The construction and deconstruction of national myths in Finland
A comparison of textbooks of the nation-building era to those of the post-world-war-two decades

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According to central European 19th century nationalist philosophers, a nation was an ethnic linguistic historical entity, with primordial origins and a predetermined course to evolve to a nation-state. A nation-state was aspired, and a nation had to be built. Along this theoretical reasoning, a nationalist historian and politician Yrjö-Sakari Yrjö-Koskinen wrote a history for Finland, at that time a grand-duchy of Russia. He established a canon of history, comprising the myths of primordial ethnic home, destiny of a nation-state, and a number of inherited ethnic qualities, among them military valour. The canon became the backbone of history syllabi in school. A post-ideological turn, triggered by the Second World War, coincided in Finland with a political necessity to reconsider the myths. The school books were purged of nationalist rhetoric and imagery. However, the idea of a historically founded national identity was cherished by Finnish people, whose wanted to regard pass e. g. the myths of a historically proved stamina of survival and social equality to new generations. However, in textbooks the myths of the nation-building era were eventually submitted to academic research and trans-national pursuits. The idea of history written without nation-states as frames gained momentum and questioned the remaining national myths, leaving them as affirmative vernacular rhetoric, practiced, for instance in responses to public surveys.
Limitations to the global memory imperative – The case of Hiroshima and Nagasaki at the UN

Jette Baagø Klockmann

Once, the Holocaust and the nuclear bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were considered the twin horrors of the Second World War. The tragic reoccurrences of genocides worldwide, as well as the perceived waning threat of nuclear weapons has meant, however, that Hiroshima and Nagasaki have been largely overlooked by both the global public and within the memory studies field. Therefore, research on political uses of the past across national borders has come far on the issues of Holocaust remembrance and human rights norms. But the trajectories of Hiroshima and Nagasaki remembrance in the UN have been very distinct in ways that severely challenge the global memory imperative.

Since 1976 up until today, the mayors of the two cities and the Japanese government have been promoting remembrance of the nuclear bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the UN, primarily to advocate nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation. By diving into UN publications and archives, as well as publications by the municipalities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, this paper investigates the entanglements and discourses that have shaped the official narrative of the nuclear bombings at the UN.

Based on this and Rosanne Kennedy’s concept of ‘moving testimony’, the paper argues that the mayors achieved making their memory an institutional memory in the UN, however in such an overly universalized form that political results in nuclear disarmament seem far away. Lingering national borders persist.
Designing for the future using ordinary pasts

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As a discipline, design is largely focused on the present and the future: it is concerned with the creation of the new and innovative. While design history has carved out a place in academia and museums, it is often detached from the everyday practices of designers. As Tony Fry et al. argue, design history ‘dominantly established itself as the history of canonised objects, images, organisations, movements, people and events […] and the practice] frequently veer[s] into antiquarianism and connoisseurship’ (2015:4). As such, there is a wealth of ordinary histories, objects, and practices that have fallen outside the largely Western canon.

In order to tackle some of the ‘wicked problems’ of the contemporary moment, this paper argues that there is a need for design practice that takes inspiration from ordinary and alternative pasts. Using examples from workshops conducted in Aotearoa, New Zealand, it explores methods for creating a more participatory, culturally specific, and historically engaged, design practice.

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« You Can’t be Anti-Communist the Same Way, if You Are Pro-Russia ». How Viktor Orbán Has Reshaped the Memory of Communism in Hungary

Simone Benazzo

The current Prime Minister of Hungary, Viktor Orbán, has always been a staunch anti-Communist and his political career has been strongly intertwined with collective memory. He first became famous all around Hungary at the commemoration of the memory of Imre Nagy and other heroes of the ’56 revolution on 16 June 1989, when he overtly called for the immediate withdrawal of Russian troops from Hungary.

Today, though, Orbán is no longer the pro-European conservative leader he was during his first term (1998-2002). The relation between Budapest and Brussels has become increasingly more critical. The Magyar PM and his party Fidesz have thus turned East searching for geopolitical support and economic partnership, especially in terms of energy supplies. However, revitalizing the bond with Moscow, which in the Hungarian collective memory is still seen as the main sponsor of the repressive Communist rule, could not but entail a shift in the official historical narrative. References to Russians as invaders in Orbán’s speeches have sharply decreased and he has recently blamed Western Europe for inventing and spreading Communism. The Minister for Foreign Affairs even claimed that “History gives Hungarians no reason to feel threatened by Russia”, thus clarifying the willingness of his party to use the past to create “future memories”.

Such a de-Russification of the collective memory of the Communist past in Hungary is still an embryonal operation. But it is likely to develop further, as the conflict between Hungary and the EU deepens, fueling the memory games ongoing in contemporary Hungary.
Constructing a Sense of Continuity: Europe’s Past in the Present

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The paper discusses the political and affective use of the past in the context of the European Heritage Label (EHL). The EHL is a recent initiative of the EU’s cultural heritage policy that, as a timely topic, also aims to strengthen the relationship between European citizens and Europe.

The EHL, and in extension the European Union (EU), interconnects the different historical and cultural pasts of the EHL sites in order to construct a sensed continuity to earlier processes, events, personalities and movements in Europe’s history. The time line reaches from prehistoric to contemporary times and goes beyond the temporal and geographic space of what we know as Europe or the EU.

The driving force behind this construction is not a nostalgic longing for the past but rather serves for concrete educative and political purposes that connect well-known historical examples with today’s socio-political and economic systems, and thereby legitimise the equation of Europe and the EU. The focus is on producing a shared European historical consciousness and a European identity that both contribute to creating the narrative of belonging to a multilingual, poly-ethnic and transnational Europe as a logical development of previous processes.

This paper is particularly interested in the interconnected aspect of constructing and sensing continuity that appeals to affective senses as well as promotes being or becoming European by having everyday associations and experiences with Europe through the past.
A Contest of National Past: Chinese Historiography and Imperialist Expeditions in Early 1900s

