we were a kind of sure – finally! – that there would be enough money for everything we planned.

March and April of 2000 was the time for the last and very concrete preparations. E.g. how many plastic glasses do we need, how many meters of folium for sandwiches, how many glasses one is aloud to drink in a break in order to have enough drinks for everybody. Measuring of the time needed to come from the hostel to faculty during the morning rush hour was not less important, but fortunately old army buses solved that problem.

On Wednesday, 19th of April, participants started to fill in the empty rooms, corridors, buses, putting the conference timetable into function. Though in February there were more than 160 people from three different continents who applied for the conference, at the end there were 105 of them taking part in the workshops. Together with sixteen workshop leaders,

several other ISHA Zagreb members who worked at the Conference, and some ten guests who came only for a day or two, or to the Anniversary Dinner, there were some 140 participants of the Conference, coming from almost thirty European universities.

Comparing with everything else, problems with the TV and radio interviews, a couple of lacking letters and numbers on the T-shirts, few garbage bags left in the corridor or the lights which were on the whole night, do not seem to be of a major importance. One afternoon it turned out that few hundreds little pizzas were missing at the faculty, but they were ready for hungry ISHAs on the morning before leaving the hostel. Well, it seems that in a way everything is in cuisine. It all started with the pasta-dinner in Finland and ended with plenty of well-baked pizzas in Croatia. Not to make the Italians too proud of their culinary influence, maybe can be said that everything started with Sara's e-mail application in the beginning of December and ended when Maike and Bård left Zagreb four-five days after the Conference.

As always, participants' problems are not the same as the organisers' ones. We were trying to solve them as soon as they appeared during the stay in Zagreb, but also by answering on hundreds of e-mails before the Conference. Sometimes we had to give answers to concrete and serious questions, but on the other hand also explain basic facts about Croatia, even draw a map. Sometimes there were people unpleasantly surprised by the fact that for half a century there was no stock exchange in Croatia (because they thought it was natural to have one) and sometimes pleasantly astonished by realising that there is actually a drama academy in Zagreb (because before coming here, they had a completely different idea of the country).

However, though sometimes it was a hard job, ISHA Zagreb had a great time and fun while organizing the Conference. We definitely learned and did many things we would otherwise never come in contact with. At the end we can say that we feel sorry for the lunch packages being not that rich as they were supposed to be, or for the leg-problems, forgotten hats and mobiles-equipment, for the temperature being ten degrees higher than usual, or for the T-shirts that would be wise not to wear during the next New Year's Eve. They might expire with the moment when the century ends. Well, it all depends on how and with which detergent they are washed, but we will not recommend you one – we did not have such sponsors!

WHAT WERE WE DOING DURING THE CONFERENCE

SANDRA LUPIĆ

The 11th Annual ISHA Conference was held in Zagreb, Croatia, from 19th to 23rd of April 2000. Here is what we were doing in those five days.

DAY ONE

After arriving and checking in at the hostel, there was an AB-meeting. Then there was dinner, at the hostel, and the opening ceremony, at the new building of the National and University library. Speeches were held by Croatian professors and a guest from Norway. It was nice to see that so many people suffer from the stage fright. After welcoming the participants (except those who were coming afterwards and those who were "stuck" in Slovenia) the president of ISHA-Zagreb declared the Conference open. The beginning was just the thing we needed to make it clear from the start that the Conference was going to be work,

work and nothing but the work. But since all ISHA members know that all work and no fun makes a conference a dull job, we had some parties up our sleeves. The first one was after the opening. It was in The Sokol Club and was called the "Ice-breaking party". Luckily the weather in Zagreb was warm so we didn't have any real ice to break.

DAY TWO

It has hooked up. After breakfast and organized transportation to the faculty there were introductions to the workshops and opening lectures held by Croatian professors and lecturers. Things didn't go as smooth as we planned them because some of the workshops didn't have a lecturer, some lecturers got lost at the faculty, and one workshop didn't have a room. But we managed to do it without major stress and the academic part started. It was more or less

interesting which depended upon workshops' topic, papers and people who presented them. After lunch it continued. I must say that I was surprised to se the effort that some people have put into their papers. Bravo for them. After it there was another AB-meeting.
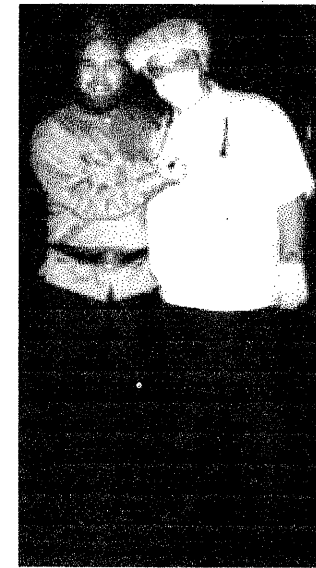
In the evening there was the Century ball where everyone was suppose to dress into clothes that would remind to one of the eras of the 20th century. Shame on those who were dressed in late 90-es. There was a costume competition and the semi-finalists were: the fairy in a long yellow dress, the peasant couple, the fat partisan, lady in black and the hippie. The winner, elected by the loudest noise, was the fat partisan.

That night some people were so bored that they decided to climb over a fence (drunk, of course), or to twist their ankle, or to go into a fight with skinheads.

DAY THREE

This is the day that some people will remember because of the surprise and some because closed menza. After a little shorter morning academic part workshop leaders took their workshops to "a special place where we had to be at noon sharp". We were there a little earlier, just enough for people to relax and to enjoy the panorama of Zagreb. The surprise was the Grič cannon that fires every day at noon. So it did that day. If only they could see their faces. I think that one workshop missed the real fun, since they were in the funicular, but they heard it very well. Then each workshop went sightseeing in private arrangements. After it there was lunch and I feel sorry for people who had to tour the city in order to find an open menza. When everyone was fed there was an AB-meeting, again. There still was no time to rest. Many papers haven't been read and each workshop had to prepare a conclusion for Sunday. Only after that was done, and it wasn't an easy job, the rest of the day was free.

DAY FOUR

The sun was shinning, the birds were singing, the busses were groaning. Yes it was the day for the excursions. Participants enjoyed sights in region of Zagorje, weather, sun allergies and lunch packages.

After more or less pleasant day there came the LA. Successful or not, it can be discussed, but it was long. It was so long that some people had to go under the shower in pairs in order to be ready in time for dinner. What was all the hubbub about that dinner? It was ISHA's 10th Anniversary dinner. The gala dinner. It showed that ISHA members can not only be smart, boring, great people to have fun with, hard-working, ignorant or endlessly charming but they can be very nice and very good looking. They can also be very sentimental or maybe even melodramatic as the main speech of the evening and the music that went along with it showed. So we ate a little, spoke a little, danced a little, drank a lot and they threw us out.

DAY FIVE

It was the day to put the icing on the cake. There were the conclusions and each workshop presented their work. It was a chance to see that one workshop had singing talents; the other had big football fans that were bigger fans of their country and nation. One workshop could fit in every other workshop and one brought two dead prominent individuals to the stand. We also discovered that there was a poet among us. Speech by speech and the Conference was closed. For those who were asking, the master of ceremonies was not wearing a kimono of some to world unknown Croatian system of fighting, but Croatian national working costume from region of Slavonija. The Conference was closed but it wasn't over. We couldn't have sent the participants home hungry so we gave them some food and off they went. We were left alone, but proud, knowing that there is nothing to be ashamed of. We are also looking forward to the next conference in Vilnius where we would be only the trouble making guests.
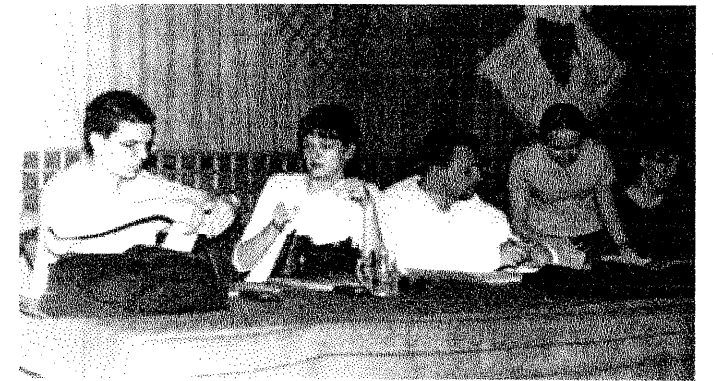
RESULTS OF THE POOL
KRISTINA JURIĆ

	marks 1-5, max. 5
1. Organization of the Conference	4,47
2. Information, brochures, Info Bulletin, the program	4,33
3. How do you like our web site?	4,39
4. E-mail correspondence	4,26
5. Application for the Conference (did our "system" work well?)	4,42
6. Later information – were they up-to-date?	4,29
7. Organizing the welcoming and the reception (meeting points)	4,20
8. Accommodation, hostel, rooms...	4,50
9. Food – did you like it?	3,61
10. Opening lectures – were they interesting?	3,77
11. How did you like our workshops and the topics?	3,86
12. Rate your workshop leaders	3,95
13. Free time – was there enough free time for you?	3,32
14. Did you enjoy our parties?	4,12
15. Excursions and the organization of them	4,15
16. Gala Dinner – ISHA's 10th Anniversary	4,32
17. Stay in Zagreb, sightseeing	4,11

18. The best experience here in Zagreb	19. The worst experience here in Zagreb
WS leaders in Zagreb The Century Ball meeting interesting people being drunk as never before kind and friendly people excursion Zagreb weather bathroom in every room getting a tan ISHA Zagreb Gala Dinner city museum beer taking care of twisted ankle	stress at excursion 1 violence in pub skinhead hot weather sun allergy waiting at the meeting points for the others waking up in the mornings LA reading my seminar leaving Zagreb

ISHA ZAGREB AT THE CENTURY CONFERENCE

Hrvoje Čapo	Barbara Kovačević	Ivana Orešić
Tanja Didak	Ivan Lajnvaš	Goran Oroz
Igor Duda	Marijan Lipovac	Maja Pasarić
Ana Đorđević	Sandra Lupić	Kristina Pavlek
Hrvoje Fruk	Ivan Martek	Ivana Pavlović
Kristijan Gostimir	Marina Mayer	Milan Perenčević
Jasmin Hutinović	Renata Mikloška	Mario Tupek
Kristina Jurić	Mario Novak	

Logo is telling a story...

A. The title of the Conference, of course.

B. Number 20. It just makes the whole story clearer, and the logo wider.

C. No, it isn't (only) a send-glass. It's the letter "i" written in the medieval Croatian Angular Glagolitic alphabet. The Glagolitic alphabet is the oldest Slavic alphabet created in the 9th century. Croats developed a special type of this script: the letters were more angular than round. In medieval Croatia this type of script was used together with the Latin script. Anyway, the letters had also a numerical value. As you might guess, the letter "i" means the number "20", as well.

D. The Glagolitic letter "i" really looks like a sandglass. Therefore it has to have a bit of send inside. As you can see, the last grains of send are falling to the bottom part. Yes, the century is coming to its end. The aim of the Conference is to play with that heap of send.
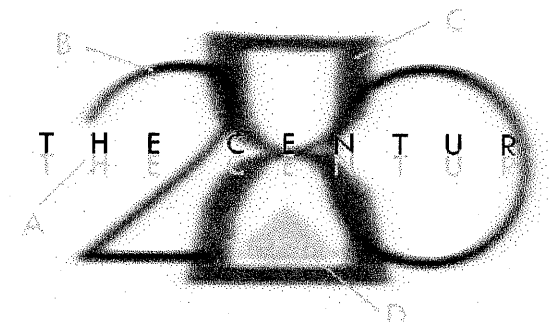
Idea: Marijan Lipovac Realization: Igor Duda 1999

EXPERIENCES OF ONE OF THE ORGANIZERS OF THE GREATEST ISHA CONFERENCE OF ALL TIMES

IVAN LAJNVAŠ

[Carnival, vol. 2, June 2000, ISHA-News issue 34]

"I am quite sure about one thing: never shall I organize a conference again. It is definitely much better just to attend a conference." These were my first thoughts on Monday evening when I woke up. Everything was finished. No more 25-hour working days. But these were only my first thoughts. After a couple of days, when the I-am-exhausted factor was eliminated, my feelings started to change.

It was a most wonderful experience, and it was a great pleasure seeing all these people in Zagreb for those five days. Who cares about one-year efforts now. It was worth it. Our conference was successful and most of the participants were satisfied, which is the best reward we could get.

PRELUDE

The Lithuanian team is stuck somewhere in Slovenia with their car broken down. Trains from Western Europe are three hours late. The Romanian team did not arrive at midnight, and God knows where they are. These were the news we got on the first day. According to ISHA tradition, everything was normal.

Eventually, all these people came safely (more or less) to Zagreb and everything was ready for the ceremonial opening. That was where some other normal things occurred. The mayor decided not to come, but we dealt with that problem with "what the hell, one speech less". There were five speeches. Five, if you include the sheep-box from Switzerland. (In Carnival nr1, page 12 it is said that it is from Lucerne, but the truth lies in higher spheres. It was bought on the top of Mount Titlis.) Professor Neven Budak wished us luck as the president of the Croatian National Committee for Historical Sciences and as the representative of the Department of History. Bård Frydenlund greeted us on behalf of the organizers of the "adult" conference of historians in Oslo. Mikko, the chief president, warned us about some urgent problems, with the inevitable "Viva ISHA!" Viva!

Since I didn't want the ceremony to be too boring, I proceeded with a popular part of ISHA tradition: presentation of the sections. The "urbi et orbi" style would not have been possible without the help of 19 brave "linguistic" students from different sections. So thank you (kiitos, koszenem, grazie, aciu, multumesk,...) all for your help.

ISHA Zagreb also "communicated" with some of the most eminent personalities of the world. His Majesty king of Spain, Juan Carlos, said that he had no time to talk to us. Bill Gates's secretary told us the same. But the Czech president, Vaclav Havel, was polite enough to write to us. He wished us luck and expressed his hopes about the future of mankind. But definitely the best "communication" came from the two charming young ladies who gave us a big box of Belgian chocolate.

The box was stored in my house (ha, ha) and kept in safety. It was opened a week later at an ISHA Zagreb session and was dealt with in a matter of seconds. After carefully considering this academic present, we decided that we should do conferences more often.

After the opening in the magnificent hall of the National and University Library, everybody went to the first, traditionally called "Ice-Breaking", party of the Conference. The best conference of all times began.

ENTAGLEMENT

After a good night's sleep (whatever that meant) the serious, academic part started. There were eight workshops: 1. Wars, 2. Prominent individuals, 3. Destinies of Nations and States, 4. Religions, Ideologies, Movements, 5. The Way of Living, 6. Art and Culture, 7. The Media, Technology, Propaganda, 8. Attitude to History. All 104 of you got to the third floor of our Faculty and began to work. According to the good old procedure: guest lecturers, debates, presentations, discussions, brakes,... lunch. Some of us were at the television on Thursday morning, doing a live interview with Tvrtko Jakovina. Only three of us presented ISHA to the world, whereas the other two had an inspiring jogging-tracking-mobile phoning exercise when trying to find the studio.

Lunch-time was a unique opportunity to get acquainted with Croatian student's restaurants. Some of you hated it, but for some it was a time of revelation. What is a "pljeskavica"? And "some fish" was opposed to "also a fish but different".

Owing to the impossible weather most workshops decided to continue their work outside, in the nature. And so our Faculty was soon surrounded with groups of colourful students sitting in the grass and discussing the technology of the 20th century.

From Thursday evening on the schedule got more dense. We all came to the Century Ball. Many of you showed a remarkable skill of imaginative dressing. So that we could not resist to organize a contest for the best costume. A maniacal surgeon climbed the stage and announced that there is a secret committee choosing the best costumes. It was not very easy to single out the most imaginative costumes, but soon we presented five of them: a fairy, a hippy, a partisan, a peasant couple, and a lady in a mourning dress. Then ISHA had to choose. The one who gets the loudest applause was to be the winner... Congratulations, Giulio!

"Oh God! My pace-maker! My pace-maker!" was the effect that we wanted to achieve when, on Friday, we brought you under the tower Lotrščak.

Most of you did not know about the cannon which goes off every day at high noon. Anyway, nobody was hospitalised and that was good. Then we acted tourist guides, and took you through the Upper City. Unfortunately we did not enter the Houses of Parliament to contribute to the discussions inside. Some of you came with me to the Croatian Institute for History and entered the glorious Golden Hall where you saw and heard what Croatian history was like. After the announcement of possible ice-cream things started to move faster. We descended the Upper City and attacked the best ice-cream in Zagreb, the Vincek's. Although unwilling, we had to come back to the cruel world of Academic Boards and workshops. On the AB I finally discovered the next group of enthusiasts: ISHA Vilnius. Good luck to them.

CULMINATION...

Where is the bus? It is full!?! I am sorry. But I want to go! Others signed in before you did. But I don't care! The other bus is half empty and has a similar route. But I don't care! ... Who cancelled? She is not going with this bus!?! OK, you can come instead of her. ... Are we full now? Who is missing? What the hell, get in. ... Wait, wait! We still have one free seat!!! ... Who are you?...

This was the situation at the beginning of the most complicated day of the Conference, Saturday. Somehow we managed to make everybody more or less satisfied and started our three excursions.

All three of us took you to the high north of the country to present to you the highlights of Hrvatsko Zagorje. In Varaždin Corné asked me if we are a very lucky country since there are so many ways of making your wishes come true (throwing coins, grabbing the thumb,...). In order to prevent the excursion from being all-history, we visited the unique Entomological museum (check the dictionaries). You also saw where Jasmin lives, where I live, and where we would all like to live (Trakošćan Castle).

After a great rush to Zagreb to get there in time, we came to the Legislative Assembly. It is a notoriously long session where decisions are made. After constant interruptions on the side of the organizers, we came out with many important things settled up. We had Vilnius and we had the upcoming International Secretariat. Good luck to the new-upcoming-scattered-through-Europe IS.

... AND ANOTHER PARTY

Budapest, Pecs, Helsinki, Tours, Utrecht, Mainz, Wien, Wroclaw, Helsinki, Heidelberg, Zagreb. The eleven musketeers crazy enough to organize the annual conference. The Gala Dinner on Saturday evening was dedicated to the ISHA's 10th birthday. Last year we celebrated the anniversary conference, and now we celebrated the 10th birthday of ISHA. As Mikko said, ISHA goes on living, learning, travelling, and it goes on having parties. This is where we received another academic present. The members

of ISHA Helsinki gave us two boxes of Finnish chocolate. And it was also treated properly at our session next week.

Saturday evening was to be a good-bye with some of you. But, to our great surprise and joy, many of you decided to stay in Zagreb for another day. Well, why not? After all, this was the last conference in this century.

OUTCOME

The last day. Only the conclusions and the closure. Nothing else to organize!! After settling in the National Restaurant the workshops started to present their conclusions. Luckily, some of them were very imaginative (as historians should be), and added a theatrical flavour to the event. Everybody liked it, and I think that it should be done more often, because the last time I saw something like that was a long time ago (at the New Year's seminar in Venice). For me the best part was when I "had to" hug with everyone, which was definitely the moment when the guru's words from Zurich were appropriate: "I love you all".

Also, ISHA Zagreb received another academic present. A very beautiful young lady gave us two bottles of great Romanian wine. This present was also carefully discussed at our session next week. And it was great. Multumesk!

After saying good-bye to the kind receptionist who spoke fluent Bosnian and not English, the Conference came to its end. Or?

EXTRA ACTIVITIES

Most of you decided to remain in Zagreb for another day and travel home on Monday. So we spent a joyful day wondering around and deepening our relations without the conference schedule. But, some of the younger ISHA Zagreb members were quite eager to make their relationships deeper than just friendship. The similar phenomenon occurred with some other members of ISHA from visiting sections. And so... Well, it is normal. Spring-time, young people, ISHA spirit hovering around... But that is a story for someone else to tell.

THANK YOU

The organizing committee (Kristina Jurić, Renata Mikloška, Ana Đorđević, Igor Duda, and the writer of this article) wishes to express its gratitude to all of you who came to Zagreb. Thank you for coming, and thank you for being patient with our mistakes. We apologise most sincerely for our mistakes, but we hope they were not big enough to ruin your week in Croatia. We hope that our Conference was, if not the best of all times, at least a pleasant experience for you, and that you saw and heard many things that will remain in your memory for a long time.

Also, good luck to ISHA Vilnius with their hard work. We know they can do it, and challenge them to make a better conference than ours.

Workshop 1: Wars

WS leaders:

Milan Perenčević

Jasmin Hutinović, jas@tolkien.nu

No.	FIRST NAME	LAST NAME	SECTION	TITLE	E-MAIL
1.	Mikko	Eskola	Turku	Finland's Political Relations to Germany, Soviet Union and Other Allies in WWII (1940-44)	mipees@utu.fi
2.	Andrea	Franc	Basel	Europe and the Rest of the World: About a New Definition of War	andreafranc@yahoo.com
3.	Juliën	Gentenaar	Nijmegen	The Battle of Mount Longdon	jgentenaar@hotmail.com
4.	Tamara	Hayessen	Bremen	The History of the Conference for Security and Co-operation in Europe as an Example for the History of Cold War	TamaraHayessen@aol.com
5.	Matija	Janežič	Ljubljana		matija_janezic@hotmail.com
6.	Klemen	Markelj	Ljubljana	Tito Stood by and Watched	
7.	Päivi	Parkkonen	Joensuu	The Civil War in Finland in 1918	pparkkon@cc.joensuu.fi
8.	Pekka	Rämö	Turku	The New Order - Nazi Rule in Europe	pekka.ramo@utu.fi
9.	Teemu	Suominen	Turku	Finland's Winter War of 1939-40 and Fascism	teemusuominen@yahoo.com
10.	Arturas	Šaltis	Vilnius	Lithuanian Independence Wars 1918-20	senis@centras.lt
11.	Petri	Toiviainen	Turku	The Finno-Russian Winter War 1939-40. It's Course and Role in the General History of World War II	pettoi@utu.fi

This workshop included ten papers of eleven participants from eight ISHA-sections and six countries.

Klemen Markelj (ISHA Ljubljana) presented his paper about the incidents over the Slovenian sky immediately after the Second World War, between Yugoslav and United States air forces. His paper served as an excellent introduction for the opening lecture of our respected host, professor Tvrtko Jakovina of the Faculty of Philosophy. He spoke about Yugoslavia's position as a mainly neutral state between the East and the West during the Cold war.

In the afternoon, the colleagues Tamara Hayessen (ISHA Bremen) and Andrea Franc (ISHA Basel) presented their papers. Both of them dealt with the history of the CSCE and with the new definition of war and provoked an open and interesting discussion. One of the theses was that all conflicts and wars happening nowadays the "Third World" countries are basically just the legacy of the European colonial role. So, do the Europeans have to feel guilty every time when a war breaks out somewhere in Africa or Asia? Did the European colonial rule bring there only legacies of their old rivalries, weapons and diseases, or did they bring there also something we could call "modern civilization" (railroads, hospitals, schools, modern laws, but also McDonalds and Coca-Cola)? And also today, when the Cold War is over (the Cold War - another brilliant European invention), and when

there are no serious conflicts between European nations, why do we need "Eurofighter" or NATO's (meaning mainly the USA's) protection over Europe?

On the second day Arturas Šaltis (ISHA Vilnius) talked about the struggle of the Lithuanians for freedom between 1918 and 1920. At that time a civil war took place in Finlad, about which Paivi Parkkonen (ISHA Joensuu) talked.

After that, Julien Gentenaar (ISHA Nijmegen) presented his paper about one of the most meaningless wars in the history: the Falkland's War. Essentially, for the bunch of rocks in the middle of nowhere, populated mainly with sheep, two stubborn nations, separated with thousands of miles of sea, fought for more than two months. It cost them more than $ 2 billion and about 1000 human lives. The result? Nothing changed, except that the war significantly helped certain Mrs Thatcher to win the following elections.

After that, the workshop leaders took these dear guests to finally see something of Zagreb.

After lunch, it was time for the "Finnish afternoon". Since the remaining four papers were related to the Finnish participation in the events occurring at the dawn and during the Second World War, it was proposed to the respected Finnish colleagues (Mikko Eskola, Pekka Ramo, Teemu Suominen and Petri Toivainen - ISHA Turku) to present their papers together, because of the characteristically

amassed schedule. On this occasion we, the workshop leaders, would like to thank them for accepting our proposal

Hiding from the hot spring sun in the shade of one of the numerous cafés nearby the faculty, and refreshing their dry lips with fine local beer, the participants of this workshop talked about the Finnish-Russian Winter War of 1939-1940, the Finnish role in the Second World War, and Hitler's plan of "redecorating" the map of Europe and the position of certain nations after the war that he thankfully lost.

Andrea Franc, ISHA Basel, andreafranc@yahoo.com

EUROPE AND THE REST OF THE WORLD: ABOUT A NEW DEFINITION OF WAR

The following essay is not so much a historical article than an article on history. It should not so much give information than impulses. Impulses to look at old things in a new way.

It is understood that we need a new definition of war. War has long time ceased to be "a contest between nations or states carried on by force and with arms", as the term "war" is still defined in the encyclopaedias. Not only have forms and weapons of violence changed, but also the participants. Ethnic majorities or minorities, guerrilla troops, police squads, suburban teenage gangs, or oil companies driving away native peoples carry on the violence we face today. The violence is certainly political, but for the sake of exact definition we might rather speak of "armed conflicts" instead of "war". For war, in the sense of one nation invading the other, has indeed become rare.

So let's focus for a while on those "armed conflicts". They take place foremost- statistically speaking- in the third world. Those conflicts almost exclusively have historical background. Even though on first sight one is inclined to believe they don't. Media- and let's say western media- only rarely go into thorough investigation on armed conflicts. And one has to admit that, on first sight, causes seem to be so obviously contemporary. An ethnic minority that is discriminated by constitution, redundancy, diverging ideologies, religious differences and again discrimination of whatever kind- reasons seem so obvious. To historians however it must be clear, that third world conflicts can be almost exclusively traced back to colonial occupation. The colonial and therefore European origins of third world conflicts are a topic still pretty much neglected by European historians. The European scientific community tends to either simply ignore violent conflicts in the third world, or to put them off as "civil wars", implying intern, national struggles that rise perfectly isolated. Here I'm postulating that violence in the former European colonies should not be called war, but a logical consequence of long-time occupation and subjection. And it would take another paper to discuss whether European colonialism itself should not be called war.

But still, where are the nations and states fighting each other? Have the nations become reasonable, or, as the common interpretation goes, become so entangled and interconnected through globalisation that war simply became impossible? Well, here's the point to watch out for new definitions.

Let's recapitulate: War is a contest between nations or states carried on by force and with arms. So what is force, what are the arms? And in what way is the contest carried on?

While at 1870 the Germans and the French were fighting each other with rifles and heavy guns, which were more dangerous to themselves than to their enemy, in a mere hundred years the technology of weapons has changed drastically. Western powers are by now able to extinguish half of the world's population by simply pressing a button. We don't seem to be aware enough that cold war was a cold war indeed. It was the first war in the history of mankind where people didn't get killed and weapons didn't get used. The Europeans seem to have invented a new form of war: Threatening.

So if soldiers to kill don't use weapons anymore, is violence in a cold war inexistent? As we saw above, physical violence is now carried on in "armed conflicts". But if we look for the reasons, and let's call them here the "first sight"-reasons, we might end up with the cold war again. We might end up with economic boycotts, cultural and ethnic discrimination, redundancy, diverging ideologies, political problems that are the consequence of a state of cold war.

In the twenty-first century, European soldiers don't kill anymore. But they exist. And they have a sophisticated nuclear arsenal to their disposition.

So where's our war? Well, it has become discreet, almost invisible. It is hiding behind calm cultivated diplomatic contracts, international trade agreements, it is omnipresent in every political decision, it has become an inevitable factor of our daily life and so ordinary that we aren't aware of it anymore.

A long time ago Clausewitz said that war was the pursuit of politics by other means. At the end of the century the English historian Philip Thody implied a rewriting of the dictum. Economy has replaced the war as a new means to the pursuit of politics, he maintained and called this change "wholly beneficially". Okay. But, if we have economy now to pursue our politics, what do we need a Eurofighter for?

Well, the conclusion of the above is not so funny. I'm maintaining that Europe is pursuing a policy. The means to pursue this policy are surely peaceful, speaking of economy, diplomacy, international organisations and agreements. But Europe (and the US), as opposed to the rest of the world, disposes of a highly sophisticated military arsenal. Indigenous people don't get killed anymore. They are defeated beforehand. One might still not want to speak of war, but we will have to accept the term forfeit.

Klemen Markelj, ISHA Ljubljana
TITO STOOD BY AND WATCHED

After the end of World War II, in the area of Upper Carniola, on the still tumultuous western border of the new country of Yugoslavia, two disagreeable incidents took place, which had their origin in the Trieste crisis.

When WW II was nearing its end, the Yugoslav Army occupied all the areas in Austria and Italy which were populated with Slovene people.. The occupation did not last long though. By May 21st 1945 the Yugoslav Army had to retreat under Ally pressure from Carinthia to the old Yugoslav – Austrian border.

At the same time the Yugoslav military, as well as civilian administration in Trieste, Istria and the Slovenian coastal area, was put under severe diplomatic, political and military pressure.

On June 9th 1945 the Yugoslav government was presented with an ultimatum - Great Britain and the USA demanded that the Yugoslav Army retreated from Trieste as well as from the areas under dispute. On the very same day an agreement between the Yugoslav government and the governments of Great Britain and the USA was signed in Belgrade, in which June 12th 1945 was set as the date of the retreat of the Yugoslav Army from Trieste, Istria and the parts of the maritime province. The Army was to retreat to the demarcation line which thus divided the controversial areas into two parts: Zone A, occupied by the Ally forces with Italian legislation from before September 8th 1943, and Zone B occupied by the Yugoslav troops with the Yugoslav legislation in force.

With the occurrence of the two zones there arose the problem of 'justly' dividing the region under dispute, which was to be solved by the council of Foreign Ministries of the Allied Forces. After having met three times unsuccessfully, the council agreed on a compromise; on July 2nd 1946 the Free Territory of Trieste (Territorio Libero di Trieste) was founded. The Free Territory of Trieste fell under the UN administration and consisted of Trieste with its surroundings, including also the northwestern part of Istria. This 'provisional' solution was also confirmed at the peace conference held in Paris from July 29th to October 15th 1946.

But all was not well. The Ally administration in Zone A coolly stood by and watched the resolutions of the peace treaty from February 10th 1947, and the statute of the Free Territory of Trieste being violated by the Italian officials. Meanwhile, Yugoslavia was again put under severe pressure because of the cold war aggravation in the East – West relations.

The problem would not be solved until October 5th 1954, when an agreement was signed in London, whereby the military administration in the Free Territory of Trieste was abolished and the final decision on how the controversial territories are to be divided was made. The London agreement assigned Zone B, as well as a small portion of Zone A, to Yugoslavia, whereas the rest of Zone A, including Trieste, remained under Italian jurisdiction.

After the Osim agreement was ratified on October 10th 1975 the border set by the London agreement was also internationally acknowledged as the state border between Yugoslavia and Italy.

After having presented these facts I would like to turn back to the year 1946, the time of the peace conference in Paris. At that time there occurred several violations of the Slovenian air space. In order to avoid the Alps, and thus save time and fuel, the Ally aviation, on their way from Austria to Italy, had to fly over the north-western part of Slovenia. These air space violations have been occurring continually ever since the end of WW II, but were nevertheless tolerated by the Yugoslav authorities.

It was a very tumultuous time in this part of Europe and an armed conflict was not out of the question. In view of the situation the Yugoslav government decided to transfer the whole of the 3rd Fighter Division from Novi Sad to Ljubljana airport. The 3rd Division was equipped with the superior Soviet YAK-3 and YAK-9 combat aircrafts and a team of fighter pilots was in constant state of alert.

On July 8th 1946 the fighter pilots on duty at the Ljubljana airport attempted to intercept an American C-47 Dakota aircraft with the intention of making it land. They failed, and the C-47 safely made its way towards the West. But not long after that incident a plane was shot down. Lieutenant Dragomir Zečević and fighter pilot Dragan Stanisavljević of the 254. Fighter Regiment took off from Ljubljana airport some minutes before 13.00 hours on August 9th 1946. At 13.10 a C-47 Dakota flew over Ljubljana airport at the altitude of 3000 m, made two turns above the airport, and then headed towards the border. The two Yugoslav pilots intercepted the aircraft and using international signals tried to make it land. The American pilot ignored the signs and consequently the Yugoslav pilots opened fire. The C-47 had to make an emergency landing on a farming field West of Kranj whereby the pilot was killed, the co-pilot heavily wounded, and the 12 passengers apprehended and lodged in the Union Hotel in Ljubljana. On August 11th a protest on the part of the Yugoslav government was filed on account of the numerous air space violations. It was claimed that between July 16th and August 8th 87 bombers, 40 fighters and 45 transporter planes, 172 aircrafts in total, violated the Yugoslav air space. The numbers were of course exaggerated; just as the method of aircraft identification was questionable. On August 21st the Yugoslav authorities released all 12 passengers and members of the crew, and allowed the Americans to remove the wreckage.

Reports released by Tanjug (the Yugoslav news agency) on August 28th made accounts of 110 violations that reportedly took place between August 10th and August 20th.

Officially the continuing violations were the reason why some of the YAK-3 fighters from Ljubljana were sent to Lesce, a small airport near Bled.

And then, on August 19th another aircraft was shot down. The fighter pilots on duty Vladimir Vodopivec and Milorad Knežev, both of the 112. Fighter Regiment intercepted an American C-47 over Radovljica. Even though he was urged to land, the pilot of the C-47 ignored the

warnings and in the crash all five Americans aboard the aircraft were killed. The Yugoslav authorities probably tried to cover up the whole incident, which can be inferred from the sparse reports in the two Slovene newspapers Slovenski poročevalec (The Slovene Reporter) and Ljudska pravica (The People's Justice).

At this time I should bring up another very interesting point, namely that at the time of these events Tito was staying in his summer residence in Bled. This may just as well have been the reason for the transfer of the fighters to the otherwise strategically quite unimportant airport in Lesce.

Tito made a reference to the ongoing events in his speech in Jesenice, on August 20th. On August 22nd he met with the US ambassador Patterson and military attaché Colonel Patrick and two days later, on August 24th, being interviewed by American reporters, Tito accused the West and uttered his protest. He also mentioned that he himself witnessed the last incident.

On September 4th Yugoslavia demanded that the USA guarantee the cessation of the air space violations, but there was never any formal answer issued on the part of the USA. Nevertheless, the violations decreased in number after the last incident probably due also to the fact that the Trieste crisis seemed to lessen.

Ljubo Sirc ventured to give an interesting explanation of the events in his book titled 'Between Hitler and Tito':

> The Communists claimed that the Ally aircrafts making frequent flights over Upper Carniola were in fact spying. I couldn't help but wonder what it was that could arouse such interest. It was a well-known fact that the maps partisans used during the war were all made in the UK. The story about spying was exaggerated, to put it mildly. The only sound explanation could be that the megalomaniacs running the communist government in the country tried to teach the USA a lesson in how the communist independence and absolute power is to be respected.

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THE BATTLE OF MOUNT LONGDON

A short introduction

The Falkland Islands are a group of islands in the south Atlantic. The main islands are East Falkland and West Falkland. They lie a 300 miles of the Argentina coast. About 200 smaller islands form a total land area of approximately 4.700 square miles. The capital and only town is Port Stanley.

The islands themselves were discovered around 1600 and put on the map. Almost a century later did a British expedition actually land on the Falklands. They claimed them for the British crown and named them the Falklands, after Viscount Falkland, a British naval officer. But still nobody settled there.

In 1764 the French navigator Louis-Antoinne de Bougaineville founded the first settlement on East Falkland. A French fishery, which was manned by people from St. Malo gave it its name Iles Malouines. The Spanish, when they bought the island from the French in 1767, formed Iles Malouines into Islas Malvinas.

