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Hello, dear history students. At last the time has come. The time to come to wonderful country. The country, which is situated on the coast of the Baltic Sea. The country, which has a wonderful basketball team. The country with 3.5 million inhabitants and with wonderful landscape. The capital of this country- Vilnius, where the Annual Conference of ISHA will take place.

The Republic of Lithuania or LIETUVA in our language, this is the country, where all of you will meet Easter time. April- not a very warm month here in Lithuania, but very beautiful one. In Lithuanian April sounds BALANDIS (pigeon ). Coming in Vilnius on Wednesday, the 11th. April and staying here till 15th morning, Sunday, you’ll have a very good time meeting old fellows, discussing and debating topic of Conference.

The opening ceremony will take place in Vilnius town hall. This is in the same centre of Vilnius old town. Workshops which will be held in Central building of Vilnius University. It is also in the centre of Vilnius. Vilnius University has very rich history. Founded in 1579 by the king of Lithuanian-Polish commonwealth Stephanus Batorus, it became one of the biggest centres of culture in Central and Eastern Europe. Also Vilnius University is famous for it’s tolerance to different cultures through the ages. As Vilnius always has been multicultural city the dial with the problem we are going to discuss always existed.

The topic

The Annual conference has to have its topic. This time we have chosen to discuss, debate and get something new about the one of the most actual problems through all times - MINORITIES. Minorities doesn’t mean only national or sexual. It can be religious, disabled people, asocial groups (robbers etc.) Your works will be presented in some workshops as:

1. The most powerful leaders of minorities in Europe (This is dedicated to papers about men and women who made biggest influence in to this problem. You can write also about these people, who are exploring this problem too. Like biographies etc.)

2. Rights and duties: does society take the problem of minorities serious? (This is dedicated more to national problems of different countries. Austria, Italy etc. How the society in precisely countries look at the problem. Or maybe it is not the problem?)

3. Question of religion- the ages of pagan Europe and its influence in to mentality of nowadays European (This workshop is dedicated to papers who are exploring the relation between the religion and politics, and, of course, between society.)

4. Role of the disable people in politics through the ages (Feel free to share everything you know about)
5. Nations about nations: jokes, songs etc. (This is workshop dedicated to clare out about national jokes about other nations, also about the view and what is forming the image of nation)
6. Society about subgroups: jokes, anekdotes etc. (How society look to the subgroups: robbers, dissabled, extremnists etc.)
7. Cults and religion movements.Secret organizations and its influence in to evolution of humanity. (You can write even about masons, Jehova etc.)

REMARK: you should take a notice that your works shouldn’t be strictly bounded on these topics. If you already do have some paper which doesn’t exactly fit to proposed topics feel free send it or its description and we’ll decide what workshop is to be presented with this paper. Also feel free demand or suggest your own topic even if it doesn’t fit to our proposed ones. It just have to fit to the topic Minorities.

Moderators
All moderators will be students of History faculty of Vilnius University. The workshops will be opened by the professors of our faculty. The work will be led in the Central building of Vilnius University.

Place
The Conference will be held in the Central building of Vilnius University, Universiteto str.3, near by the Residence of President of Lithuania. Place of living: Hotel “Draugyste”, Chiurlionio str.84, Vilnius Centre.

Excursions
The participants of Annual conference will be taken to Kaunas (second city of Lithuania) War museum, ethnographic museum Rumshishkes, the first capital of Lithuania Trakai (Trakai island and castle). Also the sightseeing of night Vilnius.

Participation fee
Although in the last Conference participation fee was 100 DM, the organizers of Vilnius Conference have
decided to collect the fee in US dollars, as LITAS, Lithuanian currency is bounded to it. (The rate is: four Lt= one US$) So, the fee will be 50$. Each group of participants will be met by organizers in the places of arrival: aeroport, railway station, bus station. Maybe some of you will come by car? Be careful. All application forms should be filled in and sent us by March 15th. That is the deadline. If you have any questions, don’t hesitate and contact us. Also you can take a look to our INTERNET page www.tilia.vusa.lt E-mail: mindaugas@vusa.lt, mindaugas.reinikis@if.vu.lt Phone: +370 2 687 144, Fax: +370 2 687 145 Cell.: +370 85 525 33 Mindaugas Reinikis The Chancellor of Vilnius University Students of History Corporation “Tilia” (ISHA- Vilnius)
In the beginning

The first people arrived in Turku already on Sunday - the beginning of the “Changing History?” seminar. The organizing secretariat had been working on the seminar from January, and the Daily Change team had already been working full days since the previous Tuesday. Tuesday was also the day that saw the beginning of consuming of “soft” drinks.

People found their way to the hostel during daytime and evening, and the hostel lobby witnessed many cheerful reunions as ISHA-people from different sections arrived. Annika and Rami took some people for a late evening sightseeing to the riverbank. Surprisingly enough, this small excursion found its way to Okkola-Pub, which boasted with the cheapest beer in town (10 FIM). The only thing missing were certain three Rumanians…

The first day

Monday brought no great change to the status of the Rumanians. The seminar was officially opened in the Old Academy House. We got to hear a couple of speeches; first, Mikko Eskola told us not to expect anything spectacular, since even the European Union had outranked our seminar due to “Weak quality of the project.” Secondly the Rector of Turku University welcomed ISHA to Turku, and, finally Konstantin zu Dohna gave a short speech on “Are we changing history or making history?” We also listened to some beautiful guitar music before it was time to open the workshops. The opening party in the evening saw the performance of the to-be-legendary band “Nahkanekku” (i. e. “The Leather Lollipop”).

And as the evening turned into night, even the singer commented: “Best gig ever.” (And the only one!) To make sure people get to know each other, a short introduction was carried out. The party went on until two o’clock. Or something like that. At least that’s when the ISHA-Wagen door-to-door service ended.
The second day

Tuesday arrived. But the Rumanians did not. Some people were having difficulties in doing their duties. After workshops and dinner it was time to do a short sightseeing in Turku by bus. Unfortunately the bus had time to stop only at Turku Castle and Cathedral. Well, it was raining anyway.

Aurinkolahti was where ISHA folks got to know Finnish sauna. There was also a possibility to swim, which all the participants and Aloa - Anja’s guide dog and the semi-official seminar mascot - eagerly exploited. Respective ISHA sections also introduced some typical beverages from their countries. Bottles were placed on the table and mysteriously emptied during the evening. This may be seen as a Hercules’ deed, since some of them were really quite awful and could be classified as dangerous. Investigations on this case were about to begin, but suddenly it was time to leave for the hostel. Some people continued fierce debates on the hotel premises, but unfortunately the issues remain unclear to us.

Archipelago Excursion

Wednesday began with a sobering seafare to Nauvo, which, after getting in terms with national drinks the previous evening came in handy. Even we Finns don’t always realise our archipelago is unique. Rumours have it that even a sea eagle was seen. Anyway, refreshed by the magnificent cool sea breeze and the cabin temperature very much similar to sauna, our journey continued by bus.

Dumbfounded by the beauty of nature one of our participants confused the excursion with a pilgrimage and kissed the ground like the pope at each stop. With full bellies after a lunch in the Peoples College in Houtskari, outdoor workshop sessions in the sunshine began. The workshops took their toll of time and soon our tired but happy travellers were heading for Korppoo, accompanied by some dirty little Finnish folk songs. Showing the right kind of spirit, even a 40-minute wait for the ferry was endured without complaints.

In Korppoo...

... the excursion continued with a visit to the local church. Peculiar reverend and an exhausting speech took some of the brave adventurers to more traditional Finnish hobbies - boozing at the churchyard. Another peculiarity in this church was its very naivistic ceiling paintings. Some local villager put forth his own views of church art… The person forced to translate the reverends guiding was later spotted in a situation that goes by the name “Lasse on the rocks”.

The biblical Last Supper is something every trip craves. This time it was a fancy “French” restaurant at Nauvo, menu 3: meatballs and potatoes - traditional Finnish delicacies. Then it was time to steer home to Turku in a pretty quiet bus. It only got better after Corné started to pass around some “golden shots”. And suddenly the mystery of missing national drinks was partially solved.

As the night fell on Turku, most of the people decided to continue to Dynamo, a non-mainstream disco in a wooden house. The building is just waiting to be demolished, but meanwhile it is packed with students.
Thursday morning, and the Rumanians had arrived! First Riikka - as the coordinator extraordinaire - led the ISHA group to Luostarinmäki Handicraft Museum. When the Great Fire destroyed most of the city in 1827, Luostarinmäki survived later to become a unique museum.

The History & Change symposium begun on Thursday and the ISHA seminar was able to fully benefit of interesting lectures. Quite many stole a few minutes of sleep before the evening visit to the unique Aboa Vetus Museum, but everybody still made it in time for the welcoming glass of wine. Aboa Vetus Museum was born when the Rettig Palace on the riverbank was under renovation and, suddenly, medieval ruins and streets were found under the yard. One guiding tour in English and another in Finnish followed. Some of the most popular artefacts were the computers with multimedia games and information. Later, some people still had energy enough to wander to the Koulu-restaurant (The School) and attend a session in the history classroom. Also, McDonald's faced a serious competition from the Finnish fast food chain Hesburger - popular during the evening due to its location near Koulu.

The End is closing by

Friday began with discussions concerning the workshop conclusions. Thereafter followed some more lectures of History & Change at the University, although this was the point of academic exhaustion to some of us. At least one Dutch individual skipped lectures in an attempt to fulfill his dream of possessing the new album of Apocalyptica, a Finnish band known for playing Metallica with a cello quartet. A Daily Change reporter informed us that he actually bought four CDs! Consumerism instead of serious studies - another sign of the “weak quality of the project”? The evening went on with some familiar routines. It was time for the “Pub Crawl”! Some guides were arranged to escort ISHA people through Turku-by-night. Everybody had great time and other Finnish history students willingly participated in the event as well. At least one Finnish fellow, wearing PVC-trousers and a glittering golden shirt, was seen at the hostel later on the night. Everybody survived the hazards of the night and got safely back to the hostel.

Saturday begun with a bus trip to Lieto and visit to Vanhalinna (The Old Castle), which is an ancient hill fort with an archaeological exhibition. At least the Finns found the guided tour very cheerful. This could be because they were dead tired, or because of the guide being so able. Coffee - thank God! - and then, the conclusions. There was also some discussion about the term “conclusion” and if it should be subjected to change. After the interesting conclusions and an obligatory photo session we went back to the hostel and start preparing for the Farewell Party at Old Town Hall. There we got to hear some lovely piano music and Axelbandet, which is a student orchestra from ?bo Akademi (the Swedish University in Turku). DJ’s Janne and Pekka started to play music from the 70’s. Due to tiredness and punch, memories from the rest of the evening are somewhat faded. It is rumoured that the evening also witnessed some ISHA-romances… (Don’t we love gossip!)

