

Abstracts

Alexey Fominykh (Russia)

The American National Exhibition in Moscow of 1959: Visitor Comment Books

The American National Exhibition in Moscow in 1959 was one of the most remarkable events of U.S. – Soviet relations during the Cold War era. Almost all research papers related to the Exhibition are based on the memoirs of Soviet and American participants, USIA analytical reports, and English translations of the comment books from the Exhibition kept as NARA and USIA records. In one of the private archives in the United States, the author found four original books of handwritten comments made by the Soviet visitors of the American National Exhibition in Moscow in 1959.

Sergei Kruk (Latvia)

Lenin Monuments in Soviet Latvia: Marketing Fine Arts through Ideology

The archive documents on monument commissions in Soviet Latvia suggest that ideas of colonization of art by the Communist party are an overly simplistic analysis. Sculptors had vested business interests in monument production. Until the mid-fifties, the academically educated Latvian sculptors were sidelined by Russians who mass-produced concrete statues of Lenin and Stalin. Looking for ways to monopolize the market, the local art elite invented aesthetic arguments in support of the original, locally created Lenin sculptures carved in granite. Artists driven by their mercantile interests elaborated the aesthetics of ideology and provided support for the dominant discourse of power relations.

Simo Mikkonen (Finland)

Fatherland Calls: Return Migration as part of the Soviet Cold War Strategy in the 1950s.

This paper discusses Soviet initiatives to encourage Soviet-bound migration during the early Cold War. By the 1950s, the CIA was exploiting Soviet emigration through psychological warfare. In part, Soviet attempts to appeal with Soviet emigration can be seen as a retaliation against US objectives. KGB operations were veiled behind an organization called the “Committee on Homeland Return” (Berlin, 1955-). However, considering the high priority given to this work by Soviet officials, there were more extensive aims than just KGB harassment of CIA plans. Soviet authorities seem to have genuinely expected a flow of its former citizens to the Soviet Union.

Simona Mihaela Dumitriu (Romania)

Monuments and Memory in Post-socialist Romania: Lenin, Casa Poporului and the Revolution from the Artists’ Perspective.

The question of the monument in late socialist and recent (post-socialist) Romania is addressed from the point of view of Romanian artists’ understanding and use of monuments. There is meaning in monumental shapes and public spaces that is still overpowering and haunting: The House of the People (Casa Poporului), the Romanian Television and Revolution as monument, Lenin’s bronze statue dismantled and discarded, and the recent memorial to the heroes of the Romanian Revolution. Many of the finest Romanian artists have used these icons and are still referencing them in recurrent themes, and their discourse mirrors the way Romanian society makes a place for the past inside a reshaped normality.

Aviezer Tucker (USA)

The Legacies of Totalitarianism

1989 was a revolutionary year in geopolitics. However, there were no local social revolutions, radical discontinuities and changes in social stratification. There have been political differences between countries where the *political* elite have been replaced, and those where post Communism meant merely a reshuffling of the elite that maintained a monopoly over political power. In post-totalitarian societies there are new post-totalitarian political elites, especially in new democratically elected institutions, the new free media, and among the employees of foreign companies and organizations, but there has been a continuity of the elite in all other hierarchies and institutions.

Roxana Georgiana Radu (Romania)

Some Histories Stay Secret for 20 Years: the Partial Disclosure of Secret Services Files in Central and Eastern Europe

Starting in 2004, an interest in the implementation of lustration policies reemerged in Central and Eastern European countries. With democratic procedures in place, and with institutional stability and accountability measures already implemented, the second wave of lustration went beyond the initial purpose in its expanded scope and target-groups. What role does late lustration play in post-communist countries once transition has ended? The present paper explores this question using a multiple case study design, by analyzing Poland and Romania after 2006 in comparative perspective.