Then a period of relative ease passed for the Falklands, only to be broken when in 1816 Argentina declared itself independent from Spain and soon, four years later, claimed their sovereignty over the islands. But in 1833 the British remembered their 17th century claim on the islands. This was instigated by a threat of the USA to invade these islands after a quarrel with Argentina over some fishing-grounds. To make sure they were British, they made a settlement of some 1.800 British there. In 1892 it was granted colonial status.

During the wave of decoloniazation in the sixties of the 20th century both Britain and Argentina claimed the islands as theirs. This led to a still ongoing dispute between the two countries, only to escalate in an undeclared war in 1982.

Prelude to war

On March 19th 1982 some military personnel escorted a group of Argentine scrap-metal merchants on the islands. Britain calls Argentina to remove its military personnel on the islands. Instead of giving in to the British request the Argentine military junta decides to invade the islands en masse, it is March 26. And only one week later, on April 2nd, thousands of Argentine troops landed on the shores of the islands. The small detachment of the Royal Marines put up a brave, but futile resistance. It was the governor Rex Hunt who ordered them to lay down their weapons. When Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher heard of this, she told the House of Commons that her majesties government was determined "*to see the islands returned to British administration*" by whatever means necessary. In short, the Falkland war was a fact.

Why did Argentina military junta and its leader, General Leopold Galtiere, decide to invade the Falklands? The main reason seems to be internal problems. First of all the economic situation was quickly deteriorating. The inflation skyrocketed well over 600 %. The Gross Domestic Product fell by 11.4 %. The manufacturing output was down by 22.9 % and real wages by 19.2 %. And, the second were the mass disappearances of people by hands of the military junta. This led to mass demonstrations by the population. So to divert public attention from the internal problems and to try to restore the long lost popularity and prestige of the dictatorship Galtiere invaded the Falklands.
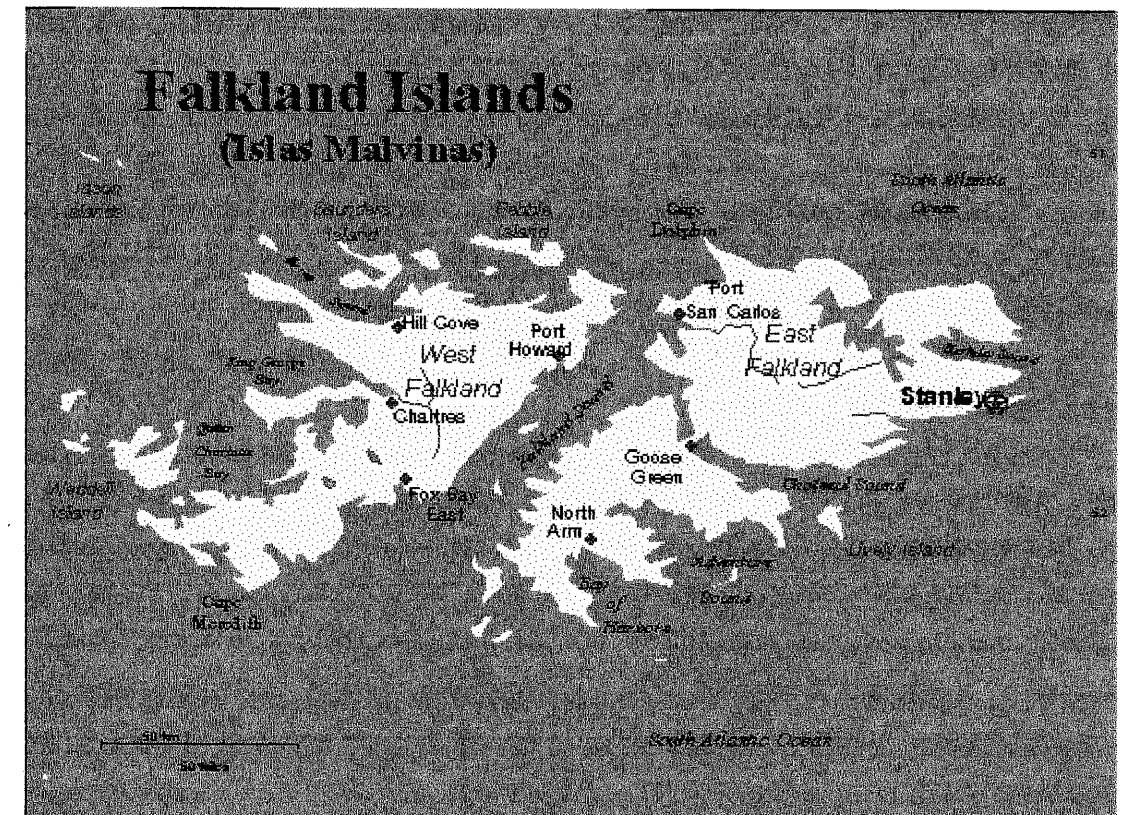
The walk into hell

The mobilization of the British war machine meant that some 29.000 soldiers, sailors and airmen went 8.000 miles south to the end of the world to reclaim a bunch of rocks of which the inhabitants were mostly sheep. Among those 29.000 troops was the cream of the British Army. They were Two Para and Three Para, 1.200 men in all. When they landed on the May 21st at Port San Carlos the struggle for air domination was already 3 weeks old. During the landing they met little resistance and by 11:30 a.m. they had secured the area. Now the Paras dug in for the anticipated Argentine air attacks and waited for the British planes to gain air control.

For the officers and men of the Parachute Regiment, the very idea of standing around and waiting was revolting to their every learned instinct. The main idea behind paras is to achieve surprise by appearing behind enemy lines, then to move swiftly towards their objectives and strike before their opponents have a change to react. Although the paras didn't like waiting

they were prepared to do their job. But still, Three Para had to wait six days before they came into action.

On May 27th they went with the Royal Marines towards Teal Inlet. The Three Para, being in no mood to be in the shadow of the Marines, took a shortcut to Teal Inlet. This meant crossing the rocky, wet and windy grounds the most part of the Falklands were covered with. During this epic march, fifteen Paras suffered sprained ankles, strained muscles and similar injuries, and fourteen other were treated for exposure. But their hardship wasn't in vain. They had covered 20 miles in 33 hours and entered Teal Inlet on the evening of 29th May. When the marines arrived at the settlement, two nights later, they learned that the Paras had already pressed on towards the hills that surround Port Stanley.

On May 31st Port Stanley was totally surrounded. The Argentine defences on the hills consisted of 155-mm and 105-mm guns, recoilless rifles, heavy machine guns and rifle pits. Some 8.400 men manned the whole. Fortunately for the British most of it was pointed towards the east and the south, where the Argentines expected the British to attempt an amphibious landing. On June 11th after a few days of reinforcing the final attack came.

Two sides of hell

On the afternoon of June 11th Three Para began a wearying four-hour march to the base of the 200 metre high hill. The hill itself was lined with mortar and rifle holes of the Argentine 7th mechanized regiment. While Three Para waited at the starting line to ascend the hill, they were ordered to fix bayonets. This was done as quietly as possible. The Argentinians heard this noise and the sentries rushed to the tents to wake up the men who were asleep. Almost at the same time as the sentries were waking everybody up, a loud bang echoed over the hill. A corporal stepped on an antipersonnel mine and ended to the silent attack of the paras.

In these first moments the soldiers from both sides reacted differently. An Argentine soldier recalls:

> "I was nervous, scared, shit-scared... I heard a scream... I think it came at the same time a mine went off. Then we opened fire...desperate shooting into the dark."

A British soldier was:

> "Shocked and surprised...when we [Three Para] were at the base of mount Longdon waiting for the order to advance and they told us to get in an extended line...And when I heard "Fix bayonets" I knew we were in a lunatic asylum".

As Three Para struggled up the slope, small units became separated and gradually led into narrow passageways between large boulders. In these passages they were under heavy

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fire from the Argentines, who were tossing in hand grenades and shooting their clips empty between these rocks. Other paras were entangled in hand-to hand combat. A Para remembers:

> "The Argie was completely taken aback as I leapt into his position. He was cornered...he didn't have time to point his rifle at me...his eyes had a look of complete resignation mingled with shock.... I stabbed him two, three times. I was in rage, doing my job, knowing that if I hadn't kill him I would have been dead. I reacted as I was trained – to kill."

The Argentine commander was considering surrendering, but his men told him that they had already learned to live with the idea that they would be killed if they surrendered. They told him that for that reason they were not prepared to give up. The British, on the other hand, were taking prisoners. This caused them another problem: what to do with them. A British soldier recalls what he was thinking when he arrived at the HQ and they gave the impression that they had no need for POWs:

> "...What was I supposed to do: shoot them? I've got a bolt-action rifle with ten round for sniping, so how the fucking hell am I supposed to dispatch sixteen guys? Line them up one in front of the other and say: hang on a minute, while I reload?"

In the end the prisoners were taken to a place well beyond the fighting-ground.

The refusal of the Argentine soldiers to give themselves up led to a counter-attack by them. The idea was to recapture their positions and from there try to free their captured mates. This soon turned out to be a mistake. An Argentine soldier remembers:

> "Two British appeared out of the rocks and began firing at us.... The guy next to me was hit. He grabbed me as he fell. Really tight. I couldn't move, couldn't get him off and I was still being shot at. I fell over with him, but I couldn't relax his grip. He was dead...he wasn't breathing. It was horrible."

The British had halted their counter-attack. But the battle was still not over, although most Argentine soldiers were already sure about the outcome of the battle. An Argentine soldier recalls:

> "I had a gut feeling we had lost the battle. The soldiers of the 7th regiment were withdrawing, taking their chances running, walking, even crawling away."

This took them some two hours and they made sure that when daylight broke a heavy and concentrated artillery barrage would strike their old bunker positions. These were now covering for the British.

As the day grew lighter men of the A-company were reinforcing Three Para. Some 45 minutes later the battle of Mount Longdon was over. An Argentine soldier was shot while he was trying to surrender.

"I passed out, thinking I was dead." But he wasn't, he regained consciousness. *"I was dizzy, like a drunk. I kept falling against the rocks and falling over...I managed to stagger a bit further, then sank to my knees"*

A British soldier who was resting against a rock, suddenly saw a lone Argentinean appear. He saw the man, who was swaying and looking at the ground. He thought:

"What's he looking for, a weapon? ...Don't touch a weapon or you're dead...you don't want to die."

Then the soldier collapsed. A few seconds later two British soldiers helped the Argentinean and took him to the rear to be treated for his wounds.

Three Para had 23 killed and 47 wounded, which were the heaviest British casualties of the war. But 50 Argentines were dead and another 50 had been taken prisoner. The British were ready to resume their advance toward Port Stanley. On June 14 the British took Port Stanley and 9.800 Argentine soldiers gave up their arms. Six days later the British formally declared an end to the hostilities.

From start to finish the undeclared war lasted 72 days. It cost at least 2 billion dollars and claimed nearly 1000 casualties (236 British and 655 Argentines). From a political point of view, the war helped re-electing Margaret Thatcher and brought down Leopoldo Galtiere who was to resign quickly and pave the way for a democratic Argentina.

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Workshop 2: Prominent Individuals
PROMINENT INDIVIDUALS

WS leaders:

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4.	Jurij	Komel	Ljubljana	Ernesto Che Guevara	
5.	Gabrielius	Landsbergis	Vilnius	The Most Famous Persons of Lithuania	gabrys@takas.lt
6.	Judith	Lembke	Heidelberg	Albert Speer	
7.	Andreja	Molan	Ljubljana	Joseph Goebbels - the Voice of NSDAP	andrejamolan@hotmail.com
8.	Andrej	Rahten	Ljubljana	Emperor Charles and Plans for the Reform of the Habsburg Monarchy	andrej.rahten@siol.net
9.	Mirko	Šaruga	Zurich	Patrice Lumumba (1925-1961): Symbol of the Decolonization	msaruga@altavista.net
10.	Jurica	Volarević	Heidelberg	Mahatma Gandhi	Jurica.Volarevic@gmx.de

Workshop no two was dealing with the prominent individuals of the twentieth century. There were ten participants from five countries and eight papers were presented. We came to the conclusion that they influenced the events around them but were at the same time influenced by the same events and were the products of their time. This was seen as the papers were presented.

V. Landsbergis, the former leader of the Lithuanian supreme council, was very much respected at the beginning of the nineties when Lithuania was separating from the Soviet Union. However, when the independence was once gained. Landsbergis was not so influenced any longer. John Maynard Keynes tried to improve the world through his economic doctrine. Emperor Charles tried to reform the Habsburg monarchy, but he failed. Was it because he wasn't much of the politician or because of the international events and politics? Should we call Ernesto Che Guevara an adventurer because of the way he lived, things he did, and the way he died or was he driven by some higher motives. Was Patrice Lumumba, the Congo's first president, a tragic figure or

SANDRA LUPIĆ

maybe he deserved what had happened to him. Mahatma Ghandi is India's and the world's most famous example of the passive, non-violent resistance. Was this the right way of dealing with things? If not, is violence really the right option? Joseph Goebbles is not really what one

would call the true specimen of the Aryan race. And yet as Hitler's minister of propaganda he tried to make people see through Hitler's eyes.

Not all the papers were about people. One was about the assault rifle AK-47, the weapon created out of the need for a cheap but efficient rifle. It left its mark on the history of the 20th century, and unfortunately it looks as if it is going to leave its bloody mark on the 21st century as well.

Gabrielius Landsbergis, ISHA Vilnius, gabrys@takas.lt
THE MOST FAMOUS PERSONS OF LITHUANIA

At the end of year 1999, Lithuanian national radio announced the election of Lithuanians, which have a marked Lithuanian history the most. Among the elects were politicians, cultural workers, artists, etc. So I would like to represent the first five people of that chart.

The First, who was elected as the famous Lithuanian of century, is Dr. Jonas Basanavičius. He was born in 1851 in Užkabaliu village in the northern part of Lithuania. He studied at the Marijampoles gymnasium, graduated from Moscow's University as a Doctor of medicine. In 1879 he starts his doctor's career very far from Lithuania – in Bulgaria. There he becomes famous doctor, works in the palace of the Grand Duke Ferdinand as a personal doctor. He also founds new hospitals there in Sofia. But in 1889 his wife dies and later that year somebody tries to eliminate him. So these very unpleasant events made Dr. Basanavicius return home to Lithuania. In 1905 he begins his work in Lithuania. He uses all his experience and strength to rebuild Lithuania's independence. He organizes The Great Parliament of Vilnius, establishes the first National Lithuanian Democratic Party. And even begins to speak about the idea of Lithuanian autonomy in its ethnographic boundaries. In 1907 he establishes the Lithuanian Cultural board. And the greatest work, which coronated the life of Dr. Basanavicius was declaration of 1918 February's 16th act. He unified all the political forces in Lithuanian and came to an agreement to sign that act. After three years in 1921 Lithuania loses Vilnius and lands around it. But Dr. Basanavicius shows his extraordinary character and stays in Vilnius displaying that he doesn't approve of Vilnius' occupation.

Jonas Basanavičius was not only the first to speak about possibility to declare Lithuanian independence; he was the one, who did it.

The Second, who was elected as the famous Lithuanian, was composer and painter Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis. He was born in 1875 into organist's family and grew up in the small Lithuanian resort of Druskininkai. During 1889 – 1893 he studied at the Orchestra School of duke Mykolas Oginskis in Plunge, Lithuania. During 1894- 1899 he studied at the Music Institute in Warsaw, and in 1904-1906 studied at Warsaw Art School in the environment of the Polish Neo Romantics. In 1907 he settled in Vilnius and became involved in the Lithuanian national movement. At the same time, he also took part in the activities of the Lithuanian Art Society and was conductor of Lithuanian choir. Then for a few years he lived in St. Petersburg. The most mature period of the artist's work lasted four years from 1906 – 1909 during which he created most of his paintings. Intensive creative activity and continuous material hardship undetermined his mental and physical health, and the artist died in 1911.

Čiurlionis became absorbed in ideas of theosophy, the occult, cosmogony, and experimental psychology which spread through Europe in the late 19th century as well as in

ancient Eastern religions and culture. His work developed under the influence of Symbolism; in art he was attracted not by what can be seen, but by that which is invisible – the spiritual world. His paintings are dominated by landscapes representing not realistic scenery, but a pantheistic vision, often supplemented with ancient architectural motifs and mythological kings and angels figures. With these visions the artist aimed to solve the secrets of the ruler of the universe, of the origins of the cosmos and the world, and the human existence. The synthesis of music and painting, subtle colouring of close tones, a flat decorative form and ornamental design characterize his work. Čiurlionis created his own distinctive version of Symbolism, which stood out in the context of European art.

The third who was elected as the famous Lithuanian is chairman of the Supreme council Vytautas Landsbergis. Right now he is the head of the Lithuanian Parliament. He was born in 1932 in Kaunas. In his hometown he graduated from the musical school of J. Gruodis. In 1950 he entered the Music Conservatory in Vilnius and graduated from there in 1955. He settled in Vilnius and he still resides there. Since 1978 he has been a professor at the Music Academy. In 1998 he defended doctoral thesis at the Academy.

He is one of the most famous people in Lithuania and has written over 15 books. His first books were mainly about the most famous Lithuanian composer and painter – M. K. Čiurlionis, but lately he has published some books on political life. His political career started in 1988 when he became active in Lithuanian resistance movement against Soviet regime called Sąjūdis. Very quickly he became one of the leaders and soon was elected the head of the movement.

In 1993 he was elected a chairman of Lithuanian Conservatory Party and re-elected in 1995.

His most outstanding deed for the Lithuanians is that on the 11th of March 1990, being the Chairman of Supreme Council, he was the one who led the Lithuanian government to declare Lithuania's independence from the Soviet Union.

Landsbergis intense work hasn't been left unnoticed in the world. In 1991 he received the Norwegian Peace prize and the French Foundation du Future prize. Among many others were Germany's Herman Ehler's prize received in 1992 and the Order of French Legion of Honour. Having received Norwegian Peace Prize he established fund that supports handicapped children and young artists that need support.

These are the three most outstanding people that lived in Lithuania during the last century. They have marked Lithuanian history and one can be sure that without them our history might have taken a different turn. Dr. Basanavičius, M.K.Čiurlionis and V. Landsbergis each represent something different and yet vital in Lithuania's existence: they have influenced culture, politics, and arts of Lithuania and made Lithuania stand more firmly on its own representing itself in the rest of the world.

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PATRICE LUMUMBA (1925-1961): SYMBOL OF THE DECOLONIZATION

Patrice Lumumba was the first prime minister of the newly independent Congo (Léopoldville). He was murdered half a year after independence on January 17, 1961. Not only since then, Lumumba is a symbol of the Decolonisation.

Lumumba is a person that was born, lived for some time and then died. But Lumumba is also an object that lives in the minds of the people. In this context Lumumba stands for the Africans who fought for their independence and died for it.

For some people Lumumba is the perfect martyr. He wanted independence for his country, the Congo (Léopoldville). He was a charismatic leader who fought for a united Congo while the country was breaking apart. He was a prophet who had a vision of a pan-African state. He believed in justice and got murdered. For some other people Lumumba is the perfect enemy. He was a demagogue who was hungry for power. He was an obsessed communist who wasn't able to rule his country. He was an unpredictable intellectual who lead his country into chaos.

Lumumba was born on July 2nd, 1925 in a small village in the Kasai province of the Belgian Congo. He visited missionary schools and soon became one of the few well-educated Congolese. He became a journalist criticizing the Belgians who ruled the country. In 1955 Lumumba was among the few Congolese to meet King Baudouin III who visited the Belgian Congo. Because of this meeting Lumumba became a well-known intellectual of the country. His popularity even rose while he had to stay in prison because of his political activities. In 1958 he founded the MNC party (Mouvement National Congolais) and became its president. The aim of the MNC was the independence of the Congo. In the same year Lumumba went to the Pan African Congress in Accra to see Kwame Nkrumah. Nkrumah was the prime minister of the newly independent Ghana, and Lumumba was deeply impressed by his idea of a united pan African state.

In January 1959 major riots broke out in Léopoldville (Kinshasa) and approximately 300 Congolese had been killed. While two years before the colonial authorities still thought that independence was maybe 30 years away, now they considered independence an urgent issue. In 1959 Lumumba was imprisoned because of the riots that took place in Stanleyville (Kisangani) after the congress of the MNC. But soon he had to be released because he was needed at the Round Table Conference in Brussels in January 1960. The Congolese participants demanded Lumumba's presence at this conference, and so Lumumba was flown into Brussels straight from the prison. This Round Table Conference decided that independence was to come within half a year.

In the elections held in May the MNC did win 42 out of 137 seats of the parliament.

Because the MNC was the strongest party the Belgium government asked Lumumba to form a cabinet. But they refused his proposal and asked Joseph Kasavubu, president of the ABAKO party that won 8 seats, to form a cabinet. Only after Kasavubu wasn't able to present his own cabinet, Lumumba got his second chance and finally got the OK of the Belgian government. It was clear that although Lumumba was the winner of the elections, he was not the prime minister that the Belgian government wanted.

So Lumumba became the first prime minister of the Congo (Léopoldville) and his job wasn't going to be easy:

- The Belgian government had made it clear, that it preferred Kasavubu as a prime minister. So the relations between the two governments were tense from the beginning.
- The Belgian media drew a controversial picture of Lumumba. Lumumba was the fiery nationalist who had caused riots. Lumumba was a criminal because he had been to prison. Lumumba was an intellectual who was hungry for power. Lumumba was a brilliant demagogue whose real intensions were not clear. Lumumba was the communist who was a risk to the West.
- The Belgian Congo hadn't been prepared to govern itself. In 1960 only less than 20 Congolese had an academic title. The school system did only base on missionary schools. The administration heavily depended on the Belgians (approx. 40% of the personnel were Belgians).[1]
- The political parties were based on regional tribes. There were more than 100 different parties that followed the particular aims of the many different tribes. Only one party, the MNC, wanted a united Congo (Léopoldville). Lumumba's government had 27 ministers and 10 secretaries of state to pay respect to the many different tribes. Already few days before indepence the first clashes between some tribes took place.
- The Congolese army which was a Belgian instrument of suppress the Belgian Congo was still in Belgian hands. Still Belgian officers (approx. 1.100) commanded Congolese soldiers (approx. 24.000) who were used to use their guns against the Congolese.[2]

Problems were soon to come:

On June 30th King Boudouin III held his speech on the independence ceremonies. On could say that his speech was not very diplomatic. He pointed out that the independence was the merit of Belgium. Now the response came soon. Lumumba went to the speaker's desk and held a speech that wasn't scheduled in the ceremonies. Lumumba wasn't very diplomatic either. He reminded the King of all the sufferings the Congolese had to bear in the past. And he pointed out that the independence was the merit of the Congolese who had to fight for it. Now the scandal was perfect. The King and Belgium were not amused at all. Something was

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[1] Vanderstraten, p. 60.

[2] Vanderstraten, p. 64.

not going the way they had imagined it.

The first thing the new Congolese parliament did, against the protest of Lumumba, was to raise the salary of its deputies up to 500.000 francs, which was 200.000 francs more than their Belgian colleagues got. Next the Belgian commandant of the Congolese army announced to his soldiers that in this army no Congolese would become an officer. The reaction of the soldiers followed. On July 4th the Congolese army mutinied. The soldiers were plundering the capital Léopoldville and killing Belgians. The pictures of chaos in the Congo soon spread around the world. Panic broke out among the Europeans (approx. 100.000). Within one week 3.000 Europeans took a plane to Brussels and another 17.000 Europeans flew into a refuge camp. Lumumba and Kasavubu were running from one corner of the country to the other to extinguish the outbreaking fires. The physical appearance of the two of them was appeasing the various revolting army camps throughout the Congo. But while Lumumba and Kasavubu were absorbed in calming the Congolese troops, the Belgian government took action on its own.[3]

On July 10th it sent 1.200 troops to the Congo to protect the life of the Belgians. Belgium had already some 3.000 soldiers based in the Congo after independence. Last but not least the Belgian troops were sent into the rich southern province of Katanga to protect the interests of Belgian mining companies. In 1960 the province of Katanga produced 80% of the world's industrial diamonds, 73% of the world's cobalt, 8% of its copper and 60% of the West's uranium. It also produced large quantities of bismuth, cadmium, germanium, gold, manganese, silver, tantalum, tin and zinc. The Belgian/British Union Minière S.A. provided nearly 50% of the national tax revenue in the Congo. In 1966 the Union Minière was the world's largest producer of cobalt and the world's third largest producer of copper. On July 11th Katanga, now controlled by the Belgium troops declared its independence. Moïse Tshombé, president of the CONAKAT party that won 8 seats in the elections, appointed himself president. The Belgian troops were disarming the Congolese troops to help Tshombé.[4]

Now that Lumumba and Kasavubu had partially calmed the Congolese troops, they had to deal with a Belgian invasion. On July 12th Lumumba asked the UN for assistance against the Belgian aggression. Two days later, on July 14th, the Security Council of the UN decided to send the troops. This was the first time that the UN sent troops to help some country. The following day the first UN troops arrived in the Congo. Belgium was asked to withdraw her troops from the Congo. It soon became clear that the Secretary General of the UN, Dag Hammarskjöld, didn't want the UN to fight against the Belgian troops. Instead he used the UN troops to reinstall law and order in the Congo. As the Belgian troops didn't withdraw, Lumumba threatened to ask for assistance of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union was on Lumumba's side and had already demanded the immediate withdrawal of all foreign

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[3] Vanderstraten, p. 331. Camps in Angola, Brazzaville, Léopoldville, Kitona, Sudan, Usumbura, Kamina, Rhodesia.

[4] Ikpebu, p. 44, 21.

troops from the Congo. After a meeting of the Security Council of the UN on July 22nd held because of the Congo crisis, the Belgian troops, which were in the meantime amounting 10.000 soldiers, began to withdraw from Léopoldville.[5]

Lumumba now decided to travel abroad to propagate his position. He had several meetings with Hammarskjöld in New York. He met various politicians on his tour through New York, Washington, Ottawa, London, Tunisia, Morocco, Guinea, Togo and Ghana. But, during the two weeks that Lumumba was on tour abroad, the action in Congo didn't stop. By the end of July approx. 40% of the Europeans and approx. 80% of the Belgian administration personnel had left the country. In early August the Belgian troops were slowly withdrawing from the Congo but also moving into Katanga and the Kasai province. Belgium was giving arms, planes and officers to the Katangan army, which consisted of approx 1.000 soldiers. On August 4th Kasai declared its independence. Albert Kalonji, whose wing of the MNC had won 8 seats in the elections, became its president. On August 5th Hammarskjöld cancelled the entry of the UN troops into Katanga, which had been scheduled for August 6th. The effect was that Tshombé's prestige rose while the Congolese soldiers lost their respect for the UN force, which had been humiliated by the Belgian troops since the beginning. [6]

When Lumumba returned to the Congo on August 8th, not only had Kalonji broken the relations with Lumumba, but also were Kasavubu and many other deputies slowly turning away from Lumumba, who had become more and more a controversial actor in the international policy. Hammarskjöld flew into Katanga on August 12th to meet Tshombé without previously consulting Lumumba. In his reaction Lumumba criticized Hammarskjöld because he had dealt with a rebel government. Lumumba broke with Hammarskjöld. Lumumba decided to take action without the help of the UN. On the Pan African congress held in Léopoldville at the end of August Lumumba desperately attempted to mobilize African support. Now Lumumba launched the Congolese army against Kasai and Katanga with the help of the Soviet Union. They gave him planes to transport his troops. But the enterprise ended up in a tribal warfare. His uncontrollable troops massacred the Baluba tribe in Kasai. Approx. 200 Balubas were killed and the world was shocked by the Congo crisis. Many countries for this massacre directly held Lumumba responsible.

On September 4th Kasavubu dismissed Lumumba from his position as Prime Minister. Lumumba didn't want to give up his office and did dismiss Kasavubu from his presidential position. This resulted in a constitutional crisis. After giving a speech in the parliament, Lumumba still had the support of his many deputies. As the crisis didn't end Colonel Joseph Mobutu made a *coup d'état* on September 14th. He put Lumumba under house arrest. Mobutu's troops were now guarding him, while the UN troops were protecting him from Mobutu's troops. Mobutu put in a provisional government, the College of Commissioners. Of

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[5] Hoskyns, p. 124, 134.

[6] Vanderstraten, p.454, Hoskyns, p.181, 183.

course Lumumba protested but he was now like a prisoner. He still had some kind of power, because in the eyes of many African countries and of the Soviet bloc, he still was the legitimate prime minister of the Congo. The Secretary General of the UN, Hammarskjöld, was under pressure from both the pro-Lumumban and the anti-Lumumban countries. After a long debate the UN finally recognized the government of Kasavubu on November 22nd. Lumumba's position was very weak now. Meanwhile, Antoine Gizenga, vice-prime minister under Lumumba, prepared the secession of the Stanleyville province, where Lumumba still had a lot of supporters. Lumumba flew out of his house, out of Léopoldville on November 27th and tried to reach Stanleyville.

On December 2nd he was arrested by Mobutu's troops. The pictures of the beaten prime minister got around the world. He was imprisoned. Gizenga declared the independence of Stanleyville province. The pro-Lumumban countries recognized his government as the only legitimate government of the Congo. Furthermore many African countries announced that they would withdraw their UN troops from the Congo as a protest against the Secretary General of the UN. They demanded the release of Lumumba.

On January 17th 1961 Mobutu ordered that Lumumba was to be flown to Katanga. Lumumba was murdered that same day. After the new president of the USA, John F. Kennedy, also demanded the release of Lumumba, the Katangan Government announced the death of Lumumba on February 12th. The reactions were heavy. All over the world there were demonstrations against the death of Lumumba. Some Belgian embassies got demolished. The Soviet Union demanded the dismissal of Secretary General of the UN. But the West supported him and he was now authorized to put an end to the secession of the Katanga. He died in a mysterious plane crash shortly after that. The Katanga secession ended finally in 1963. Mobutu declared himself President in 1966. He was president for the next 31 years.

The circumstances of the Lumumba's death remained unclear. His body was never found. On December 9th 1999, the Belgian parliament decided to set up a commission that was to inquire into Lumumba's death and Belgium's responsibility for it. This happened because a new book of Ludo de Witte came out. De Witte had access to the classified files of the Belgium government. Not only Belgium seems to be entangled in the murder of Lumumba, but also the USA. In 1976 the Church Commission Committee found out that the CIA was actually planning to assassinate Lumumba. Much of the history of the Congo remains still to be written.

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EMPEROR CHARLES AND PLANS FOR THE REFORM OF THE HABSBURG MONARCHY

Archduke Charles of Habsburg (1887-1922), the grandnephew of the Austrian emperor and the Hungarian king Francis Joseph, became the heir presumptive of the multinational Habsburg Empire after the death of his uncle, the archduke Francis Ferdinand. The latter, who had been the head of the so-called „Great Austrian movement",[1] had been murdered by the Serb nationalist terrorists in Sarajevo, on June 28th 1914. It is well known that this assassination led to the First World War. In the middle of the struggle between the Central and the Allied Powers, in November 1916, emperor Francis Joseph died. Destiny of Austria-Hungary was now in the hands of his 30-year old grandnephew Charles I.[2]

The political leaders in the monarchy expected from the new ruler the solution of national problems, which threatened to disintegrate the state. Charles was well aware of the fact that only a large-scale constitutional reform could preserve the monarchy. He had to deal with various national movements, of which the Czech and the Yugoslav questions were the most difficult ones. But he was also confronted with the intransigent policy of the privileged Magyar and German national elites who wanted to preserve their dominant position in the state, based on the dualistic constitution of 1867. The young emperor found himself in the cross fire of the German and Hungarian defenders of the dualistic system, and the Slavic national leaders who demanded federalisation of the state.[3]

Charles's political philosophy was strongly influenced by Francis Ferdinand's program.[4] The latter had been known as a determined opponent of the Magyar national elites. He wanted to separate the Croatian lands from the Hungarian Kingdom and to create the Great Croatian state. Charles too advocated this so called "trialist" solution. The Creation of a South Slavic state unit could be the first step towards a large-scale reorganisation of the monarchy. But the German national leaders were not willing to except the incorporation of the Slovene territories into such a state unit, because they were afraid of losing the access to the important port of Trieste (Trst) on the Adriatic Sea. On the other hand, the Hungarian national elites were strongly opposed to any reform of the existing dualist system. István Count Tisza, the powerful Hungarian prime minister, who was considered as the most influential statesman

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[1] On Francis Ferdinand and the Great Austrian movement see particularly Robert A. Kann, *Erzherzog Franz Ferdinand Studien* (Wien, 1976).

[2] Peter Broucek, *Karl I. (IV.). Der politische Weg des letzten Herrschers der Donaumonarchie* (Wien, Köln, Weimar, 1997).

[3] Robert A. Kann, *The Multinational Empire. Nationalism and National Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy 1848-1918*, Vol. II (New York, 1950), pp. 236-285.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 236; Broucek, *Karl I. (IV.)*, p. 16.

of the monarchy, persuaded Charles to take an oath as the Hungarian king who would defend the integrity of the Kingdom of Saint Stephen. Therefore the emperor had to postpone his plans, concerning the trialist solution of the Yugoslav question. But the South Slav politicians, led by the Slovene deputy in the Austrian diet, Anton Korošec, demanded the fulfilment of the so called „May Declaration" of 1917, which anticipated the unification of the Slovenes, Croats and Serbs under the Habsburg sceptre.[5]

Charles was not confronted only with the demands of the South Slavic leaders. He had to deal with the Polish, Ruthenian and Czech questions, too. Especially the Czechs, who were very strongly influenced by their nationalist *irredenta* abroad, advocated a radical state reform. They wanted the unification of all lands that belonged to the Crown of Saint Vaclav. Here again, the German national leaders were opposed to such a solution. Another problem was the restoration of the Polish state. Charles and his advisers were willing to create the Polish Kingdom, with an Austrian archduke as a ruler. However, in this case they could not come to terms with the leadership of the German Reich.

Charles's desperate attempts to achieve a separate peace agreement with the Western Powers failed. During the year of 1918 statesmen of the Western Powers finally decided to destroy the Habsburg monarchy. They did not want to accept the federalist imperial manifesto, which was proclaimed by Charles on 16th October 1918,[6] as a basis for the future talks on the peace conference. Neither did the national leaders in the monarchy. The Poles and the Czechs had already obtained the guarantee of the Western Powers that they would get independency. Korošec and other South Slavic leaders, who were confronted with the imperialist policy of the Italian Kingdom, which threatened to dismember the Slovene and Croatian national territories, were now forced to find a rescue in the unification with the Serbian Kingdom.

On 11th October 1918 Korošec was received by the emperor for the last time. Charles, who could not hide his tears, begged the Slovene leader that at least the Slovenes, who had been always loyal to the Habsburg dynasty, should remain in the monarchy. Korošec answered: „Your Majesty, it is too late."[7] One month later, Charles was forced to abdicate as the emperor of Austria. His empire collapsed under the pressure of various national movements and the hostile policy of the Western Powers.[8] He died in 1922, in the age of 35.

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[5] On Korošec and the policy of the South Slav deputies in the Austrian diet during the World War see Feliks J. Bister, *„Majestät, es ist zu spät...".. Anton Korošec und die slovenische Politik im Wiener Reichsrat bis 1918* (Wien, Köln, Weimar, 1995).

[6] Helmut Rumpler, *Das Völkermanifest Kaiser Karls vom 16. Oktober 1918. Letzter Versuch zur Rettung der Habsburgermonarchie* (München 1966).

[7] Bister, *Majestät*, p. 312.

[8] Broucek, *Karl I. (IV.)*, pp. 238-239.

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JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES

The first half of the 20th century was a period of stirring times within International Community. A period of a long relative stability was followed by the I. World War, which did away with four Empires, another two were weakened, and one state was launched to international political scene. The last country actually became the leading country in the world after the II. World War – The United States.

Between the two weakened countries is Great Britain, which somehow never managed to claim her position before World War I. Torn between tradition and progress demanded by time and new circumstances she has chosen fruitless way towards the old. This choice weakened her economic and later her political position too.

In these turbulent times lived and worked John Maynard Keynes, a perceptive and critical observer of the time, a great patriot and an outstanding economist. He undoubtedly characterised his period and was one of the most eminent personalities of economic establishment.