All good things must come to an end

Sunday morning. Extreme difficulties to move. Waking up. Heading to the couch. Schumacher had won the world championship in Formula 1 (Grand Prix) from Mika Häkkinen. Time to sleep more. Farewell,
sleeping rhythm…

Everybody was still alive, though some individuals were extremely tired. The hostel was still in one piece. Life seemed to continue. Nobody was late from the ferry or the bus or whatever means of transportation was selected. There were some close calls, but everything ended up just fine. ISHA-Wagen at least was dead! On Sunday evening some promises like “never again” were hastily given and as hastily forgotten. What was remembered, though, were promises like “next time again” - referring to coming ISHA-adventures.
Juridical debates concerning the legality of NATO’s intervention in the Kosovo conflict represent the favorite subject of numerous experts in International and Humanitarian Law, political analysts or simple representatives of the public opinion. Far from reaching an agreement on this issue they argue their point of view by invoking several paragraphs from international legislation, but unfortunately in the majority of the cases these opinions depend only on their political position, opinions which are not always objective.

There are very few studies on NATO’s intervention in the Kosovo conflict that present an academic perspective of the issue, putting away feelings and sympathies for a side or another. That is why such approach is more than necessary.

Synthesizing, the debates are based on the opposition of two main principles: on one hand, the question of the legitimacy of an action taken by a regional organization without a United Nations mandate to do so (ignoring basically the sovereignty of the State) and the systematic human rights violations on other.

Sovereignty vs International Law

Reference is often made to the Sovereign State. What should we know about it? (1) The first Convention that tried to codify the rights and obligations of States was concluded in 1933 in Uruguay, known under the name The Montevideo Convention, which due to the relatively small number of signatories (only 21 States) had only regional effects.

The International Law Commission elaborated a declaration project concerning the rights and duties of States (adopted in 1949) (2). The fundamental principles of International Law were finally codified in the General Assembly Declaration (resolution n° 2625/XXV) adopted in unanimity on October 24, 1970 known as The relative Declaration of seven principles of International Law concerning cooperation and friendly relations among the States in concordance with the United Nations Chart (3).

This Declaration announced a series of principles:

- The principle of non-use force and non-aggression in international relations;
- The principle of peaceful settlement of international conflicts;
- The principle of self-determination;
- The principle of non-interference in the so-called “reserved domain” of the State, (4) stated in Article 2 (7);

“Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters, which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter” (5).
- The principle of Sovereign equality;
- The principle pacta sunt servanda, which means that the States must respect their obligations assumed in the international treaties;
The principle of international cooperation.

Five years later, The Helsinki Final Act, concluded in 1975 enounced ten fundamental principles of International Law, adding four more to those stipulated earlier, but excluding the principle of self-determination. The new principles are: the principle of frontier inviolability; the principle of territorial integrity; the principle of rights equality and the respect of fundamental human rights. (6)

All these documents define Sovereignty as an essential attribute of the State which consists in the supremacy of the State power in the domestic field as well as its independence in the international affairs (7). These two sides of Sovereignty constitute a whole, being the statement of an indissoluble bundle between the domestic and external policy of the State.

Sovereignty has some essential features which should be mentioned: exclusivity, native and plenary character, indivisibility and inalienability. Exclusivity means that the State territory belongs to the jurisdiction of one single sovereignty. Native and plenary character means that the Sovereignty belongs to the State and is not attributed from outside, while the prerogatives of the State power govern over the political, economic and social spheres. By indivisible character we understand that the Sovereignty cannot be fragmented in order to belong to more than one holder, and finally inalienability means that the Sovereignty cannot be abandoned or ceded to other States or international organizations.

Restrictions upon Sovereignty and the Humanitarian intervention

In the domestic affairs the State has limited power even in its own territory once having accepted international standards of humanity and recognized individuals rights. Not a single treaty which settles such problems stipulates the possibility to interfere in the domestic affairs of the State. Exception from this rule could be considered the case when the domestic situation of one State threatens the peace and international security. When a State commits immoral acts against its population or a part of it, which could shock other States, the erring State offers legitimate grounds for possible intervention in its domestic affairs by the community of States. In this case, the UN Security Council is the only one that can take extreme measures such as the use of force or other forms of intervention.

The International Law practice knows the so-called humanitarian intervention in emergency cases or conflicts, destined to prevent massive human rights violation. The humanitarian assistance to the victims of an armed conflict or of human rights violation remains limited just in cases of emergency and only with the State agreement. The assistance consists just from food, medicines and other necessary products to the population and does not include a military intervention to support one side or another in the conflict. (8) In most of the cases the assistance is given by the governmental and non-governmental international organizations.

Moral Considerations

Until present, human rights abuse in Kosovo as documented in various human rights report were evaluated against the norms of International Humanitarian Law. Police abuse, arbitrary arrests and massive violations of human rights contravene to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and to the International Convention on Civil and Political rights, which the Yugoslav government has pledged to respect. Documented abuses include extrajudicial executions, indiscriminate attacks against civilians and the systematic destruction of civilian property by the Serbian special police and Yugoslav Army, as well as abuses such as hostage taking and summary executions committed against Serbian civilians by the KLA (Kosovo Liberation Army). Certainly, there is no doubt that the Serbs promoted a brutal ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, a genocide action
that cannot be tolerated by the International community. As a result, it has led to the NATO Alliance attacking a Sovereign, Independent State, to interfere in its domestic affairs without a UN mandate to do so, an action specifically prohibited by the United Nations Chart. “NATO made an illegal intervention in a domestic dispute of a sovereign State and its act is one of aggression “, says one of the arguments. This opinion and like many others is based on the main act by which the international relations are settled, the United Nations Chart, art.2 (4) mentioned above. Exception could be made only in the case only when a State is placed in a situation to defend itself against an external aggression or when the UN Security Council identifies “a threat against peace, an act of peace violation or an act of aggression.” (9)

It is very clear that NATO and especially the United States did not try to obtain the approval of the main United Nations forum – UN Security Council, because Russia and China’s opposition against a military intervention in Kosovo was predictable. The defenders of NATO’s military action argued their point of view by the existence of three resolutions of the UN Security Council (in 1998) which condemn the brutal treatment applied to the Albanian minority by Belgrade, requiring the reduction of the Yugoslav military presence in Kosovo. But it is true that none of these resolutions authorize the use of military force. Calling the NATO intervention “a moral one”, the US President Bill Clinton, argued that in critical situations the United Nations Chart could be interpreted in a different way:

“The NATO bombardments devolve from a large interpretation of the United Nations Chart, compatible with the laws which stipulate that in case of a humanitarian catastrophe the rights of individuals must be protected against genocide, torture and other forms of the human rights violations.”

Notes:


(2) Drept International contemporan, Institutul Român de Studii Intenionale, Bucuresti 1995, p.51

(3) Revue belge de droit international / Belgisch tijdschrift voor internationaal recht, Vol. XXV, édition Bruylant, Bruxelles 1992 , N°2, p. 323

(4) The Year Book of International Law Institute, Vol. 45 – II, p. 292 defines the reserved domain as “a State activity where the State competence has nothing to do with the International Law”.


(6) Constantin ANDRONOVICI, Drept international public, editura Graphix, Iasi 1993, p.74


(8) Ion DIACONU, Drept international public, Bucuresti 1995, p. 297

(9) United Nations Chart, Chapter 7, art.39, in United Nations divided…., p.510
Exile is one of the oldest words of human language. And it is similar in different spaces as well as in different times. It covers a complexity of significances and it has a variety of explanations. It seems that for understanding this entire complex situation one must place the possible answer not between all this, but within. This essay tries to present only one side of this Janus multiform, namely the exile as an inside experience.

Terminology

First, for understanding the extraterritoriality in a discussion about exile, it is needed to define the term, as well as to give some symptomatic examples. A lot of definitions of “exile” relate this notion to the notion of space. For example, as Oxford English Dictionary states, exile “is a banishment or a prolonged separation from one’s native land” (1). Moreover, if one thinks at the etymology (2) of the term the narrow definition of exile as a spatial concept becomes more evident.

This definition is easy to understand, due to the fact that it is strictly limited within the space-time framework. On the other hand, Susan Rubin Suleiman believes that “in its narrow sense, a political banishment, exile in its broad sense designates every kind of estrangement or displacement, from physical and geographical to the spiritual” (3). Hence, this definition implies the idea that a person became an exilé through a process of estrangement, becoming an unusual, different individual in the eyes of the others, no matter where this person lives. As a result of the need of imposing categories, an exiled person receives this label from the others. However, it seems that this is the final result of a long process of estrangement, which begins within an subconscious frame, which one can call an inside exile, and ends in a very concrete reality, the labelling as exilé with all political, mental, cultural social, legal aspects it involves.

Individual experience

One can admit that exile, even as a final, factual experience is usually an individual experience, an “one” against “all” relationship. However there are some notable exceptions as the Jewish or Armenian Diaspora, or German intellectuals in the US after 1933. (4) The inside exile is an extraterritorial experience, this means that one can be an intellectual exilé regardless of the geographical space that he or she lives. This could be
easily associated with a limitation of this kind of exile to the intellectual dimension. But usually these two go together. For example, Soljenitzyn was an exilé before going into the internal territorial exile, on the Gulag, and thus, much more before he arrived in the USA. Moreover, Christine Brooke-Rose speaks about “an exilé within an exile” regarding the experience of Kazuo Ishiguro and Salman Rushdie. (5) Likewise, one can speak about Emil Cioran’s experience during his exile in Paris. One can say that he was twice an exilé. First, he was a Romanian in France. Second, he was an exilé within the Romanian community, as a writer who “betrayed” his native language adopting the French. Cioran’s individuality and rejection of any group belonging is obvious in his statement in one of the letters for his parents:

“As far as I am concerned, I live a very solitary life. I have become bored of any kind of excitement, and I became to understand that my life’s misfortunes come from the belonging to a certain group.” (6)

Furthermore, there are a lot of other examples of the way important figures of human culture passed through the experience of this kind of inside exile before being exilés de facto. To mention only few of them, from Ovid, to Dante, from Petrarch, to Mickiewicz, Hugo, Shelly, Picasso or Tzara, all this people, and many others, had experienced in an way or another the insideness of exile.

On the other hand, within the experience of exile de facto, meaning the living in a different country than the native one, it could be found some strange situation. Such are the situation when an exile became perfectly assimilated into the new country. In an artist’s case this means first of all to succeed in writing in a new language. There are some examples, but this situation one find scarcely. Emil Cioran’s experience is a very interesting one regarding this kind of experience of exile that proves his peculiarity within both the Romanian and French culture. He introduces a new, unusual nihilistic language for the French cultural landscape, but he succeeds in writing all his books in French. Moreover he explicitly declares his decision of renouncing at his native language. Likewise the Romanian surrealist playwright, Eugene Ionesco, was an interesting figure. He is one of the most assimilated exiles into the French culture, while he wrote his plays in French, then can one consider him an exilé or not? Of course it is difficult to give a definitive answer, given the peculiarity of his as well as Cioran’s case. However, leaving apart other consideration, from Romanian point of view, as well as from legal point of view, they were definitively The Exilés, by definition.

Us and the foreigner

Second, a mind’s attitude, which manifests through a certain behavior, determines that the exilé is effectively perceived by the others as strange. Starting again from the experience of exilé as a foreigner, as a citizen of another country in a so-called host country, this person is perceived as the other. He or she is the stranger, something that the natives cannot include easily in their landscape. The exilé as stranger is the person who entered “our” space, but without an a priori claim for staying.7 Julia Kristeva tries to establish the relationship between the foreigner and “us.”