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World Heritage is a widely known concept promoted by UNESCO. The purpose of heritage, as scholar has pointed out, is telling of stories about the past to those in the present (and the future). The world heritage is supposed to belong to the entire human kind though; at practical level, heritage could be very controversial and competitive concept among different nations, who could develop different attitudes towards their own past and the past of other groups. The past is not always desirable even within the same group since there might be great division regarding what sort of past could be conceived and passed on as heritage from older generation to younger generation. This paper would look into the contest of national past between Chinese historians and western expeditions. The historiographic revolution in China in early 1900s that aimed at studying national past with scientific methodology and democratic attitude, which was part of the bigger New Culture Movement. However before Chinese historians explored in the vast national past in inland China, i.e. the frontier and periphery area, several western expeditions mostly led by scholars, were able to take the initiative to investigate and even take away the tangible national past, which had not been considered as imperial heritage by Qing court for a long period. Now that, the modern historians decided to re-organizing national past (整理国故), they gradually developed the awareness of protecting the newly discovered national past, which could be seen as a form of nationalism in the crisis of imperial invasion and in the formulation of a modern country. Chinese government began to embark its expedition and employed some of these scholars in the investigation in 1920s and 1930s. From the cooperation with these explorers, many of which were archaeologists or paleontologists, Chinese scholars learned scientific methodology to study national past. Then, more and more artists began to seek inspiration from these non-literati national past during 1937-1945. Their archaeological fieldwork, historical research and documentary record, artistic practice were of last importance in later decades and laid down the foundation of future heritage enterprise, many of these sites (such as Yinxu and Beijing Man Site) got inscription of World Heritage. In terms of the authenticity of heritage, the conflict in the occupation of the past and in the narratives of the past presented in this paper is still thought provoking today.
Using the crimes of the past to promote the justice system of today: the case of the Romanian criminal transitional justice

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The Romanian criminal transitional justice is composed of hundreds of trials following the downfall of the Communist Regime and the aftermath of the Romanian Revolution of December 1989. After analyzing the way the Romanian past was used in the criminal transitional justice efforts during the 1990s and 2000s in opposition with the way it was used in similar trials in the 2010s, the author argues that the specificity of the usage of the past is a strong indicator of how rule of law oriented is a society, its ruling elite and its justice system. The author also concludes that the democratic maturity of a post-conflictual and post-totalitarian society is also seen in how former perpetrators of human rights abuses and their victims are perceived during these trials due to the merging of historical and legal efforts to build a common version of the past.
ROMA IN ROMANIA:
MYTH AND REALITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT

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The aim of this research is to highlight the main aspects of the relationship between the image of Roma as traditionally shaped during centuries and its representation in the public discourse. In this respect, the paper is divided in two main parts. The first part inquires the Roma position in the Romanian society, through its longitudinal and transversal dimensions and points out the role of the past in forming the Roma identity as an ethnic and social group. The role of conflictual situations between Roma and Romanians and their importance in the further development of ethnic relations between the two groups is inquired. The second part distinguishes the modalities of Roma portrayal in public discourse, based on stereotypes inherited from the past, and the factors that influence the trans-ethnic interaction.

Immediately after 1989, mass-media became an active source of stereotypes anti-Roma, the coverage of this minority issues focusing the attention mainly on elements with negative connotation such as violence, illegal activities etc. But are the press and some political leaders indeed responsible for the negative image of Roma group or are they just reinforcing a "mirror image" created in the past, image that already exists in the public consciousness?

The research shows that, despite the past inheritance, important changes in the inter-ethnic dialogue have occurred lately. International and European actors, state agencies and non-governmental organisations got involved in efforts to establish a legal and institutional framework that promote intercultural dialogue and cooperation between Roma and the other ethnicities of Romania.
Using presidents of the past as a rhetorical device in American Presidential Rhetoric

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In this paper, I am going to explore one aspect of how American presidents use the past as rhetorical device, namely references by presidents in office to former presidents. The rationale is to find out more about the use of nostalgia and collective memory in presidential rhetoric. The object of inquiry is presidential remarks and addresses from Franklin D. Roosevelt’s first inaugural address in March, 1933 to the last remarks made by Barack Obama in January, 2017. The material is downloaded from the Public Papers of the Presidents (http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/). In my study I use a mixed methods approach which can be classified as an exploratory sequential design. The first step I took was to close-read all inaugural addresses from 1933 to 2013 in order to identify intertextual references to former presidents and develop a research design. The next step was to search the entire corpus of presidential remarks and addresses for references to former presidents by using the software package Wordsmith Tools (cf. Scott and Tribble, 2006). The main research question is: How are references to former presidents (here defined as at least 20 years ago) used in presidential rhetoric? This question can further be divided into (1) the pattern of use and (2) why. The last point refers to (a) a distinction of general references to the past and using the past for rhetorical purposes and national identity construction and (b) a discussion of the purpose and consequence of using the past as a rhetorical device.
Space Communism - Nostalgia for a Future that Never was

Ainur Elmgren, PhD

Nostalgia is often perceived as exploitative. Scholars have warned for political or commercial instrumentalisation of collective memories as “a nostalgic trip to the past in order to avoid discussion about the future”. Such nostalgia does not look for responsibility in the past (Pakier & Stråth 2010). However, political movements may attempt to have it both ways. Nurturing nostalgia preserves the emotional community between older generations, while a critical attitude toward the party’s or ideology’s past may attract new generations. Communism is a concept of movement (after Reinhart Koselleck), a future-oriented concept, that abruptly became symbolic of a closed era in the past (Czepczynski 2012). Communist activists have called for a self-critical struggle with the past associated with the ideology and its front parties (Adamczak 2011). Attempts to reclaim the concept for a broader audience, particularly after the economic crisis of 2008–2009, have addressed its tainted past. Acknowledgment of past disasters and the loss of a promise of utopia gives a bitter taste to Communist nostalgia. In the internet era, the utopian claim of Communism is jokingly resurrected in wide-spread imagery outside the influence of traditional Communist parties. Interviews, articles and art reveal radical political ideologies with a long history, long enough to create longing for past utopias in the guise of art or humour, such as ”retro-futurism” and ”space communism”. But do the consumers of such material understand it in terms of self-critique or -irony?
Relationship between political parties’ perceptions of the past and cultural heritage policy

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The paper examines Finland’s current parliamentary parties’ conceptions, interpretations and uses of the past constructed in their programs, rules and other relevant documents. Furthermore, we presume that these conceptions of the past have to some extent been reflected in the heritage and environment policies of the state. In this context, conceptions of the past compose for instance of explicit references to "heritage left by previous generations" or "cultural heritage", descriptions of the historical legacies justifying the parties’ expressed values, as well as historical events and persons brought up in the analysed texts. On the basis of these elements we aim to define profiles that describe the ideological relationship between each political community (party) and the past.

Moreover, using the defined profiles as a frame, we analyse the objectives of some major cultural and environmental policy documents created under the guidance of recent multi-party governments. The analysis is further detailed by examining the impact of the policies on the activities of the National Board of Antiquities (Heritage Board responsible for the protection of the cultural heritage and the cultural environment in Finland).

Selling the Femme Fatale: Glamour, Nostalgia and Consumer Culture

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‘Femme fatale’ can be found in consumer contexts from fashion magazine editorials and lingerie lines, to sex toys, self-defence manuals, weapons, spa treatments and a Britney Spears album (2011). The term abounds on beauty counters, on lipsticks and bottles of nail varnish. This proliferation often seems to stretch the term to its limits, but these examples all gesture towards a constellation of nostalgic meanings and evocations around femininity.