John Maynard was born in the 5th of June 1883 in Cambridge. His father - John Neville lectured on logic and political economy at Cambridge University and he held correspondence with many eminent economists of the time like Alfred Marshall, Edgeworth. His father was also an original member of the Council of the British Economic Association founded in the year 1890. We can say that the young John Maynard grew up in an intellectual environment, which was a decisive influence on his career.

He was a very curious child and a pupil, very clever and passionately engaged in many fields: maths, philosophy, theatre and sport (athletics). He was in a regular correspondence with his father. Already in his letters he more and more clearly expressed his progressive, liberal views on current issues considering the political and economic affairs.

Employed in the Ministry of Finances he participated in Versailles Peace Conference and opposed to the official English and French political standpoint. In his first widely read book, titled Economic Consequences of the Peace, he gathered his impressions on the conference he assisted. Later on he renounced his position.

The apples of dispute were the German war reparations, which were by Keynes's opinion too high. In his opinion Germany ought to be reintegrated in Central European Area, because Germany is a big consumer. At that time there was also a danger of the "Red Revolution."

In twenties he participated in economic meetings throughout Europe, edited Manchester Guardian, he also became the president of the British Insurance Company. In some extend he also speculated in stock exchange.

In 1923 the Central Bank began raising the interest rates. He expressed his disagreement in his book Tract on Monetary Reform.

In economy we can choose between two monetary states: deflation and inflation. The priority of economy is usually the policy of holding strong, stable currency, but there is a price to pay, namely unemployment. Keynes preferred the policy of employment.

In 1925 the Central bank returned to Gold Standard, which was followed by mine strikes throughout the country.

*In his articles Keynes was proving that policy of strong external value of home currency diminishes international competition of the British economy. Closing up mines and lowering wages is not the best answer to such situation. **The maintenance of internal macroeconomic stability** is prior to maintenance of high external value of British pound.*

Newly industrialized countries drove out Great Britain from the International Market. She was focused mainly on financial primate. At that time London was still the centre of international banking. English financial institutions still controlled the international finance markets by using their knowledge, experience and tradition. 1929 witnessed the fall of NY Stock Exchange Index – Dow Jones. The financial crisis quickly spread into the real sector, already damaged by deflation. The crisis affected the entire world with the exemption of the Soviet Union. Politically speaking the main result of the crisis was the outbreak of fascism and nazism in Europe. Unemployed masses saw a possible solution to the crisis in these two authoritative regimes. They were offering a stronger state intervention by public works and expansive monetary policy.

In 1930 Keynes published A Treatise on Money, dealing with the influence of monetary policy on the real sector.

*According to this book there are two main economic activities: investments and savings, whose level must be synchronised otherwise deformations may occur. The excess of investments over savings causes inflation – overheating the economy, and the excess of savings causes deflation – unemployment. **The key variable, which transforms savings into investments, is the policy of interest rate** and not the quantity of circulating money. The*

interest rate is managed by the Central Bank, according to the present economic situation.

Some authors accused Keynes of not being original. But this is due to the fact that they wrote in languages less widely spread than the English. The consequence of this fact is that works in English are more read and therefore more acknowledged. In 1936 he published General Theory of Unemployment, Interest and Money that is his most mature work and is widely acknowledged. It presents The Revolution in economic thinking. The role of a state is now defined also on theoretical basis. Roosevelt's "New Deal" in the USA has already established the practice of the beneficent influence of state intervention but many English economists denied the real meaning and importance of the new established position of the state.

Only war investments during the II.World War saved the world from the "Great depression". In 1944 Keynes participated in the Breton Woods Conference presenting his own plan of establishing a new international monetary order but his ideas were rejected. Seeing that Great Britain was outwitted in paying war debts by the USA, he suffered from heart attack and eventually died in 1946 but his works and his influence immortalized him.

Workshop 3: Destinies of Nations and States
DESTINIES OF NATIONS AND STATES

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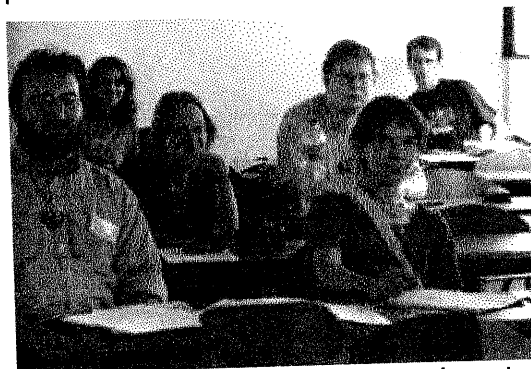| No.	FIRST NAME	LAST NAME	SECTION	TITLE	E-MAIL
1.	Christoph	Bathelt	Mainz	The Baltic States – "Lands Between"?	ChrBathelt@aol.com
2.	Giulio	Bobbo	Venice	The Grey City. Venice during the Antifascist Resistance	giulione@unive.it
3.	Stephano	Filiaci	Coimbra	The Collectivisation in the Soviet Union 1929-32	stefanofelix@yahoo.com
4.	Angela	Fumato	Venice	The Italian Reconstruction after the Second World War	sklero@unive.it
5.	Rae	Häikiö	Helsinki	(The Concepts of Integration and Internationalization)	rae.haikio@helsinki.fi
6.	Ursina	Jud	Basel	Combating the enemy within Swiss anticommunism 1918 - 1989	ursinaj@hotmail.com
7.	Petra	Jyrkäs	Turku	Hong Kong and Transfer of Power in 1997 - China's Challenge	petra.jyrkas@utu.fi
8.	Manuela	Kobas	Zurich	Revolutions in Argentina (until the Second World War) / Political Development	manu.kobas@dplanet.ch
9.	Jan	Morávek	Hradec Králové	The Little Entante	jan.moravek@vsp.cz
10.	Veronika	Neruda	Basel	Is the Swiss Neutrality and Old-fashioned Concept?	veronika.neruda@unifr.ch
11.	Anca Ruxandra	Pandea	Bucharest	Romania and Her Allies in the Interwar Period	
12.	Gerald	Schwedler	Heidelberg	The Austiran Haider Phenomenon. Biographical Insight into Austrian Life.	gschwedl@x.urz.uni-heidelberg.de
13.	Mikko	Seppala	Helsinki	The Nationality Policy in the Russian Empire	moseppal@cc.helsinki.fi
14.	Annemie	van Bennekom	Nijmegen	Republic of Weimar (1918-1933)	avbennekom@yahoo.com
15.	Andrej	Vrčon	Ljubljana	(Congress of European Nationalities)	vrcon@hotmail.com
16.	Juha	Vuorenkoski	Helsinki	Finnish Development Aid in 1960s	juha.vuorenkoski@helsinki.fi
17.	Martin	Zetocha	Nitra	Analysis of Reforming Process in ČSSR in 1968	

Workshop 3

MARIJAN LIPOVAC

The workshop number 3 - Destinies of Nations and States - was the biggest one. Although 20 people applied for the workshop, 17 people were actually present. The topics of the papers were quite various - from the national policy in the Russian Empire till Jorg Haider and his policy. Thus all the parts of political life were included-foreign policy, internal policy, economy, and political parties... We also discussed the problems that nations and states came across, e.g. problems how to keep and defend national

identity, how to create a state, how to achieve progress and better life in a state. Very sensitive problem was the conflict between proclaimed principles of democracy; freedom and equality in rights

and the reality were these principles very often weren't respected.

The discussions were very interesting, because sometimes-different opinions were expressed. We discussed not only the papers, but also some wider issues in connection with our topics. That was especially the case with the topics people knew less about, so they wanted to get some more information about it.

Since the topics were so various, it wasn't easy to come up with the conclusion that would include all the topics. But Mikko saved us when he picturesquely presented his version of conclusion, which we accepted. We think that this picture says enough:
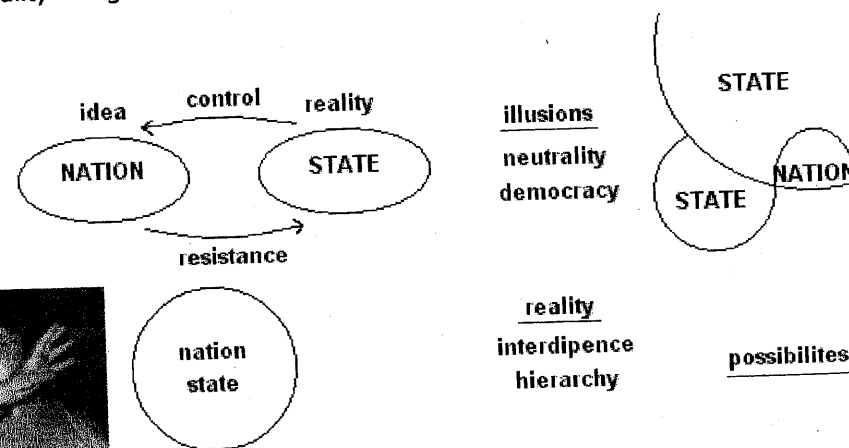
Christoph Bathelt, ISHA Mainz, ChrBathelt@aol.com
THE BALTIC STATES – "LANDS BETWEEN"?

Talking about "Destinies of Nations", one must not forget to mention the history of the Baltic states Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. For over 800 years, the history of the people living in that region has been determinated by others most of the time, caused by the situation of being "lands between", as the British Historian John Hiden has characterized it. Particularly in the 20th century, their destiny seemed clear – crushed between their neighbours, the leftovers being dissolved within the Soviet Union. This essay's purpose is to describe the struggle of the Baltic nations for survival, until they regained independence in 1991.
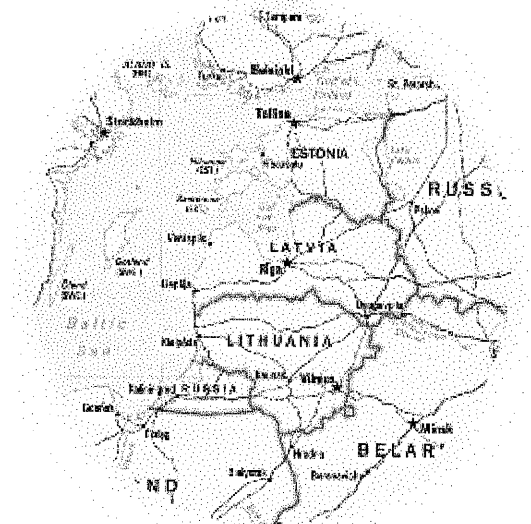
Let's start with a brief overview: The region was peopled by Couronians, Zemgalians, Latgalians, Estonians, Livs, Selonians, Lithuanians and the now-extinct Old Prussians. Though they're all called "Balts", it is hard to reduce them to a common denominator. The Estonians belong, together with the Finns, the Karelians and the Livs to the language family of the Finno-Ugrians. Couronians, Zemgalians, Latgalians, whose regions are the territory of today's Latvia, and the Lithuanians, belong to the language family of the Baltic languages, which are Indo-European.

The Lithuanians were the only ones who were able to build their own state, when Prince Mindaugas proclaimed himself king in 1253. Only two years before he had adopted Roman Catholicism.

That state was an important enemy of the region, which was going to be formed northwards, in connection with German efforts of christianisation and colonisation in the East, declared as a crusade against the "pagans" by Pope Innocence III. In the North, these efforts got in conflict with the Danes, whose goals were the same in Estonia. The city of Riga was founded in 1201 by bishop Albert of Bremen, the Estonian settlement Lindanisse was captured by the Danes in 1219 (present name Tallinn, means: Danish castle), and founded again in 1227 through the Knight Order of the Brethren of the Sword.

From that time, till the 20th century, German landlords, townsmen and clergy were the dominating minority over the native peoples, skilful in maintaining their privileges and rights.

The conquered territory was called Livonia and consisted of several smaller states: the state of the Brethren of the Sword, which joined after the Order's defeat at Saule in 1236, the

Teutonic Order of Livonia, and other parts belonging to the Riga Archbishopric, the Courland Bishopric, the Dorpat and the Ösel (Saaremaa) Bishopric.

The Order and the bishop of Riga had to maintain their power against Poles, Danes and Muscovites (Russians), especially during the 16th century under Tsar Ivan IV the Terrible.

Lithuania could not be subjugated; it rather became an important European power. Its territory reached from the Baltic Sea almost to the Black sea. After the so-called Krakow wedding in 1386 between Queen Jadwyga of Poland and the Lithuanian Prince Władysław Jagiełło, Lithuania and Poland were reined as a personal union, which became a real union in 1569 at the Union of Lublin. From that time, the country come under a rapidly growing Polish influence and lost a lot of its identity. The aristocracy switched to Polish, and so did the educated classes.

After heavy wars against Ivan the Terrible the region was devastated; in some villages not one living soul was left. The Order was weakened enormously after several defeats. In 1561, the last Grand Master, Gotthard Kettler, decided to surrender and to dissolve the Order. The country was divided into four parts: Ösel Island and the Piltene Region (Courland) came to Denmark, the Swedes held Northern Estonia with Reval, Vierland and Jerwen was occupied by the Russians, and the Poles received the territory on the right bank of the Dvina and the archbishopric Riga without the city itself. Courland and Zemgale were united in a Duchy, which became a vassal of Poland-Lithuania. Ketteler resigned from his office as Grand Master and took the crown of the Duchy. The 17th century became a time of prosperity and wealth for the Duchy under the rule of the Ketteler dynasty; even colonies (Trinidad and Tobago) were purchased.

When his family became extinct, Ernst Johann Biron,the favourite of Tsarina Anna Ivanovna, the widow of Tsar Peter the Great, got the duchy. Rising and falling in the Empress' favour, banned to Siberia under her successor, pardoned under Empress Katharina the Great, he was a toy in the game of greater powers. One by one the Baltic lands came to the Russian Empire: in 1721 Estonia and Livonia, and in 1795 Courland.

The Poles, interested in keeping a stable system and society, guaranteed the rights of the German knights in 1561 with the "privilegium Sigismundi Augusti", which was the basis of German domination until 1918. It contained German jurisdiction and administration, and free choice of religion (which was protestant mostly after the Livonian order converted together with the Teutonic Order in Prussia to Lutheranism in the first half of the 16th century).

In the North, the various domains were unified 1584 into the princedom "Ehsten" with a common knighthood. In the Swedish-held part of Latvia, Lutheranism was reintroduced, after the Poles started Counter-Reformation there. Numerous laws were passed against paganism and sorcery, showing that these practises were still present among the population. The university of Dorpat (now Tartu) was founded in 1632 and –theoretically- opened its door for the Estonians and the Livonians. The power of German landowners was curbed- they were not allowed to increase the peasants' duties arbitrarily. In comparison with the time that

followed, it is regarded as a "Golden Age". After losing the Nordic war in 1721, Sweden lost all its properties in the Baltic lands in the Peace of Nystad. Russia under Tsar Peter I the Great won an entry to Europe through her new provinces.

Only 90.000 people of Swedish Livonia were alive when the war was over, and 40% of the land was uncultivated. The "privilegium Sigismundi Augusti" was restored everywhere, but the German land owners, a minority of not more than 1,5 %, regained not only which had been lost during the Swedish period, but also gained which they had never yet enjoyed.

Under Tzarina Katharina II the Great's reign, a German princess, the influence of German-Baltic families at the Imperial court of St. Petersburg and therefore to Tzarist policy increased. On the other hand, Katharina leant towards the ideas of Enlightenment, so the situation of the peasants changed a bit. She ordered more educational facilities to be built, and partly also due to the Hernhutian movement, a Pietist group, at the end of the 18th for instance, 63% of the population of Livonia could read.

In the same time, the first signals of a national awakening began. Initially, German intellectuals, Pietist pastors and writers with the ideas of Enlightenment, wrote down a lot of the local songs, called "Dainas". The songs were a most important source of national identity and self-confidence, traditions and messages. Among these collectors, the most famous one is Krišjānis Barons (later called "father of the Dainas"), who had a special board only for 3000 songs, today it is said each Latvian has got his own song. The local languages and dialects were discovered and recorded, not at last Germans draw the public's attention to the bad conditions the peasants were living in.

In the beginning of the 19th century, serfdom was abolished by Tzar Alexander I. Theoretically a good policy, but the peasants remained highly dependent on their former lords, because all land was still owned by them.

During industrialisation, the Non-German population in the cities increased. Riga, Liepāja and Ventspils were the most important Russian seaports, and Riga especially became a major industrial centre. A general improvement in the economy of cities and the rural areas became apparent. More and more people were able to send their children to Dorpat, St. Petersburg and Moscow for education; Baltic student associations became centres of intellectual consciousness and political movements. These academic ally educated people helped to develop the Baltic languages, initially only a language of peasants and servants, to standardized literary languages.

During the 1880ies, the Tzarist officials forced a stronger Russification policy. Intellectual leaders were deported to remote regions or had to immigrate to America. In 1900 for instance, 14% of all Latvians lived outside Latvia.

With the revolution 1905, the old hate against landlords also exploded in the Baltic provinces. Many mansions were burned down and estate owners murdered. The punitive actions were even crueller; more farmhouses were destroyed than were by the revolutionary events.

During World War I, the Baltic provinces were divided. The German army went on to the Dvina (Latvian: Daugava) River and kept their positions until 1917. In other regions, industrial equipment was taken to Siberia, together with many workers and refugees.

When Russia accepted the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, it also accepted the loss of the Baltic provinces. Voices were raised to make them to a German satellite state, Lithuania with a German prince as ruler, and Courland and Livonia as Prussian state.

But in November 1918, when Germany had to plead for an armistice, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania proclaimed their own independence and democracy. There were also communists, who demanded Socialist Soviet Republics; units of the Red army entered the countries in their support. Among them were the famous Latvian riflemen, originally Tzarist military units, with Latvian insignia and command language, who fought on both sides of the front against their "countries' enemies".

The legitimate governments had to ask German troops to intervene. Together with German volunteer forces (the Landeswehr and the Iron Division) they could banish the Bolsheviks. Unfortunately, the Germans were not in a hurry to leave. Only after pressure of the Allies and heavy fights, the sovereignty of the Baltic states could won back in 1920; even Russia accepted their independence in that year.

During the first time of independence, the Baltic states tried to maintain themselves in a role of "bridge" between Russia and Germany. The Germans (in Lithuania: the Poles) lost their former influence by radical land reform between 1918-20. Owners of large estates were expropriated. Nevertheless, legislation for the protection of minorities was exemplary for that time.

Beginning from a hard position (almost a Third of the populations was killed or fled, the industrial equipment had been removed deep into Russia or destroyed due to war events.)

Considerable achievements were made in agriculture, education, science and the arts, and also a certain degree of new industrialisation.

Sometimes sympathising the Soviet Russia, sometimes with Germany, in the early 1930ies they drifted in a vacuum of security systems. In 1924, a Bolshevist putsch in Estonia was prevented. The period was marked by political instability (during that time, Latvia had 18 cabinets, Estonia no less than 20!), until the situation changed in the Batiks with a coup d'état and presidential dictatorships in all countries.

A further constant point of conflicts between Lithuania and Poland was the area around the capital Vilnius, which was occupied by the Poles since 1920.

Though they were aware of their uncertain position between greater powers, they were not able to co-operate as a whole. Only in 1934 was the Baltic Entente signed, but it was more a symbolic than a real signal.

In August 1939, the world was surprised by the agreement between the USSR and Nazi Germany, which divided the Middle East-Europe in two spheres of interest, and the Baltic States were allocated to the Russian zone. With pressure, the stationing of Army units and

falsified elections, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were incorporated to the Soviet Union, and several hundred thousands of Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians were deported to Siberia, particularly intellectuals, politicians (so Latvia's and Estonia's president Karlis Ulmanis and Konstantin Päts) and members of the "bourgeoisie".

Before that, the German-Balts were brought back to the "Reich". Though they have been only about 3% of the whole population, they still were able to maintain an important influence in economical and political matters, and they were an important factor in German interests in that region.

During the Second World War, the lands were "liberated" by German troops. At first, people were happy to get the Soviets driven out, but then they realised that the Germans were not interested in supporting national aspirations. So it came to pass that Baltic volunteers again fought during the war on both sides of the front lines, some of them with hope of fighting for their country, German army or SS just compulsorily drafted others. After the war, the Soviet Socialist Republics were re-established, collectivisation completed and again, several of thousands tortured, deported and killed. There is almost no family that has no member to mourn for. Some resistance could remain with the so-called "forest-brothers", but in the beginning of the 50ies they had to surrender.

It took fifty years for the Baltic states to get their independence back.

As in the times during the Tzarist Empire, it fell to the émigré communities to keep traditions alive.

Heavy military bases (naval port Liepāja, Ösel Island) were built, for the "front-line" of defence for the Soviet Union from Kaliningrad to Kronstadt. Industrial development was forced for the needs of the whole Union, disregarding environmental conditions. Many Russians and Ukrainians came to work. They and members of the Russian military forces settled down, preferably in block houses of the growing suburbs, not willing to learn the local language or adopt local condition. The original population threatened to become a minority in their own land. Baltic culture and traditions were prohibited or at least prevented.

Mikhail Gorbatchev's policy of "perestroika" was seen as a new opportunity for old demands. Beginning with ecological protests, mass protests got a more and more a national character. Gatherings like 1988 the song festival (every fifth year since 1873), which has always preserved the national spirit in large measure, gave the Balts the reputation of making a "singing revolution".

Political movements were the Popular Fronts (Sajudis in Lithuania, Tautas Fronte in Latvia and Rahvarinne Estonia).

In 1988, the Baltic Soviet Republics were declared a sovereign states within the USSR, one year later the military acts of 1940 were declared illegal in international law. A human chain of 1.5 million men from Tallinn via Riga to Vilnius remembered the fateful Molotov-Ribbentrop treaty of 23rd August 1939.

In 1990 the countries restored their constitutions and "continued" their statehood. Efforts of Gorbatchev to keep the Union together had no success. In January 1991, a last attempt was made by Soviet paratroops to stop the separation movements in all Baltic republics by force: Key buildings were occupied, in Vilnius 14 men were shot, five in Latvia. Contrary to the official policy, the president of the Russian FSR, Boris Yeltsin, recognized the three republics.

In August 1991, during the Moscow putsch, tanks drove through the streets of Riga and Vilnius, but only accelerated the progress of the events. With the final collapse of the Soviet Union, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were able to renew their sovereignty totally, and were recognized very soon by others countries, as well. Some of them (USA, Sweden, Great Britain) never accepted the Soviet occupation and only "re-established" their relations.

In 1991, the Baltic states became member of the UN, the European council and applied for membership of the EU in 1995.

On the beginning of the new millennium, one can resume:

The position of the Baltic States was primarily determined by Germany and Russia/ the Soviet Union.

With the ex-patriation of the German Baltics and with the loss of the geographic vicinity, Germany lost its direct interests. After fifty years of democratic experience and co-operation within international organisations there's undoubtedly not indirect interest in hegemony, too.

Today the Baltic States are confronted with urgent difficulties.

Apart of the high number of difficulties with economy and pollution, there are still severe problems with various minorities: Not that much with exotic ones like Tatars (Muslims who remained here from the 15th) century or Karaites (who profess a kind of Judaism) in Lithuania, but with the Russian speaking minority (Russians, Ukrainians, Belo-Russians) which was almost the half of the population in the beginning of the 1990ies.

As long as Russia is still an uncertain factor, with naming the region "closer foreign countries" ("bl´išnij zarubež"), there is no guarantee of a longer lasting security.

My point of view is that only membership of NATO in co-operation with Russia and a stronger forced integration of the Russian minority secure long lasting independence. A special "Baltic economy zone", a solid transit trade in both directions via the ports of Palanga, Klaipėda, Liepāja, Ventspils and Tallinn, and, above all, real co-operation between the Baltic states themselves – can bring the countries from "lands between" to "lands amongst".

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THE GREY CITY. VENICE DURING THE ANTI-FASCIST RESISTANCE

In Italy, occupied by the German forces after September 8, Venice had a particular situation. It was one of the most important cities of the Italian Social Republic, the last emanation of fascist state, reborn to the cinders of the old Mussolinian regime, militarily and politically supported by the nazi Reich, a puppet government in the hands of German plenipotentiary in Italy.

Venice hosted several political, cultural, and military installations of this strange republic, and was considered by Hitler and Mussolini's men for a comfortable end nice destination, where the war seemed like a distant nightmare.

In fact, while many other big Italian cities (mostly on the north) in the same period had a hard partisan activity with many casualties on both sides, Venice knew only few episodes of violence and fight between the nazi-fascist forces and the "patriots"(the name for the people who fought for Italy's liberation). The causes of this relative stillness were various and have to be compared with the very strange situation in which the city lived during the two years of the civil war.

Venice saw the arrival of the first German troops on September 12 1943, four days after General Badoglio's armistice, a separate peace of the Italian Government with the allies that brought the Germans to occupy all the Italian Peninsula as far as Naples, and divided in two parts the national territory politically as well as militarily (in the same time the allies reached the regional border between Calabria and Campania). The Germans occupied the city without encountering any kind of resistance, and got immediately the control of the political and civil order, from public security to the information services. The Italian soldiers and sailors were taken prisoners and deported to Germany.

At that moment Venice was a city populated by more than one hundred thousand inhabitants, due to the fact that many refugees from southern Italy had found refuge there. The military importance of the city was less important; the only important installation was the old Arsenale of the ancient "Serenissima" Republic, used as a depot and a dock for little ships. Very different was the political importance of Venice,which was one of the more courted cities by the fascist regime, because of it proud past as a   sea power city and her multiple artistic treasures. In addition to this, after the First World War a group of mighty Venetians created ex-novo a industrial pole specialised in the chemical development of steel and fuel, named Porto Marghera, the only important strategic target, separated from the city by one mile of lagoons.

The Allies did not deny Venice the status of the "artistic city" and had respected the "Serenissima", so they never sent air raids on the defenceless population.

But the Germans and fascist had also discovered that Venice was a happy island in a sad country, which had discovered the nightmare of daily bombings, and thought that they found an excellent location for the Institutions of Wehrmacht and the Italian Social Republic.

In fact Rome became too dangerous, was bombed many times, and, since the war was going wrong, it was certain that the Allies would occupy "the eternal city". Moreover the partisan activity intensified. The most important moment was the attack at Via Rasella in the spring of1944, when 32 SS troops were killed.

The Germans began to redistribute ministries and offices throughout the northern Italy. The Ministry of propaganda, the Luce institute, the remaining of the regime's cinema, and other minor offices were established in Venice..

After the German occupation, the functionaries of the Republic began to restore all the institutions of the "old" fascist regime, The National Fascist Party became Republican Fascist Party, and a recruiting activity started in Venice. In spite of that episodes of violence and revenge didn't take place against the population, probably for two reasons: first of all in Venice the fall of fascism didn't carry any kind of anti-fascist violence, everything was solved with few patriotic procession, the temporary government prohibited any kind of political activity; there was anything to revenge. The other reason was that the chief of the fascist Venetian federation, Eugenio Montesi, started one approaching policy between fascist and anti-fascist, organising one meeting with representatives of all the politic expression, trying to reach one patriotic truce. This attempt failed, but revealed the strange situation that continued in the city for several months until the summer of 1944. Why did both sides try to avoid the direct fight? Everyone had good reasons: the fascists needed the "ministerial city" that had to be very steady, moreover the fact that any kind of violence happening at the "Serenissima" was a good argument to utilise for the propaganda machine. The partisans knew that some activity had to be organised, but had small forces, the city was not good for one fatiguing guerrilla, without any kind of escape possibility and safe retreat sites, and the huge number of refugees made the situation more difficult and chaotic.

With these troubles the 1943 finished, the first months of 1944 saw the Social Republic reinforce his presence in the city. Of particular interest is the arrangement of the cinema settlements in two different locations: The Scalera productions in the Giudecca island the Luce Institute in the box of the Biennale Showrooms. With these installations arrives a little part of the golden world of Cinecittà. The most important names of the Italian cinema preferred to remain in Rome, waiting the liberation by the allies, knowing that a possible collaboration with the last fascism can ruin their careers.

Venice was reached by several minor actors and directors who tried to live their moment of celebrity and play the role of the movie stars. Two of them, actors Osvaldo Valenti and Luisa Ferida, will pay the fascist collaboration with their own lives.

The summer arrived and finally the allies succeeded in breaking the Cassino front, freeing free Rome and reaching Florence. Throughout the occupied Italian territory the partisan fights renewed. In Venice, too, the echoes of shots and explosions resounded.. Socialist partisans organised a dynamite attack at Ca' Giustinian, near St. Marco Square, the headquarters of the fascist police. One bomb exploded ruining the palace's full side, and killing many victims. The fascist answers were severe; thirteen political prisoners were killed over the palace's ruins. It was the beginning of a very hard period for the Venetian resistance. Few days after a member of the fascist police was killed in the popular "sestiere" of Cannaregio, a short time later seven members of the Venetian anti-fascism were woken up at midnight, taken outside their houses and shot in the head. Only one lucky man managed to survive, and after the war recognised his aggressors at the trial. The Germans committed the last bloody episode, after finding the body of a German sailor who drowned. Seven partisans were killed before the astonished population.

With the end of the summer the allied offensive ran aground, the Germans attested on the Gothic Line and the allied that renounce, fatigued, to reach the Po River. The resistance, in the cities and on the mountain, waited for the spring.

Venice returned to the monotony. The bloody summer's retaliation demonstrated that was impossible to conduct any form of prolonged guerrilla in the city. The chiefs of the C.L.N. (National Liberation Committee) have conceived an action that could demonstrate the existence of the partisans and avoid other bloody episodes.

The idea was to become literally protagonists on the stage of the Venetian society, breaking in with arms on the performance at the Goldoni theatre, full of Germans and fascist troops and reading a proclamation that claimed the end of the war and the victory of the patriots. The action took place on 12 March 1945, humiliating the proud fascist militias that were patrolling the city daily, but avoiding any kind of retaliation.

The victory was truly near: with the beginning of the new allied offensive in the spring, in April 25 the C.L.N.A.I. (Northern Italy National Liberation Committee) ordered the general insurrection throughout the occupied Italy. In Venice the fight began on 28 April, when the political prisoners closed in the jail freed the palace with the help of some wardens, giving the signal for the insurrection. The city began to fight, the partisans attacked the Germans and fascists, so the Nazis accept one conditioned flee, evacuating Venice without opening fire. The fascist waited for several days, then they surrendered unconditionally and were all taken prisoners.

When the first allied troops reached Venice on April 30, the city was already free.

So, in a relatively bloodless way, Venice got its freedom after the nazi-fascist occupation, and thus started another period of its millenary history.

IVAN LAJNVAŠ

Workshop 4: Religions, Ideologies
And Movements

RELIGIONS, IDEOLOGIES AND MOVEMENTS

WS leaders:

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No.	FIRST NAME	LAST NAME	SECTION	TITLE	E-MAIL
1.	Balázs	Apor	Debrecen	The Personality Cult of the Hungarian Party Leader, Mátyás Rákosi (1945-1956)	vicces@tigris.klte.hu
2.	Horatiu Gabriel	Comànescu	Bucharest	The Romanian Orthodoxism at the End of the 20th Century	
3.	Adriana Cristina	Gheorghe	Bucharest	The Status of the Catholic Church in Interwar Romania	
4.	Peter	Hayessen	Bremen	German Physics - a Science under the Influence of Nationalism	PHayessen@aol.com
5.	Ana-Irina	Ivanovici	Sibiu	The German Minority in Sibiu in the 20th Century	aivan@athena.sibiu.ro
6.	Andreea-Lucia	Moga	Sibiu	Modernism and Traditionalism in Romania between the Two World Wars	andreealucia@hotmail.com
7.	David	Nauer	Zurich		david.nauer@mailexcite.com
8.	Sophie	Perrin	Zurich	International Women Suffrage Movement and the Women Suffrage in the 20th Century	Sophie.Perrin@access.unizh.ch
9.	Maria Sinikukka	Saari	Helsinki	Analysis of the Human Rights Policy in Post-Soviet Russia	sinikukka.saari@helsinki.fi
10.	Sophie	Schudel	Basel	The Movement of 1968	soschu@yahoo.com
11.	Eugen	Stancu	Bucharest	The New Man in the Communist SF Literature	eugen_stancu@hotmail.com
12.	Joni	Strandberg	Helsinki	Skinheads	Joni.Strandberg@helsinki.fi
13.	Hanna	Vaananen	Turku	The Movement of 1977	hvaananen@yahoo.com
14.	Alexandra	Zbuchea	Bucharest	Martin Luther King Jr. and the Civil Rights Movement	azbuchea@yahoo.com
15.	Konstantin	zu Dohna	Heidelberg	Youth Movements, Ressistance and Gestapo-Repression during the Third Reich	kdohnasc@ix.urz.uni-heidelberg.de

The title of this workshop is consisted of three words that seem impossible to be put together when you see them for the first time. Some could even think it was the most boring workshop because it dealt with abstract words, and not with "proper" history involving wars, monarchs and things like that. But, trust me. There was nothing wrong with this workshop. Studying religions, ideologies and movements of the 20th century, and their interaction is a very productive thing to do. That is why we had a lot of papers, and all presented themes were seriously discussed.

Religion does not have its importance in most of the world today as it used to have. But, nevertheless some religious centres are also centres of political and cultural life. In the 20th century there were numerous movements with many different kinds of causes with many different kinds of goals. Some were more successful, and some were stopped at their very beginnings. One of the most powerful weapons in the 20th century were ideologies. One

professor says that ideology is the group of ideas and theories that are supposed to justify political, or military ideas. Whether he is right or not, I am not able to tell. However, as we saw in many papers in this workshop, ideologies were able to move whole nations, to shape human lives and determine scientific development. Ideologies are still very powerful and it will be interesting to see how the next century is going to deal with them. Also, in the future will appear some new movements and religions will change their role in our lives. Hopefully, we have learned something from the religions, ideologies and movements of the 20th century.

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ANALYSIS OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY IN POST-SOVIET RUSSIA

1. INTRODUCTION

My paper is a study of human rights development in its social context in Russia. I believe - as Peter Juviler does - that 'democracy, human rights and the rule of law are inseparable companions to the building of stable, democratic society'[1]. Following this statement, I see human rights as an important part of the much wider transition development in Russia. The primary task of my paper is to analyse the roots and the recent development of politics and attitudes towards human rights. My paper concentrates on the post-Soviet development of Russia's human rights policy - its bases, development and direction.

My paper is also a viewpoint to the transition debate. I believe that the main fields of transition - governmental, economic and legal - are closely bound together. The failure in one field affects the other fields and it is possible that finally the whole construction will collapse. The fate of human rights depends on how the transition is in general carried out. The question of transition of society - and especially the legal side of it - is rooted in the manifold structures of culture, tradition and values. I will try my best to highlight these underlying forces in addition to the more evident political changes in the field of human rights.

Human rights form an extremely complicated field of research. On one hand, there is the universal and normative side, but on the other hand it is also just a pawn in the game of domestic and foreign politics and economics. Nevertheless, I have limited the scope of my essay to three aspects. First, the political climate and its ideological background affect the issue of human rights. Politics is a question of preferences – is there a pressure towards or away from the advancement of human rights and by whom? Secondly, we must also consider the practical views of official and unofficial power élite – namely economy, trade and politics. And finally there are the practical limits: economical conditions. Is there even a possibility to carry out the human rights commitments and prevent violations?

The second chapter highlights the controversial role of human rights in today's Russia – the aims and the reality. I will try to analyse the paradoxical situation and the conflicting powers. In the third chapter I will discuss the efforts made by European institutions to improve the human rights conditions in Russia. What have European countries done and what has been the impact of their pressure? What sort of human rights policies should these organisations – namely European Union, Council of Europe and Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe – have in future?

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[1] Juviler, quoted by Theodore S. Orlin in Human Rights Quarterly, Vol. 21, No. 3 (1999), p. 832.

1.2. USED SOURCES

Russia's present human rights breaches are widely known and often find their place in the headlines. However – apart from the various reports on human rights violations – there is not very much literature on the subject. The reason is definitely not the lack of interest, but just that the consequences of the collapse of the Soviet Union are only now beginning to take form and direction. It is difficult to built synthesis on resent events. Most books on the subject are therefore collections of articles by various writers. The issue of human rights and legal development has been left mainly to legal scholars - historians and political scientists have been more interested in changes in the political and economic fields. Partly due to the limited number of source literature on the resent development, I have kept the framing of my study rather wide.