Strangely, the foreigner lives within us: he is the hidden face of our identity.... By recognizing
him within ourselves, we are spared detesting him in himself. A symptom that precisely turns to a problem perhaps makes it impossible. The foreigner comes in when the consciousness of my difference arises, and he disappears when we all acknowledge ourselves as foreigners, unalienable to bonds and communities. (8)

It often becomes the evil or the scapegoat for every problem that society faces. For example, the first “strangers” in human history are Aesky’s Danaides. This is an example of collective exile, and of double strangeness. First, they were foreigners in Athens, thus having different habits, and most dangerous, different ways of praying to gods. Second, they were women, in a male dominated world. The only way of being accepted was to marry to Athenian men and to bring the same sacrifices as they do. The lack of belonging to a group, (9) the idea of not being as we are, makes one dangerous.

Going further, another example for exile as inside experience and its strangeness is Mersault, Camus’s The Stranger. He didn’t change any space, any country, he was not forced to leave the native land, but he definitely was a stranger. The foreigner lost his mother. Camus understands it well, his stranger reveals himself at the time of his mother’s death. (10) However this Mersault’s experience gave me the idea of an exile as internal experience, adding some key words, as the strangeness, communication, extraterritoriality.

The language of the exile

To get a better understanding of the inner exile as an experience one must introduce the notion of communication. When does the exile experience begin? The first phase of the exile could be identified in the unconsciousness of an individual that feels himself different from the other individuals in his own group. We can call this first phase the occulted exile. This is an occulted, silent exile because it is not expressed in any way. Edward Said says “On the contemporary scale, exile is comprehensible through the internalization of rupture. Thus modern exile in not exclusively confined to the massive displacement of peoples from their homelands, but can also be located in the specific of silencing opposition without expulsion.” (11) A person identifies himself or herself in two different ways, as an individual and as part of a group. When some of the elements that this individual found he/she has in common with others disappear, he became an estranged. Its identification as group belonging changes and thus, he or she cannot find anymore identification with his own group. However, even when one became conscious of his own estrangement, his differentiation is still occulted for the others. For example, this is the sentiment that makes Mersault not cry after his mother’s
death. (12) Is the feeling that precedes the actual behavior. Mersault could simply feel different unlike the people around him, and if he had tried hardly to cry, he wouldn’t have been condemned to death.

The second phase can be called the ‘epiphany of the exile’. It is the phase through which an inside exilé became an exilé in the eyes of the others. This level can or cannot be followed by the exile as a punishment from the society, or a voluntary decision of leaving one’s native country. Often the individual, which feels like that, needs a tool of expressing this otherness. Most frequent instrument of expressing the otherness is the communication through language or visual arts. For example, in Eugene Ionesco’s surrealist play “Rhinoceros”, the last man reject the idea of becoming a rhinoceros, as his entire world because he definitively had no a “Rhinoceros vocation”. Thus, his behavior continues to be a human one despite its uniqueness in this world. However, the experience can easily end here. After that the author became a potential exilé in the classic sense of presenting a threat, for a given society.

Consequently, it is obvious that identity is occulted for everyone outside, until trough a kind of communication epiphany he permits the others to know this identity. If one remembers Mersault, Camus’s “The Stranger,” one realizes that he is hidden to us as long as Camus didn’t write about him. Is through language that one becomes known. Susan Rubin Suleiman argues that exile designates a state of being “not home”, which means, in most cases at a distance of one’s native tongue.” (13) Native tongue means a familiar, easily understandable language. So the internal exilé is inventing a new language that cannot be understood by his or her contemporaries, simply because their mental symbolic map lacks the negative to be fulfilled by this new language. And it is not about the differences from a tongue to another, but within the same national tongue. Just think about Joyce’s new language is it difficult to understand it because it is English, or because the language itself is difficult to understand? Think about this feature, an Irishman who writes in English, and claiming that he cannot write about Ireland within Ireland decides to live in London, Paris and even Trieste. Who can understand “Finnegans Wake”? (14) Is it because of a difficulty of translation? No it is because of being a Babel Tower writing. In all languages and in none.

On the other hand, it is interesting to find the distinction within the communication issue, between the written language and the visual art way of communication. Linda Nochlin argues that “When it comes to exile, artists would seem to be in a better position than writers. Somehow, the visual world loses less in
translation.” (15) However, it is obvious that even this way of communication reveals an a priori status of spirit that brings a consequently way of communicating this status. But the cursus is the same as in the case of the written language. Fortunately, as Kristeva states, the language of exile is the only language worth knowing, especially for intellectuals. (16) “How can one avoid sinking into the mire of common sense, if not by becoming a stranger to one’s own country, language, sex and identity? Writing is impossible without some kind of exile.” (17) This is obviously the outcome of the modern, or even of postmodernism society that encourages all forms of uniqueness as being the most expressive way of living.

Conclusions
Thus, the exile experience is one of the most interesting dimensions of modern life. In its individual or collective aspect, exile needs a complex explanation and a deep understanding. Exile raises problems of shaping identities trough the idea of the otherness, of asking questions about the ways of communication. However, political or cultural the final outcome of becoming an exilé is preceded by an inside exile. Last but not least, reinforcing the limitation of the human within the framework of space-time, on the one hand, and on the other hand setting the human free of this limited dimension, the exile as individual experience is welcomed by the modern society.

Notes:
(2) Exsilium>exilium>exsul>exul, which means a banished man was long related to the solum, soil, but is now related to the root sal (sanskrit sar) to go, see Christine Brooke-Rose, “Exul”, Exile and Creativity. Signposts, Travelers, Outsiders, Backwarded Glances, edited by Susan Rubin Suleiman, (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 1998).
(9) Papastergiadis , 94.
(10) Kristeva, 5.

Kristeva, 7.:

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THE NATION OF ITALIAN RISORGIMENTO

When researchers in sociology and cultural studies tried to define the terms “nation” and “nationalism” the last years, they tended to fall into two general, but still distinct, directions: what Anthony D. Smith calls the primordialists and the modernists. Modernists, represented by sociologists such as Benedict Anderson, have consider the nation an essentially modern creation, with few roots in pre-modern times.

An example of modernist thought is that “A nation is an imagined political community; and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nations will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives an image of their community.” (1)

For period of time, in Italy, historians perceived the concept of nation during state building process -in the XIX century- as a matter of fact. In the last twenty years outside studies (as Anderson or Hobsbawm) and international events gave a strong input to reconsider the subject under different views. Nevertheless Italian studies insisted mainly on the after Unity period (1860-1915), when the new state needed a national training to “make the Italians”, as prime minister Massimo D’Azeglio said, out of the very different new population of the Kingdom of Italy. Only this year the book of Alberto Banti (2) focused on the formation of national identity due to patriotic secret societies, forbidden books, letters and so on. Banti worked on a “subjectivist” way: he tried to understand what men and women of Risorgimento thought about national identity. He found that the key words of national language came from a small group of literature works: crossing the reading advices and quotations in letters and diaries he was able to collect a list of titles, an ipothetical “national canon” for patriotic readers.

The list includes romances, lyrics, theater pieces and few history studies (generally the most forbidden of all) and he studied even the success of very specific subjects in painting and music. The list includes important authors like Foscolo or Manzoni, political engaged thinkers as Mazzini and Gioberti and a lot of novel and romance writers forgotten today as Massimo D’Azeglio (3). Banti argues that the language and the way of acting of the characters stressed the semantic area of family relations, honor and sacrifice. The word “brother” (fratello) and “brotherhood” (fratellanza) identified a bigger community, the Italian one; the concept of help between brothers was expanded beyond a specific limit, and the Christian concept of universal brotherhood was limited to unidentified borders. The new community was defined as (with some differ-
ences between authors) a large population, with a special link to a specific but misty land: Italy. These peoples shared a common thousands years old and suffered together of invasions for centuries: the ancient Germans, the Holy Emperors, the Spanish, the French and the Austrians at that time. The only way to recover a vague “ancient unity”, to lead the Italians back to their identity was identified in the struggle against invaders: a lot of historical novels were written about that, presenting historical events in a new way. A special fortune in literature, poetry and painting is represented by the revolt of Vespro Siciliani, the rebellion that took off the Angiò soldiers form Sicily in 1282. The riot was linked to a story about those days in Palermo: a French soldier stopped a family outside a church, to check if they were without weapon. He begun to put his hands everywhere on a girl and one of the brothers killed him. All the city reacted to that incident because of the old hate against Angiò kingdom and as a result they attacked the garrisons. In few weeks all Sicily was free of French rule. A “good Italian” has to act that way - that was the lessons which national authors wanted to teach - because the protection the women is viewed as the key point of family honor.

Because The nation is a huge family, the rules are the same: the struggle against the “invaders” had to pass through a sexual separation, Italian men have to defend “their” women (sisters and mothers) and Italian women must resist to any violence, any proposal of the “foreigner”, even to prefer death instead of that shame. The Deep link with traditional values and family organization come to light: the women are the focus of men’s honor, the protection (and control) of female sexual life is the key of a strong fighter male image.

A society based on male predominance is shown: the only roles for women are mother, wife and sister, all defined on a male base (mother of..., wife of...). Men are expected, according to this literature world, to fight till sacrifice for their honor, their family, their big family i.e. nation. Almost all Risorgimento patriots were influenced by these models: a romantic idea of a struggle for freedom merged with a religious feeling of sacrifice.

Almost all of them were strongly persuaded that only a fierce fight against foreigner kings and influence would have create a new era of prosperity and glory for Italian people. Few of them succeeded to give an answer to the need of concrete hypothesis about the future and fewer of them had a precise knowledge of the very different cultures and economies that coexisted in the so-claimed Italian lands. Banti found an amazing vagueness around the main point the national “thought” about politic changes once the “freedom” should be reached: there were no civil or political rights mentioned. The nation itself was defined on a family basis but very imprecise, with no political borders (just the poetic ones as “from Alps to the sea”), no civil and political rights claims, no economic claims other then a generic lower taxation. The only “right” strongly willed was the freedom to be “Italians”, with no specific explications of the meaning: a fragile base for an ideology that determined thousands people to risk their lives, to waste money and suffer persecution (since the 1820s secret society flourished in Italy).

Banti argues that the strongest argument of that discourse, first of all developed in written works, is pre-rational, hard to analyze, it created a model of life where a lot of people tried to identified themselves: male and female role of a traditional society were reinforced with a mystic feeling of a superior mission. All men were called to be heroes and women, in their traditional roles, were elected as the basis of all the community
honor and teachers of the young-baby heroes. Another implicit point is about the language: the canon of books were written in a Italian-Tuscan based on the 1300 classics (Dante, Boccaccio, Petrarca...), the elite culture language. To have access to those works it was necessary to be literate and to know very well that language, a condition quite rare in the Italian peninsula of that time (4).

The main readers of that literature were concentrated in the cities, where the book market developed, and they were usually daughter and son of well-do families, sometime even nobles, not very gratified from their life. Usually a young age at the time of the meeting with that ideals is a common characteristic of the people who involved themselves seriously strongly in revolutions and wars (such as 1848 or Garibaldi expedition of 1860). The national idea was often merged with a divine plan, as a new crusade which this time has the aim to free the “elect people” from foreigner domain and the Pope (Pio IX overall in 1846-1848) was identified as a leader till the “betrayal” of 1848.