Feminist film theorists have noted the ‘saleability’ of the femme fatale as a cinematic trope (Williams, 2005; Hanson, 2007) since the 1990s, but little work has been done on the persistence of the term outside film criticism. Yet while the term ‘femme fatale’ rarely actually appears in film dialogue, it is used insistently in the branding of beauty and fashion products. This constant recitation occurs even as ‘femme fatale’ stands in for an ever-expanding and unlikely range of products. Despite this, there are points of gravity and attraction to which the term is drawn in consumer culture: aspiration, agency, glamour, seduction, danger, and glittering, feminine toughness.

In this paper, I examine instances of ‘femme fatale’ in consumer culture as indicative of the elasticity of retro culture, the uses to which certain nostalgic figurations can be put, and the relationship between postfeminism and the past. The lingering presence of the femme fatale in fashion, beauty, and consumer culture more broadly speaks not only to the glamorous resonance and ‘saleability’ of the term, but also to the complexity of ‘femme fatale’ as a signifier, despite its apparent simplicity.
Nostalgia, utopia and the power of remembering
Historical Narratives and their Use in Estonia in 1987–2007

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The end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Communist legitimacy created a situation in which the space of experience (the past remembered and represented in the present) and the horizon of expectation (the future anticipated and imagined in the present) – both terms introduced by Reinhart Koselleck – seemed to intertwine in an interesting and extraordinary way in the Soviet Baltic Republics. In 1987–1991, the long experience of the Soviet reality did not anymore determine the future expectations and neither the Soviet history was able to tell how to relate to the pre-Soviet past of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

In Estonia, both the past and the future were widely perceived differently after the collapse of the ideological hegemony of the CPSU. However, during the independence campaign the period of the first Estonian Republic in 1920–1940 became the most important historical period in public remembering and historical research. I suggest that in order to understand the Singing Revolution in Estonia both the concepts of nostalgia and utopia are relevant and necessary: not only to understand the emergence and concepts of national popular movements but to realize and analyze the ideological and conceptual differences inside the movement.

The post-Soviet nationalism in Estonia was inspired by historical campaigns for “national awakening” between the 1860s and 1918 but also by the fact that Estonia, among Latvia and Lithuania, had been forcefully and illegally incorporated into the USSR in 1940 and again in 1944. In the late 1980s the leaders of radical national popular movements believed that Estonia could continue its statehood and national existence straight from the point it was left in 1939–1940. These leaders, such as Tunne Kelam and Trivimi Velliste of the Estonian Independence Movement and Estonian Heritage Society created not only a nostalgic and inspiring vision of the first Estonian Republic but also used effectively moralistic historical narratives and legalist arguments. The leaders of the Estonian National Front, such as Edgar Savisaar and Marju Lauristin were initially moderate reformists who did not accept the first Republic as a future model or template of the Estonian state. They thought that their reformist agenda was more connected into the 1960s reform movements inside the Estonian Communist Party. These two camps were rivalling for the popular support among the ethnic Estonians but they also used different methods and agendas against the Soviet state and the CPSU.

After the restoration of independence the relation to history has remained a heated topic in Estonian politics and media. In the 1990s Estonian state aimed at the fastest possible detachment from the
Soviet legacy in political, social, economic and cultural spheres of life. Historical narratives were effectively used in order to restore a nationalist view on the past and to further the campaign for the integration to the west, especially to the EU and NATO. On the other hand, politically motivated use of historical knowledge and narratives has also led to the rise of antagonism and debates between different mnemonic communities, especially during the “wars on monuments” (Lihula 2004 and Tallinn 2007) in Estonia.

In my presentation, I shall briefly discuss the nostalgic and utopian elements in the use of historical knowledge and narratives in the independence campaign in 1987–1991 and during the”wars on monuments” in the mid 2000s.
Tanks on Shipka Pass.
Politics of Memory and The Use of Visual Representations in Framing the Past.

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The Russo-Ottoman War (ROW) of 1877-1878 has played an important role in the formation of national narratives in Southeastern Europe as well as in Russia and the Caucasus region in the 19th and 20th centuries. 140 years later, it still is a constant point of reference in the countries which had been involved in the war – new monuments are erected, the same heroes are celebrated in new political orders, and new films keep being shot. Symbolic commemorations, jubilees, monuments, exhibitions and films thereby contribute to the sustainability of – often contradicting – national memories.

For Russia, the historical memory of the ROW has been and still is one of the cornerstones of the ideological-political discourse about it being the Slavic world’s leading power. This has given impetus to a long tradition of Russian visualization of the war, a tradition where official politics of memory, as pursued by the state and its institutions, and memory cultures, fueled by individual and personal narratives, produced and still produce contradictory interpretations of the very same historical episode.

This paper aims to discuss the mechanisms behind the use of visual representations in reproducing, reframing and reinterpreting the past by analyzing propagandistic popular prints (lubki) and fine arts of the years of war, Soviet-era films such as “Heroes of Shipka” and “Julija Vrevskaja” as well as present-day Russian exhibitions and TV-productions. It will show how the past can be reframed in order to create meaning in constantly changing political frameworks and how narratives merge to support dominant politics of memory.
Empathy as a method in the study of memories from psychiatric hospitals

Kirsi Heimonen & Sari Kuuva

We approach empathy as a method for studying the memories from psychiatric hospitals. Research material consists of the writings relating with “Memories and experiences from psychiatric hospitals“ collected in 2014-2015. As art historian and dancer-researcher we compare the methodological possibilities of the concept of empathy to illuminate the research material. How written memories resonate with corporeality and what kind of knowledge will be emerged through the reading?

The concept of empathy will be defined through the writings of phenomenologically oriented Edith Stein (1891–1942). Stein’s concept of empathy opens perspectives for the study of senses, corporeality and movement, and it matches well with investigation of otherness, because empathy can also be partial. Empathy contains both human and non-human encounters – there can be interpersonal relations, but also encounters with buildings and various objects of nature.

In this presentation, we understand the environments of psychiatric hospitals as carriers of affective meanings and orientate to the past through the buildings and surroundings of the hospitals. In addition to written memories, the photographs of psychiatric hospitals are also used to illustrate the theme. We reflect on the relation of empathy to physical environments and how to reach wordless in the corporal experience. We suggest that in reading lived experiences consisting descriptions of the physical environments empathy towards happening may be awaken. Presentation has connections with the themes of conference like affectivity, belonging and the past and the use of personal and cultural narratives and visual representations in reproducing the past.