2. NEW CONSTITUTION

The aims of the legal transition policy in the 1990s were the rule of law, concepts of formal and universal rights of citizens, open and democratic procedures of legislation and independent judiciary[2]. The most important document and tool for these legal reforms was naturally a new constitution. The new Russian Constitution was formulated and adopted extremely quickly because there was strong pressure from western countries and – quite naturally – the new political élite wanted to secure the basis of the Russian political order.

The way the new constitution was adopted in 1993 reflected the growing political crisis. As it was suspected that the new constitution was not going to get the needed majority at the communist dominated Federal Assembly, the constitution draft was put in referendum. People were simply asked if they supported the draft or not. This kind of proceeding is very unique - traditionally constitution drafts are prepared carefully for many years and the acceptance of the parliamentary organ is highly valued. A referendum concerning many-paged legal text is extremely questionable. However, the result of the referendum was favourable to the new constitution - but only just.[3]

President Yeltsin had strong influence on the formulation of the constitution draft. The new Russian Constitution is based on western models. The form of government confirmed by the Constitution is, however, strongly presidential. Many legal observers have noted that even if the Constitution in principle meets the western standards, the formulation is in many cases quite vague. Articles of the Constitution can - and has been - interpreted in many ways.[4] The biggest differences between the old Soviet Constitution and the new one is that the new Constitution is self-executing[5] and that there is an independent Constitutional Court[6] that

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[2] Grazyna Skapska: The Legacy of Anti-Legalism. In Marxism and Communism: Posthumous Reflections on Politics, Society and Law (Amsterdam 1994), p. 212-213.

[3] Lecture by Soili Nystén-Haarala at the Renvall Institute, 28.10.1999.

[4] Nystén-Haarala, 28.10.1999.

[5] Constitution of the Russian Federation (1993), art. 15.

supervises the implementation. An individual can take action against the state if his or hers rights are neglected or broken. Important improvement was also that the new Constitution clearly stated that international treaty commitments are higher in importance than domestic law[7].

2.1. HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE NEW CONSTITUTION

The second chapter of the new constitution secures the rights and freedoms of man and citizen in the Russian Federation. Articles 19 - 36 concentrate on the political rights and rights of a citizen. This part of the second chapter is completely comparable with western constitutions. These articles include rights like right to life, freedom and personal integrity, the inviolability of dwelling and so on. Articles 20, 27 and 36 are the most problematic ones. Art. 20 secures the right to life, but leaves the door open for death penalties. Art. 27 provides 'the right to move about and choose a place of sojourn and residence' for every person that is legally on the territory of the Russian Federation. However, the biggest cities still have their strict registration policies that severely limit this freedom. Art. 36 states that citizens have the right to have land in private ownership. This right is still unfulfilled and the lands are owned by the state.[8]

Articles 37 - 44 deal with social and economic rights and have stronger echo of the Soviet times. These articles reflect the old Soviet 'right as a benefit' -thinking. The list of social and economic rights of Russian citizens is exhaustive: the freedom of literary, artistic, scientific and technical creativity is guaranteed and the duration of work time, days off and holidays is controlled by the Constitution. The implementation of social and economic rights is extremely problematic due to the financial crisis of the Russian State. For example art. 38 provides social security to each - but in practice the State has not been able to even pay the wages of its own employees. Also many Russian universities have been forced to take fees for education; even this practice contradicts with the art. 43 of the Constitution. Articles 45 – 64 deal with other aspects of citizenship and citizen rights - mainly concerning legal matters.[9]

The human rights articles in the new Constitution reflect the contradicting new aims and old Soviet tradition. In the background there is still the old instrumental and materialistic concept of law. Legal culture is rooted in the values and patterns of thinking and it is clear that legal culture cannot be changed overnight[10]. Some continuance between the legal systems is unavoidable - and maybe even positive.

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[6] Constitution of the Russian Federation, art. 118.

[7] Constitution of the Russian Federation, art. 15.

[8] Constitution of the Russian Federation, art. 19-36.

[9] Constitution of the Russian Federation, art. 37-64.

[10] Skapska, p. 214-215.

2.2. OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITMENS

After the mid-1960s Soviet Union signed many universal human rights conventions of United Nations. According to Lauri Hannikainen, Soviet Union had ratified (by 1990) 20 of the 26 most important conventions, whereas - for example - Finland had ratified 24 and United States only 7 of these[11]. When Soviet Union ceased to exist, Russia inherited its status by legal continuance. Thus Russia inherited Soviet Union's treaty commitments (including human rights conventions), property and debts - and it also kept Soviet Union's seat at the Security Council. This kind of rare succession was possible due to the fact that one of the ex-Soviet states protested. Nevertheless, the status of old international human rights covenants has changed by the new Constitution of Russia. International treaties are now considered to be in legal terms higher than domestic law.

Russia has also extended and deepened its international human rights commitments. It has ratified new conventions and additional protocols. A very important step was taken in 1992, when Russia ratified the additional protocol of the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. This opened a channel for individual claims.[12]

However, the biggest progress has occurred in the field of European regional organisations. Russia applied for membership of the Council of Europe as early as 1992, and was accepted as a member in February 1996[13]. In 1998 it finally ratified the European Convention on Human Rights and – at the same time – the European Convention for the Prevention of Torture and Degrading Treatment[14]. It has also ratified the European Convention for the Protection of National Minorities and many other more minor treaties on human rights – for example the Charter of Local Self-Government.[15]

Laws and treaties are important tools for legal reforms - but they are not in themselves sufficient. They are vulnerable to patterns of behaviour and frames of mind developed during the Soviet rule[16]. The aims of legal reforms must be rooted into the minds of people. Values and practises are not changed as easily as official claims are made.

3. PRESENT SITUATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

The present state of human rights in Russia is not comparable with the positive development of legislation and the adaptation of international conventions. There are still gross violations against basic rights of people, media and religious groups. These human rights

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[11] Lauri Hannikainen: CSCE States Adherence to Human Rights Conventions, in Human Rights in a Changing East/West Perspective (Southport 1990), p. 337.

[12] Antti Korkeakivi in Ihmisoikeusraportti, No.1 (1996), p. 13.

[13] Opinion of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, No.193 (1996).

[14] Council of Europe, press realease 5.5.1998.

[15] Council of Europe, press realease 21.8.1998 and 5.5.1998.

[16] Skapska, p.217.

breaches are not only due to the government's inability to secure the rights; actually many of these violations are carried out by the federal government itself.

Many officials still work by the old Soviet rules. The Ministry of Internal Affairs (MDV) – and the Security Service (FSB) under MDV's command – constantly violate the most fundamental freedoms of citizens. Torture by the police and general corruption of the police forces are rather a rule than an exception. Regardless to the official claims, the president and the government made almost no attempts to improve the situation. Most importantly it has not investigated these reported and widely known breaches or tried to identify the persons responsible. This kind of policy implies to silent acceptance of the present practise.[17]

The President's Commission on Human Rights reported in 1996 that 'Russia's evolution in the field of human rights clearly deviated from the direction of democracy, rule of law and social welfare'. The Commission thought that the most serious threats to human rights and freedoms were:

- The increasing militarization of a society, expressed in the mushrooming of official and unofficial militarised formations
- The use of force to resolve domestic affairs
- The aggravation of racial and ethnic intolerance and discrimination – also among the state officials
- The inability of safeguarding the rights of ethnic minorities, indigenous peoples and refugees and forced migrants
- The worsened situation in the penal system and the armed forces
- The ignorance of freedom of movement and choice of residence by the tightened system of resident permits
- The restriction of freedom of expression and access to current and archival information
- Increasing human rights violations in the area of criminal justice and unlawful detentions, falsifying evidence etc.[18]

These points are all very serious breaches of human rights and the development has only grown worse in recent years. Financial crises have had a direct effect on the implementation of human rights. The conditions in prisons are torturous, standards of public health care and education have fallen and the rights of employees are almost non-existent. However, the economic crisis has also had an effect on the hardened attitudes of people. Attacks against ethnic minorities have increased and xenophobia is widely spread.[19]

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[17] Hanna Järä: Totalitarismin varjossa: Ihmisoikeudet ja Venäjä (1999), p. 1.

[18] The President's Commission on Human Rights: On the Observance of Man and the Citizen in the Russian Federation, published in Nations in Transition: Constitutional Development and Human Rights in Russia, Belarus and Ukraine (Helsinki 1997), p. 226-228.

[19] Human Rights Watch World Report 1999: Russia (1999).

The on-going war in Chechnya is without a doubt one of the loudest manifestations of Russia's ignorance of international human rights standards. Russian armed forces have killed thousands of civilians by direct attacks on civilians and indiscriminate attacks on residential areas in Chechen towns and villages. There are over 200 000 internally displaced people in neighbouring areas. Many of these people are in camps with insufficient water, shelter, food and heating.[20] Russia has ignorantly denied its responsibility for civilian casualties as a result of the attack. Russia's claim that this war is purely domestic matter leans very strongly to old Soviet way of thinking. However, mass violations of human rights are not the internal affair of any state[21]. Russia has also acknowledged and accepted this principle by the international conventions it has signed.

3.1. CAUSES AND EXCUSES

The human rights situation in Russia is clearly ambivalent. The official aims contradict with the practice. Why does the government make promises it has no intention to keep? Does Russia honestly want to improve human rights conditions or are the human rights commitments only the way of attaining other goals? The inconsistency of Russia's human right policy can be understood only in its socio-political context.

In the beginning of the 1990 – when the communist rule was overthrown – there was enthusiasm and faith in better future in the air. The model for the new democratic Russia was taken from the West. Russia saw itself as a part of Europe and wanted to get rid of the separateness and isolation.[22] The transition was not however as painless as people thought it would be. Reforms were carried out but Russia's economy kept on sinking. Old structures were thorn down before the new ones had been built. The western reforms seemed to result only in growing criminality and insecurity. For many Russians it was painful to see how the old superpower turned suddenly into poor dependent country without any international influence.

Due to the social crises and economic spin the general atmosphere started to develop towards anti-western, nationalistic ideas. This tendency has influenced Russian politics and many observers have noted a turn to more conservative and cautious politics in Russia[23]. Russia has started to hesitate with the reforms and has taken steps side- and backwards.

Russian nationalism is based on the concept of 'otherness' of Russia. Russia is seen as Eurasian country that is opposite to Europe and European values. Russia is characterised by spirituality, collective nature and strong state.[24] Due to this 'otherness' the new nationalistic leaders – who are the loudest opponents of the government – claim that the present situation

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[20] Amnesty International: Appeal to the OSCE 17.11.1999.

[21] Amnesty International: Humanity is Indivisible - Open Letter to the United Nations from the Secretary General of the Amnesty International 2.11.1999.

[22] Iver Neumann: Russia and the Idea of Europe (London 1996), p. 179.

[23] Vesa Oittinen in Ulkopolitiikka, No. 1 (1996), p.4-5.

[24] See for example Neumann, p.1-12.

in Russia does not allow individualistic values. Moreover, these western values are contradictory to Russian national interests[25]. It is easy to understand that this sort of nationalistic rhetoric appeals to the poor and exhausted people. The government has been constantly attacked with accusations of cringing behaviour towards the West. This growing anti-western attitude has become apparent especially in the public debate during the parliamentary and presidential elections.

This political development has also influenced the human rights debate in Russia. Nationalistic leaders - such as Alexander Panarin and Vladimir Iljin - tie human rights together with other useless western ideas. They falsely connect the Soviet past as something specially Russian by believing that human rights are something alien to Russian culture[26]. For many Russians it is easy to believe these claims because the Soviet way of thinking is still deeply rooted. The popularity of these nationalistic views can also be explained with plain unawareness of universal human rights and freedoms. Growing insecurity, violence and poverty in the society also influence the human rights debate. Especially many elderly people have started missing the strong state that took care of its citizens. Full human rights are seen as something secondary.

Even if the general atmosphere has changed it is not possible for Russia to 'turn inwards' and change its direction of development. The reasons are practical: good relations with the western countries are important to the interests of trade and business. The government is also highly dependent on the foreign loans and investment. Sergei Medvedev has pointed out the connections between the oil- and energy-sector, the financial sector and Russian government. Both the oil- and energy-sector and the financial sector benefit from good economic and trade relations with the West. The interests of these sectors are well presented in the political field and with other export-orientated industries whose influence could easily overreach the power of the nationalistic camp that supports the Eurasian isolation policy.[27]

This background helps to understand the inconsistent human rights policy of Russia – policy that has relied on delays, manoeuvres and timing. Russia's policy is the result of balancing between the conflicting interest groups and actors. Due to this irresolute game, non-strategy has become Russia's main strategy in the field of human rights.[28] Russia has strengthen its claims in its 'near abroad' but also tried to keep on the political dialogue with international institutions.

[25] Oittinen in Ulkopolitiikka No. 1 (1996), p. 9.

[26] Lecture by Sergei Podbolotov at the Seminar on Russian Human Rights, 18.11.1999.

[27] Sergei Medvedev in Ulkopolitiikka No. 2 (1996), p. 6-7.

[28] Medvedev in Ulkopolitiikka No. 2 (1996), p. 11.

4. EUROPE AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN RUSSIA

European leaders have on many occasions emphasised the importance of Russia and its direction of development for the future of the whole continent. Successful transition to market-economy, rule of law and stable democracy is without a doubt in the primary interest of Europe. A respect for human rights is an important part of this development.

The interests of European countries and institutions are more or less the same, and their policies towards Russia have developed more co-ordinated. In the field of human rights there are three main actors: the European Union, the Council of Europe and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE).

The European Union supports Russia and co-operates with it in many fields. A political declaration in 1993 stated that the EU's aim was permanent political dialogue and system of regular consultations on the whole spectrum of political, economic and other issues of mutual interest. The European Union has however acted mainly in the economic field. The main channel for co-operation is the Tacis-programme. The aims of this programme are to transfer the know-how to support economic reform and to build democratic societies. Tacis is a grant-financed programme for important reform activities like enterprise restructuring and privatisation, transport, energy, agriculture and nuclear safety.[29] The new Northern Dimension programme launched by Finland does not change this basic emphasis. The Northern Dimension is also based mainly on economic considerations.[30]

Nevertheless, there is the Tacis Democracy Programme (TDP) that has more to do with human rights. The aims of the TDP are to secure the principles of democracy in the societies of the newly independent states and to underline the importance of the rule of law. The TDP's share of the total amount of 1 200 million ECU (Russia's annual share of Tacis budget) is however quite modest - 10 million ECU.[31]

In Russia the common knowledge of the European Union, its methods and importance is very low. Even Russian political élite claim that human rights do not belong to the EU's competence.[32] However, this interpretation clearly contradicts with conventions and treaties between the EU and Russia.

Some observers have suggested that the EU should take a stronger stand against the continuing breaches of human rights in Russia. Many of them claim that the EU does not use its full capacity as political actor in relations with Russia[33]. Even if the EU still emphasis the Council of Europe as a primary tool when dealing with human rights, the EU has recently sharpened its role by adopting a four-year Common Strategy for Russia.

[29] Web pages of the European Union (22.11.1999).

[30] Paavo Lipponen: EU:n pohjoinen ulottuvuus ja Suomi uudessa Pohjois-Euroopassa, speech given 5.5.1998.

[31] Web-pages of the European Union (22.11.1999).

[32] Christer Pursiainen in Ulkopolitiikka, No. 1 (1996), p. 15.

[33] Henrikki Heikka in Ulkopolitiikka, No.1 (1996), p.16.

The Council of Europe is a political organisation that promotes democracy and human rights. In recent years it has done important work with the Central and Eastern European countries and their adaptation of democratic structures and protection of human rights. As I said before, Russia is a member of the Council of Europe and it has ratified many important conventions. The Council of Europe also monitors the human rights development and evaluates the implementation of treaties.[34]

The main dilemma for the Council of Europe is that Russia has neglected many of its human rights commitments. The war in Chechnya was a severe breach of Russia's commitments. Russian ignorance has had an impact on the credibility of the Council and at the beginning of April Russia's right to vote in the Council was taken away.[35] Russian membership has also brought other kind of problems: the human rights appeal channels have been blocked by the huge amount of appeals from Russian individuals. This has resulted in the serious functional crises in the Council.

The OSCE is a security organisation that is a primary instrument for early warning, conflict prevention, crises management and post-conflict rehabilitation. It deals with a wide range of security issues, including arms control, preventive diplomacy and security-building measures like the protection of human rights. The OSCE has roots in the cold war development – it is therefore very delicate organisation: all of its decisions are made by consensus and they are only 'politically binding'.[36]

Russia has emphasised the importance of the OSCE and preferred it to the Council of Europe. This is possibly based on the supposition that Russia can take initiatives in the OSCE without fearing that they would bind it later on.[37] This suites well with the 'strategy of non-strategy'. Russia considers that the mechanisms of preventive diplomacy and early warning do not apply to the Chechen case that is purely a 'domestic matter'[38]. The OSCE's role is however changing and it has proven that it is also able to criticise Russia.

The policies of the Council of Europe and the OSCE meeting in Istanbul in November 1999 reflected also more generally that European attitude towards Russia might change in the future. In Istanbul Knut Vollebaek did not hesitate to criticise Russia's human rights breaches in Chechen Republic and ignorance of the agreed limits of armament. Vollebaek also demanded a timetable for Russian's withdrawal.[39] In OSCE's context these are strong statements. Vollenbaek's statements were followed by critical comments by the EU. The president of Finland, Martti Ahtisaari, clearly gave his support to negotiations with the

president of Chechnya, Aslan Mashadov[40]. Russia has refused to negotiate with Mashadov and accused him of supporting terrorism. These statements by the EU, the Council of Europe and the OSCE clearly expressed that European organisations do not regard actions in Caucasus as a Russian domestic matter. There was even a debate within the EU on should financial aid to Russia be cut if Russia's human rights policy does not change.

5. CONCLUSIONS

To conclude – I believe that only making laws cannot make successful legal reforms because legal culture is rooted in expectations and values. Human rights should be seen as a complex entity. Reform policy in this field should also try to affect the patterns of behaviour and values of people. Old habits always die hard – I believe that Russia's transition to legalism is going to be a long process.

I also believe that human rights and their development are tied tightly to general development of the society. In the Russian case, the economic and social failure has influenced Russia's willingness to implement international human rights commitments. Political climate has changed dramatically from the early 1990s – and this has had an impact on the attitudes towards human rights. However, neither human rights nor democracy may be blamed for the ills resulting from the erosive forces of the economy.

Nevertheless, it is – mainly for economic reasons – difficult for Russia to turn inwards, away from Europe. The present human rights politics is the result of the contradicting powers of nationalism and economic rationality. In principle the political élite sees the protection of human rights important but in reality it leans strongly to the old Soviet tradition.

Even though it is clear that economic matters affect the general standards of human rights – especially social and economic rights – in Russian case it is more a question of preferences. Russia's attempts to use economic crisis as an excuse for bad human rights conditions are in vain when at the same time it keeps on the costly war in Chechnya.

European institutions see the development of human rights in Russia as an important matter. However – even though the European countries are significant actors in economic field – they have not influenced Russian policies very much. European organisations have been satisfied with financing programmes and supporting reforms on legal, economic and social field – even these reforms have not always gone the way they should have.

Russia's idea of European institutions is unfixed. It has even been suggested, that Russia sees the European Union totally in economic terms, the OSCE as a diplomatic game and the membership in the European Council as a way of getting better loan terms from other international institutions. Russia has not taken the pressure coming from these institutions very seriously. Russia seems to 'play' with European institutions and co-operate only with

[34] Web-pages of the Council of Europe (22.11.1999).

[35] Helsingin Sanomat, 7.4.2000.

[36] Web-pages of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (22.11.1999)

[37] Medvedev in Ulkopolitiikka, No. 2 (1996), p. 12-13.

[38] Pursiainen in Ulkopolitiikka, No. 1 (1996), p. 14.

[39] Helsingin Sanomat, 18.11.1999.

[40] Helsingin Sanomat, 19.11.1999.

organisations that it considers beneficial.[41] European institutions have only recently put stronger pressure on Russia – for example by threatening to cut financial support and trade benefits for Russia.

For a long time European leaders assured time after time that Russia is on the right tracks and that the positive turn will come – even if a bit later than expected. In my opinion, this is not convincing anymore – it is time to admit that Russia's transition to democracy, market economy and legalism has failed. European institutions should take this fact as a basis of their policies. There are many possible ways Russia might develop in future and the present way of development is only one of them. Are European institutions going to be observers or actors in this process? I agree with Sergei Medvedev that European institutions should set a clear structural goal for their Russian policy[42]. It is high time for European leaders to decide what kind of role European institutions want in Russia in future. What ever the chosen role will be – it is important that the organisations sharpen their role and integrate their actions.

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[41] Pursiainen in Ulkopolitiikka, No. 1 (1996), p. 14.

[42] Medvedev in Northern Dimensions (1998), p. 54.

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SKINHEADS

British national identity was starting to construct in the 19th century, at the same time when class identities were produced. Europe was changing after the French Revolution and at the same time societies went through changes. Nationalism was seen as a unifying ideology when the bourgeois took the position as a leading class. The stories of great aristocratic families were over. Loyalties to a nation become the main means of legitimisation. Nations looked at the past to create a national identity.

Although in Great Britain the aristocracy succeeded in justifying their position by changing their image and duties in the society, the trend was the same. But because the English national identity was so much linked to the idea of empire and defined by distinguishing from others, classes were important to producing identity. After violent industrial revolution something lost was admired as a working class model. At first this lost paradise was Arcadia, a myth of a farm worker living in the natural utopia of countryside. The real and supportable folk culture came from countryside. This myth of Arcadia was favoured by the upper class and the intelligentsia. Leftist intellectuals took the medieval guild tradition as their model in arts and craft movement.

The working class unity in countryside or guilds was seen as the lost ideal. At the same time popular culture of towns was degenerated. With time, this imaginary working class community was transferred into slums or industrial revolution. In the early 20th century mechanically produced popular culture took place in workers' leisure time. The romantic idea of merry and united working class spending their time in Musical Halls was threatened. The ideal was lost in the past again. This nostalgia can be noticed in the British pop even today.

In the 50's and the 60's the British society went through changes again. Great Britain internationalised with the arrival of immigrants. The society got wealthier and the class borders seemed to diminish. In this situation kids in the working class quarters of East London tried to reconstruct their identity. In fact these kids were most affected with the arrival of the West Indians. After all they lived in the same neighbourhoods with them. The old imaginary slum with working class unity seemed to be far away, but it was still ideal for a lot of people. How to adjust this ideal to the changed circumstances was a question that the skinhead subculture seemed to have answered. Or at least tried to. There were some unifying things in these multiracial working class quarters. The object of class bitterness was the same for both the blacks and the whites. They went to the same schools and work in the same places. But of course there were many factors that separated black and white subcultures. The skinheads tried to integrate the new comers into their idea of communal working class by adapting aspects of black youth culture. And surprisingly there were many similarities too, like in the way people dressed or in their values. The skinheads listened to the West Indian ska, they

copied some elements of their clothing, they went to the same places to dance etc. But most importantly they adapted the cool rude-boy attitude of the West Indian youth. In some level unifying of these working class cultures was successful and there were black skinheads also. Of course the inter- racial relationships weren't without problems. Mostly the steam was let out by beating Pakistani and Indian immigrants. Both the whites and the black skinheads participated in this Paki-bashing.

But most importantly the skinhead subculture was very nationalistic. They were underlining their identity as members of the English working class and they were proud of it. The society with dismissing class borders was a threat to them and to the imaginary idea of working class community. The nostalgia for the imaginary working class wasn't only their own idea, but is was a way to produce nationals self image. The British communal working class, in the way it used to be, was yearned for. The situation was the same as in the times of industrial revolution and its myth of Arcadia and the real Britishness. But how does the glorification and copying of West Indian immigrants fit in this picture? I don't think that skinheads were only searching for lost Britishness but also for the reproduction national identity. It was an attempt to reformulate the British working class identity in the changing world by integrating the West Indians into the reproduction of national identity. This attempt was made by the conservative class cantered basis. Some hint of the difficulties of this attempt can be noticed from the treatment of next immigration groups like the Pakistanis. They didn't fit anymore to national reconstruction.

The problem with this attempt was that it was totally made by the white Englishmen without asking the blacks about their needs. This wasn't anything new, for example in the 19th century's British missionaries in Jamaica did the same thing. They arrived to the island to help and civilize the slaves by using their British selves as an ideal to be achieved, and forgot to ask what the slaves really needed or wanted. In the 20th century England the West Indians had their own problems and needs different to their white class comrades. The society's structural and open racism was the main problem for the blacks. Their subculture politicised and turned to itself. The skinheads experienced this as a reflection. The subculture that was at some point a paragon was now closing them out. A landmark in the history of the skinheads was the summer of '72 when they joined other white youths in the attack on the second-generation West Indians. As the skinheads hold out their subculture based on the long for imaginary community of working class, the reggae was politicised and moved forward. "The reggae had come of age and the skinheads were sentenced to perpetual adolescence" as Dick Hebdige had put it. Ironically the blacks were kind of doomed to communality by the racist society. The fact that they were discriminated because of the colour of their skin was the strongest line of their unity. While the white groups were separated because of many different reasons, the black youth was unified against common threat.

The skinheads were using 19th century ideas to produce their identity and although they tried to adapt them, it didn't work out. The world had changed too much or the ideas were doomed in the first place because they were only the invention of the imaginary of the elite. Sadly the idea met its final crash in the '70s when skinhead subculture was politicised and divided to racist and antiracist fragments, which taught each other.

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MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. AND THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

One of the most prominent figures of the 20th century America was Martin Luther King, Jr. He had such an important influence regarding the African Americans' movement and the Civil Rights Movement that the period between 1955 and 1968, the year when he was assassinated, was denominated "the era of Martin Luther King". He became a symbolic person and he is highly respected not only by the African Americans, who have even dedicated him spirituals, but also by the entire world.

The tradition of fighting for ones rights goes three generations back in the family of Martin Luther King. Both his father and his grandfather were involved in the Civil Rights Movement and were also reverends. His grandfather, Rev. A. D. Williams, was one of the founders of the Atlanta's section of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and his father, Rev. Martin Luther King, Sr., was also a civil rights leader. Martin Luther King, Jr. became a pastor at the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama, after receiving a doctorate in systematic theology at Boston University in 1955 and rejecting offers for academic positions.

He was born on January 15 1929. His mother, Alberta King, was a schoolteacher. In 1951 he graduated from Crozer Theology Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania. Two years later he married Coretta Scott. They had four children. Starting with 1964 he was the preacher at Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama. In January 1956 he was arrested for driving 30 M.P.H. in a 25 M.P.H. area. In 1960 M.L.King, Jr. went to Atlanta to pastor his father's church, Ebenezer Baptist Church.

Religious leaders, especially Baptist pastors, had a very important influence on African American civil rights movement. For instance, Milton Jones, the senior minister of Shoreline's Northwest Church of Christ, considered that civil rights were more than the political and social problem, considering it also "a religious and spiritual issue. Government should be involved in civil rights, but the church should be involved too". Martin Luther King himself considered that the church, together with the black social gospel, was an important instrument of improving the life of the African-American community in the US. In the American Black community, the Biblical tradition was very strong; the biblical symbols such as the `Promised Land' were used to express the idea that only keeping the faith one can march towards a better, new society. Most of the founders and leaders of the NAACP were clergymen. This association is the oldest, the largest and the strongest civil rights organization in the United States. It was founded in New York in1909 by a group of black and white persons. At their conference it was asked for the abolition of forced segregation and promotion of equal education, civil rights for the `colored people' and end of race violence. The strategy adopted by the organization was ending discrimination through legal action.

Among the founders of the NAACP was W.E.B. DuBois, the first African American with a superior degree. He was in fact the leader of the organization and the editor of the journal *The Crisis.* He claimed that the Blacks could compete with the Whites in every domain, thus challenging another civil rights activist, B.T.Washington, who had initiated an institute in Alabama in 1881 in order to train African Americans in minor skills and crafts to improve their social and material status.

During the '50s, the African Americans' movement was supported by and was part of a larger action. In fact the Civil Rights Movement became a young people's crusade. There were more events that marked the improvements of the condition of the African Americans in the United States. In many of these major events Martin Luther King had a great contribution, being in most of the cases one of the leaders.

Maybe the first really significant step was made in May 1954 when Oliver Brown sued the Board of Education of Topeka, Arkansas, because of the school segregation (in fact it was required by law in most southern states and was based on a rule from 1896 that had set that "separate but equal" was constitutional). In 1954 the Supreme Court decided unanimously that segregation was in fact unconstitutional. The desegregation of schools started in the long run from here.

Another important event took place in 1955. Two white men were accused of killing a young African American, who, coming from a northern state, dared to address a young white woman in a way that was considered inappropriate by the local white community. The verdict of the jury came after only an hour of deliberations and was, despite the overwhelming proofs, "not guilty". Without precedent was the fact that the two men were actually brought in the court of law. Also in 1955, in December, started the action known as "the Montgomery Bus Boycott".

It began after Rosa Parks, a 43-year-old black civil rights activist, refused to give up her seat near the front of a bus to a white man. Not respecting the city's rules regarding the segregation on buses, she was arrested. The following night, the leaders of the Black community organized a bus boycott, which affected seriously the incomes of the bus company. The Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) was then formed, under the presidency of Martin Luther King. J.Gray, the attorney of Rosa Parks remembers in his autobiography that at the time Martin Luther King was "fresh, a newcomer, young, articulate, knowledgeable, highly educated, and had not identified himself with any community activities other than his church". The MIA asked more equal access for the African Americans to all the municipal services, representation on the Parks and Recreation Board and, in general, in all boards affecting the Black population. Eight months later, in December 1956, the Supreme Court decided, based on the school segregation cases, that Alabama's bus segregation was unconstitutional. The commitment and the solidarity of the African Americans from Montgomery were remarkable.

For almost a year they did not use public transportation. The municipality reacted - car-drivers were arrested for picking up hitchhikers, African Americans waiting on streets corners for a ride were arrested for loitering etc. Many of the leaders of the movement were arrested, including Martin Luther King, who was convicted on charges of conspiracy to interfere with the bus company's operations. The house of Martin Luther King was even bombed. With the occasion of this bus boycott, the Baptist pastor gained national recognition and fame due to his oratorical skills and his personal courage in confronting the authorities and remaining firm but non-violent on the positions. During 1958 he published his first book, *Stride toward Freedom: the Montgomery Story,* where he also presented his attachment for a non-aggressive policy in order to reach the proposed goals. He even went to India where he increased his understanding of Gandhian non-violent strategies.

The year 1957 was an important year in the development of the civil rights movement. Martin Luther King and other Southern black ministers founded the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Martin Luther King was elected president of the organization. The aim of this new association was related to the Blacks' right to vote. During this agitated year, M.L.King travelled aprox. 780.000 miles and made more than 200 speeches.

Another major event of the year took place in Little Rock, Arkansas. The Central High School there was to begin the school year desegregated. When a group of nine African American students arrived at Central High on September 3, the National Guardsmen sent by the governor Faubus stopped them from entering. On September 20, judge Davis granted an injunction against the Governor and the students could return to Central High School, but a group of 1000 townspeople prevented them from remaining at school. Finally President Eisenhower ordered paratroopers and National Guard to go to Little Rock and so the school was desegregated.

During the year 1960 a wave of sit-in protests occurred in Southern colleges. After having been refused service at the lunch counter, Joseph McNeill, an African American college student, returned the next day with three classmates to sit at the counter until they were served, which in fact did not happen. Therefore, they returned everyday to the lunch counter. When an article in The *New York Times* drew attention to this situation more students joined them, both black and white, and similar protests took place in other colleges too. Various sorts of protests occurred the following 2 years. In 1961 groups of black and white people rode busses cross-country in a campaign to try to end the segregation. The non-violent protests, however, were brutally received at many stop along the way. For several months, starting with December 1961, in Albany, Georgia, a mass-protest campaign was organized by the SCLC and the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC - founded in April 1960, on the occasion of which Martin Luther King hold a speech). On this occasion some conflicts between Martin Luther King and the younger militants manifested.

The real desegregation of schools and universities was a very long and painful process, in which the authorities interfered sometimes by force. For instance in 1962,

President J.F.Kennedy ordered Federal Marshals to escort the first African American student to the campus of the University of Mississippi. A riot broke out and two students were killed before the intervention of the National Guard.

In Birmingham, Alabama, one of the most severely segregated cities in the `60s, in 1963 Rev. Martin Luther King, Rev. Avernathy and Rev.Shuttlesworth organized a huge protest march for desegregated department store facilities, and fair hiring, in defiance of a court order. The policemen with dogs stopped the protesters and the three ministers were arrested. What everybody could see in mass media was that white policemen were attacking viciously black people who were claiming non-violently their civil rights. The mass-demonstrations culminated on August 28 with a march on Washington where, in front of more than 250.000 protesters, Martin Luther King pronounced his most famous speech ("I have a dream"):

"There will be neither rest nor tranquillity in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights... We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force. The marvellous new militancy which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to distrust of all white people, for many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny and their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom. We cannot walk alone... I say to you today, my friends, that in spite of the difficulties and frustrations of the moment, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream. I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed - `we hold these truths to be self evident that all men are created equal'... I have a dream today. I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plain, and the crooked places will be made straight, and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together. This is our hope. This is the faith with which I return to the South. With this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day. This will be the day when all of God's children will be able to sing with a new meaning, "My country, 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing. Land where my fathers died, land of the pilgrim's pride, from every mountainside, let freedom ring"... When we let freedom ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual, "Free at last! Free at last! Thank God Almighty, we are free at last! "".

On January 18, 1965 Martin Luther King successfully registered to vote at the Hotel Albert in Selma, Alabama but was assaulted by James George Robinson of Birmingham. A month later he continued to protest discrimination in voter registration and was arrested and jailed. The next two years important laws, which gave the African American population in the South the voting right, were signed by the new President, Lyndon B.Johnson (J.F.Kennedy was assassinated in April 1964). Even if legally there was no discrimination or segregation, the rights of the Black population were not always respected, especially in the South, and even violent events continued to occur.

On of April 4, 1968 Martin Luther King, the promoter of the non-violence in the fight for civil rights, was assassinated by James Earl Ray while seeking to assist a garbage-workers' strike in Memphis. Earlier that year he had initiated a campaign targeting the economic situation of the African-Americans, a new vision upon their problems and the way to solve them. In response to the death of Martin Luther King, Seattle residents hurled firebombs, broke windows, and pelted motorists with rocks. Ten thousand people also marched to Seattle Centre for a rally in his memory. In some colleges the students dressed in black to mourn his death.

Even during the life of Martin Luther King the Black Civil Rights Movement was not unified and after his death the divergence grew even greater. Malcolm X and Storkey Carmichael, both of them being not so moderate in demands and actions as Martin Luther King, led the other major trends. Malcolm X, who was assassinated in 1965, was the promoter of Black Nationalism and was the leader of the Black Muslims. Storkey Carmichael was the initiator of the Black Panthers, an organization half way between violence and moderation. They claimed an independent state in America or Africa.

One could speculate what would have happened with the movement for African Americans' rights if Martin Luther King had never existed. What we consider incontestable is that he imposed a non-violent character to his movement, the fact which lead to an improvement of the Black community's public image and attracted sympathy and support for their cause and, after all, a faster solving of their problems.

The great personality and charisma of Martin Luther King, Jr. were recognized worldwide. As a sign of the appreciation, during the year 1964, he was designated both the Time magazine's Man of the Year and the winner of the Noble Peace Prize.

Every year, on the 3rd Monday of January, the Martin Luther King holiday is celebrated in the United States. The proposal for a King federal holiday was made in 1968, only 4 days after his assassination. The legislative propositions were defeated several times, both in the Chamber of Representatives and the Senate. A very active lobby was necessary. For the first time, the states of Massachusetts and Connecticut enacted the Martin Luther King holiday in 1974. The King Holiday Bill passed in 1883 but the first celebration took place in 1986, fast becoming popular. In 1998, the day in honour of Martin Luther King was not celebrated only in New Hampshire (but initiative in this direction was already made). In the same year 28% of employers provided a paid holiday for their workers on the King Holiday.