Banti’s work is strongly linked with the modernist theories about nation but is very important for the national discourse development, the shifting meaning of words like “motherland, nation, country”. He recognizes a debt to the studies of Propp on faire-tales: the systematic analysis of hundreds of sources, the analysis of function of certain figure and situations, the discovery of a coherence between very different elements guided him to the possibility of this research, never tried before in Italy, a real classic book.

Notes :

(1) Anderson Benedict; Imagined Communities, reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism, London, Verso, 1983;


(4) Propp Vladimir Iakovlevich (1897-1970), Morfologiia skazki, Leningrad Academia, 1928
In this essay I will concentrate on the presentation of the recent development of the educational sector in Kosovo. In the first part of my paper I will insist on the educational system prior to the conflict in 1999, and the second one will be dedicated to the effects of the conflict upon the educational system.

As it is well-known, the ethnic conflict between the Serbs and the Albanians in Kosovo escalated to open war in March 1999 with Nato bombing. Prior to this there had been Serbian domination already since 1989/90. As a result of Nato bombing the Yugoslav army had to retreat and at the beginning of June 1999 international KFOR peace keeping corps arrived Kosovo. About 800 000 Albanian refugees returned home. At the same time about 180 000 Serbs left Kosovo because of the hostile and hazardous environment and fear of revenge.

The interethnic situation continued to be very tense. The population of the Kosovo region is about two million divided as it follows: 90% of them Albanians, 7% of Serbs and 3% of other nationalities. The population is very young, the average age is 25 years. The amount of children in 0-18-years-old age group is 47% of the whole population. The birth rate is the highest in Europe (23.1/1000). On the other hand infant mortality is also the highest in Europe (27.8/1000). Education sector in Kosovo under Yugoslavian regime from Second World War to year 1999 Prior to Serb political domination in Kosovo, which, as I mentioned above started in early 1990’s, the educational institutions were administered and maintained independently from Serbia. The educational authorities of Kosovo had full responsibility to compile and approve the curricula and to control the whole system. During the communist period, education was organized according to the slogan “brotherhood and unity”. In primary school the children could choose between Serb-Croat, Albanian and Turkish as their language of instruction. In the university of Pristhina inaugurated in 1970, the subjects were taught both in Albanian and Serbian languages.
This educational system was very successful. At the end of Second World War still 78% of the population were illiterate and there was only a very limited tradition of higher education. Currently detailed statistics about illiteracy rate are not available but according to Carolin Leutloff and Elmar Pichl illiteracy rate is similar to other neighboring countries like Bulgaria (5%) and Yugoslavia (7%). The structure of the educational system consist of non-compulsory pre-school education in kindergardens and compulsory primary school education to children aged 7-15.

Primary school level consists of two stages. Grades I-IV are class teacher based and V-VII are subject based. Secondary and vocational education lasts three or four years. Gymnasia offers four years of general academic education. By 1996 there were 38 000 graduate students of 60 000 in Albanian language from the university of Pristhina. Officially ethnic and cultural differences were allowed, but there were continuously fears of a Greater Serbia and a Greater Albania in a political sense. Education sector under Serbian regime 1991-1999 Serbian regime in Kosovo started in 1989/90 after the abolishment of the Kosovo’s autonom. New Serbian constitution transferred the rule over the province to Belgrade. Kosovo lost it’s own representation in Yugoslav government. The legislation of Kosovo concerning education, science and culture was replaced by Serbian legislation. Serbian became the official education language. Some school were totally forbidden to Albanian pupils and in the rest of the schools a separate education for Serbs and Albanians was introduced. Even the administration of the school was separated.

For example in some schools the Serbian students had their classes in the mornings and the Albanians in the afternoons. In some cases there were totally isolated areas separated by brick walls or metal fences. Approximately 10% of the pupils were usually Serbian origin. Still they got more than half of the space in schools and classrooms. Total of 14 500 primary, 4 000 secondary and 860 university teacher of Albanian origin lost their jobs. The Albanian student’s classrooms were not financed, equipped or even heated by the state. In order to maintain Albanian education, a system of “parallel education” was developed. This shadow system allowed pupils and students of Albanian origin to get education but it lacked official status. The parallel system was organized by Albanian teachers and lecturers who began to give Albanian language education in private houses, cellars, garages and small areas of existing schools. The financing of this system was self-organized by contributions and money donated from western countries.

In 1995 this system included 5 300 pre-school children, 312 000 elementary school pupils and 57 000 secondary school pupils. There were about 20 000 teachers, professors and administrative personnel included in this parallel system. Even though the amount of pupils and teachers involved within this system diminished, as years passed by, there were still, just before the conflict in 1999, estimated number of 267 000 Kosovar Albanian children in these parallel schools.

The curriculum of these schools was to promote Albanian nationalism. Schools lacked didactic materials and the quality of education was not supervised. This parallel system was important symbol of both liberation and competence of ethnic Albanians. Education sector after the crisis of 1999 There were major problems in all sectors of education after the crisis starting from destroyed school buildings, lack of equipments, books and qualified teachers. One of the biggest problems still remaining is ethnic fears and hatred. Tolerance needs to be developed. It is said that “Kosovo without an enemy does not know hw to function. It needs to channel its negative energy, otherwise people will turn against each other”. One fierce example of this nationalism is that both Albanian and Serbian children had been taught bomb-making techniques at different
period of school’s history. To correct this development is a big challenge for the educational system. First
task immediately after the crisis was to clear school buildings and nearby areas from landmines. After this,
rebuilding of damaged school buildings started.

A UNICEF survey found out that of 1000 schools which surveyed, 45% had either been severely damaged
or totally destroyed. Most of the schools had poor water and sanitation facilities. Lack of school furniture
and educational material was appalling. For example new schoolbooks needed to be written and printed
without abusive language. Still there was among pupils, students and teachers a great desire to return to
school. The educational sector needed to be academically and legally reconstructed. After 10 years of parallel
educational system there has to be developed a new neutral and objective curricula. It should be a basic
right for all the people living in Kosovo to get education without discriminatory approach. Teacher training after
nationalistic parallel school education had to be organized. After the crisis the development in education sector has to concentrate on these three basic sectors of physical conditions including
objective books, curricula and teacher training to complete reconstruction of the educational system.
Nationalism in education in Kosovo Kosovo offers us a frightening example of the use of nationalism in the
education. During the parallel school system, nationalistic local curricula were developed on both Albanian
and Serbian sides. Using schools as a channel of nationalistic propaganda is a very effective way to influence
people’s thoughts. Misrepresentative information is given before pupils and students are mature enough
to objectively evaluate the contents of education. Image of the surrounding society and world is formed on
a basis of twisted information and nationalism.

It is very difficult to change this black-and-white image later.

All the people involved in education sector in Kosovo at the moment encounter a great challenge. There are
still many open questions on basic structure. Whose values will be used, when rebuilding the educational
system? How big can western influence be on values, curricula, subjects to be taught and teacher training?
All these are major questions to think about, still the biggest challenge is to unify an educational sector,
which has first been split into two totally separate systems and then totally destroyed as described above. A
great challenge.
The 60s are generally considered “the golden years” (1) of the XX-th century, at least of the second half of it. They were a period of prosperity, of improvements of the living standard, especially in the developed countries. In fact, the period of general progress began in the late 50s, due mainly to economic growth. This was possible also because of various scientific discoveries and improvements.

The economic growth was manifest mainly in the United States, the Western European countries and Japan. The standard of living improved also in less developed countries. The communist world experienced an economic prosperity as well, but for some of them the economic reforms of the 60s failed. Officially the relations between communist and western countries detented (but at the same time, a permanent competition between the two blocks occurred, competition that sometimes burst even into military conflicts).

Communication of all sorts, all over the world, improved. A cultural transfer occurred even if the main stream was from the developed countries to the poorer ones. This led to an internationalization and uniformity of the culture and way of living, the pattern being the United States. The growth of international tourism also induced an exchange of values, open the perspectives, both for tourists (coming in general from the developed world) and the locals. This led to a better understanding of other civilizations or communities, and the problems that they are confronting with.

In spite of the general prosperity, the 60s were not quite “calm” years. A lot of turbulence occurred in various parts of the world. Political, economic and social demands were claimed in the streets. Sometimes they degenerated in fights between contestants and the authorities or even among the contestants. The “fashion” of public protests (which became a philosophy of living) was also launched in the United States, especially by the young generation.

During the 60s the youth imposed itself. The “baby boom” generation became an important part of the society, ready to take the lead. The raise of the self-consciousness of the youth made them to openly demand their own rights and to fight for different causes. Their example was an important stimulus for the older generations and for the political leaders, as well. Towards the end of the decade, the number of popular
claims (sometimes violently asked) increased, having important results, such as: the increase of wages, half of the public expenditure were for social support, the recognition of the rights of different social categories, liberal laws etc.

The cultural context of the adult population in the 60s is characterized by an outward conformity in personal style and political behavior, even loss of autonomy. The youth, on the contrary, were not passive and satisfied. They were willing to change and improve the situation, for themselves, as well for the others. They became an active pressure group.

The motives of the pressure groups (2) are various, egotistical or altruistic, such as: self-oriented, desire for group success, desire to benefit others, to improve conditions in the communities. They could reach their goals by violent (3) or non-violent (4) means. Characteristic for the youth movements of the 60s, unique until that moment, was the pursuing of unselfish goals by mainly non-violent protests, at least in the beginning of the decade.

The youth determined in fact a revolution of values, moral and attitudes. Among them, a lifestyle revolution was launched. This lifestyle, associated with the specific values, is still followed by a part of youth today (maybe not so much in form, but in spirit and attitudes towards society and institutions). During the decade maybe many changes were rather superficial, at the level of statements and in urban areas. Later, they imposed themselves and became a way of living and thinking. The youth movements of the 60s were influences by the young and non-conformist intellectual’s movements of the 50s, both from the US and from the UK: the Beat movement (5) and the Movement of Angry Young Men (6).

They represented a new state of spirit, artistic approaches, and not political programs. Characterized by non-conformism, inwardness, avant-garde art, freedom, energy devoted to pleasure rather than business, they promoted the anti-hero type, the experiment instead of the conventional in art and life. They accused and mocked the society. The American movement was more radical and inspired the hippie movement from the 60s.

The values promoted by some young artists in their personal lifestyle and creation became a state of mind for the youth in the next decade, especially for the students (7). They were distinguishing themselves by a new desire to improve the society. The fight for rights of various communities (the African American, the Native American, the women and other minority groups) in general characterized the 60s. The change for a better life (social and personal) was the main goal. And to change means to be young. The 60s were a period of agitation of the youth all over the world, especially in the United States, where the mainly social claims were sustained along with the black problem and the opposition to the Vietnam war. Throughout the decade, in almost all universities and colleges meetings, marches and sit-ins were organized. Three main movements of the American youth were born: the New Left, the Free Speech Movement and the Counterculture.

Tom Hayden and Al Haber initiated the New Left (8) movement, in 1960, when they formed the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), at the University of Michigan. They defined themselves as “the people of this generation, bred in at least moderate confort, housed in universities, looking uncomfortably to the world we inherit”.