Veronika Tuckerová (USA)

Why is Kafka Missing in Prague? Franz Kafka and the Legacies of the Cold War

This paper focuses on the Czech reception of Franz Kafka as an example of Czech complex attitudes towards their complex past, especially Stalinism and Communism. Although Kafka's image is visible everywhere in contemporary Prague, the writer is peculiarly missing from the Czech cultural and literary landscape, absent in a different sense than is usually argued in the Western Cold War scholarship. By combining perspectives of Cold War History, Literature, and Publishing, my paper offers a metacritical view on contemporary research and the disciplines of German Studies and History, as well as the reading practices of the general audience.

Timothy William Waters (USA)

Blinding Panopticon: Redaction of/and History of Yugoslav War Crimes Trials

International criminal law claims to generate historical narratives that contribute to reconciliation, nowhere more so than in deliberations on the former Yugoslavia. Yet one of the essential devices of these trials is the *disabling* of linear narrative through redaction of testimony, creating an inadequately problematized history.

Excision of text reconfigures the decisive narrative of trial. The international observer momentarily blinds himself (or is seen to), claiming a greater and mysterious authority, out of which consequential judgment comes.

The consequences for research and shared history are considerable: What claims can be made with confidence knowing that juridically consequential material is unavailable?

Hanna Vasilevich (Belarus)

The Impact of Communist Ideologies on Nationalisms in CEE and its Outcome for the Creation of Democratic Societies in the Region

Post-communist societies in CEE countries perceive the communist past exploited by their political elites in different ways. Nations had their own unique opportunities to explore their own nationalism under Communism which later became a crucial element for national mobilization. It is particularly important to examine the capacity for nationalism in CEE societies with the presence of nationalist elements in Communist policies which resulted in more advantageous positions for some countries than for others. Some had to overcome the dire consequences of Communism whilst other countries would consider the positive image of Communism in their societies. Therefore, Communist policies are treated as key elements in analyzing democratic transitions and the role of nationalism in these processes in CEE.

Anna Ereemeeva (Russia)

East-West: International Academic Exchanges under the Conditions of the Cold War

This paper is devoted to the history of international academic exchanges under the conditions of the Cold War (mid 1950s-mid 1980s). The author focuses her attention on the historiography and primary sources of the given subject and on the perspectives of its future investigation.

Mišo Dokmanovic (Macedonia)

The Law and Judiciary as an Instrument for Establishing Totalitarianism in Macedonia in the Early Cold War

The paper will explore the organization and the structure of the judiciary in Macedonia in the first years after World War II. Special emphasis will be put on the deficiencies of the judicial system and its instrumentalization by the Communist party during the process of establishment of totalitarianism in the country.

Katarzyna Bielinska (Poland)

The Praxis Group: Between the Myth and the Reality

The Yugoslav *Praxis Group* is said to have created "a common vision of a non-dogmatic Marxism" (G. S. Sher). In the moment of the rise of nationalism in the former Yugoslavia political choices made by some *praxisovci* were proclaimed a betrayal of the ideas of Marxist Humanism. I will make an attempt to prove that such "a common vision of a non-dogmatic Marxism" never existed. *Praxisovci* were functioning as two incompatible paradigms: 'idealistic' and 'positivistic,' and the political evolution of those who had accepted the 'positivistic' or 'traditional' paradigm has its own internal logic.

Paulina Bren (USA)

Politics and Punk: The Czech Underground on the Eve of the Revolution

The Czech Underground is usually understood as a monolithic dissident space that stood in opposition to the equally monolithic late communist regime. But by the mid-1980s, trouble was brewing not only on the streets of Prague between citizens and state, but in the pages of the underground press, between dissidents, young and old. This paper focuses on the generational stand-off within the cultural underground, ignited first and foremost by debates about the ideological veracity of semi-legal rock bands. The consequent arguments revealed that the black-and-white political definitions appropriate to 1968 were largely meaningless for a new generation brought up under Czechoslovak normalization.

Ioana Macrea-Toma (Romania)

Cold War Radio: connecting or disrupting exile politics?