This celebration is a day meant to be one of community service, interracial cooperation and youth antiviolence initiatives.

This holiday is recognition of the merits and personality of M.L.King. Many young African Americans, but not only them, learnt to be proud to be who and what they were, to judge and be judged by their character and not the colour of their skin. He gave them courage, strength and guidance in order to reach their potential, to do their best. The everlasting legacy of Martin Luther King, Jr. is the courage of persistence of fighting without fighting back, of pursuing non-violently your goals, reconciliation and especially love and understanding for the other.

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MARINA MAYER & IGOR DUDA

Workshop 5: The Way of Living
THE WAY OF LIVING

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2.	János	Betkó	Nijmegen	War on Drugs and Effects on Society in 20th Century United States	grandmaster_jgb@hotmail.com
3.	Michèle	Blaauboer	Basel	What's About the "Querelle des Femmes" in the 20th Century?	
4.	Damijan	Bobek	Ljubljana	The Ljubljana Tramway	
5.	Jasmijn	Bovendeert	Nijmegen	Chivalry: An Outdated Notion?	jbovendeert@hotmail.com
6.	Frank	Donkers	Nijmegen	Rise of the Consumer Society in Relation with Transport	BAVARIA1719@hotmail.com
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8.	Francesca	Höchner	Basel	How the Establishing of an Academic Medicine during the Middle Ages Has Influenced the Practical Work of Midwives. The Case-Study of Basel Seen in the 20th Century Historiography	francescahoechner@yahoo.com
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13.	Urs	Siegfried	Zurich	The Soul as a Prison	siegfried@freesurf.ch
14.	Jonna	Strandberg	Turku	Consuming Habits and Their Changes with Children in the 20th Century Finland (/Europe)	joelst@utu.fi

If one wanted to take a look at the 20th century history using the tools that were created in the same century and became popular as a part of the well known *new history*, workshop No. 5 was the right choice. Discussing the 20th century from the perspective of the everyday life history or history of mentalities has to be connected with a multidisciplinary and comparatistic approach. In their presentations and discussions all participants, consciously or not, followed that path – no matter if the topic was connected to ways of thinking, gender history, globalisation, consumer society, identities problems or attitude to the nature.

These were the topics that participants and two workshop leaders were dealing with. The brainstorming of fourteen brilliant joung historians-to-be was lead by the two professional, wise, competent and kind workshop leadres. (Hm...) Well, OK, they admit that sometimes their questioning seemed like a torture, ut maybe exactly because of that we all managed to achieve such excellent working resulty! Of course, all that wouldn't be possible without a pleasant atmosphere, interesting discussions and very interested debaters!

JASMIJN BOVENDEERT & ANDREA SEELEN

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TRADITIONS                    INFLUENCE ──►
                                                    ┌─────────────────────────┐
   ┌─────────────────────┐                          │      CONCLUSION         │        ┌──────────────────┐
   │   19ᵀᴴ CENTURY      │                          │  more possibilities,    │        │  21ˢᵀ CENTURY    │
   │  origins / new ideas│    REACTION ──►          │   more choices →        │   ──►  │ trying to find the│
   │  ▪ gender           │                          │  crossing borders,      │        │ balance between 1-4? │
   │  ▪ idea of progress │                          │   creating new          │        └──────────────────┘
   │  ▪ we can know      │    FURTHER               └─────────────────────────┘
   │    and control the  │    DEVELOPMENT ──►               ▲
   │    world, human     │                                  │
   │    mind and nature  │
   └─────────────────────┘           ┌─────────────────────────┐        ┌──────────────────┐
                                      │    20ᵀᴴ CENTURY         │        │    QUESTION      │
                                      │  1. Consumer society    │        │ With the number of │
                                      │     ▪ toys              │        │ choices increasing, are │
                                      │     ▪ drugs             │        │ we, due to       │
                                      │  2. Internationalisation│        │ globalisation,   │
                                      │     ▪ Olympic movement  │        │ becoming the same │
                                      │     ▪ transport         │        │ more and more?   │
                                      │     ▪ globalisation-thing│       └──────────────────┘
                                      │  3. New ways of thinking│
                                      │     ▪ gender            │
                                      │     ▪ soul              │
                                      │  4. What about nature?  │
                                      └─────────────────────────┘
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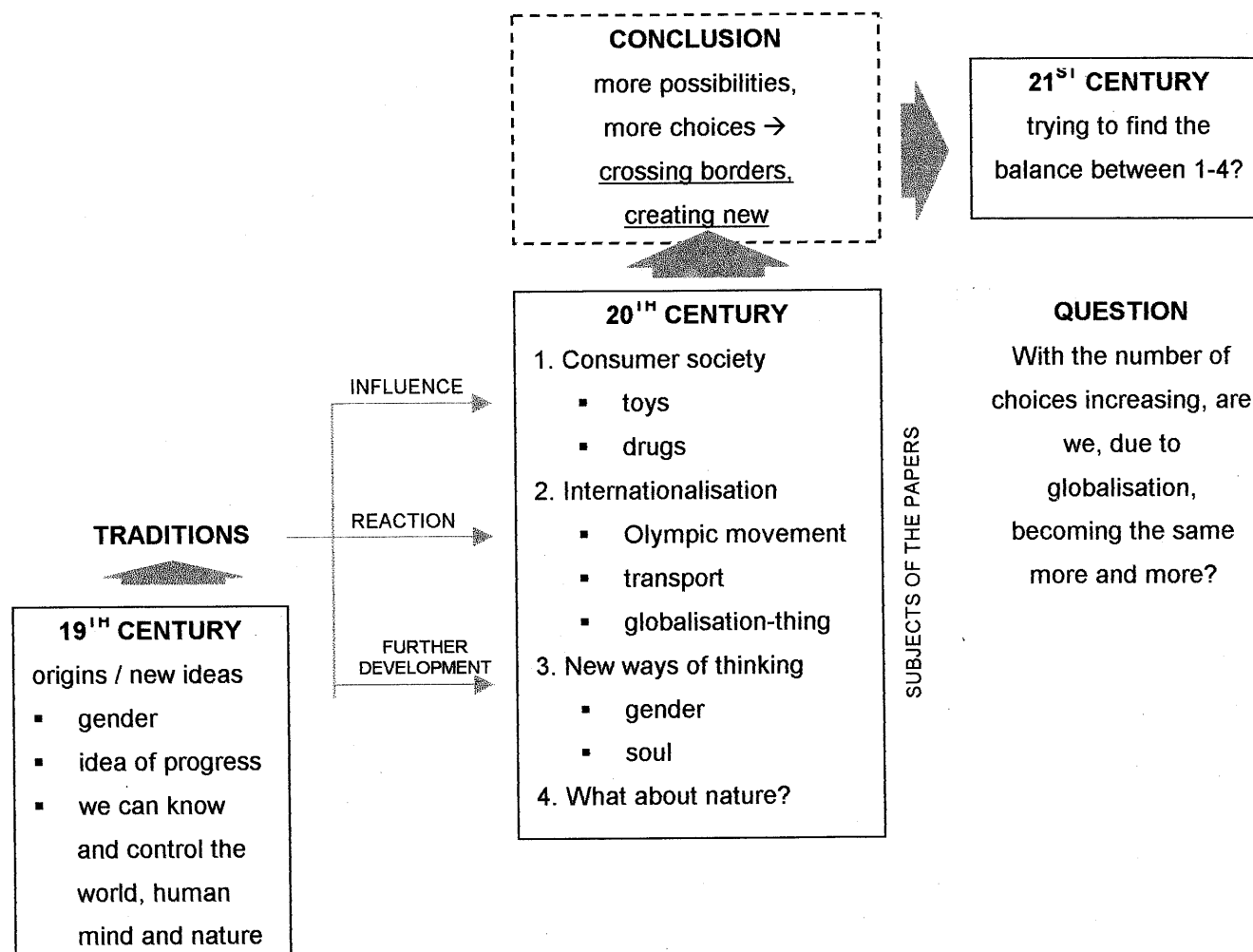
SUBJECTS OF THE PAPERS

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CHIVALRY: AN OUTDATED NOTION?

Introduction

At first sight chivalry is not a subject that seems to be connected with the 20th century. Knights make us think about the Middle Ages. But after more careful consideration we will find out that the image of a knight we nowadays have is much more like a 19th century, preferably British, gentleman than a knight from, let's say, the 13th century. He had all those characteristics a knight was supposed to have.

First of all there is honour. This is actually the key word to describe a knight. We all know what it means; yet honour is difficult to define. It implies someone is trustworthy, honest, keeps his promises and is someone you can count on. All the other traits of a knight are in a way caused by that sense of honour. Courage is a must. Loyalty is another necessity. A true knight stands for justice; he is the protector of the weak. And team spirit is connected with chivalry as well, very 19th century, very British and very useful in sports and warfare. Next to that, a knight is always restraint and emotionless. For those of you who read it: Philias Fog from Jules Verne's *Around the world in 80 days* is such a perfect knight, a perfect gentleman. It is the same thing.

All these characteristics define a Real Man. It is the way he is supposed to be. Chivalry is an exclusive masculine notion. Women are the subjects of chivalry, but they cannot take part in it.

The 19th century notion of chivalry is perfectly symbolised by the Titanic myth. The ship sank and there were not enough boats to save everyone. So the gentlemen on this ship left the boats for the women and children, while they stayed on the ship, calmly waiting for their death. The captain stayed on his ship too - the captain does not leave his ship. The band played on. The Titanic was not the only ship that ended at the bottom of the sea in those years, and overall the behaviour was the same: the gentlemen, the protectors of the weak, let the weak go first and were less concerned with their own well being. Those were Real Men.

But it is a myth. In reality the gentlemen on board of the Titanic thought more about their own lives than about those of the women and children in need. Very understandable, very human, but very unchivalrous. Chivalry was going down anyway. Only two years later, at the very height of chivalry, the First World War broke loose. It was about time that the chivalry ideals were put into practice. But those ideals were smothered in the blood and mud of the trenches. The First World War is said to be the war were al the glory of war was lost. It lost its chivalry.

Back to the 20th century

And the Middle Ages? The knights back then were probably rather uncivilised, with bad teeth, scarves. They lived in dirty cold castles - if they had one - and had no decent manners whatsoever. Knights in name, not in behaviour. Our image of a knight is much more 19th century than 'Middle Aged'. And with that, it is also 20th century. Because the 20th century is in many ways the post-19th century era. We were, and are still, coping with that century, processing it. The 20th century was a reaction to the 19th and that means it is not over yet. We are the heirs of the 19th century.

Does that mean that chivalry still exists? Yes, I am going to argue. In the 20th century knightly ideals are still propagated. Not by books and paintings, as was the case in the 19th century, but by means of films and television. And perhaps, not as obvious as during the 19th century. But subcutaneous it is still there. The 20th century has developed several kinds of knights that we would not recognize as knights immediately. But they still live up to the expectations of a knight. Two examples, taken at random:

1. The cowboy

The typical knight of the 20th century is the cowboy. He even looks like a classic knight: rides a horse, wears recognizable clothing (like an armour) and is an extension piece of his weapon. His behaviour is very chivalrous: he is protector of women, children and - a recent addition - of animals. He is taciturn, brave and usually stands alone against the bad guys. He has something mysterious; people often do not know where he comes from. He is a loner, does what he has to do and disappears again.

2. The Rock

This film, starring Sean Cannery and Nicholas Cages is all about honour, set in the San Francisco of today. Frank Hummel, a US navy general has executed dozens of secret operations and lost a lot of his men doing that. The families of the victims are told lies about is, and denied compensation for their loss. Hummel can no longer cope with this injustice. Together with his loyal soldiers he steals an amount of chemical weapons, takes a group of tourists visiting Alcatraz hostage and stations his men and weapons on the Rock, pointing them at San Francisco. He demands $ 20 million for the families of the people who were killed under his command, and for his loyal soldiers helping him.

Hummel is a man of honour. Despite his rebellion he has no intention of killing the tourists or launching the rockets. He fights for justice, not for money. The men who died for their country should get the credit they deserve. Before he takes the tourists hostage, he makes sure the children among them can escape, protector of the weak as he is.

On several occasions in the film Hummel is literally called "a man of honour". In the end the mission fails. Due to external circumstances (of course the Pentagon organises a counter offensive), but even more because Hummel's men do not turn out to be as

honourable as him. They did go for the money, or are obsessed with killing. They have no honour; they are not interested in justice and are certainly not restraint. They even swear. No Real Men in the end.

It is a men's movie. There are no women in the story, except for the pregnant fiancée of Nicholas Cage's character. But she is more like an illustration, to stress the masculinity of the hero. He is, after all, constantly in male company. Could he be gay? Of course, knights are not gay. She proves that beyond all doubt.

"Trust me"

Dozens of films like *The Rock* have been made, most considerably less intelligent. The knightly man is the hero who takes care of business, who does what a man has to do. The woman only has to underline the virility of the hero and has to let him do his thing. "Trust me," he always says before he leaves. Even if she is so stubborn to go do something about it after all, something will happen to prove the hero's wisdom. She should have stayed at home and kept dinner warm. Women are not supposed to be strong and honourable. Do female knights exist?

I could only find one example: the women serving on the star ship Voyager in the TV-series *Star Trek Voyager*. First there is captain Kathryn Janeway. A knight to the bone. She gives her word and sticks to it. On several occasions saved the ship, by clever thinking or by bravery and determination and showing no fear. Her first officer sometimes protests when she insists on going on an away mission herself. Not because he wants to protect her, but because a captain's place is on her ship, just like the captain of the Titanic stayed on his. She is devoted to one cause: get her crew, lost in a distant quadrant of the universe, back home. She is a passionate scientist, a good leader and a warm personality. A perfect knight.

The other female senior officer on Voyager is lieutenant B'Elanna Torres, chief engineering. She is not so much a knight, but more like his 20th century equivalent: the cowboy. She is taciturn, cool, does her job with efficiency and devotion. She would give her life just for a cause, to save the ship, but does not reveal her true feelings. She is still a mystery, like the cowboy. Until a woman melts his heart. And that is what happened to B'Elanna as well. It took a lot of episodes for her to find out what everyone else already knew: that she is in love with pilot Tom Paris.

But *Star Trek Voyager* is still an exception. In general women do not take part in chivalrous action, are allowed to be afraid and weak while men are not.

Conclusion

Chivalry is still an ideal in the 20th century. It may not be as conspicuous as it was in the 19th century, where rich gentlemen were having their portrait taken in armour or actually organised tournaments (chivalry was serious business back then). At a deeper, almost

unconscious level it is still there. Perhaps we could say it is internalised, and does not need external proof anymore.

Chivalry is closely connected with the definition of a Real Man. A knight is everything a man is supposed to be, he has all the traits a Real Man should live up to. And it is an exclusively masculine ideal. Women are no knights. It is not expected of them to live up to knightly ideals. They are even not supposed to do that. A woman who enters this masculine domain is wrong. A man who acts chivalrous is a Real Man, but a woman who does the same thing is no Real Woman.

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THE SOUL AS A PRISON

We are all prisoners. And the worst thing about it is that we don't even know it, we don't even realise it. The reason for this is that power is used and exercised differently nowadays than it was before the Enlightenment and the French Revolution. To understand what we are today and to what extent we are prisoners we have to analyse power from a new angle. We have to analyse the practices of discipline. But before that the term discipline needs to be explained.

Discipline

Discipline is not an institution; it has no particular place from which it is operating. There is neither a single person nor a group of people behind it- it is anonymous. It is simply a technique of power. A technique of power aiming to indefinitely exploit the human forces and to completely supervise and control the whole society. Discipline differs especially in three points from earlier techniques of power:

The scale of control: It is not about controlling the body as a whole anymore but about controlling every little detail of it: its movements, its gestures, and its velocity.

The object of control: it is not the meaning of the behaviour that is interesting anymore but only its economy and efficiency.

The realisation of control: a permanent and complete supervision of the activities and their codification and fixation in an analytical pattern.

Foucault himself describes discipline with the following words:
"Methods which allow the meticulous control of the body's activities and the permanent submission of their forces in order to make them useful, can be called disciplines."[1]

The practices of discipline
The categorisation of space

Space is carefully organised and administrated: The goal is to create so much order, registration, control and regularity, that there is no non-categorised space left. Every individual corresponds to a space; every space corresponds to an individual. Everyone is exactly registered, examined, determined. This artificial space reduces human beings to objects that can easily be manipulated, and to simple fulfillers of their functions. Example: the difference in the treatment of lepers and the victims of the plague.

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[1] Überwachen und Strafen S. 175.

The exploitation of time

Every single moment is exploited as much as possible. There is always a possibility to further increase the efficiency and velocity. It is about the capitalisation of time. The old understanding of time as a returning circle looses its importance. The adoption of a linear time system makes it possible to believe in evolution, the progress of societies and the development of individuals. One consequence of this way of thinking is that if your personal "evolution" doesn't correspond with the "normal" time-schedule you're considered as a retard.

The creation of visibility

As soon as an individual is visible, it becomes possible to qualify it, to force it into norms, and if necessary to punish it. The examples are tests of any kind. They make your "capabilities" visible, they allow it to classify, to judge you, to give you your place in school, work or society. The fact that we are visible and therefore exposed leaves us no other choice than to try to live up to the rules. The perfection of this power-through-visibility-system is the Panopticon, where people finally control themselves.

Theories

The replacement of the soul has many names: psyche, subjectivity, personality, consciousness, conscience and so on. But whatever we call it, it is just as much an illusion as the soul of the theologians: the soul of today has nothing to do with the real self, but it is the effect and the instrument of an anonymous political power, that rules our body. The soul is the prison of the body.

Maybe the classification and fixing of individuals is a necessary condition to make them individuals. We need to be treated and categorised as objects in order to obtain an identity. In other words: it is not possible to be an individual without any tests and classifications.

The concept of the exploitation of time and the linear time system makes us believe that we must not only exploit every single moment of our lives but also that we must develop and evolve ourselves in order to make a progress. Because if we don't make a progress and don't reach anything, we are considered losers and we consider ourselves as losers. But making progress in this system of thinking ends up being only an improved adaptation of the prison rules and the only goal we ever reach is death.

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WHAT'S ABOUT THE "QUERELLE DES FEMMES" IN THE 20TH CENTURY?

I begin my presentation with a short explanation of the expression "Querelle des Femmes". Afterwards I switch from the Early Newtime to the 20th century and I close with some thesis for discussion.

"Querelle des Femmes" was a discussion that was held in the whole Europe during the 15th until the 18th century about the precedence of woman.

Christine de Pizan triggered it off in her dispute about the second part of the book "Roman de la Rose" of Jean de Meun. The main points of the discussion were the nature of woman, the intellectual and moral ability of woman as her social and legal position. The main question was, if woman had an intellect. The sources of the dispute came from the ancient and from the mediaeval theology and philosophy. The main sources are the Bible, specially the Genesis and the letters of Paul, the influence of the new platonic works of the church fathers as Augustinus and the scholastics influenced by Aristotle like Thomas of Aquino, who described woman as "Mulier est vir imperfectus sive occasionatus".

The dispute can be divided into two parts, in a misogynous and in a pro-women part.

The argumentations of the misogynous are the following:
- The human being of woman is devaluated with the effect that the claim to power of man will be justified.
- Deny of woman's mind with the effect that woman is expelled from the social functions.
- Thesis: The secondary importance of woman is caused by the Creator (God). The creation of Eva of Adam's rib is a sign that she is not God's image (Gottes Ebenbild) like Adam. From this point of view the intellectual and the moralist weakness are deduced. Therefore woman is submitted to man. She is measured to the sin of Eva, she is a seductress and she is an instrument of the devil.

In opposition to that there are the following arguments from the pro-women part:
- Defence of the honour of woman. She is on the same level as man and has partly more priority than man. The woman is also a human being.
- Women don't receive the same education as men. Therefore worse opportunities of education.
- Thesis: Because Eve was created in paradise out of a human being and not of earth like Adam, woman is set above man. She is perfect and the crowning of the creation. Woman is set above man too, because Mary has conceived God. Also Jesus Christ appeared first to Magdalena after his resurrection and Mary is set above the choir of angels after her Assumption.

These arguments were represented by Christine de Pizan (1364/65-1430/31) in her

work "La Cité des Dames" written in 1404/05, by Agrippa von Nettesheim (1488-1535) in his work "Vom Adel vnd Fürtreffen Weibliches geschlechts", by Marie de Gournay (1565-1645) in her treatise "Égalié des hommes et des Femmes" from 1622 and at least of François Poullain de la Barre (1647-1723) in his major works "De l'Égalité des deux Sexes" (1673), "De l'Éducation des Dames" (1674) and "De l' Exellence des hommes, contre l' Égalité des Sexes" , (1675).

The discussions about the "Querelle des Femmes" stopped, without shaking up one of the traditional approaches against women.

Now to the 20th century: At the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century scholars gave women still a lower mental ability. In 1897 a historian said that women are unable to study history as they miss a long methodical view, a political opinion etc.

The attention was turned to the biological verifiable and obvious physical differences of sex. The medical doctor Paul Julius Möbius compared the male brain to the female one and concluded that the smaller cerebral matter must be a sign of less "intellectual gift".

Such images are also found in the world of philosophy. In his work "Methaphysik der Geschlechtsliebe" Schopenhauer placed a woman between a man and a child. She is merely one of the tricks of the nature to seduce man and to reproduce the mankind. Kierkegaard has the same view too.

Although Sigmund Freud's psychoanalysis brought sex and sexuality in a new system of thinking for the first time, a woman was still the carrier of everything negative, such as a source of decadence. Freud saw a woman as a "black continent" during his whole life.

Still, after 11 years, in 1989 Graham A. Allan argued in his book "Friendship. Developing a Sociological Perspective" with the gender role to define friendship.

At the end of the 19th century and in the beginning of the 20th century the first feminist groups came up in Europe and in the USA and fought against the fixed traditional male-female roles. For example Marianne Weber (1870-1954) supported the self-determination of women and fought against the "marital patriarchy". Further Simone de Beauvoir (1908-1986) describes in her autobiography "Mémoires d' une jeune fille rangée" the change of female freedom. She is a part of the "women's lib". In her book "Le Deuxième Sexe" which was first published in 1949 in Paris, there is an analysis of the situation of women. This book assumes an important role in the 60ties in the American women's lib and a decade later in the new European women's lib. She constructs her thesis that a woman is not born but made. Therefore she researched into biology, mythology, history and sociology for material to confirm her thesis. For her, it is more the culture than the biology that determines womanhood and the behaviour of woman.

One of the results of women's lib is, that women for example became university lecturers and politicians.

Thesis

- Without the "Querelle des Femmes" the women's situation wouldn't be so free as it is
- The women's lib of the 20th century orientated itself among other things on the ideas of women between the 15th and 18th century
- As the book of Graham A. Allan shows there still are barriers against women today.
- It can be said that the 20th century has brought the liberty to some women in the world.

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THE CHANGING OF THE OLYMPIC MOVEMENT

In my research I'm dealing with the review of the Olympic movement and with the changes that strongly influenced the Olympics during the time of their existence. Today's Olympic movement is essentially different from Coubertin Olympic ideas.

CUBERTAIN'S IDEAS

Baron Pierre de Cubertain (1863-1937) is a well-known father of the modern Olympic movement. As a contemplative man he was determined to bring back noble spirit by reforming the old fashioned educational system. All his projects had the same aim: to create men. He used sport for inner strength and instead of wars he wanted to create a peaceful competition. He wanted the Olympic games to be more than just a simple sport competition. He wished for the Olympics to be religion, to represent an elite, to create a truce and to glorify beauty. At the Sorbonne meeting in 1894 the International Olympic Committee was founded and the first modern games took place in Athens in 1896.

But the world was essentially changing and if the Olympic movement had wanted to remain the first among the sport events it would have had to come to terms with the global changes of the society. The Olympic movement had to lose Cubertain's attributes and open itself for everyone.

During all this time it had to face many troubles, which endangered its existence.

STRUGGLING OLYMPISM

During its existence of over 100 years the Olympic movement was forced to confront many problems. Even though the movement over lived the first financial crises and the time of great economic crises it couldn't be held during the period of both world wars. The two great gaps are 1912-1920, 1936-1948.

The Olympic idea was often abused. In fact, we could say that every single Olympic games were abused, at least for some promotional purposes. But that is a completely different story.

A perfect example of politically and ideologically abused games were the Olympic games in Berlin in 1936. National-socialistic regime organized the biggest event till then to show to the rest of the world the most "peacefully" directed regime.

Almost every game had to do with some threat but it was the Olympic village in Munchen in 1972 that was witnessed the greatest Olympic tragedy until then. Eleven Israeli sportsmen were killed by Palestinian terrorists.

The Olympic idea in its worldwide extensiveness was in some cases seriously endangered. The clearest example is the time of the cold war.

OLYMPIC GAMES – THE MAIN SPORT EVENT ON THE EARTH
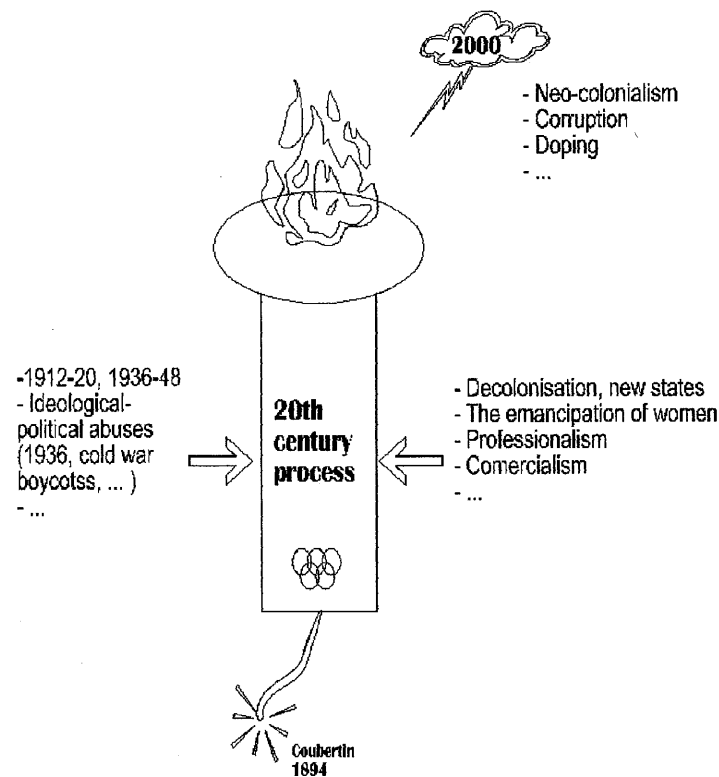
During that period both superpowers used the Olympic field to demonstrate their power. Sportsmen from both sides were forced to accept the rules of their own countries that thought that their regime was the only right system. The symbolic confrontations with the coexistence of self-identification produced strong emotions. Every success was valued as a victory of a system.

On the other hand, this fact didn't have such a negative influence (on the contrary it even produced competitiveness), as did the boycotts.

Boycotts

The Olympic idea was seriously endangered at the beginning of the 80's. American president Carter called for a boycott of summer games in Moscow, because of the Soviet aggression against Afghanistan. He succeeded, only 80 countries competed there, 30 cancelled, the other 33 did not respond to the invitation. Eastern block (with exception of Romania) stroked back at next Olympics in 1984 in Los Angeles.

The first badly attended games were also those held in Melbourne in 1956. The causes for this were political boycotts as well as the remoteness of Australia. China didn't compete because of the participation of Taiwan; Egypt and Lebanon found reason in the Suez crisis; the Netherlands, Spain and Liechtenstein cancelled their participation because of the Soviet aggression on Hungary.

IOC was not pleased with the non-attendance but in some cases IOC also banned some states from participating in the Olympic games.

In the First World War the defeated Central forces couldn't compete at the Antwerpen games in 1920. Germany also couldn't attend games held in Paris in 1924. Germany and Japan, because of being the aggressors in the WWII didn't compete in St.Moritz and London in 1948. From Tokyo 1964 till Barcelona 1992 the sportsmen from the Republic of South Africa didn't participate because of the state policy of Apartheid.

ASSIMILATING OLYMPISM

Decolonisation and acceptance of new states

With decolonisation of the "third world" a strong community was formed independently. It has the strongest sport potential, which gives it great importance (but is on the other hand still dependent on rich countries). The number of the IOC members increased fast. Besides the numerous African and Asian countries that joined the Olympic movement in the 50's, 60's and 70's, new independent states formed from the remains of ex-communist empires at the beginning of 90's entered the Olympic arena.

The emancipation of women

Cubertain argued for total absence of women in the Olympic area (as in ancient Greece). However, women have entered Olympics and are slowly becoming equal to men in the number of competitive disciplines.

On the second Olympic games held in Paris in 1900, twelve women competed, first in golf and tennis, and later also in sailing and balloon flights. In Stockholm in 1912 they already competed in swimming. An important progress was made during the games in Amsterdam in
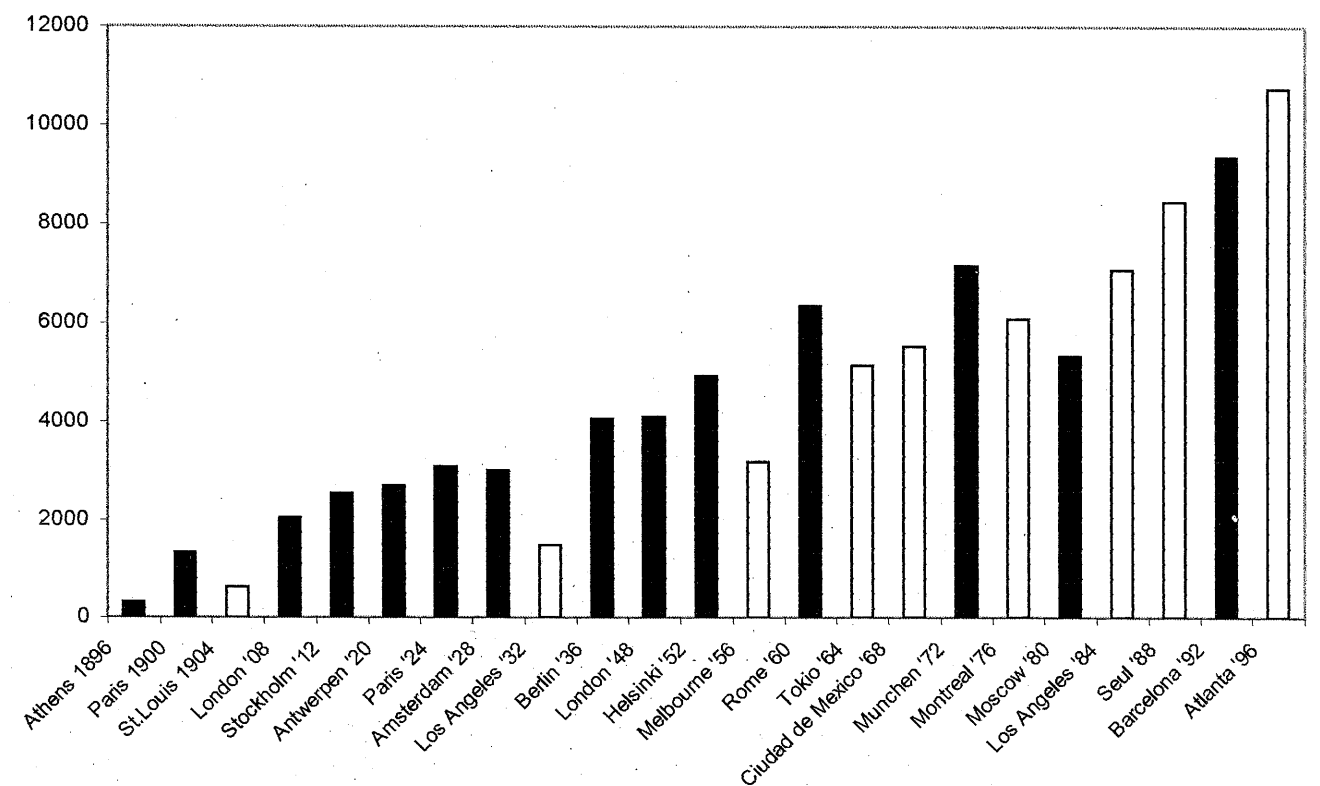
1928 when they first competed in athletics (middle distance line running were forbidden till 60's). A woman first took the Olympic oath in Cortina (1956) and lighted the first Olympic flame in Mexico in 1968.

In Seoul in 1988 women ran the first marathon and in Atlanta in 1996 they even played soccer.

Professionalism

Professionalism of sportsmen was one of the important changes. The sport couldn't remain the aim for itself.

As early as 1912 in Stockholm an American pentathlon and decathlon athlete John Thorpe was disqualified because of the suspicious professional career. A very known example is also the "last minute" ban for Austrian alpine skier Karl Schranz before Sapporo in 1972.

IOC, led by Juan Antonio Samaranch from 1980, started great changes. The famous Rule 26, which let only amateur sportsmen attend the Olympics, was abolished (at first partly in 1984). Today all the best sportsmen from all over the world can compete at the Olympic games and this gives the Olympics their main importance and attraction.

Commercialism

Samaranch, being the major defender of the commercialism of the Olympic games, says that the Olympic movement is only by means of sponsorship, marketing and selling TV rights ready for the challenges of the 21st Century.

The games in Los Angeles in 1984 were the first that were totally privately financed. The consequence was the entering of new commercially attractive disciplines and putting all the competitions in the prime time periods.

TODAY'S PROBLEMS

IOC as an oligarchic, self-co-opting organisation with worldwide monopolistic tendencies lacks democratic structure, legitimacy and control from below. It has to face many new problems. They have been talking about the reform for a long time and it is clear that only a reformed IOC could solve the problems. Slowly the things are getting better, but there are some remarks to be made.

Neo-colonialism

Since the decolonisation and the rise of non-European sports movements the Olympic structure has demonstrated a remarkable national-cultural inequality. Besides that, Western functionaries and Western sports are dominating in the movement. Olympism is today an important factor of the western economic and cultural expansion.

Corruption

There was recently some talk of the corruption affairs connected with the next winter Olympic games hosted in Salt Lake City in 2002. An important Swiss IOC member Eric Hodler claimed vote buying was common in the selection of host cities. In fact American organizers had given 400.000$ worth scholarships to some relatives of the IOC members.

Doping

For many modern top sportsmen the end justifies the means. To be at the Olympics is important, but it is more important to win and for that goal they are prepared to risk anything. It is clear to everyone that without medical support you can't come even close to being a top athlete. It is only the question of knowing the limits the sportsmen are willing to reach without being caught.

CONCLUSION

The Olympic movement has been growing and changing since its foundation and reflecting all the world's occurrences. This rigid movement has adapted to (political, social, economical...) circumstances. If Olympism wanted to survive and remain the most important sport event in the world it would have to face historical process of the stormy 20th Century.

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FOREST AS A FINNISH DOMESTIC, NON-INDUSTRIAL RESOURCE

FINLAND AND FORESTS

It was some 9000 years ago, as the most recent Ice Age was resending that hunters and fishers began to spread into what is now known as Finland. Game, firewood and construction timber and wood for implements and weapons were obtained from the forests, as were also berries and material for making clothing and footwear. Furs were traded in exchange for salt and jewellery. Hunting and fishing were the principal sources of livelihood for thousands of years.

Nowadays Finland is a land with thousand lakes and forests. Finland is the fifth largest country in Europe, excluding the Russian federation. Roughly 1/3 of the country lies north of the Arctic Circle. The area of Finland is 338 145km2, 68% of which is forest, 10% water and 6% cultivated land.

Nordic nature of cold climate, long winters, lakes and rivers freezing over, alteration of darkness and light are the exact elements which have shaped the Nordic landscape for centuries. The frames provided by the climate and natural circumstances are the key factors in analysis of constructing the physical surroundings and nutritional culture in Finland. The growing season is very short, only 150 or 200 days between spring and autumn ploughing. In Southern Finland the average temperature is between 12°C and 22°C in July and between −9°C and −4°C in January.