The SDS was accused of being supported by the communist but the members claimed that their sources were in Rousseau’s writings. Later, in 1967, when they discovered Lenin’s and “Che” Guevara’s thinking, the movement became radical and broke in various factions, some of them terrorists. In 3 years they just disappeared.

All during the decade a lot of riots burst in public places and in the universities (Harvard, Cornell, San Francisco etc.). But not only the students took part at these revolts. For instance, in 1967 an important meeting took place in Central Park, against the war in Vietnam. The participants were of all kinds and ages. The same was the situation in 1961 when people rode buses cross-country in a campaign to try to end the segregation of the black community, as well as in 1963 when, at the mass-demonstrations organized by Martin Luther King, rev. Avernathy and rev. Shuttlesworth in Washington, more than 250.000 protesters
One of the most important riots was in 1964 at Berkley University. The participants gathered, despite the interdiction of political manifests, for the New Left’s program. A scaffolding was erected and the Free Speech Movement was launched. The model was immediately adopted in other universities. The promoter, Mario Savio, a former barber, gave a speech against the institutions and the injustice: “The fence was there, invisible but definitely there, not for their sake but for the peace, safety and repose of those who have told them lies”. (9) The movement at the University of Berkley ended in December, when some of the participants were arrested. During the decade other student movements initiated, such as Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

It was founded in April 1960, on which occasion Martin Luther King fold a speech. They later collaborated with Southern Christian Leadership Conference, led by the reverend M.L. King (for instance in December 1961, when they organized mass-protest campaigns, but some conflicts between the two organization manifested).

Like in other parts of the world, 1968 was the apogee of the revendicative movements. The main goal was to stop the war in Vietnam. The New York, Chicago and Berkley police interfered against the protestants; sometimes the street fights lasted for days. The students decided to go on strike each 15th to make president Nixon return the solders. In all important cities manifestations took place and even important politicians joined. Some solders, in sign of solidarity with the participants, wore the 4U sign: “the Unwilling led by the Unqualified, doing the Unnecessary for the Ungrateful”. (10) More and more often the riots ended violently and even some terrorists attacks occurred.

The most important social-lifestyle movement of the decade was the Counterculture, known as Hippie. It was a state of mind and a social and personal attitude rather then a political movement. The Hippies, considered the descendents of the non-conformists Beats, had long hair, wore blue-jeans and sandals, consumed mind-altering drugs (in order to be closer to the ultimate truth, to discover themselves and the world), listened to rock music and organized cooperative living arrangements, sometimes as large as 20 persons and children. They had an interest in self-knowledge; they started to practice Zen, Buddhism and transcendental meditation. The care for the world and for the human imposed a trend of thinking and behavior promoting the return in nature, the vegetarianism and even suspicion towards technology. Emblematic for the Hippies is the Woodstock festival (august 1969, the audience is estimated between 350-600.000 participants), held under the sign of “cheap marijuana and free love”.

Of course that those who had changed completely their lifestyle and who were considered to have an outrageous behavior, who were always contesting something and seem to do nothing useful were a minority in the decade. But most of the young persons (especially those from the urban areas and the universities) had in common a way of thinking, a similar view of the world. Some of them just had not the courage to confront so openly the society and the institutions or they just wanted to integrate for a sure future prosperity. But many of the transformations in the mentality and in society were led under the impulse of young generation. They imposed a new lifestyle, a new way of claiming and fighting for privileges, the habitude of realizing and demanding the personal and community rights, the social liberation etc. The non-conformists 60s, although they turn violent, still are an example and a source of inspiration for a part of the youth today. The legacy and the significance of the 60s is encoded in value-words and slogans like: sit-in, teach in, freedom rides, hippie, “black is beautiful”, “we shall overcome”, “Jesus loves you”, “I have a dream”, “make love, not war” etc. Some events, films and all sorts of personalities still offer models for the young
generations: Woodstock, Altamont, Hair, Easy Rider, West Side Story, Walk on the wild side, Guess who’s coming to dinner, the Rolling Stones, the Beatles, the Doors, Franck Zappa, Bob Dylan, Janis Joplin, John F. Kennedy, Robert F. Kennedy, Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Betty Friedan to name just some of the most famous all over the world.

Notes:

(1) E.Hobsbawm, Secolul extremelor, Bucharest, 1994, p.301 sq.
(7) The situation in fact was more complicated. For instance the young generation also adopted the culture, values and lifestyle of working and lower middle-class youth.
(8) T.G.Brown, America: A Narative History, New York, [s.a.]
(9) Ibidem.

Further reading:

The present study attempts to examine the trajectory of Elena Ceausescu’s gradual cult as manifested in the Romanian press, with specific reference to the main daily newspaper Scinteia. I have limited my analysis to the period between 1970-1975 and 1979-1984, because it illustrates the gradual creation of Elena’s public personality. Elena Ceausescu’s cult was constructed in such a way as to represent the party’s ideal type of a communist Romanian Woman.

Introduction

The communist rule in Eastern Europe profoundly changed the economic, social, and political pattern of those societies. (1) In Romania’s case, as well as in other countries behind the Iron Curtain, the communist power tried hardly to legitimize itself and also to legitimize certain abnormal behavior. The summit of the communist rule was achieved due to the establishment of the cult of personality. (2) In Romania, for instance, the cult of personality of the country’s leader, Nicolae Ceausescu, appeared only after 1970, even though the communist system was established in 1945-1947. This implies that gradually everything evolved around him. The most frequently promoted image of the leader was that of the father, which suggested responsibility, trust and safety. The whole educational system was centered on him. Thus, Marxism was not regarded as an important ideology.

The cult of personality represented a factor of ideological legitimacy, and unity within the state, as he proclaimed his breaking away from the Soviet Union. This fact contributed to his isolation in the communist space. Thus, he had to legitimize his image in the eyes of the other countries. Consequently, he conducted skilful foreign affairs, but most important he had a charismatic personality, widely promoted by different kinds of media. What, in fact, Ceausescu wanted was to make his country a strong, independent state, without any external intervention. (3)

However, this cult of personality was the result of the fact that the image of the beloved leader of the Communist Party was introduced by force, involving state security, propaganda, with the help of the educational system, and also a centralization of the whole system. Therefore, a way to legitimize the political, social, and economic situation was to accredit his own image.

Besides his own image, his wife’s was also strongly promoted, ascending on the academic scale. By analyzing the characteristics of Elena Ceausescu’s cult, as viewed in the newspapers, one may demonstrate that the major outcome of this campaign was her promotion as the mother, the scientist, and the political woman. The ascendance of Elena Ceausescu had as a result the promotion of women. However, previous research (4) shows that the campaign for women’s promotion could be viewed more or less as a social mechanism that offered legitimacy to Elena’s cult and prepared her ascendancy.

Taking as sample for my analysis two important days, the 6th of January, Elena Ceausescu’s birthday, and 1st of May, the international Labor’s day, I will follow her ascendance within two periods from 1970 to 1975, and on the other hand from 1979 to 1984. My research will focus on images of Elena Ceausescu as she was promoted in the daily newspaper Scinteia, following her gradual ascension from a mere companion in Ceausescu’s visits in the country and abroad, in the first period, to that of the second leader of the country as
reflected in the second one.

The present study comprises mostly primary sources, i.e. the Romanian newspaper Scinteia, which was the Romanian Communist Party’s newspaper, and also the only compulsory paper for all party members. Even students had to be aware of the newspaper and quote from it. The emerging cult of Nicolae Ceausescu cannot be separated from his wife’s. Thus, I have limited my analysis to the period 1970-1984 because it illustrates the gradual creation of Elena’s public personality.

My research will focus on the images of Elena Ceausescu, as promoted by the daily newspaper Scinteia, also taking into account the titles, because they are closely linked to the images, as will be demonstrated in my analysis. Apart the primary sources the present essay will also relate to several scholarly writings of historians, social historians and political scientists that have analyzed different problems of Romanian communism. The books used try to describe the process of how did Elena Ceausescu came to obtain the power. Thus, my essay will try to synthesize a basic bibliography related to a certain period of time as reflected by the leaders’ images promoted by the newspaper Scinteia.

Between 1970 and 1975 one might argue that there is a gradual ascendance in the social status of Elena Ceausescu from a mere appearance in the background to an important social figure who contributes to the implementation of a future cult of personality.

With 1979 her cult of personality received a concrete manifestation in Romanian media and completely established itself in the next years. The period between 1975 and 1979 does not constitute the object of my analysis because after a careful examination one might draw the conclusion that this period is a stagnation in her ascendance, and no really important events occur in what regards this analysis. Starting with 1979 every political and national celebration was a great opportunity to extol the Party and its leaders. Moreover, it is during this period that Elena’s important role for the country manifested in various ways, congresses, conferences national celebrations. To stress even more the importance of this period one should mention the fact that before 1979, Elena’s birthdays passed without any mention in the Romanian mass-media.

The Pre-cult of the Personality of Elena Ceausescu

In early 1970 Elena Ceausescu had little public image, if any, as compared to her husband, Nicolae Ceausescu. As promoted by the newspaper Scinteia, she remained in the shadow of her husband. In the first half of the year 1970 Elena Ceausescu appeared only once, when meeting the American astronauts with their wives, at the airport. (5) In the beginning she accompanied her husband on different visits having thus a mere entertaining role and being simply mentioned as “his wife,” in the headlines. Yet, there was no visual representation in the newspaper, either on the 6th of January, or on the 1st of May 1970. (6) In fact, the Labor’s day did not promote the image of either the former leader, or his wife. Thus, one might conclude that at that time, the
stress was not so much on the individual, but on the event, and society.

For example, the big red title of the first page was “Long live the 1st of May, Day of International Solidarity of Those Who Work,” (7) and on the third page, “Labor Transforms People, People Transform Labor.” (8) They celebrated the country and the labor force. After those scarce presence, she would disappear from the paper for long periods of time, the focus being exclusively on Nicolae Ceausescu’s activities. And even when she did appear she was presented in the background.

The worker and the Collective-farm woman in Moscow

Some scholars argue that the visit to China from the 2nd of June up to 25th, 1971, (9) had a major influence on Elena’s future ambitions to become a prominent figure in her country’s politics. Scholars such as Gail Kligman, Mary F. Fisher, or V. Tismaneanu referred in their books and articles to the cult of Elena Ceausescu both as a prominent public figure, and a paternalistic image. This visit greatly influenced them because among the communist countries it was only in China that the cult of personality took huge proportions. Therefore, this had a great impact on Elena’s future ambitions to become a prominent figure in her country’s politics, imitating Mao’s wife, in politics, media, science, and arts. Mark Almond suggested that “if Elena wished to be a great scientist, Jiang Qing was already a great actress and the messenger of comrade Mao on most issues.” (10) Thus, her presence gained increasing importance from 1971, when she accompanied her husband on most public occasions, such as visits in different towns, and work sites in the country, to the military parade and public demonstrations, but mostly abroad.