When analyzing the Cold War and its propaganda instruments, one is likely to ignore not only that the persons mobilized in such projects were neither voluntary militants, nor pragmatic opportunists, but people with their own heritage of thwarted allegiances, emotional idea(l)s and political changing moods. Upholding monolithic arguments against the exiles' petty politics or their subservience to international policies maintains a blurred image of the transnational networking within the Cold War and, through a cognitive twist, reproduces the sense of obscurity linked to them up to the discursive level of the historical studies.

I attempt to disentangle the threads of the "invisible" Romanian exile by focusing on its most visible spot, Radio Free Europe, around which émigrés gravitate or not, accordingly to their relational, symbolic or...residential capital. Do people gather around ideas and/ or persons? How do the communication conditions affect the networking, as well as the militant operations? How central Radio Free Europe is for the diaspora community and for its (anti)politics? Does the prominence of Radio Free Europe itself obscure the parallel types of activism, less democratic but no less negligible in the understanding of the hidden metamorphoses of interwar extremism?

Catherine Samary (France)

From 1989 back to 1968: Hidden realities of systemic crises against cold war's ideology

The Prague's spring in 1968 like the Polish Solidarnosc in 1980, is generally presented as the first steps towards 1989 as a democratic historical turn. Behind those linear presentations are the hidden trends which broke with the bipolar world (its Yalta kind of agreements, its crisis or its cold war), and the political and socio-economic dimensions of the democratic East European movements.

The scope of their democratic aspirations could hardly be satisfied by the neo-liberal recipes, trying to find answers since the 1980's crisis of profitability and of US domination: the generalized privatizations and competition oddly found some support among the former nomenclature which it was suppose to destroy.

Gabriel Andreescu (Romania)

The Last Communist Decade: Letters to Radio Free Europe and their Practical and Theoretical Relevance

This study is based on the identification and analysis of letters sent by Romanian listeners to Radio Free Europe during the final decade of communism. The Romanian audience of this station increased as the Ceausescu regime toughened its methods of societal control and encroached on the last remaining spheres of freedom in the 1980s. The increasing isolation from the West and neighboring socialist countries, together with the growing material and spiritual misery prompted some 80-90% of the population (according to some estimates) to listen to RFE. This explains the considerable impact of the station on Romanian society over the final 15-20 years of the Communist era, as well as the relevance today of the data available in the RFE Archives. The letters provide us with an understanding of the nuances of repression and collaboration and of the subjectivity of Romanian men and women; also, of the patterns and degrees of repression, from the most exceptional to the most common. Given the major role played by information from the free world trickling in through the RFE, the station provided a genuine East-West bridge that later constituted one of the premises for Romania's post-1989 European integration.

Muriel Blaive (Austria)

The Cold War as a Western Concept: From a Historical Victory to a Belated Victory in the Minds

Since the 1950s, the state-of-the-art vision of the Cold War in politics and the social sciences has evolved from a rather primitive understanding of the period as a pending, unmatched Western victory into a more refined vision, with the study of propaganda from the West, for instance. However, the Cold War to this day is essentially studied from a Western cultural and societal point of view. Western intellectual paradigms were validated by the collapse of Communism. The Historian Hanna Schissler convincingly argues, using the case of Western Germany, that this retroactive superior mind-set distorts our vision of Western history itself, rendering it inferior was not the case only 30 years ago. The 'Cold War' is no more synonymous of the post-war period in the former East than 'Real Socialism' would embody it in the former West. Each side has a very different understanding and memory of this time. A historical narrative is gaining momentum on the Eastern side of the former Iron Curtain, which points to the pending, retroactive success of the West: that of the mind, via a progressive and uncritical 'self-Westernization' of the historical perception of the Cold War, which I coin the "James-Bondization" of history. muriel.blaive@gmail.com

Natalia Yakubova (Russia/Hungary)

East-West and East-East Cultural Contacts via Channels of "Alternative Theatre" (1960-70s)

"Alternative theatre" in the 1960-70's meant – for the Socialist Bloc – theatre organized beyond the system of repertoire theatres which had been acknowledged by the authorities as the only correct form of professional existence. Thus, those radical professionals who didn't fit into this system had to operate within "student" or "amateur" movements. Beside many defects, this decision sometimes brought many advantages: for example, the channels of student – or youth – theatre exchange were much more open than those between official theatre cultures of Cold War times. The most striking example is that of Grotowski's theatre: the highest professionals of their time, these artists gained international acclaim through the youth and student theatre festivals. In my paper I trace this and other examples of the impact the international exchange via "alternative theatre festivals" had on theatre cultures of East and West.