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Dealing with the past and the process of reconciliation in Kosovo

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Kosovo society remains deeply affected and divided along different lines when it comes to the understanding and interpretation of its recent past. Independent Kosovo faces uneasy task of dealing with its recent violent past, which is frequently interpreted as either traumatic and/or heroic. The latest war in Kosovo (1999) resulted in numerous victims and displaced population. These previous severities, even nowadays are causing ongoing hostility of mutual oppression and disrespect among communities living in Kosovo. In addition to healing the traumas of the recent war, Kosovo also struggles with an absence of an effective institutional attempt for implementing a comprehensive dealing with the past process in Kosovo. The article shows that consequences of how the past is embraced, adjusted, or silenced - even determines - the inter-ethnic relations and social acceptance trends among communities living in Kosovo. This study employs qualitative and quantitative research methodologies which consist of a combination of different sources on this topic, as well as expert interviews conducted with activists working in the field. Main sources of empirical research included desk review of literature and Kosovo Government documents as well as the materials taken from the various specialized NGOs. In addition, expert interviews were conducted with representatives of organizations working in the field, whereas for quantitative research findings from the Public Pulse surveys were used.

Key words: Albanians, dealing with the past, Government, Kosovo, reconciliation, Serbs

Short Bio:
Atdhe Hetemi is a PhD candidate at the University of Ghent, Belgium and manages research and policy projects at the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) Kosovo office. Mr. Hetemi has a decade-long combined experience in academic institutions and international organizations. He has authored papers and delivered lectures on the topics of political and institutional stability from public perspective, good governance and development, the contemporary history and politics of the Western Balkans.
Creating Meanings and Purposes: The Image of the Winter War in the Finnish and Swedish Speaking Memory Cultures

Marianne Junila & Tiina Kinnunen

Since its end, the Winter War against the Soviet Union (1939–1940) has had a very special place in the Finnish memory culture of WW II and in general, in the national memory canon. Especially in the post-Cold War period the memory has been created in a neo-patriotic frame and accordingly, Finland is depicted as a victim which fought against the aggressor with pure means. However, until the end of the 1980s, the memory of the war was much more contested and no single shared meaning was given to it.

The paper to be presented introduces an ongoing research project entitled Winter Wars 1939-2009 by Marianne Junila and Tiina Kinnunen. The project explores the public commemoration of the Winter War every tenth year – from 1949-1950 until 2009-2010 – around the anniversaries when the commemoration is at its most intense. One of the key concepts is the use of history.

The paper focuses on preliminary results, based on an analysis of two newspapers, namely the Finnish-language Helsingin Sanomat and the Swedish-language Hufvudstadsbladet, which are the leading and highest-circulation newspapers in their own language groups in Finland. The analysis covers three periods (1959–1960), (1969–1970) and (1989–1990) which differ in terms of historicopolitical understanding of the national past. The paper discusses similarities and differences between the discourses in the two papers and asks whether there are specific language based memory cultures of the war.

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Menneisyyden käyttö spekulatiivisessa fiktiossa

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Emmi Itärannan ylirajaisessa fiktiossa yhteisön muisti ylittää kansalliset rajat ja ilmastonmuutos määrittelee muistamisen ehtoja. Itärannan romaanissa *Teemestarinen kirja* eletään dystooppista tulevaisuutta, jossa ihmiskunnan muisti on vaakalaudalla väkivaltaisen menneisyyden vuoksi. Fiktio toimii tällöin varoitukseena, ”muistina tulevaisuutta varten”. Johanna Sinisalon romaanissa *Auringon ydin* spekulaatio ei kohdistu vain tulevaan vaan myös menneeseen, kun romaanissa luodaan nykyisyyttä selittävää Suomen historiaa.

Keskeistä uudessa muistitutkimuksessa on, että se ei rajaudu vain kohteensa mukaan menneisyyteen kurkottavaksi vaan se on yhä enemmän keskittyynyt muistin monisuuntaisuuteen ja muistamisen merkitykseen nykyisyyden ja tulevaisuuden kannalta. Sekä muistia että kulttuuria pidetään inhimillisen merkityksenannon perustoimintoina. Ekokriittiset ja posthumanistiset näkökulmat tekevät kuitenkin tällä hetkellä tuloaan myös muistitutkimukseen, jolloin muistamisen viitekehys laajenee ihmiselämää ja sukupolviketjuista ihmisen aiheuttaman luonnon tuhon tarkasteluun. Muisti on oleellinen osa dystopiasi, ja spekulatiivinen fiktio pakottaa kysymään uusia kysymyksiä muistin mahdollisuudesta. Minkälaisia funktioita muisti saa spekulatiivisessa fiktiossa? Miten muisti muuttuu, kun otetaan huomioon ihmisen sukupuoton mahdollisuus ja ei-inhimillisten voimien, kuten ilmastonmuutoksen, vaikutus ihmiselämän muistamiseen? Millainen rooli erilaisilla muistin paikoilla, luonnolla ja ympäristöllä on muistikulttuureissa, jotka usein ymmärretään korostetun inhimillisiksi?
Experts by Experience

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This paper discusses the phenomenon of the use of experts by experience in the social and health care sector, focusing on mental health. Experts by experience are (former) clients, patients and service users of health care services who are trained to support their peers and make use of their personal illness experiences and narratives with the aim of enhancing the services. Making use of the feminist discussions on stand-point theory, this paper discusses the cultural and social significance of such stories, the epistemological basis of experience and expertise in such settings, and the importance, benefits, challenges and dangers of the cultural adoption and employment of the term in wider context of contemporary culture.
Museum communication in constructing European heritage

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The significance given to cultural participation in nowadays societies forms an important framework for understanding cultural heritage. In this framework heritage is depicted as a dissonant process based on contradictory and contested uses of the past (see Kisić 2017). As part of the process, communicative dimension of heritage becomes focal, i.e. in a form of monovocal and polyvocal communication of heritage sites like museums. The first one refers to the single voice from one to many whereas polyvocal museum is supposed to be dialogical and accept various speakers.

In this paper I focus on the communicative dimension of European heritage and more specifically the latest and most important EU heritage initiative, European Heritage Label (EHL). Until now the label has been designated to 29 sites, many of which are museums. I borrow from the media studies to analyze these museums from the perspective of museum communication. From three analytically divided areas of museum communication – public debate, museum content and museum-making process (Pruulmann-Vengerfeld et al. 2014, 9), this study focuses on the last two ones. As an empirical data, I will use the data gathered from the EHL sites during the fieldwork.

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School history textbooks between society, politics and academy: The example of post-Soviet representations of the Soviet era in Estonia

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School history textbooks are products of complex interplays of aims and interests. They are located between social memory, political agendas and academic history, and need to negotiate between different positions and constraints. The present paper will discuss such negotiation processes in representations of a highly sensitive and politicized period after a profound political turn: the ‘core Soviet era’ in Estonia (1945-1985) in post-Soviet history textbooks since 1989. How do the textbook representations reflect academic scholarship as well as broader processes of social and political meaning making, identity building and othering? What changes be detected over time?