In July 19, 1972, at the National Conference of the Romanian Communist Party, Elena Ceausescu was elected to full membership in the Central Committee, and from that moment on, she was nominated many other important titles. (11) For example, in 1973 she became a member of the Party’s Executive Committee, on the 12th of April, 1975, she was awarded Doctor Honoris Causa, by the Feminine University of Manila, on the 15th of April, the same year, the highest Jordanian distinction, on the 2nd of December they were both awarded the title Doctor Honoris Causa by the university of Teheran. (12)

In the following years 1973, her ascendance to power emerged gradually. During this year Elena Ceausescu appeared beside the wife of the Pakistan Leader, on the 9th of January. Moreover on the 2nd of May, Scinteia presented them as family, i.e. Nicolae Ceausescu delivering a speech, with his wife supporting him. Hence, as Kligman argues, the emphasis was on her role as a wife and supporter of the leader and their harmonious life together. (13) Elena Ceausescu alone also visited Chemical Institutions, therefore, one might draw the conclusion, in a long perspective, that the ground for her role as a scientist was put forward.
For example, in 25th of January, 1973 they both visited the Central Institute of Chemical Research in Bucuresti, another visit was on the 28th of June, the same year, when Elena Ceausescu visited the Central Institute of Chemical Research in Bayer, during their visit to Federal Republic of Germany. Even though neither her birthday was publicly promoted on the 6th of January, nor in the 1st of May, 1973 did we find their images, this year was very important because she began to be more publicly involved, by her own visits to the museums and Chemical Institutes, setting grounds for her future roles in the country. Nevertheless, she had general activities and meetings, mostly with other leaders’ wives, which made her appear as fully competent individual who could manifest outside the couple. Her independent activities remained limited, and without political, or scientific importance, but though socially important.

Beginning with 1975, her name appeared in the titles, beside her husband’s, even though her position had not drastically changed, from a mere companion. Moreover, she organized receptions for the guests of the country, and the images promote a more familiar and independent Elena. Furthermore, as promoted in the media she appeared as her husband’s constant companion on official and unofficial occasions. She also presided with him at the Party and state ceremonies, we saw her travelling with him more abroad than in the country and she even held formal positions directly below him in the political hierarchy. She became a public figure in 1971 and rose quickly to the top of the political hierarchy, receiving promotions rapidly. As for the types of images of women in this period the most promoted ones were the actress, the hard-working woman, the peasant, the student, the educator, the sports woman. Nevertheless, these images were very masculinized, as they got recognition in the most important sectors of economic and social activity, due to their “professional competence and loyalty they devoted themselves to labor, such as, the weaver, the researcher in the electronic industry, the worker, the teacher, the manager, the chemist engineer, the doctor.”

According to the list of the Central Committee members, provided by the daily Scintea in 29th November 1974, the 11th Party Congress elected 2 women out of 22 members, Elena Ceausescu and Lina Ciobanu, as members of Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party. Another 7 women out of 205 members were elected for membership in the Central Committee, and 24 women out of 157 were elected for alternate membership. As Gail Kligman suggested, these figures are only a façade for the political and scientific legitimization of Elena.

Beginning with 1979, Elena Ceausescu’s presence gains increasing importance, being presented as the second most powerful person in the party. (15) In the late 1970s the Romanian press worshiped her almost equally as her husband. On her sixtieth birthday, in January 6, 1979, she was praised for forty years of revolutionary activity, and Scintea devoted her two days of celebrations. The number of images also increases. Thus, on the third page she appears alone in six images, which is most relevant as in previous years she appears only in the presence of her husband, or with other presidents’ wives. The titles are also very suggestive: “Great Example of Devotion and Revolutionary Passion,” “Leading Fighter of the Party for the Glorious Destiny of Romania,” “Prestigious Contribution to the Evolution of Romanian Science, to the Cause for Peace and International Cooperation.” They celebrated the accomplishments of Elena Ceausescu not as the wife, or as the companion, but as the independent woman.
Thus, Elena’s cult became a genuine one following the line of her husband’s. Two years later the party
newspaper greeted her birthday with her drawing as the First Lady smilingly receiving dozens of bouquets
of flowers from a crowd of children. Underneath was a poem entitled “Homage”, ending as follows:

“To the first woman of the country, the homage of the entire country,
As star stands beside star in the eternal arch of heaven,
Beside the Great Man she watches over
Romania’s path to glory.” (16)

Although the Romanian press praised her, Elena Ceausescu was not a popular personality in most of the
country. She did not propel a practical competence like Eleanor Roosevelt or a mystical charm and beauty of
Eva Peron. Even if Nicolae Ceausescu’s image had become extremely defiant and lacking in trustworthi-
ness, it still remained more credible than hers. Romanians would say, he earned his high office, rising to the
peak of power through hard work and political skill. She was generally perceived as a “dragon lady.” Even
Nicolae Ceausescu is said to have been victim to her cunning personality. Assumption weighs more heavily
than empirical evidence in accounts about this much-hated couple. (17)

Gradually, Elena Ceausescu’s image had separated from the family to that of the “comrade academician
doctor engineer Elena Ceausescu, brilliant politician and patriotic scholar of broad international renown.”
(18) She was still pictured with dozens of smiling children paying homage to her, but her image had become
that of a famous scientist, who brought credit to Romania for her scientific achievements, as well as by
caring for her family. As Party priorities had shifted, the image of Elena Ceausescu had changed as well.
Thus, the adulation paid to her has roots in regime policy as well as her own personal vanity.

As Tismaneanu pointed out, “the political emasculation of the party apparatus group” corresponded with
two main processes. On the one hand Elena’s ascension to the highest Party position, followed by the
Romanian Party National Conference in 1972, and on the other hand Ceausescu’s increasing trusting upon
another group constituted first of all of activists directly and personally linked and promoted by him.
The promotion of women was a major theme of Party pronouncements after 1979 as a means of attracting
them into the work force and in the 1980s women appeared more and more frequently in prominent political
and economic places. As compared to other discriminated group, i.e. minorities, women had joined the
Party leadership. Even though the ideology of the communist regime declared equality of women and men,
and sought to eliminate patriarchy, equality did not imply equal affirmation of different values for women
and men, but treatment similar to men. Everybody was treated as a member of the Communist Party, not as
different persons in terms of gender. Thus, they were expected to work outside their home, becoming loyal
citizens and servants of the state. Therefore, Scinteia would not promote the sensitive, the beautiful woman,
or the mother, but the hard working and never tired woman, always a spring of new energies. The political
and economic emancipation of women was a part of the mythic history of socialist women fabricated during
the regime of Ceausescu. He arduously supported the promotion of women into the labor force, promising
full equality with men. He militated against gender discrimination, demanding that persons be treated not as
men and women but as members of the party and as citizens:

If we speak about the creation of conditions of full equality between the sexes, this means that we must treat
all people not as men and women, but in their qualities as party members, as citizens, for which they are
exclusively judged according to their work contributions. (19)

Ceausescu’s aim was in fact to promote one particular woman, his wife. Equality between the sexes in a
“dictatorship of the proletariat” meant that proletarians, regardless of gender, were socially and economi-
cally defined through their lack of private property. Thus, what people had in common was their labor
power, which made them equal under law. The principle of equality promoted by the communist regime did
not reflect a public attitude, or at least a recognition of inequality. The gender issue was simply not under-
stood, it was politically proclaimed. Moreover, one might notice that there was no gender issue during
communism, as there was no minorities issue because everybody was considered equal under the commu-
nist regime.
Conclusion

The present research examines the creation of Elena Ceausescu’s cult of personality as illustrated by the communist daily newspaper Scinteia. Thus, while in early 1970s Elena was sequentially shifting from scarce appearance in the background, to the mentioning of her name in the headlines alongside with her husband’s, and also giving receptions to the guests of our country, in late 1970s she appeared as an independent woman, and an important contributor to the scientific progress of the country. The iconography reproduced in the newspaper emphasized her beauty and youth and also her intellectual capacities. Even though my study took a different sample for the analysis from previous researches, the conclusion drawn upon is similar. The images of women are closely connected to those of Elena Ceausecu. Gradually, the emphasis in the Romanian mass media shifted from motherhood in the 1970s to the promotion of women into positions of authority in the 1980s. However, there is no change in the status of women, because they are permanently represented as hard working, without any interest in their own image. One might draw the conclusion that, in spite of the fact that the images of women more often promoted the working woman, rather than the beautiful, or the young woman, Elena Ceausescu’s iconography represented her as the fashionable woman, full of vitality, and acting on her own.

Notes:


(2) The concept of the cult of personality has been scarcely treated in the literature, although Daniel N. Nelson tries to define it as “a leadership strategy in which highly charismatic and highly coercive components exist simultaneously with coercion applied to enforce the ‘acceptance’ of the ruler’s charisma.” Charisma, Control, and Coercion. The Dilemma of Communist Leadership, p8.


(5) Scinteia, March 1, 1970.


(7) Ziua Solidaritatii Internationale a celor ce muncesc.

(8) Munca transforma oamenii, Oamenii transforma munca.

(9) The year 1971 considered as a turning point in the Party’s propaganda, is also discussed by Mark Almond in his book The Rise and Fall of Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu.


(13) “We gaze with esteem, with respect, at the harmony of his life family. We attach special ethical significance to the fact that his life – together with that of his life comrade, the former textile worker and a Union of Communist Youth militant, member of the Party since the days of illegality, today Hero of Social Labor, scientist, member of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, comrade Elena Ceausescu – offers an exemplary image of the destinies of two communists.” Gail Kligman, Politics of Duplicity, p56.

(14) Scinteia, 1975.
(15) On 8 January, 1979, Scinteia presents a presidential decree regarding the offering of the “The Star of the Socialist Republic of Romania” to Elena Ceausescu.


(18) Scinteia, 7 January 1984.

The most powerful project aiming at building a Transylvanian regional identity was outlined in the interwar period by Transylvanian Hungarian intellectuals. As a response to Transylvania’s separation from Hungary, they stressed the traditions of the independence of the region, and claimed the existence of a regional identity shared by all its inhabitants living in the same natural environment and sharing a common history.

This definition of Transylvanism already shows its inherent contradictions: it appeared both as a project to be realized in the future, in the new boundaries of the Romanian state (or maybe a future confederation of central-European and Danubian states), and as a claim at the existence of a centuries-old regional identity. It would be simplistic however to reduce the problematic character of Transylvanism to the above mentioned contradiction. After all, Transylvania did enjoy an autonomous status both as part of the Ottoman empire after the 16th century Ottoman conquest of a large part of the Hungarian kingdom, as well as after the integration of Hungarian crownlands, including Transylvania, in the Habsburgic empire. This autonomy existed until the establishment of Austro–Hungarian dualism in 1867, when Transylvania was integrated into Hungary. It is also true that the geopolitical position of the region, constituting a borderland between the Habsburgic and Ottoman empires, its centuries-long autonomy in both these empires, as well as its ethnical and religious diversity constituted a favorable framework for developing a borderland identity that could successfully have competed with the identities of the states to which it belonged. (1) Nevertheless, this regional identity could not claim the loyalty of its inhabitants stronger than their national identities, which is why we can only speak of Transylvanism as a project shared to varying degrees by all major Transylvanian nationalities (i.e. Romanians, Hungarians and Germans) for a short period, in the 1920’s. The national identity of all three nations being based on ethnic and linguistic criteria, an identity transcending and denying ethnical boundaries was very difficult to create, especially in a period when both Romanians and Germans were in full process of nation-building, (2) and Hungarians also needed to reshape their national identity so that it should include all Hungarians living outside the boundaries of the Hungarian state. Moreover, as Liah Greenfield shows, ethnic characteristics that will serve as the foundation of ethnically-based national identities generally include not only a common language, but also a shared history and a common, ancestral territory in its representations accepted as legitimate. (3)
This paper will focus on the latter aspect of identity-building, showing how the different narratives on Transylvania's geographic space, all trying to integrate it with different strategies and rhetoric into a broader national symbolic space, competed with each other and with narratives of representatives of Transylvanism. In 1924, the Transylvanian Saxon author Otto Folberth published a short essay entitled “Die Drei Durchbrüche. Eine Vision der siebenbürgischen Landschaft.” (4) The essay argues that the historical diversities and even adversities of Hungarians, Romanians and Germans can and will be overcome when they finally understand the pure Transylvanian idea (die siebenbürgischen Idee) (5).