Forests still have multiple uses in Finland: wood production is superior to any other single forest use. It includes for example sawn timber, pulp and paper as well as forest based energy production. In many ways forests still have an aesthetic function in Finnish culture.

PERIOD OF DIMINISHING FORESTS (16TH-19TH CENTURY)

Farming in the region known as Finland began about 4000 years ago, in the form of Sweden cultivation and evolved into permanent field cultivation in south-western Finland during the Bronze Age, about 3500 years ago. Sweden cultivation nevertheless persisted in eastern Finland and in southern parts of northern Finland up to early 1900s.

Sweden cultivation was of extremely great significance in the setting of Finland, as it enabled the tillers of the land to obtain more food from the forests for human consumption than would have been possible when relying solely on hunting and fishing. This in turn led to population growth and the spread of human settlements inland.

The Finnish people made use of the nature around them in order to survive in the cold North. As the population increased, the degree of this exploitation rose (ca. 16th −19th centuries) and the country's forest cover began to decrease. Forests were felled in excess of

their growth everywhere where people settled and where waterways were close. The situation in Finland in the 16th-19th centuries corresponded to the present-day situation in the developing countries. The growing population and its low standard of living forced people to shortsighted exploitation of the environment in order to satisfy their basic needs. Indeed, the Finland of those days was a developing country. Reasons which were leading to the loss of forest cover were, that there were no forest management, slash-and-burn and the cultivation cycle, grazing of cattle in the forest, tar distillation (tar was Finland's foremost export product in the 17th and 18th centuries.), charcoal burning and shipbuilding, repeated forest fires and the use of wood in building and heating.

Sweden cultivation and tar distillation consumed a lot of wood, at their maximum about 10million cubic metres each per year. But even more wood went into satisfying the needs of households, for heating and as building timber. The domestic, non- industrial consumption of wood amounted to 12-17- million cubic metres a year up to the 1950s, after which it has decreased 4-5 million cubic metres a year.

In addition to building material and fuel, wood had numerous other uses. Furniture (tables, benches, cupboards, shelves, beds and chests) was made out of wood, as also were dishes and cutlery, vehicles, storage containers, tools and many other things. Splints stuck into cracks in the walls of log houses served as sources of light, though their illuminating effect was poor and the smoke stung one's eyes. The know-how related to different tree species was transferred from one generation to the next still urbanisation; new materials and increasing imports broke the tradition.

CULTURAL TRADITIONS AND EVERYMAN'S RIGHT

The thousands of years for which forest have been used in Finland have had a diversity of impacts on Finnish culture- on the traditions and way of life of the Finns. There truly is no other country in Europe where forests have so great an economic and psychological significance. Hunting and fishing, Sweden cultivation and grazing, tar distillation, household use of wood and the industrial consumption of wood have been the foundation of Finland's national economy. Were it not for the forests, the Finns would not be here.

The ancient forest culture manifests itself today in popular leisure activities. A powerful element of the old hunting, fishing and Sweden cultivation culture is involved in the present-day customs of hunting, gathering berries, picking mushrooms, skiing, orienteering, rambling, and following interests in nature.

Finns value expiring the forest and everyman's right to wander in the woods picking berries and mushrooms. There are today 50 different wild berries growing in Finland, twenty of which are eatable. The everyman's right is a special Nordic "law", which gives everybody a right to common access to the nature. It originated in Medieval Ages, when there were great-uninhabited forests around Nordic villages. Until the beginning of 20th century forest were seen as a common property although the distribution of forest land was made in the general

parcelling out of the land in 18th century. It was still allowed, based on everyman's right to take wood from forests to make tools and house ware utensils. Nowadays, in the forests everybody is allowed to pick fallen branches and genes; and naturally to pick berries and mushrooms. The everyman's right gives right to collect the products of forests, regardless of whether the land is owned by private persons, industrial companions or state.

The special character of everyman's right is not a part of Finnish legislation as such. Some of it is included in the legislation, such as the right to wander in the nature, which dates as far back as 1734, or that involves everybody visiting Finland, regardless of their nationality. In legislation it is also defined that according to everyman's right, trespassing into people's gardens and yards is forbidden, though the exact limits are not mentioned. In part everyman's right is a common law of customs based on Finland's national values and culture. It gives lots of freedom to enjoy and use the nature but since nature is seen as our common heritage it also entails lots of responsibilities. For example, wandering and moving in the nature has to be done in such a way that it does not harm the nature in any way. Thus, it is stipulated in the legislation that it is allowed to move on foot, skies or ridding a bike or a horse on somebody else's ground that is in its natural state. Also, people are expected by the law to leave no litter in the woods and otherwise take care that no trace of their visit is left behind.

NATUREPRODUCTS IN HOUSEHOLD

The population, rapidly urbanized as a result of heavy migration, is still able to experience surrounding forests over and over again. It is assumed that an average Finn makes 20 visits to the forests (excluding those for picking and hunting activities). The total economic value of major forest uses in Finland is: for wood production 1966 million Euros, picking berries 56 million Euros and reindeer husbandry 14 million Euros. Forests are used for carbon sequestration, nature-based tourism, biodiversity conservation and outdoor recreation which all seem to have considerable economic importance. Finns are today asking how forests can be managed in a sustainable manner in future.

It is estimated that the total crop of eatable mushrooms is today 1000 million kilograms per annum and wild berries approximately 100 kilos per every Finn yearly. Traditionally, there have always been differences in the usage and preservation of wild berries belonging more to the eastern tradition. Salted mushrooms were used as substitutes for meat during winters and springs. Eastern areas are also areas where fresh bread was baked every week instead of using dry bread in the diet. Even today rural households in Eastern Finland are better equipped with freezers of 500-1000 litres of capacity than the western households. According to Household Expenditure Survey of Statistical Office of Finland 1990, 80% of all Finnish households owned freezers.

Berries and mushrooms still remain a part of Finland's urban market place culture. Before the Second World War it was possible to sell all kinds of farm products in market places. After the war, the regulations of the market place trade were reformed and open-air market places remained mostly for vegetables, berries, flowers, mushrooms and fish to be sold.

FUTURE

One prognosis for the future is that the consumption of forest-based products like sawn timber and related products, pulp and paper and forest-based energy production will increase, but at the same time forests will be used more and more for recreation and for producing natural products like berries and mushrooms. Picking berries and mushrooms and hunting belongs to tradition; wandering in forests is an experience itself. Also, forests with their product are places for meditation and relaxing for Finns. And of taste of forests' gifts it can be said that the long light summer nights in Finland produce cops that have unique aroma, which still can be tasted in final product.

Workshop 6: Art and Culture

ART AND CULTURE

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Tanja Didak

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2.	Silvano	Gerosa	Basel	Jazz as Completed Style of Music (of the 20th Century). Black Power and Self Emancipation Seen through the Autobiographies of Jazz Musicians	Silvano-Luca.Gerosa@stud.unibas.ch
3.	Kaisa	Kaakinen	Helsinki	The Cultural Policy and Ideology of Nazi German in the 1930s	kaisa.kaakinen@helsinki.fi
4.	Femke	Kok	Nijmegen	The Only Historical Woman: A Fictional One? The Upgrade of Women in the Twentieth Century Historical Novel	F_Kok@yahoo.com
5.	Janne	Lahtonen	Turku	Those Fabulous Furry Freak Brothers: Underground Comics and Sixties	Jasala@utu.fi
6.	Àdàm	Molnàr	Debrecen	Fiction of the Regan Era. Two Models of American Writing in the 1980s	adammol@tigris.klte.hu
7.	Akseli	Salmi	Turku	The Finnish Workers' Theatre Tradition	akseli.salmi@utu.fi
8.	Elise	Seppälä	Joensuu	Futurism and Fascism – Handshake of Art, Ideology and Politics	eseppala@cc.joensuu.fi
9.	Miklós	Takács	Debrecen	Devotional Literature? Religious Poetry? Or Poems on Divinity? – The Problematic Role of God in Modern Poetry	mikita35@hotmail.com

Talking about the art and culture is not something historians usually do. Well, especially on ISHA meetings. But you can easily realise that it's impossible to sum up the whole century without referring to its cultural aspects.

The opening lecture was about ideology and Croatian cinema and Nikica Gilić professor at the Department of Comparatistic Literature of the Faculty of Philosopfhy held it. It was very interesting for those who knew something about Croatian cinema and, in the same time, very informative for those who didn't know anything.

Which were the topics in this workshop? At the beginning we discussed several aspects of the literature in the 20th century (The Problematic Role of God in Modern Poetry, The Upgrade or Woman in the Twentieth Century Historical Novel, Fiction of the Regan Era). The papers that followed were analysing some social tendencies and their reflection on the field of art and culture (The Finnish Workers Theatre Tradition, Black Power and Self Emancipation Seen through the Autographs of Jazz Musicians, Underground Comics and Eighties). On the second day of workshops we had two papers dealing with relations between ideology and culture (Futurist Art Movement and Mussolini, Gottfiried Benn and the Relationship between National Socialism and Expressionism in Germany in the 1930s). At the end we listened about many-sided Lithuanian artist - M.K. Čiurlionis.

During the discussion all the participants agreed that culture is not something people do in their spare time, but something deeply integrated in every aspect of human life. That is why the phenomenon of culture is inevitable part of human development. On conclusions we proclaimed that our workshop was the best because it discussed the topics more thoroughly. Well, it was the end of discussion when we realised (and it was our main thesis) that the topic of each paper in this workshop can be related to the title of almost every workshop on this Conference. Let us give you only one example (and you can easily find the
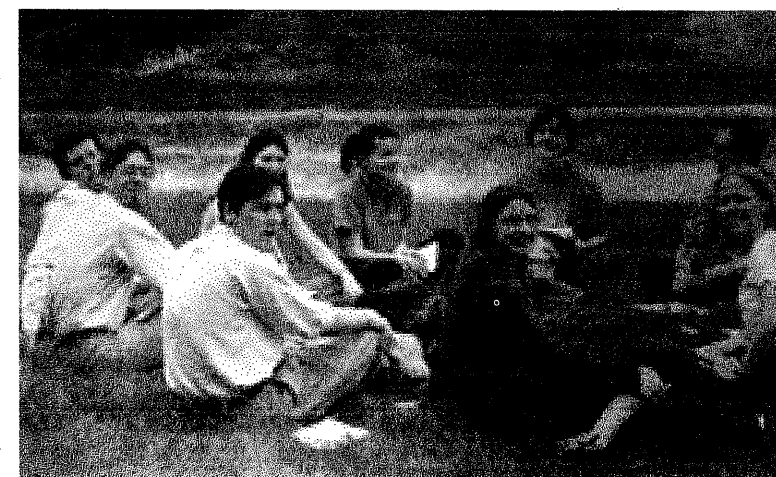
others). Paper on Underground Comics in Eighties can be related to the following workshops: The Way of Living, Movements, The Media, The destinies of nations etc.

Our presentation on conclusions was aiming to "justify" that thesis. Three members of this WS (Elise, Femke and Silvano) picked up the pieces of paper with the title of the three workshops and they had the task to make the connection between that WS and their own paper. They succeeded without difficulties and loud clapping of the audience was the proof that our main thesis was accepted. So, do not forget art and culture any more when you're speaking about any period of the past!

At the end I wish to thank my assistant Tanja and all the participants in this workshop - Austeja, Elise, Femke,

Kaisa, Adam, Akseli, Janne, Miklos, Silvano - thank you for being part of the best workshop on the best ISHA Conference ever.

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FUTURISM AND FASCISM - HANDSHAKE OF ART, IDEOLOGY AND POLITICS

Futurism was created mainly by Italian Filippo Tommasso Marinetti, who remained the leading figure of the movement through the whole decade of 1910s. Marinetti and futurism were in the first place Italians, but the movement influenced other European modernist movements, too. This presentation will deal only with futurism that took place in Italy. The main focus will be on the development of the movement during the 1910s. Futurism is many-sided and complex phenomena, and this paper will give a glimpse only to futurist painting, ideology and political connections with proto-Fascists.

FUTURIST MANIFESTO

In February 1909 Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, Italian poet and writer, launched the Futurist Manifesto in Le Figaro. This was seen as a beginning of the futurist movement. The Manifesto was dynamic, written in fierce language and it was full of insults and deliberate exaggeration. But it was exactly this dynamism, not the content, that most appealed to the public. The Manifesto was an ode to masculine virtues: war, machines, dynamism, and patriotism...

The Manifesto counted on present moment; it claimed that all museums, libraries and academies in the world should be destroyed. Especially in Italy futurists saw that the situation of leaning on the past was unbearable, so Marinetti announced that futurists want to free Italy from the cancer caused by professors, archaeologists, tourist guides and antique sellers. Museums were good only for the elderly, the sick and the prisoners, who anyway didn't have anything to expect from their future anymore. Meanwhile the young, strong, lively futurists didn't need that past to lean on. Futurists turned their backs to the past and trusted on the new, dynamic future and its innovations. The Manifesto adored such technological inventions as locomotives, aeroplanes, lorries, and ocean-going steamers. Also factories, train stations and bridges were high on their list, but it was the racing car that really symbolized futurism for Marinetti. He wrote that a racing-car pulling fire out from mufflers was more beautiful than the Nikea of Samothrake.

The ideology of being modern was mixed into the thought of being young. Turning 40 meant practically the same as dying. It was only the young who could fulfil the goals of the futurists and take the responsibility of creativeness in a society. A political background in Italy for this kind of ideology of superiority of youth was laid already during the *risorgimento* when the famous youth squadron of Mazzini, *Giovane Italia*, existed. In the beginning of the 20th century it was not only the futurists who felt the responsibility of the future, but it was a

universal phenomena. Loose groups as Die Brucke, Der Blaue Reiter and Sezession also saw themselves as the hope of the society.

Besides the defiance of the youth in the Manifesto, another central element was the violence it contained. Conflict, violence, misogyny, anarchism and war were the perfect expressions of universal dynamism for Marinetti and other futurists. Especially war was praised among the group and they absolutely denied such ideas as humanitarianism and pacifism. It was written in the Manifesto that they wanted to praise war as the only purifying force in the world. They also supported patriotism, destroying elements of anarchism and all beautiful ideals that kill. This was the part that especially appealed to young Mussolini, and later on he used the idea of purifying war in his propaganda.

And after crushing museums and the past in general, being old, being peaceful, Marinetti also wanted to crush the women. Marinetti announced that they want to fight against women's rights and that they deeply despite women. Naked female body was absolutely forbidden in the futurist paintings. This kind of masculinity was a balancing force for the adoration of women spread by art nouveau and symbolism. Futurist man didn't show anything that would have given hints of femininity. Real futurist man showed no love, goodness, affection or moral pain.

FUTURIST PAINTING

Filippo Tommaso Marinetti described futurist art as it follows:" Futurism is artistical optimism and opposite to the all chronic pessimism; it is perpetual dynamism, persistent renewing and inflexible will."[1] Futurism had its effect on all the fields of art - painting, photography, sculpture, music, theatre, literature[2], and poetry... In architecture the representation of futurism was *Città Nuova*, a plan by Antonio Sant`Elia and Mario Chiattone who based the city on wide autopistas, high apartment buildings and electrical innovations. This new city would have been as dynamic as its source of inspiration: machines. But it was painting from all the fields of art, where futurism played the biggest and most evident role.

Soon after the Manifesto the idea of new style began to develop among five Italian painters, who later on formed the nucleus of futurist painting until the First World War. They were Giacomo Balla, Umberto Boccioni, Carlo Carrá, Luigi Russolo and Gino Severini. They launched the Manifesto of Futurist Painting (Manifesto dei pittori futuristi) in Torino in March

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[1] The quotations of the Manifesto are translated into English from the Finnish translation by the author.
[2] Literature fell behind the other fields of art in adapting futurism. In 1912 Marinetti realized this and so he wrote Futurist Manifesto of Literature. He urged that writers should forget the traditional grammatical rules, adjectives, adverbs and conjugation of verbs. He also asked writers to replace the punctuation marks with mathematical symbols, such as +, x, = for example. This was shown also in the names of futurist paintings. Gino Severini made paintings called *Dancer=Sea* or *Sea=Dancer+Bouquet.*

1910. The painters called for originality and new, modern life for painting. This first manifesto though lacked any kind of technical advise on how to achieve the futurist goals, so the painters soon published a new manifesto, Technical Manifesto of Futurist painting. In this second manifesto the painters stated that all futurist paintings must include sensation of dynamical movement and that this kind of sensation would be achieved by using divisionist-painting method. Analytical cubism formed a source and reference to the painters in technical sense. Many Italian futurist painters spent time in Paris to absorb the influence of Picasso and Braque. Also the German expressionist group, Die Brucke, gave ideas for futurists. First futurist paintings were displayed in 1911 in the exhibition "Mostra d`Arte Libera" in Milan. The audience did not immediately approve the new style and it was widely criticized. The next step for the futurist painters was to show their work in Paris in 1912 in Galerie Bernheim Jeune where they were welcomed with a positive curiosity.

During the first two years of the futurist movement the five painters kept developing the futurist art style. All traditional elements of painting were strongly prohibited. The female beauty for example was replaced by aesthetic of machine - locomotives, aeroplanes, trains and autopistas were common motifs in the futurist paintings. As long as an object moved and created a sensation of dynamism, the painting was regarded as futurist. Futurist artists abandoned the traditional concepts of space and time and the realism of colours. Their paintings were extremely subjective. They intended to combine the reality of seen object and the reality of sensing the object and form a synthesis out of these two elements. André Breton has commented that this *painting of the state of mind* was the biggest gift from futurism to the art of painting.

Futurist painting reached its peak between 1912 and 1915. The five leading painters began to clean their painting through three steps: first they wanted to give up their previous impressionist education, secondly solve the problems of representing space by analytical cubism and last, find the "abstract rhythm" of objects in order to fit them better into the composition. During this period such a futurist masterpieces as Severini's *Dynamical Hieroglyphs of Bal Tabarin* (1912) saw daylight. The First World War broke the group of futurist painters and some of them like Boccioni didn't survive to witness the second phase of futurist painting in the end of the 1910s. Giacomo Balla was the only one from the group of five painters who participated also in this second futurist movement of painting. After the war the futurist painters had to compete with metaphysical painters and painters of "novecento", neo-academical movement. The movement in general got more political nature after the war, but this didn't mean that the artistical side of the movement would not have survived in the new more political context of futurism.

FUTURISTS, NATIONALISM AND THE FIRST WORLD WAR

Futurists were politically ultra-nationalists. In 1913 Boccioni, Carrà, Marinetti and Russolo signed the Political Manifesto of Futurism, which clearly showed the nationalist nature

of the movement. They announced that the word "Italy" was far more important than the word "freedom". Marinetti often repeated his glorified view on Italian people. He saw them as creative geniuses. Futurism was strongly nationalistic and imperialistic, but at the same time it was also individualistic, libertarian and cosmopolitan - the virtues that are usually understood to be opposite to nationalism. Marinetti and his group went even so far in their tolerance that they accepted the most radical social reforms, but this always happened in the recognition of the nation's primacy as collective value. Being cosmopolitan and modern at the same time when being nationalistic sounds quite contradictory. George Mosse who has been studying Futurism has divided nationalism into two separate categories: first there is the nationalism that holds on to the old tradition. But the other type of nationalism that the futurists represented, accepts the modernity. Marinetti wrote and clarified how he saw nationalism being independent from other ideas: *"The idea of nationalism had been associated with conservatism, repression, the aristocracy, and clericalism, linked ideas which must be brutally separated."*[8]

Since the unification of Italy, the myth of national regeneration had lived strongly among Italian nationalists. The myth also included the thought of morality of war and youth as an active force on the way to the national regeneration. Because all these aspects - nationalism, glorification of war and the cult of youth - were also the principal ideas of Futurism, was the myth of national regeneration widely cherished among the members of the group. Especially before the First World War the myth was inseparable part of the movement, as it was still believed that the regeneration could be achieved by new culture, modernism. But the war broke this illusion and after the First World War new politics was seen the method to achieve goal. And it was Fascism that stepped in to fulfil the long-lived dream of nationalists.

The First World War was a great inspiration and long waited possibility for the futurists. Already the war in Libya in 1911 was seen in very positive light among the futurists, but the World War really was the way to finally unify the nation and lift Italy among the real power states of Europe. But for their great disappointment, Italy decided to stay neutral in the beginning of the war. This caused a massive attack of loud demonstrations by futurists and other interventionists, mainly intellectuals and nationalists, but certain socialist circles supported the war, too. Most of the Italians though supported the neutrality. After negotiating with both side, Italy entered the *Great War* in 1915 with the Allied powers. Futurists were among the first ones to grasp on to the arms and step in to the Italian forces. Finally they could carry out their ideal of *mystique of action.*

A myth of interventionists as a main force that led Italy to the war was a long-lived idea in the studies of Italian history. This myth of magical force of interventionists was also strengthened by Mussolini who himself also belonged to the interventionists. In one of his

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[3] Lyttelton, 1973, p.368.

speeches in 1919 Mussolini saw the interventionists solemn ones to get Italy out of shameful situation of neutrality. In recent studies, however, this myth has been shown to be only a myth. Martin Clark notes that it was purely diplomatic decision to preserve Liberal institutions and maintain social order. And besides these, Italy wanted its share when the frontier lines would be discussed after the war. But what is important for this paper is not weather it was interventionists who forced Italy to enter the war or not, but the point that futurists were the central figures among the interventionists. They organized wide amount of meetings, demonstrations and other happenings to support their case. They saw that the Great War was possibility to achieve the national regeneration and that all the futurist virtues did exist in this war: violence, action, technology, masculinity, nationalism, inhumanity, and dynamism. And after all, it was war that purified the world, according to them.

POLITICAL FUTURISM AND FASCISM

Political Futurism was born from the war experience and it formed a synthesis between two myths: national regeneration and combattentismo. In 1918 Marinetti found the Futurist Political Party whose program was left-wing in practical reforms. The party claimed for example the right to organize and strike, educational reform and very surprisingly universal suffrage. After all, it wasn't exactly futurists who were the supporters of women's rights movement! The program also opposed strongly a parasitic bureaucracy, the monarchy and reviled clergy. And of course nationalism had its share in the program, too.

In 1919 many futurists joined battle squads, *Fasci Italiani di Combattimento*. The squads were revolutionary groups that were established in 1915 by Mussolini. Their purpose had been to force Italy to enter the war. In 1919 the squads changed into Italian battle squads with strongly Fascist spirit. The bond between the Fascist and Futurism was now obvious. Both ideologies adored nationalism and Italian patriotism, war and violence were also highly esteemed among both groups. Both also waited the regeneration of Italy. And Futurists and Fascists shared also the hatred towards bourgeoisie and socialism. And they even had the same image of ideal man: he was supposed to be young, strong, vivid and masculine.

Futurists taught Fascists how to flatter the younger generations. After the war Italian youth had really founded Futurism, because it opposed the middle-class lifestyle in the provinces. The war had shown that the old family ideology was in crisis. Youth didn't automatically have secured future waiting for them anymore and this gave a reason to revolt against the traditional parental authority. Futurism by its manifestation of the power of youth attracted the confused Italian youngsters. And via Futurism the young became also familiar with Fascism. Both movements gave them a feeling of liberation from the bonds of family and society. The other lesson Fascists got from Futurists was how to use the cult of technique, speed and sport. Even later on Mussolini wanted to be associated with Futurists for propagandist reasons. He understood that being friends with the apostles of modernity would make him look modern, too.

Marinetti, who was a personal friend of Mussolini, saw Fascism being an answer to all the problems in Italy. But it was already in 1920 when the harmonious bond between these two movements broke. In the beginning of the 1920s Fascism turned into a mass movement and abandoned its intellectual and elitist nature. At the same time it also turned into traditionalism giving all the value to the virtue of Italian people. Futurism seemed a way too modernist and cosmopolitan. Despite the strong nationalism, Futurists hadn't broken the connections with the other European avant-gardists. Futurism was not good enough to be the official art style of the Fascist Italy either, because its artistical dimensions were glorified by Russian Bolshevism. Marinetti himself also broke with Mussolini officially in the Fascist Congress of May 1920. The main reason for the rupture was Mussolini's compromising acceptance of the monarchy and clergy. The signs for the separation were seen already before the Congress. After all, Marinetti was truly anarchic and individualistic while Mussolini represented pragmatic political thinking of mass power as a base of his regime. Marinetti did try to return to the core of Fascism in 1924, but now he was only an artist in the political circles, not an avant-garde politician anymore, so the result of this "encore" was fairly poor. Generally the futurists supported Fascism, and some of them joined the Fascist party, but none of them became visible in the politics anymore in the '20s.

THE RESULTS OF THE BEAUTIFUL FRIENDSHIP

When examining the effects of futurism to the Fascism, it must be remembered that futurism was of course only one factor that led to the birth of ideology called Fascism. Syndicalists and nationalists also had notable influence on Mussolini and his colleagues. But it is clear that Futurism did give a lot to the Fascists. It was already before the war that Mussolini loaned the idea of purifying war from Futurist. So even before Futurism really became political, it had already played a role in the early stages of Mussolini's thinking. Between 1918-1920 the influence was remarkable and the Futurist-Fascist nexus was at its highest peak.

The friendship with Fascists has had a crucial influence on futurist art. The Fascist connotations of the movement have secured the unfair judgment and absolute underestimation of the artistical futurism. There have been two opposite theories weather futurist artists really participated in the political action of the movement led by Marinetti or weather they consulted Marinetti only on artistical matters and otherwise stayed out of the political action. It is hard to believe that the artists had nothing to do with the political side of the futurism, after all, the leading futurist painters did sign the Political Manifesto of Futurism in 1913 and many were also seen at the interventionist demonstrations.

But weather the artists joined the political circles or not should not have any importance when the artistical and aesthetical value of the movement is estimated. It must be underlined that before the war futurist art was well known and respected by critiques all over Europe and futurist artists produced plenty of paintings that definitely are masterpieces among other European modernist paintings. And after all, futurism as an art style was spread to various parts of Europe, especially in Russia futurist painters formed important avant-garde group. After the war futurism has often been regarded to be only political, but this interpretation has been showed to be wrong. Artistical activities continued also after the war, but unfortunately the artists generally didn't have the magical touch of dynamism anymore. Many futurist artists drifted into other styles, but some of them committed their artistical career in the 1920s and 1930 to futurist painting which gave its support to the Fascist Italy through all the years.

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THE ONLY HISTORICAL WOMAN: A FICTIONAL ONE? THE UPGRADE OF WOMEN IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY HISTORICAL NOVEL

Is the only historical woman a fictional one? The twentieth century, and especially it's second half, shows an upgrade of female characters in historical fiction, while female actors in historical science still take a marginal place. It is true that West European historical science has a new interest in women and other groups on the borderline of past society, as the rise of gender history shows, but it didn't bring this interest into practice yet. Most books, especially schoolbooks, do with a little paragraph at the end of a chapter, titled: the position of women. This paragraph in most studies does not contain important information and is only a sign of politeness to the women of the second feministic movement.

How can the upgrade of women, quantitative and qualitative, in historical fiction from the second half of the twentieth century be explained? And why wasn't this upgrade so strong in historical science? Although historiography forms a factor of explanation, this paper will mostly concentrate on historical fiction. It won't catch literary aspects of the novel, as I will limit myself to the historical context. For a proper explanation, a definition of the subject is still necessary, just like a description of the development of the relation between historiography and historical fiction from the nineteenth century, and the development of the character of the genre itself.

From thousands of definitions of modern historical fiction I chose a wide one, developed by a prominent literary scientist, Serge Heibrant. According to him, a historical novel is a fictional, literary story, laid in the past, in which historical aspects are contained. The story should be based on encyclopaedic facts.[1] I do not agree with this last condition and I will explain this later in my paper.

The historical novel in its modern form came into existence in the nineteenth century, parallel with Romanticism and a new ideal of science.[2] Most historians as the first historical novels consider the Waverly novels by Sir Walter Scott,[3] although Serge Heibrant does not agree with that. According to his research, historical fiction has existed from Middle Ages on. Respecting the results of his research, I am inclined to say, that the historical novel in theoretical terms could not exist until the nineteenth century, as only in this century history

was separated from theology and literature.[4] Moreover, Romanticism formed a new framework for history and historical fiction. This cultural trend separated the past and the present and emphasised special historical events.[5] In the nineteenth century for the first time historical literature could be written in full conscience.

Is there a connection between historical science and historical fiction? Both areas of work concentrate on the past, and both use the same sources. Still there are a few differences. Pelckman explains these in some beautiful words: Historians are authors, who turn facts into historical interpretations. Novelists make these interpretations to subjects of imagination.[6] Heibrant later agrees that Historians and Historian novelists aren't competitors, no more as a runner and a boxer.[7] That Historians do consider novelists as rivals comes clear from the difficult relationship between history and historical fiction during times. The development of this relationship coherent with the character of historiography hides some explanations of the upgrade of female characters in historical fiction.

In the first half of the nineteenth century historiography and historical fiction developed side by side. Historical fiction was considered another expression of *history*, a word that was used for both fields of work. History contains the word story, which translated to the letter means 'information gained by research'.[8] Nineteenth century historians respected the information written in historical novels as facts obtained by thorough work. Moreover, history and historical novels were regularly written by the same men. Both types of history concentrated on 'white men'. Female characters were rare, and when they occurred, they were just figures. This can be explained in two ways. In the first place, most historical writers were male, writing about their own sex and being ignorant about the other. In the second place, history in nineteenth century concentrated on public events. As women were excluded from public live for centuries and bound to their own private sphere, they did not occur in nineteenth century research.

During the century, the strong relationship between history and historical fiction weakened. In the first place, this was a consequence of a new ideal of science, wherein rationalism, methodology and epistemology were considered highly important. Historians started to distrust historical novelist, who withdraw from scientific necessity of verification and argumentation. As a result fact and fiction were separated and bound to respective historical science and literary historical work.[9] Not only was the separation between fact and fiction

[1] S. Heibrant, *Componenten en compositie van de historische roman. Een comparatistische en genologische benadering* (Leuven, Apeldoorn 1995) 249

[2] J. Goedegebuure, 'De negen levens van de historische roman', *Spiegel histoiriael. Maandblad voor de geschiedenis en archeologie* 11 (1993)

[3] W. Drop, *Verbeelding en historie. Verschijningsvormen van de nederlandse historische roman in de negentiende eeuw* (thirth edition; Utrecht 1979) 8

[4] M. Grever, 'Gender en genre van de historische roman', *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* 4 (1999) 518

[5] M. Grever, *Strijd tegen de stilte. Jahanna Naber (1859-1941) en de vrouwenstem in geschiedenis* (Hilversum 1994) 97

[6] P. Pelckmans (ed.), *De nieuwe historische roman. Een terreinverkenning* (Leuven, Amsersfoort 1988) 163

[7] S. Heibrant, *Componenten*, 266

[8] H. Wolf-Cats, 'Inzicht in een historische roman', *Ons erfdeel* I (1973)

[9] M. Grever, 'gender en genre', 119

bound to genre, it was also related to sex or gender. Scientific and factional historical work was related to men, and fictional, amateurish historical work to women. Historical fiction in the second half of the nineteenth century was an area of women's work.[10] Still women characters were rare in historical novels. The explanation was hidden in the self-criticism of female historical novelists. Formerly excluded of the historical style, women like Anna Toussaint and Betsy Hazenbroek used the historical novel as a cover for their scientific work. They took examples from the regular, male-dominated history of public sphere.[11] Notwithstanding their historical research, women were only respected as novelists, not as historians. What adorned women as novelists, their sentiment and human imagination, made them unsuitable as scientist in the eyes of nineteenth century historians.[12]

At the beginning of the twentieth century, historical fiction was criticized by an unexpected group, the novelists. They had the opinion that historical fiction was not at all literary, because it was primarily based on facts and it did not leave much place for imagination and fantasy.[13] The historical novel, considered a child of history and literary, was then disposed by both, and seemed to be a bastard.[14] More popular literary forms, like biographies and poetry, whichever had also historical aspects, supplanted historical fiction in the first half of the twentieth century.[15] Literature then developed into a new form, wherein the novelist had more freedom. Authors created their own style, which was recognizable in their work. The first historical fiction of the twentieth century worth mentioning was written after the First World War and differed from nineteenth century novels. Historical novelist had processed literary critics and started to work in harmony with the development in literature. Historical fiction was modernized, although some works were still entitled as tough. An example of this modernized historical fiction is the Duch novel: *Het woud der verwachting* (1949) by Hella Haasse. An important change in twentieth century historical fiction was the place of history. Formerly regarded the goal of research, history in the twentieth century was considered an expedient.[16] Aesthetical form was more important than historical precision, which only created a 'couleur locale.' As a first result fiction was upgraded above facts. Novelists had the opportunity to fill gaps in their sources with imagination. Sometimes they created women characters and a few stories were described from women's perspective. Especially female authors created in their novels imaginary, historical societies, seen through

women's eyes. Examples are Marguerite Yourcenar and Jeanne Bourin. As a second result of the shift to the aesthetic, historical fiction, that in nineteenth century concentrated on the outside of historical events, lay in twentieth century emphasis on the human inside.[17] As women were associated more than men with sentiment, female perspective seemed perfectly suitable to realize this shift.

In the first half of the twentieth century historians still rejected historical fiction, although they did not interfere with it. However, by influence of some trends in theoretical history, like Narrativism and Post-modernism, history and historical fiction approached each other from the seventies.[18] Modern narrativistic historians underlined that every speech about the past is a literary construction and every text forms a story.[19] Although this can be questioned, for not every historical text contains an intrigue or a plot by example, this notion connected history and historical fiction again and strengthened their influence on each other. As a consequence historical fiction was influenced by scientific interest in marginal groups in the past. This interest was a result of the realization that the history of white male shut out some important groups, like women and blacks.[20] For the study of the first group, mainly female historians created in the seventies a new historical branch, called women's history. The name was later changed in gender history. Gender history formed a framework for historical fiction. The historical novel of the second half of the twentieth century not only used female perspectives, but also placed women as subjects in the centre of history.

Why didn't historical science do the same thing to the same extent? The answer is connected with two things that fiction can do, but science can't. In the first place that is using imagination. Historians, opposed to novelists, have to restrict imagination to a minimum. As novelists are allowed to use their fantasy, historical fiction lends itself pre-eminently for a description of themes, actors and elements that are under-exposed in scenes, by a lack of sources.[21] By fictional techniques, novels can visualize women's lives in the past. For the same reasons, historical fiction can connect the private sphere with the public sphere, instead of focusing on public life, like science does.[22] As historical women were bound to private life, they are better visualised by historical fiction, then by historiography.[23] Historical fiction states explicitly what historical science suggests.[24]

[10] Ibidem, 119

[11] M. Grever, *Strijd tegen de stilte*, 103

[12] M. Grever, 'gender en genre' 117

[13] P. Peckmans, *De nieuwe historische roman*, 9

[14] T. Verschaffel, 'Historici en de historische roman', J. Tollebeek, G. Verbeeck, T. Verschaffel, *De lectuur van het verleden. Opstellen over de geschiedenis van de geschiedschrijving aangeboden aan Reginald de Schrijver* (Leuven 1998) 119

[15] H. Haasse, 'De moderne historische roman', *Jaarboek van de maatschappij der Nederlandse letterkunde te Leiden 1981-1982* (Leiden 1983) 22

[16] Ibidem, 22

[17] E. Wesseling, *Writing history as a prophet. Post-modernist innovations of the historical novel* (Amsterdam, Philladelphia 1991) 72

[18] J. Sicking, 'het verleden leeft voort en Walter Scott ook, maar hoe? *Spiegel historiael. Maandblad voor geschiedenis en archeologie* 11 (1996), 482

[19] T. Verschaffel, 'Historici en de historische roman', 123

[20] L. Wesseling, 'Twintigste-eeuwse vernieuwingen van de historische roman', *Groniek. Historisch tijdschrift* 26 (1993) 47

[21] M. Grever, 'Gender en genre', 517

[22] L. Wesseling, 'Twintigste-eeuwse vernieuwingen', 45

[23] M. Grever, 'Gender en genre', 517

[24] S. Heibrant, *Componenten en compositie*, 255

In the second place, novelist is allowed to tell lies in contrary with historical scientist. Narrativists, who think that historians may write anything, for the truth does not exist, question this statement. Although I admit that it is impossible to find historical truth, in my opinion historians have to look for their own truth, I think there are certain facts historians can't deny. The statement is also questioned by novelists like H. Wolf-Cats She believes that writers of historical fiction have to respect the truth.[25] In spite of this criticism I will not reject this statement.