In 1989 and in early 1990s, the textbooks enacted a social representation of the Soviet era that dominated among the Estonian-speaking public. Over time, the public discourse has diversified, but the emphases in curricula and textbooks have largely remained the same. A textbook canon has formed, consisting of topics that relate to identity preservation, resistance and accommodation together with wrongdoings by the Soviet system to be denounced, such as immigration, industrialisation and Russification. Thus, the present textbooks and curricula are still firmly rooted in a tradition that formed a quarter-century ago. Among other things, the resilience of once-established tradition has preserved the representations’ ethnocentrism. In discussion of the findings I will focus on the resilience of ‘deep themes beneath’, such as ‘harms done to Estonianness’, and their implications for the possible reception of the texts by Estonian- and Russian-speaking teachers and students.
The Aesthetics of Loss: Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar’s Philosophy of the Past

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In my paper, I propose to single out Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, a Turkish poet, novelist, and critic, for special consideration of his philosophy of the past. Tanpınar (1901-1962) grew up at a time when the centuries-old Ottoman Empire dissolved and the Republic of Turkey was installed in its place. He was quite familiar with the general sense of change, decay, and death, and expressed it in several of his stories and essays by reference to the unfavorable effects of what he called “civilizational exchange” between the East and the West. As a consequence of this civilizational exchange, the connection with the past was suddenly broken (in an attempt to rebuild a nation based on the repudiation of the Ottoman legacy and its Islamic content), and fabricated national myths became the vehicles of cultural amnesia.

In his fictional work, Tanpınar’s tone is melancholic, as he often mourns the loss of an organic unity with the material past, which he sees as the source of an artificial present. For him, the past is never a separate entity that can be discarded; it is an integral part of the present and the future. Moreover, for Tanpınar, the past has aesthetic value that is closely related to national heritage, so it is a social duty to preserve it. All in all, Tanpınar’s approach to the past has some mystical as well as national elements, and it is my goal to explore these issues further in my paper.
MID-CENTURY MEMORIALISATION OF İSTANBUL

Gulbin Kiranoglu

The contribution to İstanbul’s material history of non-muslim minorities from the Ottoman Empire to the ensuing Turkish Republic has been long excluded from the national narrative of the city. The non-muslim natives of the city were misrepresented or ignored with a view to justifying the political and economic self-interests of the national identity, in national(ist) literature and cinema. Discriminatively underestimating the non-muslim visibility in the city, the hegemonic nationalist narrative of İstanbul was initially perfected and memorialised in mid-century by national cinema and the conservative elitist literature of Yahya Kemal Beyatlı, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpinar and Abdulhak Sinasi Hisar during a time of populist nationalism. when the project of celebrating the 500th anniversary of the conquest of Istanbul in 1953 was in rise. What is at stake here is, this nationalized image of Istanbul -intended to conceal the non-muslim history and presence as much as a screen to conceal the spectacle of the non-national- was developed in a period of accelerated urban transformation of the historical city, the decades of 1950s and 1960s which eventually led to demographic and cultural Turkification. This paper will examine Istanbul as an iconic site of national imagination and a romanticized spectacle for inventing an ideal past for the nation. To this aim, Svetlana Boym’s concept of ‘restorative nostalgia’ and John Short’s concept of ‘national landscape ideology’ will be deployed. Through the mid-century literary and filmic representations of the city, this study will explore popular İstanbul nostalgia as a powerful tool of memory politics, of selective remembering and forgetting in relation to the social process of demographical, cultural and historiographical Turkification of the city and as opposed to the fragmented and discontinous topographical and rhetorical urbanscapes of the minorities.

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Kollaalta kuvateoksiin. Viimeiset otteet narratiivistä kansallisessa muistissamme

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Tarjoan esitelmää suomalaisten kuvateosten talvi- ja jatkosodasta rakentamasta mielikuvasta ja narratiivistä. Keskeisiä kysymyksiä esitelmässäni ovat, millaisen valokuvin narratiivistä on rakennettu, millä tavalla kansallinen kuvallinen narratiivimme on muuttunut vuosikymmenten kuluessa ja miksi. Lähdeaineistonani toimivat suomalaiset talvi- ja tai jatkosota käsittlevät kuvateokset, joista ensimmäiset ilmestyivät muutaman kuukauden talvisodan päättymisen jälkeen kesällä 1940 ja tuoreimmat viime vuosina.

Kuvateokset ovat perinteinen sotahistorian julkaisumuoto, jossa sodan aikana otettuja valokuvia hyödynnetään uudelleen tavoitteena luoda kokonaiskertomus sodan tapahtumista. Monesti kuvateoksissa hyödynnetään armeijan propagandayksiköiden sodan aikana ottamia valokuvia niiden hyvän teknisen laadun, näyttävyyden ja helpon saatavuuden vuoksi. Tällöin alun perin propagandatarkoituksiin otetut kuvat saavat uuden elämän osana kuvista konstruoitua visuaalista kokonaiskertomusta. Samalla niiden propagandistinen vaikutus jatkuu vielä sodan päätyttyäkin.


Kuvateoksilla on kiistaton merkityksensä ”kollektiivisen muistin” kannattelijoina. Sosiaalipsykologi Harald Welzerin mukaan ihmisen muisti tarvitsee visuaalisia kuvia, joihin muistettu historia kiinnittyy. Welzer menee lausunnoissaan jopa niin pitkälle, että hänen mukaansa ei ole olemassa historiaa ilman kuvia.
From Lenin to Mazepa: The Transformation of Monuments and Collective Identity in Post-Maidan Ukraine

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During the Euromaidan revolution of 2013–2014, in the central-Ukrainian city of Poltava a group of people toppled the monument to the Russian Revolution leader Vladimir Lenin. Following the de-communization laws adopted by the Ukrainian parliament in April 2015, the Ukrainian government started a broad de-communization campaign that involved the removal of monuments dedicated to Communist leaders. In 2016, together with a number of non-governmental organizations and the Poltava regional administration, the Ukrainian president unveiled a monument in Poltava dedicated to the Ukrainian Cossack hetman Ivan Mazepa. Drawing upon the scholarly literature that investigates the relationship between the destruction or construction of monuments as memory sites and national identity conception, this paper traces how in the wake of the social turmoil, Ukrainians manifested their vision of new Ukrainian communal values. By exploring the changes that occurred in the urban landscape in Ukraine, the paper investigates the nature of the relations between the center and the periphery, the state and the society, and Ukraine and Russia. The study draws on several data sources including field observations, policy documents, and newspapers.