Ilya Budratskis (Russia)

Reflections on 1968 among Soviet Left Dissidents

"A storm swept the world in 1968. It started in Vietnam, then blew across Asia, crossing the sea and the mountains to Europe and beyond" - Tariq Ali wrote recently, looking back on the forty year-old events. The rise of mass hopes of changing the world accompanied all the "long 1960's" on both sides of the Berlin Wall. But the events and mass consciousness were far from symmetrical from country to country - if in Western Europe 1968 was a bright flash, in Czechoslovakia and Poland - the culmination of earlier processes, then in the Soviet Union it can be marked as a turning point of frustration in the project of Socialist renewal. From the late 1960's, after the crash of public hopes on consecutive de-Stalinisation and basic reforms from above, the dissident community promptly moved to the right. There was an orientation to non-dogmatic Marxism, and the Socialist tradition, dominating during the Ottepel period, was replaced by skepticism concerning any projects of a fair social system, the reference to individualism, liberal values or nationalism. Critics of "a real socialism" on the left appeared in a marginal position not only in relation to society as a whole, but also within the most dissident communities. Having excluded Socialism from the summons of

actual internal discussion, dissidents of 1970's stressed the basic line of the opposition which defined a Post-Soviet public reality - Liberals-Westerners against nationalists. These changes can be recognized through different types of reactions from Soviet dissident communities, including the left, Socialist wing, to the events of 1968 – in the West and the Warsaw Pact countries – especially in Czechoslovakia. What was the reason for this? Why didn't the Soviet Socialists accept the European events of 1968 as part of their own struggle?

Tamás Kende (Hungary)

Old and New Lefts in Eastern Europe around 1968.

This paper focuses on the Left Wing intellectual and political revolt against the "Real" (or existing) state-socialism in Poland and in Czechoslovakia (Kuron-Modzelewski, Michnik and Haas in Poland, Sviták, Uhl and others in Prague). The presentation also deals with questions of the intellectual and ideological origins of Left Wing system criticisms, the message of these criticisms, the interactions and relations between Polish and Czech "New Left" and the Eastern European "New Left's" criticism of reform Communism. Furthermore, the absence of Hungarian Left Wing system criticism in the mirror of the above movements and the Hungarian "imitation" of system criticism around and after '68, the CP-s (including French, Soviet etc.) negative official response on the emerging New Left, and the crusade against these mild intellectual rebels.

Zbigniew Marcin Kowalewski (Poland)

International Solidarity with Solidarność, 1982-1983: How and Why the French Left and Workers' Movement Supported Solidarność in Poland

The birth and development of the Independent Self-Managed Trade Union, "Solidarność," and especially its suppression, created an echo that led to feelings of solidarity in large segments of the Western Left and in workers' movements. The most important center of solidarity was France, governed from 1981 by left-wing parties; an important political effervescence of the workers' movement and the left wing of French society found one of its clearest and broadest expressions in the political and material support for underground Solidarność in Poland. Key trade unions, for instance the French Democratic Confederation of Labour (CFDT), were linked to the Rocard section of the governing Socialist Party, the large and nationally coordinated pro-Solidarność opposition movement within the General Confederation of Labour (linked with/led by the French Communist Party). Hundreds of local committees working organized public rallies, debates and convoys of humanitarian aid, sometimes smuggling, with great risk, printing machines and other materials necessary to rebuild and maintain the activities of Solidarność. It was an unprecedented and unparalleled Western Left/working class movement for democracy in the Soviet Bloc. To understand this movement it is necessary to understand that in France Solidarność was seen as a restoration of "true Socialism".