By influence of a Post-modernist trend in literature, historical writers as Thomas Pynchon and Ishmael Reed were '*permeated by the apocalyptic sentiment that the history of Western civilisation has run its course.*'[26] Postmodernist writers in the eighties began to focus on the exclusion of minorities in history. Their historical novels did not contain facts, but possibilities.[27] People of different race, sex and religion could all realize themselves as head subjects of the modern historical novel. By lacking historical facts, Postmodernist authors of historical fiction created alternative versions of history, which gave an active leading part to marginal groups of the past, especially women. Doing so, they offered alternatives for male-dominated history, written in terms of war and revolution.[28]

Post-modernist writers were strongly criticized by historians. They were accused of writing false history. Rigney shaded this attack, underlining that separation between history and historical fiction forms a result of different ways of reading. Readers of historical novels do not expect the truth, so novelists don't have to offer them truth.[29] I agree with that and consider literary Post-modernism a main reason for the upgrade of women in twentieth century historical novel.

The upgrade of women in twentieth century historical fiction has its roots in a combination of historiography and possibilities of the genre. In the first half of the nineteenth century, historiography and historical fiction were both products of a male-dominated society. Although in the late nineteenth century historical fiction was an area of women's work, women just figured in historical novels, as novelists used historical fiction as a cover for there scientific research. Emphasis lay on historical facts and the outside of historical events. After the First World War historical fiction changed. The shift from fact to fiction, from docility to aesthetics, and from outside to inside, gave female characters a chance. As a result historical fiction sometimes used women's perspectives in the first half of the twentieth century.

The end of the West European history of the white, male actor in the second half of the twentieth century, underlined other actors, like women. Gender history in the seventies formed a framework for new opinions and viewpoints and the Post-modernist literary trend of the eighties created the possibility of placing women in the centre of attention. In the second half of the twentieth century women upgraded to head subjects in historical fiction.

In historical science female actors still take a marginal place. As most women of the past lived their lives in private sphere, it's very difficult for historians to find sources about them. Opposite to historical fiction, historical science is not allowed to use imagination to fill the gaps in their knowledge. Although the history of women and the private sphere is still dominated by the history of the public sphere, it is not fair of gender-historians to suggest that the only historical woman is a fictional one. It is sure that the lives of female characters in most historical novels are more spectacular than in real life. The only historical woman seems a fantasized woman.

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[25] H. Wolf-Cats, 'Inzicht', 76

[26] E. Wesseling, *Writing history,* 193

[27] J. Goedegebuure, 'De negen levens', 451

[28] L. Wesseling, 'Twintigste-eeuwse vernieuwingen', 47

[29] A. Righney, 'Betekenissen en bijbetekenissen: fictie in de geschiedschrijving', *Theoretische geschiedenis* 22 (1995) 415

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DEVOTIONAL LITERATURE? RELIGIOUS POETRY? OR POEMS ON DIVINITY? - THE PROBLEMATIC ROLE OF GOD IN MODERN POETRY

The first thing I have to talk about is the fact that the problem of God emerges not really in poetry. The existence of God becomes a matter of discussion rather in the thinking of modernity. (And here I add that the horizon of post-modern as such was not taken into consideration in my research, however, since our point of view is that of postmodernism, it is still present.) The problematic role of God in poetry is on the one hand due to his questioning in modernity, on the other hand to the characteristic features of this genre. The metaphoric mode of poetry -or literature- makes entities the existence of which can be questioned by descriptive discourses somehow real, as we will see it.

First let me have a look at the 'outer' circumstances: modernity is called age of secularisation. Secularisation proceeded in the language too - from the age of the Enlightenment a main ambition of the western philosophy had been to put an end to debates questioning God's existence (giving of course a negative answer). And -as I have already mentioned - in rational philosophical discourse talking about God makes no sense at all.

Gerhard Ebeling asks the question, why one tends to be silent about God, if there had been a linguistic tradition within which it was possible to speak about God (however, the tradition of denying God is of about the same age). What's more, the way in which the modern age interpreted reality made anthropomorphic notions of God impossible, therefore God's „humanity", his image itself also came to disappear. This phenomenon can also be understood with regard to the experience of the historic disasters of the Modern Era, which destroyed the harmonic picture of God, our father loving and taking care of his children. According to Ebeling it came to be forgotten that one can talk to God only on the basis of his being human, and in fact God's inhumanity means man's inhumanity.

The German theologian Alois Buch adds that God does not exist according to the plans of humans, therefore man can never find a completely satisfying answer to his questions, which also motivates him to be open-hearted for God's calls (To put it in an another way they enter a dialogue, which I will come to talk about later.) It is Buch again, who calls our attention to another 'outer' circumstance: the modern man is unable to discover the real sense of his existence and must face the experience that the individual is needless (anyone can be substituted). This means a change of human self-understanding, which provides a background to the question about God and the sense of life.

We could see that the relation between God and man's expectations is basically a dissonant one, because it doesn't correspond to the logic of linguistic secularisation (and the modern experience of reality), which requires a one-one relationship between the thing and its name (so as to have power above things). So God, the unnameable, also becomes

uninterpreted. Still, the talking about God - to put it more correctly: the talking about god with the intention of his understanding - does make a sense: in poetry, in a realm which is different from the science devoted to this question.

The reason why this is possible is given in Northrop Frye's *Great Code*, which divides the western civilization up into linguistic phases: into the metaphorical phase (in which the Bible was written), the metonymic, and the descriptive phases (the later is typical for the age of secularisation). In the metaphorical linguistic phase there exists no subject-object opposition and is characterized and defined by the expression of the hypothetical, of what can be imagined. In his work *Words with Power* Frye revises his theoretical classification: he calls the metaphorical phase imaginative, but keeps the same characteristic: God is its central metaphor (God with capital G becomes the central allegory, the most important image only in the next phase). According to him it is in this first phase that the category of literature develops If considered from the point of view of the descriptive phase, literature claims ontologically nothing, but in the metaphoric phase it establishes the reality of non-human entities (angels, gods, God))

The borderlines between the three phases are of course not clear cut at all: the mysticism of Master Eckhardt is an example for he existence of the metaphoric phase within the dominating metonymic phase or linguistic mode in the Middle Ages. It is not God who is dead but the language in which one should talk about him - claims Frye. Therefore the mission of today's literature is to recreate the metaphoric language in the last, descriptive phase.

But why is talking about God only intelligible in poetry? The change of the linguistic modes can only give a partial answer to this question: poetry became the only realm of the metaphoric language, since fiction, the genre of the novel became dominated by the descriptive mode, for which it is the most suitable. At the end of the Enlightment some examples of fiction about God turned up, but right now only the poetry on God exists. - Similarly, the love-prose is totally unknown - only love-poetry can be read nowadays.

The answer to the question: why poetry was not effected by the secularisation to the same extent as other genres were, lies, of course, not only the in the change in the phases of language - but also in the way of existence of poetry. (I disregard the context of the tradition now, but I should also mention the fact that in the metonymic phase of language a large number of fictions on God were written.)

Only one voice is heard in the process of reading a poem (this assures that the lyric voice tends to be incorrectly identified with poet himself). Lyric texts can be made speak only in an understandable way; poetry and the speaking subject postulate each other mutually. The reader of a lyric text finds himself in a situation completely different from the one of reading a novel. According to Mihail Bakhtin, a lyrical text can be considered as an intimate and confidential genre of speech, where the border between the speaker of the utterance and the addressee disappears. Frederick J. Ruf adds that the scope of the lyric is much smaller (than the other two genres' scopes), what it comprehends tends to be more intimate. This

phenomenon points out another characteristic feature of poetry: the reader can make the speech of the lyric voice independent from the empiric fiction of the speech, the constituted voice stays in subjective world. That is why the reader can have the kind of feeling that the poem does not speak to him/her, but it speaks instead of him.

On the other hand, there is a concept that states that the reader tends to feel as though he is eavesdropping the private thoughts of the speaker. If we consider Bakhtin's theory of genres of speech, this statement seems to be wrong, because not only the poems, but also every utterance is full of dialogical overtone. Even if an utterance sounds monologic, it is already in dialogue with the things said earlier involving the subject, and with the utterances that will react on it later. When one begins to speak, he is already affected by his utterances that will react on it later. When one begins to speak, he is already affected by his addressee, and this is valid in every case, because an utterance always has an addressee. We can find the same process in the poems addressed to God: the speaker has been affected by God previously, thus if we hear only one voice, that is the echo of God at the same time. And let us remember the statement of Alois Buch: man can never find a completely satisfying answer to his question of God, which also motivates him to be open-hearted for God's calls.

Theology also can bring new experiences into the theory of genres of speech, which can shed light on the problem of dialogic understanding in new aspects. The dialogic situation appears in Christianity as a Me and You-situation between man and God. God calls the man already at the beginning of Genesis, so the dialogue (the dimension of calling and answering) is Jewish-Christian by origin, and the mode of the revelation will have the same structure.

From this point of view the poem that speaks in first person singular and supposes God as 'You' could be the most interesting type of poems involving God. The first conclusion one can draw now is that the self remains only an 'I-form' in the process of speaking to God; or, to put in another way: the I loses its identity. The second conclusion is that God also becomes a part of the subjective world of the reader; he cannot be rendered independent from an autonomous entity. (To speak to God also means that we imagine him as a person, who entails his localization too - says Paul Tillich).

In Christianity several things assure the possibility of interpreting God as a person, for example the prayer. Thus our contact with God is similar to the relation to another human. Martin Buber first connected this statement with the dialogic situation, and his book titled *Ich und Du* (Me and You) was the founder of the dialogical personalism. The human Me-You connections served as a model for describing the human relationship to God: God is the 'Absolute You' in such a contact where two active subjects affect each other mutually. Later he altered this statement a bit and claimed that the personhood cannot determine the substance of God properly, „but it is allowed and needed to say that God is a person too". He also mentions the subject-object-opposition, which is expressed by the so-called Me-It contact. The knowledge of God can change into a personal relation, if we get acquainted with him as It and You in the same time.

Emil Brunner adds that God should be regarded as an active subject, so theology (and poetry) are rather answers given to the self-revealing of God, than man's quest of God. So 'Godseeker' is not the most accurate name of a speaker or writer of such a poem, I'd rather call it 'a person who tries to understand God'. The first, popular notion follows the logic of the descriptive phase of language, but the other one assures new perspectives to the 'dialogic' type of the poetry on God. Frederick J. Ruf also follows this descriptive logic when he states that the lyric lacks expansiveness, and finds the partial cohesion of lyric 'I' a disadvantage. It does not matter, if we don't believe in the unity of 'I'; what's more, the poetry is the best place for the temporary creation of self-identity, for the self-understanding. (Yeats' *Dialogue of Self and Soul* is a good example of dialogical self-understanding, which is not a dialogue between man and God, but in the interest of self-understanding there are two voices of a non-unified ego.). The reader is a witness and a participant of several self-understanding processes at the same time: the speaker of the poem tries to understand God, which helps him to constitute his own identity, and by this the reader's self-understanding proceeds in the reader-text relationship.

All of these statements are valid on the basis of general and theological hermeneutics' self-understanding theory. But in the theological version the word of God is the basis of understanding. And word of God (and word *God* itself) calls the ontological basic situation of man and also shows that this situation is a dialogue-situation too. This basic situation is always hidden from man, but he can face with ontological state by the belief in God.

The question of God is a part of the question of life's meaning, and there is a previous God-image in this question, which is often out of the images of the institutional religion. In the poems of world literature denominational dogmas cannot be found, there are rather similes of God, which, if compared to dogmas, are very different and often blasphemic.

In the title of the presentation I mentioned several names for this genre, and the first two of these; that is, devotional literature and religious poetry, are author-oriented. For this reason I do not think that they are fortunate: when we are reading lyric poems we—as it was mentioned—cannot hear the voice of the author. There are premises, derived from the psychology of production, connected to the two definitions, but the mental states cannot be reconstructed. On the other hand, Buch's thought that the question of God is generated by existentially basic experiences such as loneliness, sin, sickness, want and death, is worth considering. These are the most frequent experiences present in the poems addressed to God, which were born out of want's presence.

This creates the dialectics that is present in a number of poems taken from world literature. These poems postulate the existence and non-existence of God, faith and disbelief simultaneously. In an earlier study of mine I compared Rainer Maria Rilke's *Das Stunden Buch* (Book of Hours) and the Hungarian Endre Ady's poems on God and there I also found this dialectic. Moreover, I found these identical images and views of God, almost by chance, in modern American poetry. Besides the most frequent images (such as the hidden God, God as

the symbol of the whole or the movement in space toward God) I would like to pick out some rarer ones. For example, the wall is the symbol of preventive relationship: „There is nothing else between us, only a thin wall / By chance, because it can be: / If your are my mouth wants to call / The wall is cracking and not even a voice shows its fall" says the speaker in the sixth poem of the *Stunden-Buch*. Anne Sexton's „The Wall" uses the same image, but with a far more shocking introduction: „then take off your flesh, / unpick the lock of your bones. / In other worlds / take off the wall / that separates you from God." The great differences in modality are apparent, and they come from the differences in identity.

There is at least this degree of difference not only in modality but also in cultural determination between Theodore Roethke and Endre Ady, and yet the reader can find identical thoughts in their poems. Roethke's „In a Dark Time" and several of Ady's poems (The Arrival of the Lord, Nocturnal God) names night and darkness as the space of the marooned lyric self. Then God will appear (not so apparently in Roethke): „Not with trombone / But he came with silent, true hug / He did not come on a nice fiery day / But in wartime night" („The Arrival of God"). And a longer quotation from Roethke: „ Death of the self in a long, tearless night, / All natural shapes blazing unnatural light. Dark, dark my light and darker my desire. / My soul like some heat-maddened summer fly, / Keeps buzzing at the sill. Which I is *I?* / A fallen man, I climb out my fear. / The mind enters itself and God the mind, / And one is One, free in the tearing wind." The total unity with God is the heritage of the mystics, and it is a topos in the poems about God (for example in Ady's „God the Inconsolable"). The other important feature of Roethke's poem is the significant presence of the need for the understanding of the self.

As a conclusion, six arguments will follow.

1. The secularisation, which proceeded in modernity, hinders the possibility of talking about God. The experience of God's inhumanity – which is a result of a human-cantered interpretation of God–, and the knowledge of modern man's needlessness are added to this.
2. It is still possible to talk about God in poetry within literature. The explanation for this is that literature represents the metaphorical language phase in today's descriptive mode. And only the metaphorical phase offers the opportunity to interpret God.
3. The theory of language phases does not offer a satisfactory explanation for why the lyric has become the only locus for talking about God. The answer lies in the generic characteristics of poetry. It is the most dialogic among the genres and its intimacy makes speaking to God as a person possible.
4. According to theological hermeneutics the dialogue with God is crucial: it brings about understanding the self by understanding God. It is a real dialogue because God is as active as his interlocutor.
5. The popular phrase „quest for God" is inappropriate because the questioner (the seeker) already has a previous image of God, but for his self-understanding he questions God's existence again and again.
6. There are similarities in world literature concerning the image of God in spite of cultural differences, which is mainly due to the refusal of any kind of dogmatism.

Let me close my lecture with a quotation and its interpretation:

„Both coherence and incoherence have their own place in Christian poetics" - states Michael Edwards in his study, *De poetica christiana*, in which he tries to explore the common roots of Christianity and poetry. These two opposite phenomena appear in divine poetry too: the theme is often the inability to define God (and it is presented in a thousand metaphors), but on the other hand it is also claimed (parallel with the mystical tradition) that everything is unified in God. Considering the form, thousands of solutions can be found, but if it is a different genre, common things should be found.

These characteristic features are not found in the forms, all the more, in the reading process. In my lecture I tried to show this, and that was the way to answer the question how writing divine poetry is possible in modernity.

Workshop 7: The Media, Technology, Propaganda
THE MEDIA, TECHNOLOGY, PROPAGANDA

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5.	Violeta	Constanda	Bucharest	The Communist Propaganda of Pioneer Organisations in the '50s	
6.	Antonio	Conzato	Venice	Russia in the Italian Newspapers During the Second World War	baiardo@unive.it
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13.	Ondřej	Tikovský	Hradec Králové	Reality and the Many Ways of Its Interpretation by Czech Media	ondrej.tikovsky@vsp.cz
14.	Markus	Ylijoki	Turku	The Images of U.S. Presidency in Contemporary American Cinema	maryli@utu.fi, mylioki@hotmail.com

Looking back at the history of the 20th century we cannot escape from the media and the propaganda. It seems history was made through the media and sometimes media was *making* history. Some people and some events their place on the stage of world history owe to the media for sure.

Twentieth century is actually the century of the media – radio, television and the Internet are products of our new society and technology, which are a part of it. Today, nothing can be done without media coverage and that is what the history will talk about.

We are witnesses of (mis)using propaganda in great political ideologies and movements. Planned and organized, through psychology of the masses, propaganda reaches its goals. Different kinds of polities have attempted a variety of social controls over propaganda. In an ideal democracy, everyone would be free to make propaganda, which assumes that the ideas best for society will win out in the long run. In authoritarian policy, on the other hand, the regime wants to monopolize the engagement in propaganda, to have it in control.

That's what we've seen throughout the history of the 20th century too many times.

The other aspect of the media involves technology and its revolution – these things are still happening, but they'll become history for sure. Creation of the

Internet was a history moment, and since it's beginning, it grew rapidly into a popular medium. The difference between establishment mass media and the new medium is that the Internet is a place where everything may be told without interference by editors and/or producers and therefore it is a place for wide researches. History can be found on the Internet, too.

Participants of this workshop wanted to proof all that and to discuss the great role of the media in the 20th century. Started with the VHS presentation about the influence of the media in general, it continued with the story about the Bermuda Triangle, a mystery of our time, also as a part of the media exposure. The reality we live in often is interpreted in many different ways. Are we talking about information and misinformation, confusion and chaos? The use of propaganda in political movements and doctrines, the

interpretation through different sources, from different point of views, using all kinds of mediums to represent the ideal

images are facts that are mentioned and discussed.

Finally, technological revolution as a part of our present, but also our future and therefore our history – birth of the computer era and the importance of the Internet, its political meaning and interpretation. The explosion of genetics, with social and political significance of it. The great issue of developing human knowledge, but then also, misuse and restriction of it.

We had a great time, with great people and great presentations. Here is the selection of seminars, just because we had

to make it; unfortunately, without enough space for all of them. Anyway, thanks to all the participants of this great workshop!

At the end, there's only one thing left to be done – quote one of the most famous propagandists of all times, Joseph Gobbles: "If you repeat a lie several times, people will start to believe in it." That's the power of the media.

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RUSSIA ON THE ITALIAN NEWSPAPERS DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

A clear introduction is necessary before talking about the topic of this paper. I have to explain the link between fascism and media. Fascism was at first a political movement, and then for 20 years a dictatorial regime built not only with the camicie nere, the army of fascist party, or controlling Italian government, but above all with media. Fascism checks and lives on the Italian collective imaginary using media. The beginning of the twentieth century saw the crisis of the Italian liberal government's class, because the Italian masses started to express their needs, their wishes and also their dreams, being sensitive to new political leaders, like trade-unionists, socialists, priests and poets like Gabriele d'Annunzio. The old liberals were unable to communicate with the masses, especially after the grant of the universal suffrage in 1914 and the First World War, war of armed masses. After the defeat of Caporetto, the Italian intellectuals were mobilized and they played an important role in convincing the Italian soldiers and people to resist till the war's end. The Italian people won the war, everybody knew and said it, and now the Italian people were the main actors on the scene. But after the war there wasn't a common script. There were huge differences between the farmers' and workers' aspirations to a social revolution or substantial reforms, the owners' dread of a revolution, the soldiers' unhappiness to return to a civil life, the discontent of young people who didn't fight the war. Fascism did owners' interests, fighting against workers, trade unions and the socialist area: this is the economical and social fact. But Fascism promised not only order, but also social changes and mass heroism in the name of Italian nation, the beginning of a new era, because fascism represented itself like a revolution: and this is the ideological basement of the fascist dictatorship, a long fraud allowed by media power.

It isn't a coincidence that Benito Mussolini, the chief of fascism, was a journalist, director of the official Italian Socialist Party's journal before leaving it. After this, and five years before the foundation of the fascist movement, Mussolini published his own journal, Il Popolo d'Italia, communicating directly with people, the first stone of his power. I can't deal with the complicated political events that allowed the rise of Mussolini and the built of fascist regime. But, without disregarding political and social events, I want to underline how the fascist regime was also a linguistic building: a bunch made up nationalistic and social, traditionalistic and revolutionary elements. Mussolini was able to speak to a large part of the Italian people, without caring to much about contradictions and confusion of fascist ideology and the distance between reality and fascist dream of a strong and fighting united nation, so Italy would pay this gap during the Second World War. But fascism, as a linguistic building, defined itself in contrast with the occidental plutocracies and especially with the Russian revolution, the third way between capitalism and communism. So the deformed picture of Russia given by

newspapers during the Second World War has a long history and it begins with the birth of Fascism. Here I don't want to discuss what the Russian communism was, but I want only to talk about Italian collective imaginary of communism, where fantasy and ideology guided by internal political interests excluded detailed analysis of Russia's situation. In Italy, after the revolution of 1917, Russia became a word charged of different meanings: synonymous with confusion, redemption of workers, and foolish and diabolic disruption of social order. Fascism was able to erase the positive connotations from the word Russia, and, since it became a regime, Fascism called itself a dike against Bolshevik madness. This semantic operation was possible with the Catholic Church's aid. For twenty years The Catholic press represented the Russian communists as a danger not only for the private property but also for Christian religion and Italian civilization. So, when the Italian troops started to fight against Russia in the Second World War, Russia was the only Italian enemy that the Italian people really felt as a dangerous enemy. For the fascist purposes, the fascist press is not the fourth power, like in western countries some intellectuals thought, but it's the fourth force, beside army, navy and air force. The press had started the war before the other forces did. They had to prepare soldiers and people to fight against an enemy decided by Mussolini. But, even if under dictatorship, the Italian people didn't understand why it was necessary to fight against France or England, the old alleys of the First World War, and the propaganda in favour of the old enemy, the German alley, was not able to condition people deeply.

The aim of the fascist war press was not to inform people, but the real aim was to convince people that Italy was fighting a rightful and victorious war. But it's obvious that if the news have lost any reference with reality, or reality as readers mean, people read the newspapers like a pile of lies and don't believe any more in political messages given by a regime's propaganda. The long absence of a detailed and realistic picture of Russia for more than twenty years, replaced by an ideological one sponsored by the church, and the distance between Russia and Italy were favourable for an official tale about Russian war without any links with reality, a victorious duel of Italy and Germany with an Evil empire. It's difficult to understand how the readers received those news, but probably the point of break between the belief and unbelief was moved in favour of a passive and irrational belief in what the fascist regime said about Russia. I have shortly traced out the political and cultural context, now I want to introduce a professional problem. What could a journalist write? News were managed by military and political interests and the reporters could not have a real access to the strategic news, an open problem of media nowadays like yesterday: what is the level of truth of a military spokesman talking about a huge scenery being the only official filter between the fact and media? The negative news could not reach the readers, but journalists had to fill the pages of newspapers. So many Italian journalists, generally good writers, began to publish tales of war, short stories based on small events in order to replace reality. So beside the ideological refusal of Communism and its absurd combination with a Jewish plot, there are narrative passages about churches becoming public barns, religious icons found under the hay, farmers calling liberators to the Italian troops, children and women exploited by Bolsheviks. A crowd of stereotyped Russians took place in the Italian newspapers. It's astonishing how many articles are written mirroring an old Christian gender: the parable. The small event became emblematic, lifted with unconstraint and without any critical sense from the plain of fact to an ethic plain in order to educate Italian people to hate Bolsheviks and about the right reasons of war. But the most interesting thing is that the poorest and most fascist journals couldn't have an instant access to the small and daily facts, necessary prime-material for parables, because a war reporter is very expensive. So the most sold and prestigious Italian newspaper, "Il Corriere della sera", was the main divulger of those war parables, well written because "Il Corriere della sera" could pay the best reporters. Now I will translate some extracts of an article written by a famous Italian journalist published in "Il Corriere della sera" on 17 April 1942, which today seem ridiculous but were then believed to be worthy by politicians and journalists to be served to the Italian readers.

"There were dirty books like manure, books in Cyrillic letters on the mud and the snow! We met texts like these: <<The catechism of the free soviet child>>..., <<The catechism of petrol engine>>, <<The catechism of thank>>, << The state is your father>>, <<The little paratrooper>>, <<The gospel of the little atheist>>, <<The little artilleryman of Stalin>>, a great library full of catechisms and gospels about wars and oaths. There were near our feet some pictures about strife against God, Holy Mary that was grinning, saints dressed like clowns, popes armed with knifes. Every four or seven kilometres we found these destroyed schools, where the human anatomy, the heresy, the alphabet, the oath, the petrol engine, the mockery of family was taught. The soviet government has filled the country with this kind of school, great grey and mimetic constructions, ready to become barracks, forts, powder-magazine". This is only an example: there are thousands of articles like this. It's clear that this text is not written looking at the truth, but the author wanted to reproduce intentionally the Italian consolidated stereotypes about soviet Russia, to talk about popular fears of materialism, atheism and public morality, the Russian militarism, and so I make clear the thin allusion that Russia was a dangerous enemy to disrupt immediately.

The defeat of the Italian army on all fronts was also a defeat of the Italian press as a fourth army. People understood that the fascist regime was a castle of lies and thus began a movement for liberation, which did not only have a military importance, but also favoured the birth of a modern democratic state where the press was not a slave of political propaganda and the regime wouldn't determine what news could be published and how. But the geographical distance between Italy and Russia, the rise of the long Cold war, the permanence of a total condemnation of Communism on the part of the Catholic Church for deep religious and philosophical reasons left untouched the stereotypes about Russia that played an important role at the Italian elections after the Second World War and the moderates kept the control of the country. Today, after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the laicisation of the Italian society, the Italian collective imaginary about communistic Russia

is not totally disarmed. Silvio Berlusconi, the leader of the opposition and owner of three televisions, thus a man who knows very well how to communicate with mass-media, calls communist and Bolshevik the actual majority of government, which I don't believe has any armed revolutionary purpose or wishes to abolish private properties. So Berlusconi wants to use the same mass psychological mechanism that was used by the cited article. I have made this small example in order to show how the past is always contemporised not only because past events influenced the present, but also because the past made up in years by mass-media could resist for generations and be an unconsciousness imaginary heritage. In my opinion, a useful job for historians, if one considers history as a profession and not only as an art, could be searching this kind of heritages living in contemporaneous imaginary of people, that could be a danger for peace if used without any control and consciousness of their stereotyped origin.

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ROMANIA, DECEMBER 1989.
INFORMATION AND MISINFORMATION

On the 22nd of December, the Television and the Radio station in Bucharest were by noon in the hands of the revolutionaries. Speaker after speaker expressed the joy of Ceausescu's fall. Many of them were giving orders – contradicting orders – and talked of a "we" that people thought meant everybody. The successive orders were confusing the civilians – revolutionaries – and the army. Rumours – unbelievable stories about poisoned water, for example – were spread by voices of radio and television people.

In this state of confusion, as the Front of the National Salvation (FSN) appeared, it looked like the legitimate result of the anticommunist revolution, even though its dominant figures were communists of the 2nd and 3rd rank of the communist nomenclature. Recent research indicates that the chaos we saw on TV and heard on the radio had its directors, people who were coordinating the activity of the media and who probably created the most alarming rumours in order to give the Front the legitimacy it lacked.

This scenario seems to be confirmed by the fact that after the 26th or 27th of December, the newly installed power in Bucharest took over the control of the TV and Radio stations without any opposition from the TV and Radio people in these institutions. Though a limited freedom of the press was allowed, the main newspapers, the television and the radio stations were again turned to propaganda – this time in favour of the FSN and its government – and used as weapons against the other parties in the campaign proceeding the May 1990 elections.

But the Romanian media were not the only ones to play a role in the overthrow of the Ceausescu's regime. International media – especially radio – had a crucial part to play in undermining the regime, in creating and influencing the international public opinion. While Ceausescu was still ruling Romania, radio stations like "Free Europe" and the "Voice of America" were helping Romanians (illegally listening to these stations) preserve their hopes and their moral, letting them know they were not alone, transmitting the messages of the Romanian dissidents in the country and abroad.

The media informed the international public opinion the Romanian government was using armed forces against peaceful people claiming their basic human rights, by that causing a huge international reaction against the regime.

Yet international media were not immune to rumours and misinformation. Most of them in good faith, they released information on the number of the repression's victims. The number of the dead mounted from 10-15 – last numbers released on the 18th of December - to 3-400 (Radio Budapest) on the 19th in the morning and up to 1-2000 (Voice of America) by the end of the day. The next day, the number of the dead was said to be of some 4000 only in

Timisoara. On the 23rd, a day after the fall of Ceausescu, Reuters released the number 12.000, while the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe were talking still of four up to six thousand of dead. On the 25th, Associated Press, quoting Radio Budapest, talked of some 70-80.000 dead and up to 300.000 wounded. These last numbers were however due to a confusion: Ceausecu was accused and condemned for the "genocide" of 60.000 people – killed during the last 25 years by the communist regime. The newly formed Romanian government released this number to the press but was careless to mention the number was not that of the victims of December 1989.

Many times too often, radio people underlined the dead were women or children. TASS, for example, related on the 23rd that a group of 45 children were killed on the streets of Timisoara while returning home from a theatre play. There were many pieces of information of women, elder people, children having been killed by military cars, stepped over by armours or shot by soldiers or Securitate people.

Rumours of people having been tortured mutilated and killed by the Securitate spread all throughout the international media. Images – pictures taken in the cemetery of the poor seemed to confirm them – shocking the world by the cruelty of the images – decomposing bodies. Amongst these bodies were those of a woman and a child, placed by those who dug out the bodies together, as mother and child, thus implicitly confirming the rumours of the atrocious crimes committed by the Securitate. This image was shown over and over by international press and television. Yet the supposed tortured mother was – this was discovered later – a poor woman, Samfira Baitan, who had died over a month before the Timisoara upraise of an alcoholic coma and whose family did not have enough money to bury her. The supposed foetus was a two months old little girl, Cristina Steleac who had died of natural causes and whose father refused to bury her. That is how the two bodies ended in a common grave at the Cemetery of the Poor. But the image persisting in the memory of all the people who saw this picture is that of the two bodies lying together. It is an image that cannot easily be forgotten.

The media did not have the time, these days, to check their sources. Mysterious "eye-witnesses" calling from various places (there was even an interview taken with a man who said on the phone that he was talking from a Securitate office where he had been left alone!) talked live on the radio relating what they saw. Anonymous sources gave important information. It was impossible to check them. As most of the occidental media needed (a basic principle of journalism) at least two credible sources to release the information and as there was no mean to quickly check them, the radio stations, the television and the press quoted one another; giving the general impression the information were accurate.

The Romanian revolution in 1989 was presented as bloodshed, a massacre done by the Ceausescu regime. Blood was shed, it is true, the blood of 1040 people, most of them innocent. They died, it is true, but most of them after Ceausescu's fall, after the 22nd of December 1989. Yet there was no way of knowing that then. Through terrified eyes, the eyes

of common people as well as of media people, the proportions of these events seemed much greater. Subject to human emotions and to human error, the media people accepted to release information they believed true. Rumours and false information that seemed real were given more power by them.

As for the Romanian public TV and Radio stations, I can only say they were subject to various influences. There is still little known of what really happened then. The General Dan Voinea, the General public Prosecutor who is leading the investigation on the events of December 1989 said last year in a public meeting that the Romanian TV and radio stations were under the control of a well organized groups of people (he did not mention any names, but he did say that one of these groups had the siege in the Romanian Television's building), this explaining the contradicting orders and directions released through the Romanian TV and radio and the apparent (though really well organized) chaos and confusion we all witnessed in Romania.

There is much more to say about the Romanian Revolution, so much still to find out about the part – public or hidden – the media played in Romania in December 1989, but I want this presentation to end sometimes today, so I will only say a few more words to conclude. In time, the freedom of the press grew in Romania, too, the authoritarianism of the post- revolutionary political leaders becoming unpopular. In 1996, the PDSR (former FSN) lost the power in Romania. In the Romanian Revolution, both internal and international media played their part. Did they play it right or wrong? I do not think we can judge that apart the many scenarios written for, before, in and after those days. And that is another – and very long – story.

The future is out there...

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******* Revoluția *Română văzută de ziariști americani și britanici*, Evenimentul, București,1991

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******* Timişoara, *o enigmă ce împlineşte şapte ani*, Fundaţia Academia Civică,1996

Coposu, Corneliu *Dialoguri cu Vartan Arachelian*, Anastasia, București,1991

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Workshop 8: Attitude to History

ATTITUDE TO HISTORY

WS leaders:

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No.	FIRST NAME	LAST NAME	SECTION	TITLE	E-MAIL
1.	Ionuţ	Epurescu Pascovici	Bucharest	Reading Medieval Texts in the Twentieth Century	ionutz76@hotmail.com
2.	Saana	Halinen	Helsinki	Re-writing History in the Spirit of Neoliberalism: The Case of South East Asia	saana.halinen@helsinki.fi
3.	Eva	Holmberg	Turku	The Advantages and Disadvantages of Microhistorical Perspective	kritiikki@utu.fi
4.	Ana	Kladnik	Ljubljana	Slovenian Historiography in the 20th Century	akladnik@hotmail.com
5.	Marcel	Müller	Basel	The Xhosa Cattle-Killing of 1556-7 – An Example for the Use of the Past	marcemueller@ swissonline.ch
6.	Lasse	Miettinen	Turku	Microhistory, Narrative and the Ethics of History	lahemi@utu.fi
7.	Francisco	Panteghini	Venice	Eric Hobsbawm	navipante@libero.it
8.	Pekka	Pitkälä	Turku	Afro-American Historical Consciousness in the 20th Century	pejapi@utu.fi
9.	Mitja	Potočnik	Ljubljana	The Genesis of Civilisation	mitja.potocnik@kiss. uni-lj.si
10.	Mindaugas	Reinikis	Vilnius	How Did the Past Centuries Picture the End of the Second Millennium	mindaugas.reinikis@if.vu.lt
11.	Adrian	Robu	Bucharest	Interpretation of the Ancient History through Communist Ideology	arobu@hotmail.com
12.	Sakari	Saaritsa	Helsinki	Social Identity, Solidarity and Past-making. Narratives of Hardship and Helping in a 20th Century Rural-Industrial Village	sakari,saaritsa@helsinki.fi
13.	Natalia-Mihaela	Toma	Bucharest	Ancient Monuments and Political Propaganda. The Case of Tropaeum Traiani	
14.	Annika	Wikström	Marburg		awikstro@abo.fi

Workshop No. 8, led by Mario Novak and Mario Tupek, dealt with the problems of attitudes towards history. There were thirteen history students participating from Slovenia, Italy, Switzerland, Romania, Finland, Lithuania and Germany. Their papers were concerned with microhistory, historiography through times, economic history and history as an ideology. Neven Budak, Ph. D, delivered the opening lecture.

The subjects varied chronologically, as well as geographically (from ancient times to present day and from south-eastern Asia to Africa). In the papers the participants managed to demonstrate how people – individually, in groups or as entire nations – view history, and what was their attitude towards history in the past, but also what it might be in the future. Moreover, the participants themselves, being future historians, showed their attitude to history as a science.