Keywords: Euromaidan, Lenin, Mazepa, monuments, Ukraine, Poltava, identity, memory
Belonging and different modes of truth in postYugoslav documentary theatre

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Remembering Yugoslavia through contemporary postYugoslav cultural production is at least partly a response to ignoring or “erasing” the socialist past in political arena and mass media. Because of the unwillingness of society to face its past, many citizens felt that the part of their personal biographies and identities – which were intertwined with social and cultural context of Yugoslavia – were erased as well.

PostYugoslav theatre answered this phenomena with a wave of documentary theatre that especially marked 2010/2011 season. Several wide known performances aimed to tackle the question of cultural memory on Yugoslavia, individual identity and personal biography that do not fit the national paradigm. Theatre performances differed in their understanding and usage of the testimony, references to reality and modes of truth. While some of them presented the theatre narrative as the direct reflection of “true” experience, and theatre actors as authentic witnesses of the past, others critically investigated the “truth mode” of documentary theatre, played with the notion of testimony as a performative genre, and subverted the “authenticity” of testimonies with the injection of humor and satire. In the proposed paper I would present four different performances and modes of truth in documentary theatre: Rođeni u Yu (Born in Yu, dir. D. Mustafić, JDP, 2010), Hipermenzija (dir. S: Spahić, Bitef teatar, 2010), Preklet naj bo izdajalec svoje domovine (Damn be the traitor of his homeland! SMG, 2010) and Leksikon YU mitologije (Lexicon of YU mythology, NETA, 2011).
Historical Portrayal of Denmark and Sweden in Czech Literature (1848 - 1939)

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Up until the latter part of the 19th century, Sweden and Denmark were quite unknown countries in the Czech lands due to the lack of established relations and the geographical distance. However, this began to change from the 1860s onwards as the larger modernisation process of the Czech lands began fuelling an ever-increasing interest towards foreign countries and cultures. By the end of the 19th century, Czech intelligentsia developed new cultural ties with Denmark and Sweden. The fascination with these countries grew also in the newly established Czechoslovakia, where organisations, such as the Czechoslovakian-Danish Association, were founded during the 1920s and 1930s, culminating in the founding of the Scandinavian and Dutch Institute in 1930.

The historical connections between the Czech lands and above mentioned countries began appearing in the Czech travelogues and historical fiction during the second part of the 19th century. During the beginning of the 20th century, historical links became an important tool of strengthening the cultural relations between both regions. In this paper I compare the different uses of past while exploring various themes, such as shared historical experiences and historical figures connecting the Czech lands with Sweden and Denmark. Moreover, I analyse with what purpose these historical links were presented in primary sources, such as historical fiction and travelogues, and how they were later used to promote cultural cooperation of Czechoslovakia with Denmark and Sweden during the 1920s and 1930s.
The political uses of the Past in modern Russia: the images of the October Revolution 1917 in the politics of memory of Russian political parties

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In modern Russia there is an increase in nostalgic attitude to the Soviet past and the use of the past as an ideological tool. History does not become a field of reconciliation of various political forces in Russia. Political parties differ in understanding the most important memorable dates. Each political party forms its narrative of the events and interpretations of the two Russian revolutions.

The revolutionary theme gradually loses its relevance as a resource of the collective memory in Russia. The parties that use revolutionary themes in historical policy are the Communist parties. However, despite the preservation of the October Revolution as a basic constituent myth, the differentiation of communist forces leads to the formation of parallel images of the October Revolution.

The general political trend towards rejection of revolutionary changes, most clearly manifested after the mass protests of 2011-2012, marginalizes the memory of the October Revolution. In the year of the 100th anniversary, it can be stated that for the right-wing and centrist political forces, the revolution is rather an undesirable event in the collective memory that needs a certain symbolic cupping, a kind of "figure of silence" designed to emphasize the need to achieve public consensus, but not at the expense of "Study of the past," but through the practice of forgetting. The rejection of the perception of revolutionary action as an integral part of one's own past is combined with a political trend towards nostalgia for the Brezhnev’s era and it leads to the paradoxical formula "The Soviet Union, but without revolution".
In the Absence of Traces: The Reconstruction of the Past through the Episteme of Affectivity

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Dealing with the past of the state socialist regime continues to haunt present legitimation strategies of the post-communist democratic regimes in most of the East Central European countries. The emergence of specific official Institutes of Memory tasked with the process of the reconstruction of the past shifted the practice from publicly mediated processes of working through the past and historical justice to extrication from state socialist legacies and institutionalized closure of the historical past. The institutional template of the Institutes of Memory diffused through emulation across most of the post-communist countries. The Institute for the Study of the Communist Crimes in post-communist Albania established a few years after the initial Institutes in ECE exhibits a low degree of institutionalization and a different practice reconstructing the historical past. This paper aims to explicate why the process of the reconstruction of the past differs in the case study of Albania. This paper contends that the reconstruction of the past resembles more a process of restoration of pre-communist historical past through personal narratives in the ambivalent liminal present fraught by socialist nostalgia and officialized forgetfulness. Based on qualitative interviews with representatives of the Institute and institutional ethnography within this particular institute, this paper argues that central to the process of reconstruction, specific to the Albanian case-study, is the role of belonging through enacted affectivity that produces the historical past in the presence of fixed institutional legacy.
Nostalgiaa, melankoliaa, kuvitelmaa – Henkilöhahmojen muistot ja muistaminen Juha Itkosen romaaneissa

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Geography of the Official and Alternative Memories in Bosnia and Herzegovina

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Bosnia and Herzegovina is one of the rare countries that has no common state-wide set of public holidays and memorial days. Instead, the division into two federal units and the dominance of three ethnically defined political elites have created a complex setting of spatially and socially separate memoryscapes. Each of the ethno-national elites (Bosniak, Croatian, Serbian) uses hegemonic power within their reach to organise (mostly) ethnically exclusive commemorations and narrate their version of history, especially the 1992-95 war. Therefore, the narrative that is dominating public memory in one part of the country, acts as oppositional or minority narrative in the other parts.