The different ideals and spiritualities of the three nations will merge to create the Transylvanian synthesis: “Die siebenbürgische Synthese, überhaupt der Sinn unserer Gesichte sein.” (6) This prophecy, the strongly ritual rhetoric of which was generally characteristic of Transylvanist authors, is supported by an allegorical account of the creation of Transylvania. On the third day of creation, God created Transylvania, delimiting it with three mountainous chains, the Eastern, Southern and Western Carpathians, and placing into it three rivers, the Alt (Olt), the Mieresch (Mures/Maros) and the Samosch (Somes/Szamos). The three mountains do not represent three different nations. They serve as a natural fortress delimiting a homogeneous space, being the guarantees of continuity and internal cohesion. The three rivers however have been appropriated by the three nations, who, following their course, long toward their fatherlands. For the present-day reader it is not clear which river belongs to which nation, except for the Olt obviously assigned to Romanians, since it flows into the Danube in Wallachia. The other two rivers both lead to Hungary. However, the allegory clearly illustrates the symbolic character of such mental “chartographies,” which have very little to do with geographic accuracy, but much more with the realm of myth: “Each nation seems to posses a predestined space, a space reserved to it since the beginnings of time on Earth. The more this space is situated among natural frontiers, the more clearly is it outlined. From prehistoric times these already announced future configurations.” (7)

Folberth’s vision of the Transylvanian space was dedicated to the Erdélyi Helikon, a circle of Transylvanian Hungarian intellectuals trying to establish stronger links with Transylvanian German authors and win them over for their conception of Transylvanism, the main ideologists of which were Károly Kós and Aladár Kuncz. They both argued that the shared history of the three Transylvanian nations, as well as the identical natural environment they lived in gave birth to a specific Transylvanian spirituality, shared by all inhabitants of the region. In outlining these views, they both made use of geographic symbols, the most important of which was the mountain. Mountains were seen as the region’s natural frontiers. As symbols of stability and continuity, they guarantee the perpetuation of the Transylvanians’ shared identity. The mountain peaks in their purity elevate the Transylvanian idea they symbolize into the height of pure, incorruptible ideals. At the same time their height provides a European perspective for the people, thus becoming both the symbol of the particular and of the universal. (8) Thus Transylvanian geography becomes a discursive landscape, not a simple totality of physical geographic elements, but “a way of seeing, experiencing and interpreting things and events.” (9) This landscape is also a cultural landscape, bearing the physical marks of its inhabitants’ culture. Károly Kós in his small book entitled stones of Transylvania (10) set out to investigate the built cultural heritage of the three nations, and reached the conclusion that they share a common architectural tradition, Transylvanian architecture being a unique synthesis of Romanian, Hungarian and German architectural elements.

The title of the book clearly links the built environment to the natural one, the binding elements being the stones. The result is a homogeneous cultural landscape, reflecting the homogeneous regional identity shaped by the natural landscape. Terms like homogeneity, synthesis, harmony, unity in diversity are given special emphasis in works of all Transylvanist authors, homogeneity being a prerequisite of all types of identity, be it ethnical, national or regional. (11) In order to model somehow the different ethnical and linguistic identities of the three nations that are to share a common Transylvanian identity, they often make use of a musical metaphor, that of the polyphony, turning into a harmonious symphony. (12) Another metaphor frequently used was that of the tree: the different nations are different branches (or flowers) belonging to the trunk of the same tree. Plant metaphors being organicist metaphors, they also served well the purpose of supporting the existence of a regional, autochtonous identity developed in a homogeneous space well divided from the surrounding world.
Though a significant part of the Transylvanian Hungarian elites adhered to the Transylvanist movement, which also provided an ideology for creating their new institutions after being cut from the cultural centre, Budapest, many of them did not. A part of the elites emigrated to Hungary and continued to hope for the revision of the borders, regarding the peace treaties following World War I as an inconceivable historic accident that could not stand for long. Leftist intellectuals on the other hand attacked Transylvanism as a right-wing ideology rooted in Romantic and conservative ideas, with a strong nostalgia for the past (which was definitely true of Károly Kós, author of historic novels who saw history and tradition as the foundation of Transylvanian identity).

German intellectuals supported the integration of Transylvania into Romania and declared their loyalty to the state from the beginning, hoping for better conditions than those of post-1867 Hungary. After the adoption of the 1923 constitution however, which created a strongly centralized nation state, and after the agrarian reform that undermined the financial position of their institutions, accepted for a few years Transylvanism, but the spread of nazi ideology from the early 1930’s put an end to the process.

In the 1920’s however, their acceptance of Transylvanist ideas and rhetoric was made easier by the Europe-wide popularity of the “landscape-literature theory” (Lanschaftstheorie) of two German authors, August Sauer and Josef Nadler. They tried to identify regional variants of the national culture, variants determined by the different natural environments – an idea, as we have seen, very close to Transylvanism. Another German cultural movement, the Heimatdichtung, aiming at reviving the “völkisch” Romantic mythology also facilitated the reception of Transylvanism, since the latter also operated with the notion of Transylvanian “Volkgeist,” though without clearly defining it. However, the strengthening of German racial identity soon came into contradiction with the supposedly transnational character of Transylvanian identity. The idea that the Transylvanian geography and landscape gave birth to a distinct regional identity came into the strongest contradiction with Romanian symbolic geography. (13) In the XIXth century, Romanian national poet Mihai Eminescu often referred to the geo-politic position of Romanian territories, defining them as a Latin island in the Slavic ocean, an island hosting a homogeneous Romanian identity, and where mythic Dacian-Roman traditions survived, perpetuating the national spirit. (14)

Another influential vision of the Romanian space was that of Transylvanian Romanian poet and philosopher Lucian Blaga. Blaga tried to understand and describe the Romanian spirit through the landscape, starting from a Romanian folk ballad, the Miorita. The ballad is the story of a Moldavian shepherd, who is warned that two other shepherds, a Hungarian and one from Vrancea region will try to kill him. The Moldavian shepherd’s reaction is to give instructions about his burial and asks the lamb who brought the news not to tell people the true story of his death, but to tell a story of his cosmic marriage. This lack of vengefulness and peace of mind of the shepherd is seen by Blaga as a manifestation of the Romanian spirit, shaped by a peaceful landscape of alternating meadows and sloppy hills.

Blaga also used this interpretation of the landscape to explain the difference between Transylvanian Saxons and Romanians. He opposed Romanian peasant houses, separated by fields, to the Saxon houses built in
unbroken rows, “in line with the German unconscious spatial horizon. (...) Just as the Romanian was gov-
erned by the mioritic space, the Saxon inhabiting the same land was still dominated by the ‘Gothic space’
inherited from their ancestors.” (15) As we have seen, Károly Kós used the cultural landscape and the built
cultural heritage to prove exactly the opposite point, namely that Transylvanian Saxons, Romanians and
Hungarians shared a common spirituality, that was given birth by the homogeneous landscape and reflected
in the common architectural heritage.

The symbolic geography of Greater Romania also made use of the same elements as the Transylvanist one, but these elements were assigned opposite functions. In Otto Folberth’s vision, mountains divide the Transylvanian people from others, whereas rivers unite them with their co-nationals living abroad. In Romanian symbolic geography, as summarized by Lucian Boia, these elements function the other way around:

_The unitary geography of the Romanian people was elaborated in the XIXth century and lives on until today as the image of a prefect, almost circular space, comprised between three major rivers: the Danube, the Dniester and the Tisza, a space supported by the Carpathian backbone running all across it. In the Romanian version, mountains unite, and rivers divide._

(16)

The Transylvanist version of the function of the Carpathians is formally the same as the one in the Hungarian version. In Hungarian national symbolic geography, the Carpathians are seen as the natural boundary of Greater Hungary. However, the Transylvanist and the national Hungarian definition of the Carpathians is different. Symbolic geographies can disagree not only on the functions of the geographic elements, but also on their definition. Transylvanists referred to the Carpathians as the mountains enclosing, as a natural fortress, the Transylvanian basin. Hungarian national mythology refers to the Carpathians enclosing the Carpathian basin, including Transylvania. On the latter symbolic map, the Western Carpathians (Muntii Apuseni, in present-day Romania) do not figure. Transylvanists defined Transylvania as the space between the Hungarian and the Romanian ones. Hungarians and Romanians both included Transylvania in their mental maps of the national territory, assigning it a mythical significance. In the latter two conceptions, Transylvania was by no means a borderland: it constituted in difficult times the heart of the national space, where the national spirit took refuge and survived. (17)

As we have seen, the Transylvanist vision of a strong regional Transylvanian identity had to compete with the national identities of the region’s inhabitants. Both the Transylvanian regional and the ethnically based national identities were formulated with metaphors taken from geography, and created competing representations of the same space, representations carrying mythical significances. These representations either made use of different elements of the same physical environment, or assigned different functions to the same elements. Competing national symbolic geographies as important components of national identities made it rather difficult, if not impossible for a regional identity with its alternative vision of space to claim the loyalty of its inhabitants more strongly than their national identities.
Notes :


(2) The creation of Greater Romania for the first time was not only a challenge for Romanians having to create a homogeneous national identity shared by all ethnic Romanians living in the new state, but also for ethnic Germans. As Rainer Ohlinger pints out, ethnic Germans in Romania were not a homogeneous group after World War I. There were regional, confessional, social, economic, historical and also linguistic differences between them. Moreover, they used to live in different states. In Bukovina, Austria, they were part of the nation-building majority population. Transylvanian Saxons and Banat Swabians lived in Hungary, while Bessarabia Germans lived in Russia before World War I. “However, strong regional identities started to be overlapped by and mixed with new loyalties to the German state and German people, so that a supraregional identity with an external focus became more important.” (Rainer Ohlinger, “Minority Identity in Process: Culture and Cultural Politics among Ethnic Germans in Interwar România,” paper presented at he conference Culture and Politics of Identity in Modern Romania, May 27–30, 1998, Bucharest)


(5) Idem, 46.

(6) Ibid.


(10) Kós Károly, Erdély kövei, Kolozsvár, 1922. (German language edition in 1927.)


(12) See for example Folberth, op.cit. 46: “Diese neue Strophe wird nicht anders können, als der drei shon vorangegangenen Auftakt zum klingrnden Akkorde zusammenzufassen, endlichtie widerspenstigen Kläng zu einen,” or the poem of Lajos Áprily, Nyár (Summer): “De ez a nagy folyó, látod, tied…/ s ez a hőmpölygo dallam, lásd enyém – / és este kinyitom az ablakom / és a históriát hallgatom: egyetlen trassylvan hoksöltlemény.” (But see, this great river is yours…/ and see, this flowing tune is mine – / and in the evening I open my window / and listen to its symphonies: a single Transylvanian epic.)