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THE XHOSA CATTLE-KILLING OF 1856-7
- AN EXAMPLE FOR THE USE OF THE PAST

In April 1856 a young girl named Nongqawuse uttered apocalyptical prophecies in the Eastern Cape[1]. She held conversations with spirits who promised the resurrection of the dead and the expulsion of the whites. The conditions that had to be met in order that these prophecies could come true were to kill the cattle and to destroy the crops. Those of the Xhosa population who believed in the apparitions and prophecies soon began to fulfil the demands of the prophecy. Xhosa-unbelievers, uncertain white settlers and the passive British administration faced them. At the end of 1857 about 50'000 Xhosa had slowly starved to death, while 150'000 more were displaced by the English governor and used as cheap workers in the colony. The Xhosa society was destroyed.

Today researches offer many reasons for the "success" of this event, called the „Xhosa Cattle-Killing". First there was the large lung sickness epidemic, which limited once large cattle-herds to few heads. In the same year the crops were also affected with a disease. All that happened at the time when the Xhosa already had lost several wars against the British, and were exposed to – what we call today – war crimes.[2] On the other, non-material side, there was the influence of Christian ideas, mainly apocalyptical ones, which went together with the Xhosa-belief and formed a new religious system. And last but not least, the complex structure of the Xhosa society, the hierarchy of the Chiefs and their relation to the people give possible answers to the fast and large spread of the ideas of the missionaries and later of the prophecies.

So extraordinary as the Cattle-Killing was, it is amazing that the first-ever history of this event was published 130 years later, in 1989! Its title is *The Dead Will Arise* and it was written by the South African historian Jeffrey Peires.[3] Peires and three years later Noël Mostert with his monumental work *Frontiers*[4] provided us for the first time with serious and detailed investigations about the Cattle-Killing Movement. But what was before? Has the Cattle-Killing been forgotten? Not at all! The Cattle-Killing has not a rich, but remarkable historiographical history, a history that can be seen as a mirror of the general South African historiography. To explain how historians have considered the Movement, it will be necessary to explore the context of their work. The historians have to be discussed against the background of their times, and their ideas must be examined in the context of their lives and careers as a whole, following E.H. Carr's injunction: „Before you study the historian, study his historical and social environment."[5] This has to be done because historiography is cumulative as well as innovative: earlier work is not entirely overturned by newer scholarship; old ideas may sometimes live on, or may be rediscovered to good effect. To explain the importance of historiographical investigations beside the investigation on the specific event we are interested in, I will focus on some historians.

The first one we are going to get to know is George McCall Theal. Theal was born in 1837 in New Brunswick, Canada, and therefore an immigrant to South Africa. He was not an academic but became an historian via journalism. In the first decades of this century, Theal's eleven-volume *History of South Africa* and the numerous shorter histories he wrote together constituted the single most influential body of work on the South African past. In the third volume we can find nine pages that are dealing with the Cattle-Killing.[6] Several reasons speak in favour of this source: Theal moved in the early 1860s further east to what was then the separate colony of British Kaffraria, where he lived in King William's Town. So he was near the places where the events took place. Furthermore Theal had personal contact with Africans; he made interviews with the Xhosa king Sarhili, and can therefore be seen as a local pioneer in the collection of oral history. Theal really was deeply interested in Africans and always devoted considerable attention to them in his work. On the other hand Theal, the father of South African historiography, did more than anyone else to establish a tradition of strongly pro-colonist, anti-black historical writing, and to create the racist paradigm which lay at the core of that tradition and which served to justify white rule. Further Theal did not give references to his archival sources, and professional historians who followed him through the records, pointed to numerous errors on matters in fact. Like many contemporary writers, Theal paid close attention to blood types and the mixture of blood. He regarded purity of race as the key to white advancement; miscegenation brought about social decline. These points make us understand, why Theal blamed the Cattle-Killing as „a blunder such as a child would hardly have made"[7]. In fact there was no investigation done by Theal. His prejudices about the Xhosa made it impossible for him to disentangle the religious, political and economical reasons that have led to the movement. Theal's racial myths were reproduced in the works of numerous professional and amateur authors. One in this tradition was the black amateur historian Silas Modiri Molema (1891-1965) who wrote *The Bantu, Past and Present*. He continues Theal's

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[1] Some Xhosa chiefdoms could keep their independence, some had already come under British rule.

[2] The British shot defenceless Xhosa women and children and followed a policy of „burnt-soil". The memories of the former British officer James McKay give an idea about the cruelties. (McKay, James: Reminiscences of the last Kafir War. Cape Town 1970)

[3] Peires, Jeffrey Brian: The Dead Will Arise. Nongqawuse and the Great Xhosa Cattle-Killing Movement of 1856-7. Johannesburg 1989

[4] Mostert, Noël: Frontiers. The Epic of South Africa's Creation and the Tragedy of the Xhosa People. New York 1992

[5] Saunders, Christopher: The Making of the South African Past. Major historians on race and class. New Jersey 1988, p.2

[6] Theal, George McCall: History of South Africa. vol.III. Cape Town 1964, p.198-207 (facsimile of the 4th edition, London 1927)

[7] Saunders 1988, p.37

myth of a plot by the Chiefs. Molema wote: „Umhlakaza had gravely miscalculated, for his original idea in inventing the command and prophecy was that the Xosas, having nothing to rely on for sustenance, would hurl themselves against the European colonists with that wonderful strength born of despair, and so ‚drive the white men into the sea.‘"[8] This proofs, that neither Theal nor Molema knew the words of the prophecy, which promised a final battle against the whites, but fought by the „new people" (the resurrected ancestors).[9] Molema shows too, that even African historians overtook and reproduced racial myths. Therefore we can't divide the South African historiography in a „black" and a „white" one.

How long-lasting Theal's influence was may be seen, for example, from a textbook written by the leading Afrikaner[10] historian, F.A. van Jaarsveld, and published in 1975. Van Jaarsveld explicitely acknowledged Theal as one of its major sources. Some years before, in 1960, the later Nobel prizewinner Elias Canetti used the Cattle-Killing to underpin his theory written in *Masse und Macht*.[11] His main source was also Theal, next to worse ones[12], and thanks to a complete misunderstanding of the event, it „fits" excellently in his theory.

Fortunately next to the extremely conservative historiography there existed since the beginning of the century also a liberal and even a socialist line in the South African historiography. But even for *Time Longer Than Rope*, published in 1948 by the –again amateur- historian and former communist Edward Roux we find Theal's work in the background. Next to that Roux read some eastern Cape newspapers of the 1850s for his chapter on the Cattle-Killing, and he tried to locate other relevant source material. He gives facts, but also „statements" as: „The Xhosa were primitive and superstitious and their superstition proved their undoing."[13] Historians as Roux had hard times in South Africa. Written by a „listed" person in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act, his book became banned by the government. Not because of his ideas about the Cattle-Killing... but of the shown sympathy for the communists.

Theal, the father of the South African historiography, and his various sons show clearly how important it is, to disentangle properly historical sources and political ideologies. South African historians have the possibility to investigate in archives about their history.

European historians are some thousands of kilometres away and are damned to trust in secondary sources. As I tried to show, these are not unproblematic at all.

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[8] Molema, Silas Modiri: The Bantu, Past and Present. An Ethnographical and Historical Study of the Native Races of South Africa. Facsimile Reprint. Cape Town 1963, p.168

[9] Peires 1989, p.79

[10] The term „African", which means „black inhabitant (citizenship was temporarily denied to non-white people) of South Africa", should not be mixed up with „Afrikaner", the term for the white, afrikaans-speaking citizens of South Africa.

[11] Canetti, Elias: Masse und Macht. („Mass and Power"). Frankfurt am Main 1980, p.214-222

[12] f.e. *Die Lügenpropheten des Kaffernlandes* („the lying prophets of Kaffraria") written by a missionary (Canetti 1980, p.535)

[13] Roux. Edward: Time Longer Than Rope. A History of the Black Man's Struggle for Freedom in South Africa. London 1948, p.50

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SOCIAL IDENTITY, SOLIDARITY AND PAST-MAKING
NARRATIVES OF HARDSHIP AND HELPING IN A 20TH CENTURY
RURAL-INDUSTRIAL VILLAGE

Introduction

This essay deals with the construction of social identities, solidarities and community history in the local narratives[1] of a Finnish rural-industrial village. Methodologically, some relevant aspects of oral history are discussed. The empirical focus is on narration concerning periods of economic hardship during the first half of the 20th century, primarily during the interwar years. The main question is: what are the implications of the narratives for the conditions of assistance and solidarity?

Two related problems provide some context for the question. Firstly, there's a common notion among social historians and historically oriented social researchers according to which an agrarian 'traditional sector', with attributes like domestic subsistence production, kinship networks and neighbourly help, was crucial to the reproduction of labour during crises of the 'modern sector' in Finland at least up to the 1950s.[2] The notion resonates with the idea of a traditional "moral economy", where the political economy of capitalism was replaced with, embedded in or modified by moral conceptions of reciprocal obligations towards other community members.[3] The particular workings of this sector, however, have rarely been empirically analysed. Here, some aspects of a particular case are viewed against the background of a local field of discourse.

Secondly, through the theme of social identity, the paper also touches upon the classical "peasant question" of the Left: the issue of the historical role of the peasantry and its relationship to the working class. The nature and societal role of smallholders was a political problem of key importance in interwar Finland. In general, at least three partly competing discourses on "peasants" can be discerned. The nationalist discourse going back to the 19th century emphasized the "traditional freedom" and independence of the land-owning peasant, and envisioned the nation as a union of free peasants. A centre-oriented early 20th century discourse reformulated this by shifting the locus from prosperous farmers to small farmers, advocating radical land reforms and idealizing the family farm. On the left, then again, both the Social Democrats and the communists described particularly the smallholder (the "working peasant") as a natural ally to the industrial worker in the class struggle. The prevailing hegemony was based on the subsumption of the centrist discourse, associated with the Agrarian Party, to the nationalist one. The radical land reforms and settlement projects implemented after the attempted revolution of 1918 were motivated politically by the will to solve the problem of the landless population by transformation into (politically reliable) independent producers.[4] Here, the issue of the social identity of the smallholding peasantry and its relationship to the industrial workers becomes illuminated from a microhistorical perspective.

The case

The village in question is situated some 50 km north of Helsinki in southern Finland. In fact, its name refers to an old mill community surrounded by several small rural villages rather than a single locality. The Iron Factory at the centre of the population cluster was reshaped technically and socially in the 1890s to become the largest industrial employer in the region, when a company from the coastal archipelago moved in complete with its machinery and about a hundred workers and their families. By the First World War, the amount of workers increased to 160 and by the Second World War to 250. Production expanded strongly during the interwar period. Though long-term employment and intergenerational service at the factory were common, a lot of new labour had to be recruited from the surrounding rural areas.[5]

The factory community was characterized by several kinds of "fringe benefits", including barrack-like company housing, medical insurance and facilities for cultural activities. Together with the managerial discourse describing the labour relations in tight familial terms, these practices constituted what could be denoted a paternalistic industrial community.[6] The Iron Factory retained these characteristics until the early 1960s, when it was sold to a larger company that gradually relocated many of its functions until finally closing it down completely.

The rural population consisted mainly of smallholding peasants. Smallholder cultivation increased massively in the area when the lands of the local manor were bought by the state in 1912 and redistributed to former tenants and numerous landless families migrating in from other parts of the country. All in all, 131 small farms suitable for cultivation and 43 smaller settlement plots were created. Originally, the smallholders were supposed to pay rent and mortgage to the state for a period of 38 years, but in 1928 the holdings were made independent on the basis of newer land reform legislation. The smallholders were active in the

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[1]Sources consist mainly of written and oral histories, memoirs and ethnological collections.

[2]Cf. Parikka 1994, 236-238, 265-268; Lehtonen 1996, 179; Aho 1988, 65-69, 81-90. The notion is of course by no means peculiar to Finland (Cf. Pahl 1984).

[3]For summaries of this discussion, see Booth 1994; Thompson 1991, 259-351.

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[4]Kettunen 1997, 108-111, 114-117; Alanen 1995, 43-49; Borg 1965, 206; Lackman 1985. The vision of the growth of the independent peasantry was compromised by the fact that the small size of the new holdings created made their owners mostly depend on wage labour as well as domestic production for survival, which points to the evident instability of the entire social taxonomy of "peasants" and "workers".

[5]Rosenberg 1998, 172-176.

[6]For some recent definitions of industrial paternalism, see Montgomery 1998; Peck 1998, 50; Licht 1998; van der Linden & Lucassen 1999, 15.

local Social Democratic workers' association, and set up numerous cooperatives, e.g. for the purposes of communal acquisition and use of agricultural machinery. On a par with increasing adoption of technology by individual households these organisations dwindled away in the 1950s.

National and local crisis perspectives

Two periods of economic hardship affected the area during the interwar years: the 1927 metal industry strike and lockout and the following Great Depression. The former originated in Turku and developed into a national, industry-wide labour market conflict. The national employer organisation returned the strike with a lockout lasting from May to December. Some weeks before the conflict was settled through government intervention the employer organisation decided on the eviction of all those employees with company housing who refused to come to work.[7] During the eviction, the workers of the Iron Factory and their families had to find shelter somewhere, e.g. with relatives, friends or willing helpers among the smallholders. Though lasting less than a month, the situation became a permanent reference point for local reminiscence and historiography.

The Great Depression hit the labour market nationally with unprecedented levels of unemployment and falling wages. The financial market, then again, became the main locus of grievance for peasants. In the 1920s, debts had been accumulated for agricultural investment. Rising interest rates and falling incomes during the Depression compromised the peasants' ability to manage the burden, and a wave of compulsory auctions of farms followed.[8]

In the area under scrutiny here, the Depression manifested itself through shortening of the working week from six to three days with a corresponding loss of income at the factory, general lack of work opportunities for smallholders and some compulsory auctions.

Past-making: positions of narration and sites of production

In the field of oral history, the notorious "subjectivity" of oral sources is seen as their very possibility. Narrative interviews are seen useful primarily not for research on factual events, but on the social construction of meanings given to events. In these meanings, narratives contain individual and shared truths that bear on the significance of history to

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[7]Teräs 1995, 334-335; Rentola 1992, 132-740. All in all, the conflict involved 53 factories and 9000 employees. The immediate demands of labour were a wage raise and a collective agreement.

[8]Hannikainen 1997; Parikka 1994; Ellilä 1957, 233-246, 272. Unemployment was particularly lasting in the construction sector of Helsinki, whereas the perstistence of wages insufficient for living in forestry caused a government intervention in 1934. The compulsory auctions were characterized by a 'domino effect' as individual bankrupcies tended to topple other peasants who had guaranteed the loans.

people, and are embodied in their practices.[9] Through this approach, oral history becomes at least partly a study of memory, or perhaps more accurately the "social production of memory", and not only a study of the events referred to.[10] The period under research effectively stretches from the point of reference of the narrative to the moment of narration.

This is so especially because narrative interpretations are subject to change due to various individually or socially constituted repositioning of the narrator. History is being re-narrated. Such transformations of interpretations may again become valuable sources on the effects of later experiences on the informants. But just as well, narrators *may* be able to reflect on their earlier positions *vis-à-vis* the present ones in the narrative mode of irony – or remain obstinately stuck with a valorised past position in the mode of an epic to start with.[11] When entering the field, an interviewer in fact also often enters a situation that is already highly developed: the same stories may have been told numerous times before to a different audience.[12] Alessandro Portelli has referred to oral history as a "composite genre", where numerous anecdotes, "twice-told stories", are for the first time brought together to create a single narrative, an "untold story".[13] The "untold" nature of the story, nevertheless, points to the fact that an oral history narrative is the product of interaction, a dialogue, and the researcher necessarily becomes a part of the social production of memory already at the point of gathering material.

Here, the primary object of study are the meanings related to identity, solidarity and assistance present in the local narratives and their social implications, not e.g. the exact course or accurate material content of past events. The articulations are not seen as emanating automatically from a certain materially grounded experience, or from a particular

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[9]Portelli 1991, 50-51; Passerini 1998. In the classical examples of these scholars, Portelli has used the systematic misdating of the killing of a Turin worker by the police in the informants' accounts to study the meaning of the incident to the community, and Passerini has managed to reinterpret the experience of Italian labour under fascism through initial attention to the fact that the narrators tended to skip the interwar years in their autobiographies.

[10]Frisch 1998; Popular Memory Group 1998. With the social production of memory, the Popular Memory Group refers to "...*all* the ways in which a sense of the past is constructed in our society", ranging from historiography or media representations to individual recollection. (*Ibid.*, 76.)

[11]Portelli 1991, 52-53. Elizabeth Tonkin has elaborated on the complexity of the underlying issue of narrator position: points of view are actually a property of the text, not the narrator, and may shift during a single narrative; the narrating 'I' could therefore in fact be considered a fictional device created by the narrator; and whereas even an eyewitness account told in the first person always inevitably carries traces of socially constituted interpretation, a story told by a narrating 'we' may contain an implicit autobiography, highlighting personally significant events. (Tonkin 1992, 9, 40-44.)

[12]Schrager 1998, 284-285.

[13]Portelli 1998, 24-25.

narrator.[14] Instead, they are contemplated in the context of a local field of discourse, where experience, practice and interpretation form an integrated circle of subjectivity and identity and solidarity are defined in a dialectical relationship to each other.[15]

The construction of oral history is but one peculiar process in the social production of memory. An illuminating distinction has been drawn by the Popular Memory Group between "public representations" of the past and "private memory" (which may however be collective and shared). Whereas the former embraces the "field of public representations of history" (historiography, media, literature *etc.*), the latter consists of the ways in which a sense of the past is produced in the course of everyday life (recollection, discussion, diaries, anecdotes *etc.*). Though heuristically separable, these do not exist independently of each other: according to the Group, the former exerts pressure on the latter, marginalizes it through a hierarchy of knowledge privileging 'public' and 'general' to 'private' and 'particular', and supplies the terms by which the latter is thought through.[16]

It is possible to describe the research material as a local field of social production of memory with four distinct though intertwined 'sites' of production: the management of the factory, the workers' association, local autodidacts and external incursions for research and recording.

Of these, the management of the factory instigated the production of memoirs and records on the industrial community starting at least from the 1930s. In some memoirs and ethnological reports retrieved from the local museum the authors explicate that they have been working by request of the owner of the factory, and the texts address the factory management as their audience.[17] These appear to be the tip of the iceberg in an active production of representations of the community over the years. More recent texts associated with the management include e.g. a locally produced book and an interview article in a major daily newspaper.[18]

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[14]Stedman Jones 1995, 150-154; Tonkin 1992, 9. For instance, the description of solidarity by a single informant may vary according to whether s/he is narrating a community myth or reflecting on everyday life experience.

[15]Cf. Rotkirch 2000, 42-44. It's necessary to emphasize the relative autonomy of local narratives *vis-a-vis* practice as linguistic entities and their formation in contact with meta-narratives like the discourses on peasantry.

[16]Popular Memory Group 1998, 76-78. The rather sinister image of the relationship of 'private' and 'public' discourses of the group could perhaps be modified by a number of works pointing to the uses of social appropriation of public genres of representation (like English music hall comedy) to social critique and resistance in labour autobiographies (e.g. Ashplant 1998; Lopes & Alvim 1998).

[17]Järvi 1939; Nylund 1939; Sahlberg 1936.

[18]Laiho 1997; Mannila 1999.

The local workers' association has contributed to past-making by publishing two booklets on the history of the association and other local labour organisations.[19] In connection to this site, the role of local "autodidacts" becomes essential. By autodidacts I mean people who are actively involved in local public past-making, and possibly have acquired or aspire to take the role of local history experts. In the material, autodidacts have appeared as recorders and carriers of the history of the labour movement and the community as well as autobiographers. Their designation as a distinct site of social production of memory can be justified by their personal initiative in producing material.

By external incursions for research and recording I refer to instigation to the production of memory by outsiders, like academic institutions. In this case, the most important ones are a fieldwork exercise course conducted at the factory community by the Department of Ethnology of the University of Helsinki in 1982-1983, additional interview sessions arranged by the local museum in the early 1990s and the interviews I've carried out in the years 1998-2000.

Class solidarity?

In connection to the issues of social identity, solidarity and informal assistance, it is possible to roughly discern three different positions from the material: that of the workers' association, that of the factory community and that of the smallholders.[20]

For the workers' association, the lockout and eviction of 1927 especially are a source of legend. During the eviction, some worker families found shelter at the smallholdings of the peasants. In a booklet on the history of the labour organisation a photograph depicts a convoy of peasants on sledges coming to gather the belongings of the families from the company houses: "Temporary apartments were found at the small farms of the 'plot people', Comrades helped and the measure [of the employer] did not have any mentionable effect"[21]. A labour autodidact echoes the view in an interview:

Yeah! There was exactly that solidarity [...] People were evicted form their apartments. And *there* was great solidarity, when you look at that photo, all the smallholders, my father was in that picture, they came and picked up those people and took them to their homes.[22]

The story fits in with aspects of the history of the association: the smallholders formed an important part of its membership in the early stages, and though the numbers generally

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[19]Tuomisto 1947; Vainio 1982.

[20]A more elaborate argumentation falls beyond the scope of this paper and the present status of my research. I would however like to make a disclaimer against the following theoretical and methodological heresies: unfounded generalisation; gender blindness; base-superstructure -model; malinowskian "apt description".

[21]Vainio 1982, unnumbered page, picture four.

[22]Interview, January 14th 1999, son of a smallholder, born 1926. SS.

dwindled after 1918, the leadership of the organisation consisted of both factory workers and smallholders. The image is that of a front of workers and peasants united by solidarity.

Distinctive identification

However, other interviews with the rural population have a different tone. There's a recurrent theme of identification through difference against the factory workers. Points of separation are patterns of work, income and consumption:

Yes, and then there was this difference here, that the country people had heavy labour and cattle rearing, so they didn't have very much time to tend and care for the home – though they did have guaranteed livelihood and bread. But then the factory people, they started to be high society.[23]

...well, you see we here were these country dummies and... we had bread as well but... then we saw it a bit like we eat our own bread but those at [the factory] and the rest (laughs) they just were... wore a tie in their neck and... "slick!" (laughs).[24]

According to the description, the factory workers had leisure and money from wages, which made possible a more 'middle-class' lifestyle, whereas the peasants had "certain livelihood" as they "ate their own bread". The meaning of the latter notion was revealed and played out during industrial crises. The hierarchy was reversed as the consumer-workers suddenly had to scramble for food:

But then there was the strike... [...] Then the factory people went to get milk and butter and got some – because part of the tenant farmers' children were working at the factory, so they were related.[25]

Yeah, well, there was this thing that there came... ladies of the factory people came here and... begged for our sacks or flours. And they got some, some of them, some didn't. Yeah, there was something in it, something... pretty humiliating for them... in the sense that... the ladies of the factory people came from there to here a bit like... couldn't look at you properly, to get... bread. So it was that kind of a time then [during the Depression].[26]

During such crises, entitlement to food became decisive. The quotations do not reflect a vision of a universal labour solidarity. Instead, they describe selective aid, and with an undertone of inequality and friction between the communities: during normal times, the

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[23]Interview transcript, May 22th 1991, daughter of a smallholder, born 1910 (Museum of Tuusula).

[24]Interview, January 17th 2000, smallholder, born 1914. SS.

[25]Interview transcript, May 22th 1991, daughter of a smallholder, born 1910 (Museum of Tuusula). Direct continuation to the previous quotation.

[26]Interview, January 17th 2000, smallholder, born 1914. SS.

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conspicuous consumers at the factory seem to compare better to the "country dummies"; during a crisis of the 'modern' sector, the odds are reversed.[27]

"Blessed poverty"

A different kind of an ethos of internal solidarity is present in the material from a rural village where several kinds of cooperative schemes were organized and there existed a separate Social Democratic Smallholder Section. According to an unfinished memoir of an autodidact written probably in the late 1930s, in the early days of the settlement since 1912

It was imprinted on your memory, you got to observe that when times were hard and poor togetherness was a support. There was no envy towards anyone because everyone had to start almost from nothing. First you had to build and get some kind of a roof over your head.[28]

A pensioned smallholder couple from the village elaborates on the notion:

And it was that (laughs), like we talked just now, that neighbours wife said, "there was that blessed poverty" so everything was common. Ploughs and, you see, throwers and, with what they sorted the grain and... they were common.[29]

That's what's made this a good village, that everyone has stayed pretty level, [...] hasn't risen in wealth much, one over the other [...] like all schoolchildren, everyone had a bit of stitches... [in their clothes][30]

Narratives emphasize equality, sharing and mutual aid. Sharing and good community spirit is associated with shared material deprivation. Envy is eliminated, and on the other hand, as the concept of "blessed poverty" suggests, lack of resources *forces* to share. Discussion on "blessed poverty" also included a nostalgic critique of modern times: nowadays, the couple doesn't even know what their new neighbours look like, though they do get their pension from the state every month and are able to get by.

The Canadian rural sociologist Max Hedley has encountered an almost exactly identical setting and sense of the past in his study on mutual aid between farm households in New Zealand and Canada.[31] According to Hedley, practices of mutual aid had a material base in the

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[27]The notion of friction is supported e.g. by local court records from the 1930s which contain data on seemingly causeless but serious violent confrontations between the youth of the two groups, a theme also recurrent in the interviews.

[28]Luode, n.a.

[29]Interview, January 17th 2000, smallholder, born 1914. SS.

[30]Ibid., wife's comment (concerns years after WWII).

[31]Hedley 1985. Hedley writes that in Whangaroa County and central Alberta the inter-war and early postwar period are portrayed by the residents as "...being marked by [...] considerable cooperation and mutual self-help, and a deep involvement in community life. For many, particularly those who were young at the time, it was a 'golden age' when wants were few and could be met by their own endeavours. [...] It was a good time, they say, when all were equal, particularly in levels of consumption." (Ibid., 27) Both the areas have been settled in the early decades of the century, like the area in question here.

necessity to share scarce resources, particularly labour, as labour-intensive techniques were used in farming and no kinship networks existed among newcomer settlers. The ideology of neighbourliness veiled the fact that returning services from others was considered obligatory. This was not expressed in terms of calculus of hours or price of work performed, but in terms like "being a good neighbour". Over time, the adoption of new technology changed labour processes in ways narrowing the scope for mutual aid. Constant market pressure on farmers to increase productivity through investment to machinery has rendered cooperation largely obsolete and added to the imperative to use own labour time effectively. At the same time, an economist vocabulary has taken over the everyday discourse on work. However, Hedley claims that the basis for action has remained the same, the material reproduction of the farm. Though capitalist development keeps transforming the necessary conditions for this, the discourse on neighbourliness does not refer to any archaic peasant values or a different logic of production.

In the rural village referred to here, the machine cooperatives set up to share capital dwindled in the 1950s as individual members started to own their own machinery. Sources also attest to conflicts over division of labour and returning obligations within the context of mutual aid practices over the years. One could hypothesize that pressures like those described by Hedley were at work here as well.

"A great, common family"

It is possible to discern a peculiar kind of solidarity in the narratives of workers concerning the factory community too, also with its own sense of a lost 'golden age'.

Both in past-making and day-to-day activity, the factory management deployed a paternalistic discourse aimed at harmonizing the labour relations and integrating the community. Strategic nodes in this discourse were the denial of class differences, the de-politization of work and the construction of a familial company image. According to the manager "we are all workers"; the political opinions of the workers made no difference, only work mattered; and above all, the factory was "our great, common family".[32] In a memorandum to a group of female "vagrants" from Helsinki committed to work in the factory on the basis of on a wartime law on the Duty to Work, the manager explicated:

You are now all members of this f a c t o r y c o m m u n i t y. Together we form a great family. Things here are not like for example in the capital, where everyone disappears to a crowd of people after finishing their work at night. As members of the great family we must see to it that harmony remains good.[33]

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[32]Laiho 1997, 42, 53, 58.

[33]Factory communication N:o 174. A. (1942). Museum of Tuusula.

A similar notion of a familial community can be discerned in some interviews with its members:

What made it comfortable was that that common prosperity there was so terribly united, I can't explain, they were so united all of them. [...] They [the owner family] always stopped to talk with the employees, came to see the workers, were just like friends.[34]

The difference towards the peasants is expressed in terms similar to those described earlier in connection to the smallholders, e.g. in a group interview by a worker and an accountant who both worked at the factory during the interwar years:

Vainio: Attitude towards these plot people was quite different. There was a clear difference of caste.

Järvi: First there were the factory people and then after a long while came the plot people.

Vainio: There was of course a clear difference in the use of money, because here you'd get monetary wage even if it was small, but the plot people didn't have that money like that.[35]

A sense of loss, then again, is associated with the eventual fate of the "great common family" in the 1960s and 1970s, when the factory was sold to a larger company that first effectively dismantled it and then ran it down. The workers described the changes spontaneously at length in the first of a series of group interviews in 1991, pointing out how the new owner didn't care for the old extra-productional aspects of the factory, like conserving artefacts related to its history, or offered scanty food at company parties compared to the old *potlatch*-style gatherings. Gradually, the whole workforce was dispensed with. A comment from a smallholder points to the effect this experience may have had on the view of the past of these employees:

Of the engineer [the manager] many said that he was greedy and... those who worked at the factory saw it a bit like that, yes, if that engineer could be a bit more open, that hand. Well then when it came there [the new owner]... That hand, it became less open. Yeah, the engineer was a good manager after all! He was surely better than these... [...] That when it was a stranger then it was a stranger and colder and more difficult. That's just what I heard...[36]

Conclusions

From what has been sketched above, it would appear that beyond kinship, the solidarities of the people in the area researched were mostly, instead of radical political visions or alternative moral traditions, attached to material practices (agricultural cooperation, factory paternalism) which were subjected in the last instance to the logic of commodity production

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[34]Interview transcript, daughter of a worker, born 1906. Department of Ethnology, University of Helsinki, 1982-1983.

[35]Group interview transcript, 30.9.1991. (Museum of Tuusula).

[36]Interview, January 17th 2000, smallholder, born 1914. SS.

and capitalist development. The nature of these solidarities became visible during crisis periods, and through their eventual destiny.

In the local context, the perceived superior consumption opportunities and concominant symbolic capital (being "high society", wearing ties, etc.) of the factory workers were countered by the smallholders with an emphasis on their "independence" in livelihood, a theme that emerged clearly in connection to periods of economic hardship. Despite of a common political organisation and a political myth of a shared, 'class' solidarity, narratives of assistance frequently received their meaning from an underlying discourse of tension between the groups. They point to the selective nature of aid and the power bestowed upon the smallholders by the temporarily increased significance of direct entitlement to food. Notions of belonging and solidarity were generally segregated, and directed primarily either towards the factory community or the cooperating rural village.

In a way, the fate of the familial factory community could be paralleled to that of the village community based on neighbourliness and mutual help. In both cases, the eventual pressure for competitiveness on the basis of atomised agents and commodified social relationships wiped out the practical basis for the segregated solidarities to which the workers and the peasants had adhered, leaving behind a nostalgic vision of a lost 'golden age'.[37]

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[37] The material does contain hints of a 'backstage economy', characterized by e.g workplace theft and illegal sale of alcohol, which would suggest that though certain respectable roles deployed by the bourgeoisie society – the independent peasant, the consumer-worker – were played out by the people "on stage", in the micro-level, "off stage" interstiches of this social body at least some of them were finding loopholes, utilizing blind spots and modifying the script to their advantage. (Cf. Scott 1984; Scott 1990.)

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FUN PAGES

OK, so you have reached this far! Congratulations! You have read and absorbed all the papers and now you can take a look at what we were doing when we had nothing better to do.

Some of us were...

HOW MUCH TIME DO WE HAVE LEFT?

... sleepy. Can breakfast wake us up?

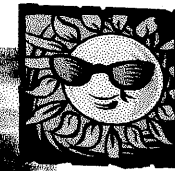IS SHE DISAPPOINTED?

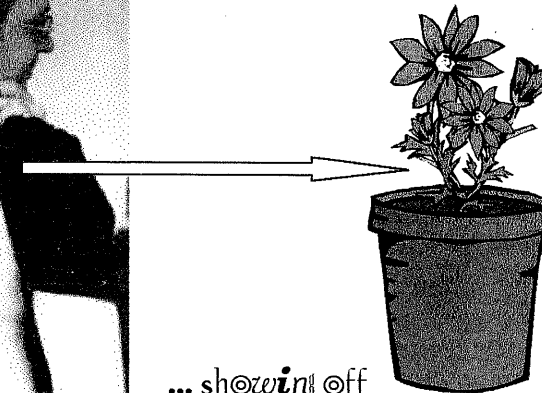... having morning hang over small talks.
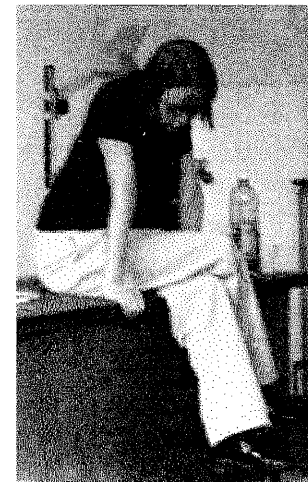

HOME SWEET HOME...

... fast asleep and dreamin...

... or just daydreamin.

... OH, so tired!

... showing off

... deep in ISHA troubles and searchin for the

... doin what???
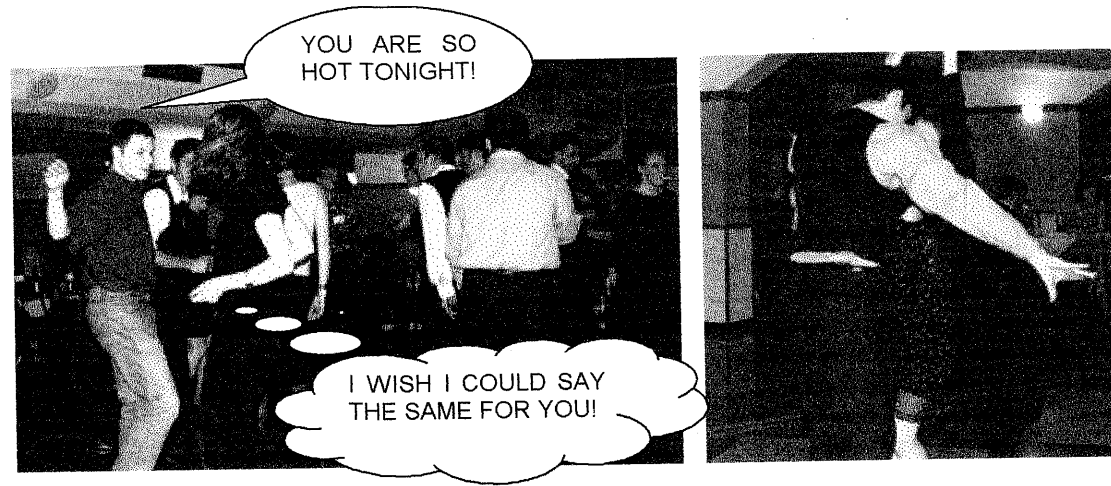
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Ten Years of ISHA: 1990-2000

The founding conference: Budapest, May 1990
The ISHA-constitution was voted on 10th May 1990.

2nd Conference: People on the Move. Migration and Movement in History
Pécs, Hungary, 2-7 April 1991

3rd Conference : Gender and History
Helsinki, Finland, 21-24 April 1992

4th Conference : What Does It Mean To Be European Through History?
Tours, France, 19-22 April 1993

5th Conference : The History of Daily Life
Utrecht, The Netherlands, 4-9 April 1994

6th Conference : Historiography and Propaganda
Mainz, Germany, 7-10 April 1995

7th Conference : Man and Nature
Vienna, Austria, 8-13 April 1996

8th Conference : Religion through History
Wrocław, Poland, 7-12 April 1997

9th Conference : Revolution!?
Helsinki, Finland, 8-12 April 1998

10th Conference: Enemies and Feindbilder. Concepts and Realities of Enemies in History
Heidelberg, Germany, 31 March - 4 April 1999

11th Conference: The Century
Zagreb, Croatia, 19-23 April 2000

... plus numerous international seminars, meetings and events.

And...
12th Conference, 2001, Vilnius, Lithuania

Good luck, ISHA Vilnius!