However, in the last five years a range of civil-society organisations and informal groups have started openly confronting dominant memory-making by organising alternative commemorative events. In the context when elite-driven memory-making has been reproducing mutually conflicting interpretations of the last war which are used as arguments in the on-going political battles, these alternative memorials are aiming at conflict transformation. Following the analytical framework of “memory activism” (Gutman 2017), the paper demonstrates how these commemorative events are created in the spirit of trans-ethnic solidarity, advocating for acknowledgement of the victims forgotten in a particular memoryscape and challenging dominant conceptions of victims and perpetrators. Focusing only on the repetitive commemorative events, the paper describes their performative dimension which is in stark contrast to the dominant (elite-sponsored) commemorative practices. Based on the interviews with memory activists, the paper analyses their perspective on the purpose of their own engagement and co-creation of alternative public memory.
How much Nostalgia and which Yugoslavia? Re-Reading/Writing Nostalgia in Post-Yugoslav Literature and Film

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This paper examines different forms and functions and political deployment of (Yugo-)nostalgia in post-Yugoslav literary, i.e. cultural discourse dealing with various facets of Yugoslav past as well as the outcomes of Yugoslav violent breakup in the 1990s. Namely, following Svetlana Boym’s re-conceptualization of nostalgia within the collective, i.e. cultural memory discourse in her seminal Future of Nostalgia (2001), different types and modes of nostalgia, i.e. nostalgic memory and remembering – each carrying potentially different political and ideological standpoints – surely can be used as one of central concepts in order to depict the dominant post-socialist memory politics of past two decades in terms of constructing the present and future. Thus, in regard to the dominant mnemonic setting of post-Yugoslav competing national ‘memory regimes’, the discourse on ‘Yugo-nostalgia’ records a number of transformations and relates to a wider list of references, social actors and identities in both depicting and evoking the period of Yugoslav past and in negotiating the intersections and dynamics between past, present and future subjectivities as well. Besides the overall delineation of Yugo-nostalgia and its various figurations as dealt with within the dominant post-socialist discourses, the focus will be put on several literary and visual (filmic) narratives which deploy and/or equally subvert nostalgic tonalities and standard topoi in dealing with the practice of re-shaping the collective memories – namely by either performing the national(ist) politics of mourning, or by critically reflecting on both the past period of Yugoslav and the breakup as well.
Selective Memory for Selective Commemoration?
Social Memory and Fascism in the Western Balkans

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Recent years have witnessed the nationalists’ utilisation of their interpretations of the history of the Second World War to create a sense of cohesion among socially and culturally heterogeneous populations where not least educational activities have played a central role (Assmann 2008, 64). The same trend can be witnessed in the Western Balkans, Croatia and Serbia more specifically, where the problem of memory, identity, and national history presents an omnipresent factor in everyday political, social, and academic discourse. In fact, issues of history, especially Second World War history, seem to be so prevalent that one easily gets a feeling that for the past twenty-five years this region was in a constant, perpetual pre-election atmosphere in which political parties and its proponents use history and memory as a tool for mobilization of voters. In such highly charged atmosphere theme of communists and fascists and who of these presents a ‘lesser evil’ contaminates everyday public and especially academic discourse. In fact, academic discourse, focused primarily on questions of nation, nation-state, and victimhood provides the basis for perseverance of an ideologically constructed social memory of fascism. These find their most radical expressions at times of different commemorations, such as Jasenovac and Bleiburg commemoration in Croatia or Ravna Gora gathering in Serbia, where ideologically charge narratives and selective memories come to the forefront. This lecture seeks to outline the actors, both social and political, which defined and established a narrative that created a space in which such highly divisive and ideologically charged memory and commemorations take place. In addition, it will also outline the dominant political and academic discourses since the post-1989 period, which established narratives and interpretations that allow for fascists to be portrayed as ‘patriots’.
From shared roots to shared experiences: heritage, minorities and migrants in South Tyrol, Italy

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Shared heritage is often considered central to the construction of a shared identity necessary for cohesive societies.¹ With its focus on shared roots, heritage is, however, always potentially exclusive. As communities are becoming more diverse and the definition of a common past becomes increasingly blurred, more inclusive and pluralistic approaches to heritage are needed.

This paper focuses on how voices of both “old” and “new” minorities may challenge majority narratives about the past. Located in Northern Italy on the border to Switzerland and Austria, the autonomous province of South Tyrol is home to not only a large German-speaking minority and a growing number of migrants, but also to well-preserved Fascist monuments. As embodiments of the two divergent and divisive memory cultures present in this pluri-cultural border region, the fascist monuments have been, and continue to be, highly politicized. A new museum seeks to counter the divisive nature of the monuments, promoting instead an approach to the past that speaks to all South Tyroleans. Drawing on interviews with the curators and with young migrants, I argue that although the monument manages to focus on a shared heritage, it neglects the growing number of ‘new’ citizens. Their inclusion in efforts to construct a shared heritage would, however, be paramount, particularly as the “new” minorities are increasingly considered a threat to the “old” minority’s heritage and identity. Thus, I will conclude by highlighting ways to bypass the traditional emphasis on (imagined) shared roots as basis of a heritage community, to instead create heritage communities based on shared experiences across linguistic or cultural boundaries.

¹ See, for instance, the EU’s discourse on the promotion of a common heritage. http://ec.europa.eu/culture/policy/culture-policies/cultural-heritage_en.htm.
Imagined Memory:
Nation, Politics, and Temporality in Contemporary Korean Cinema

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In recent years, more South Korean (henceforth Korea) filmic productions have been concerned with the representation of colonial Korea. Several studies explain this as the result of the rapid economic development of the country, or as a means to unify the nation by depicting a nationalistic sentiment. Another possible view of these representations, as I argue, lies within the temporality of the film.

This study analyses the temporality involved in nationalism, which is linked to memory studies in contemporary Korean films set in colonial Korea. This research aims to investigate how the reflections of (collective) memory in the selected films shape Korean nationalism. In order to examine cinematic temporality, Gilles Deleuze’s concept of the time-image functions as an analytic tool in conjunction with textual analysis of the films The Silenced, Assassination, and The Last Comfort Woman (all released in 2015 – when Korea and Japan reached an agreement on the ‘Comfort Women’ issue, however, at the same time, many Koreans condemned it).

This study demonstrates that nationalism is not only a consequence of economic developments, but is also a tool that helps to cope with the past. Moreover, this encourages the imagining of a collective future. Therefore, this research contributes to the studies of memory and colonial Korea by providing another interpretation of the screened past. Furthermore, it extends the possibility to use Deleuze’s concept in non-Western film industries.

Keywords: memory, colonial past, Korean cinema, time-image, nationalism.
Past and present in music cultures – comparing black metal and traditional patriotic songs

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In this presentation, I’ll discuss two ways of representing the past in a musical context.

In Black Metal and Folk Metal genres, which are Heavy Metal subgenres, the national past is a common theme in lyrics, album covers and other visual materials. Sighing for the days gone by – and criticism of that – is an essential part of subcultures linked to those musical styles. Visions of the heroic past, usually from the pre-Christian era, are compared with the degenerated modern world which is seen to have lost its glory. These attitudes show through also in interview materials. However, all Black Metal and Folk Metal fans do not agree. Although glorification of the past is generally recognised in interviews, some of the interviewees question the whole idea, or give the past surprising meanings.

I compare interviews and other materials from Black Metal and Folk Metal cultures with YouTube videos which include Finnish patriotic or military songs. They originate from various eras. However, the Second World War dominates both visual representations. In comments to the videos, followers take stand on current societal topics, such as immigration. Musical representations of the past describe the present as often as the past.