(13) In spite of the fact that a Romanian tradition of fighting for Transylvania’s autonomy existed in the period of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and even after the union with the Romanian kingdom some Transylvanian intellectuals tried to oppose, unsuccessfully, Bucharest’s centralizing tendencies.

(14) Sorin Antohi, Civitas imaginialis. Istorie si utopie in cultura romana (History and Utopia in Romanian Culture), Iasi:Polirom, 1999, 125.


(16) Boia, op.cit. 149.
In this paper I wanted to show the role which communist youth organisations had in the lives of young people during the communist regime in Yugoslavia. Here is especially emphasized the role which those organisations had in the execution of official communist policy and ideology among youth. In this paper by youth is “understood the generation of people who are old from 13 to 27 years of age (1)”. So, here we are speaking about students of secondary schools and faculty students who were consisted the biggest part of youth communist organisations.

We shall see by which means and in which forms communist propaganda was done. Main part of this work is consisted of quotations, facts from the first hand like official documents, records and conclusions from conferences of youth organisations, speeches and theoretical essays of distinguished communists about a need of spreading communism among youth and the role of youth organisations in that process. Did the communist propaganda among youth really had so much success as communists wished? I think that time has shown us how much the youth believed in communism as permanent solution for their needs and problems.

Development of youth communist movement in Yugoslavia

SKOJ (Union of communist youth of Yugoslavia) was founded few days after the foundation of Socialist Working Party of Yugoslavia (communists). Founding conference was held in Zagreb in October 1919, and first assembly took place in June 1920 in Belgrade. The same year there were about 3000 members of SKOJ in Yugoslavia. Dictatorship of king Aleksandar in 1929 brought a major blow to SKOJ and communist party.
The same year seven secretaries of SKOJ were killed and they "showed to young communists and to all youth how heroic can somebody die for the cause of the working class and her Party (2)". Many organisations of SKOJ were erased and the movement was decapitated. In 1937 Josip Broz Tito is becoming/becomes the chief of communist party and from the very beginning he sees in SKOJ “joy and pride of communist party (3)”. For secretary of Central committee was named Ivo Lola Ribar who was held on that position after the beginning of the war as well. He was killed on his plane during a German attack in Bosnia in 1943. During the nazi attack on Yugoslavia in 1941 SKOJ already had about 30 000 members and until 1944 in the partisan army there were about 200 000 members of SKOJ of which 50 000 got killed. Until the end of the war the number of members of SKOJ was risen to more than half of million. Several years after the war there were two youth organisations in Yugoslavia: People’s youth and Union of communist youth which united in 1948 in the new mass communist organisation: People’s Youth of Yugoslavia. “Its primary goal was to mobilize youth on concrete action of building of communism and work on its education in communist spirit (4)”. In 1974 the Union of socialist youth of Yugoslavia was finally founded and it lasted until the fall of communism in Yugoslavia in 1990.

Some extracts from statute of SSOJ (Union of socialist youth of Yugoslavia)

I just want to mention some characteristically extracts from the statute of SSOJ to present the characteristics of the political ideology which communists tried to indoctrinate young people to in fight for the so called “better life” and to show it’s strong relationship with communism. Unlike the normal and democratic societies of Western Europe, Yugoslav youth movement was deeply saturated with communist ideology and it served in its own interest and not in the interest of young people. “Leaned on socialist consciousness of the youth, expressing historical interests of working class which was led by communist party, SSOJ is bringing the widest masses of youth in delegating the system of political life and raising them in the spirit of revolutionary tradition of the socialist revolution (5)”…

“Political principals of SSOJ and its political activity is founded on programmatic goals of SKJ (Union of communists of Yugoslavia) as leading political strength in fight for developing socialist self-government relationships. With organized political and educational work SSOJ is taking part in making conditions for youth to be engaged…on the building of communism (6)”.

The role of communist youth organisations in educational system and its connection with communist ideology

What was the role of the youth organisations in educational system of Yugoslavia? Were they autonomous in the fight for a better education or were they just following the official policy of that time communist establishment? Were the schools protected of political influences and ideologies? Unfortunately, the answer is no! In these notes we shall see that the educational system in Yugoslavia 1945-1990 was strongly and deeply connected with the communist ideology and the whole education was based on Marxian principles. No
other opinions and attitudes different than the official ones were tolerated.

“The youth can not fulfill its duty in society, its role of fighter for socialism, without ideological education of its members, without understanding the principles of Marxian Leninist science. Youth organisation has to make sure that all young people take place in studying of those principles and the organisation itself must organize that kind of work in secondary schools (7)”. “Its educational function SSO (Union of socialist youth) makes by developing at youth three major characteristics which are making a socialist person: socialist attitude toward the work, Marxian view on the world and socialist moral. Along with school and family, SSO is contributing in the process of creation of marxian view on the world at young people (8)”. “The mission of S0 (Socialist youth) in school is to accuse lazy pupils and to fight against false comradeship (9)”. “It is particularly important that youth should be educated in the spirit of brotherhood and unity and socialist self-government cooperation because this is foundation stone on which Yugoslavia is based. For the continuity of revolution the utmost importance is in our fight for socialist aim of youth on traditions of our revolutionary working movement, education of youth based on Marxian doctrines and connection with Tito’s great work (10)”. “In fight for better life education must be based on marxian science, connected with Tito’s work and socialist practice of selfgovernment. Some people are trying to destroy those basic values of our educational system. But, whether is profesor or student, for that kind of people there can be no place among us or in our society (11)”.

Youth labor actions (ORA)

Very important segment in indoctrination of youth with communism were ORA. Thousands and thousands of young people were “volunteers” for hard physical labor on big projects like highways, railroads and water gates. By that labor was also a mass propaganda of a ruling ideology in some kind of political schools and Marxian meetings. Some famous sayings are well known from that time: “We are building railroads and railroads are building us” etc. In this paragraph we shall see the attitude of an establishment?? toward ORA and the role of young people in it.

“In the last years ORA’s fulfilled all tasks which were brought to them. They are the true schools of socialist self-government of the young generation. Youth labor actions confirmed the willingness of young generation that by building the objects of widest interest and social meaning, they are building themselves and their better future (12)”. “Special meaning have very clear attitudes of 11th conference of SKJ about ORA’s which says:…ORA, as important stage of taking active place of young people in our social and economical development and building of socialist consciousness, should take very big part in our future socialist development (13)”. “Main goal of political and ideological work in youth labour actions is comprehension of Marxian theory, building socialist consciousness of young generation and to make/making sure that young generation will take an active role in building and reconstruction of our socialist society. These are some topics which must be discussed during every ORA:

1) internal social-economical development of Yugoslavia
2) policy of non-alignment of SFRJ and reputation of Yugoslavia and comrade Tito
3) history of revolutionary movement
4) SKJ as leading ideological-political strength in Yugoslavia (14)"
Communist youth organisation in military

JNA (Yugoslav people’s army) was/had also a very important part of/in the spread of communist ideology between/among youth. In the normal countries, army is out of reach of political ideologies but in Yugoslavia military was a very powerful weapon in the hands of the communists. Beside regular military training there was also political education of young people based on Marxian doctrines, acquisitions of WW2 and the most important was the stressing of the role of Josip Broz Tito as supreme military commander and communist leader.

“JNA is from her beginning deeply socialist and revolutionary army. That character of hers must be kept and deepened by the youth organisation, but that will be possible only when young generations are consistently socialistic aimed and engaged on right questions and on right way. Youth organisation in the army should be significant and new factor of pugnacious building of the Army and strengthening of her moral-political unity (15).”

“Youth organisation should support its members to study, on their own and everybody for himself, political literature and to use all forms of marxian education which is organised by communist party in military units (16).”

“Basics for building and developing of consciousness of youth about national defense and JNA is Marxian theory and practice and in connection with that Tito’s revolutionary heroic deed and experiences of socialist revolution (17).”

Church as the “enemy” of the youth

After the war communist youth organisations tried to take the place which church had until that time in the education of the young people. Communist regime saw the enemy in church because the church authorities preached things totally opposite to the official communist policy. The church was not suitable for communist propaganda and it couldn’t be formally put out of the law so it was presented as the enemy of the state and establishment.

“It is our mission that with widely based and non-campaigne work gradually free our youth of religious influences. By organizing antireligious propaganda can be performed successive erasing of religious remnants in the consciousness of young people. It should be clearly stressed that member of our organization (People’s youth) can become only that young person who does not believe in God. The biggest attention should be focused on the building of socialism with what we are destroying material basics of religious beliefs at young generations (18).”

Toward the end

After Tito’s death when economic crisis and national tensions appeared in Yugoslavia one could foresee the end of communism in the near future. Ruling structures tried to keep their positions in society and so between the youth until last minutes. Instead of realizing that the time run them down, communists were accusing all parts of society which didn’t think like them for their own mistakes. In that/those accusations, communists were using vocabulary and political slogans which were more suitable for the middle than for the end of the century. They were especially angry because of loss of their influence among young people but they were still convinced that communist rule and rule of working class will last forever.

“…anticommunist ideologies and forces which are opposing to socialism on the field of ideological competition more than communist party are counting on our youth. In the last time, in some manifestations that forces among young people are finding accomplices. Nationalists, church, the rights, fascists, separatist consciousness are in hunt on the souls of our youth… they are been taken on the excursions to Vatican and Mecca and have organised free sport and entertainment programs, and during that time communist party is mainly bringing conclusions, threatening and promising (19).”

“We, in this very moment, are publicly declaring that we are clearly opposed to everything what is antisocialist and what is opposed to ideology and policy of SKJ (20).”
…our youth has showed very high degree of devotion to the policy of communist party and comrade Tito, socialist patriotism and willingness to resolutely fight for the ideals of socialism (21)…”.

Conclusion

From here presented material we could see that communists tried to make an army of people who didn’t think with their own head but the communist party was thinking instead of them and was telling them what to do. The communists chose neither words or meanings to achieve their own goals and to persuade young people in the correctness of their beliefs. The same way to influence on the youth by brutal propaganda tried fascists and nazis years before communists and there is no difference between these ideologies. The best proof that communist propaganda and numerous slogans about “devotion of youth to communism and socialism” weren’t correct is occurrence of student uprising in Croatia in 1971 which spread on the whole population. Demonstrators led by students and young intellectuals wanted democratization of Yugoslavia and its political system and bigger rights for Croatia in relation to central authorities in Belgrade. Peaceful demonstrations were subdued in blood and many students were forced to go to exile in Western Europe. After that communist propaganda became more strict than ever using repressive methods but without any visible success among young people. That episode in our history lasted untill the fall of communism in 1990.

Notes :

(6) ibid, str.11
(13) ibid, broj 34, str. 9
(14) ibid, broj 34, str. 12
(16) ibid, str.56
(21) ibid, str. 30
Bibliography:

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Maximum length for a contribution intended as an historiographical article is approximately 21000 characters, or approximately 4100 words, or approximately six pages in 10pt font size, single line spacing. Maximum length for other kinds of contributions is approximately 13000 characters, or approximately 2500 words, or approximately four pages in 10pt font size, single line spacing.

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