What does representations of the past tell about historical culture in Finland? Is knowledge of real historical events essential at all, or is the past only used as a symbol to describe emotions and ideas of the present? Are they linked to some ideological currents, and what kinds of ideologies are reproduced with them?
Interconceptualisations of Peace and Europe in the Identity Construction of the European Union

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The process of EU-integration started after the Second World War with the aim of preventing new wars, and peace is mentioned as a core value of the European Union in the official EU-discourses still today. This paper investigates how peace is used to build a collective identity for the EU-Europe in the cultural heritage policy of the European Union. The focus is the European Heritage Label (EHL), the most recent instrument in the EUs cultural heritage policy, and, more particularly, the sites that have received the label.

The paper explores the uses of the past in the construction of the ‘European grand narrative’ of peace in the selected EHL sites. The material consists of the policy documents, panel reports including the justifications for awarding the EHL as well as websites and brochures of the selected sites. The material will be analysed through the conceptual approach focusing on uses, meanings and articulations of the concept of peace as well as the temporal and spatial frameworks of peace, investigating particularly the conceptual links made between peace and Europe.

In the context of the EHL, peace is pinpointed to concrete places. The paper hence seeks to analyse the “memory complex” (Macdonald 2013) related to peace: how both the material, concrete, physical and practical aspects and the abstract and imagined aspects of peace are present in the representations of the EHL sites.
Politics of Memory between Conflict and Peace Turkey and the Middle East

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The intersection of ethnic and religion groups in the Middle East is one of the sources of its richness, but in the same time one of the main reasons of the non stopping conflicts and clashes. The history of the region gives to the actual generations contradictory versions of even a peaceful shared past and friendship, or conflict traumatic one. The identity question and the cultural memory of each of the ethnic groups play a capital role in managing the political and social relations between nations in the actual era.

The examples of the middle east are numerous, the Turkish Armenian question, the Lebanese civil war and religious groups clash, the Copt minority in Egypt, the Kurdish questions in both Iran and turkey..and especially the Palestinian Israeli conflict.

The political uses of the past in this context is the main key in the way of peace making and social stability, but unfortunately in many cases it was manipulated in a way that raised more conflicts and hate. But with the raise of the smart power concept and cultural diplomacy in both academia and the international political practice, we can see new conception adopted by the leaders of the region in the use of memory and the past. in the other hand many different art and academic work were conducted in the aim of emphasising the shared past and common collective memory.

This article studies the use of cultural and collective memory in politics, in the frame of the present debate about the politics of the past taking the Middle East as a case study. The article will focus on different cases of both negative and positive use of memory and the past in the region, in both political use and social use (social initiatives, arts, academia and civil society).
The fault lies with the colonizer!
Colonial monuments in Cameroonian public space: between vandalism and amnesia praise

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Douala town’s newspapers are passionate these days by consecutive facts which started as mere trivial events, then got transformed – in an anachronistic manner – into a counter colonial discourse, before being turned both into a legal proceedings and research topic for Cameroonian history and colonial memories specialists.

Indeed, in Douala, two monuments erected during colonial times are being assaulted in a regular basis. They are smeared and brought down by two activists of public and political space who protest against their presence, asking that they should be definitively brought down and replaced by Cameroonian heroes who are nowhere seen in the public spaces.

The contesting registers and the call for constructing monuments dedicated to the nationalists who fought for the country independence, as displayed by those nationalists whose actions can’t be cleared from political motives, proceed first by condemning the colonial epoch, then contest the legitimacy of Cameroonian governing strata said to be accomplices of departed colonizers, hence they contribute to drown the memories of claimed heroes in the silence. What early appeared to be isolated acts of some “insane” individual will progressively claim a collective support through social networks where “followers” of monuments demolishers seems themselves to be applauding the amnesia and the eradication of colonization signs from public space.

Therefore, this paper intends to follow the process of those events that are paradoxically seen as vandalism, whence legally preceded; like heroic behavior seeking to restore silenced national heroes and like an artistic performance which contribute somewhat to lift the quarrelled monuments out of their anonymity.
Building on Legacy and Tradition: Commemorations of 1956 in Hungary

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This paper examines the political use of history as construction of traditions. More closely the study concentrates on the identity building surrounding the National Day commemorating the Revolution of 1956 (23rd October) in Hungary. The study analyses public discourse, represented by Hungarian newspapers, related to the commemorations. Our discussion draws on three ideal types: 1996 (Hungary’s new democracy), 2006 (renewal of historical conflict) and 2016 (legitimisation of the administration). We claim that the question is not merely of an invention of tradition but a separation between legacy and tradition. Whereas legacy is given, traditions can be selected. Both perspectives are needed in building of a broad and balanced narrative of the past. From this point of view, it is not an exaggeration to say that the recent Hungarian democracy is leaning on the tradition of revolutions, which may have an impact on the current state of democracy, too.
“USING TRADITION IN POLITICAL TRADITIONALIST IDEOLOGIES: A DISTORTION OF HISTORY?”

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Traditionalist political ideologies – as the Spanish *partido católico nacional* or *partido integrista* intend to manipulate the past in order to justify their ideology and political positions. This paper, thus, seeks to put forward an example of how the Spanish “Integrist Party” re-elaborates Spanish and Basque political tradition, in an attempt to counterbalance the expansion of liberalism over the second half of 19th Century. As a consequence, their motto, as summary of their ideology and political program, relies on three/four main pillars: monarchy, religion and tradition, which for the particular case of the Basque Country focused on what is called the “Fueros” (the traditional legislative and political system ruling Basque Provinces all through 1876). In doing so, they depicted a biased vision of Basque tradition and used historical discourse and arguments to criticize the new political order of liberalism and blame liberal political parties of the loss of the Basque tradition and its peculiar political order. That is to say, the integrist party, not only vindicated and defended the past in most praiseworthy arguments, but also used pre-liberal periods and issues of Basque and Spanish history to be attractive, to acquire as many followers and votes as possible, and to argument their political program and ideology.

The case of the Basque Country is central in this argumentation, and will be used as an example on how the past is distorted with political and electoral purposes.

**Keywords:** past, history, tradition, traditionalism, Basque Country, Integrist party
THE PHENOMENOLOGY OF THE CULTURAL MEMORY IN SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE – THE MEDIA CATARSIS IN THE TRANSITIONAL COUNTRIES

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The memory as our connection with the past opens the plausibility of our cultural identity and of our roots in the collective cultural matrix of the past. Andreas Houssein says that we, as an individuals and as a society need the past to construct and strengthen our tradition and to reform our identity and for creating our vision for the future.

The syndrome of the new social surrounding in Southeastern Europe opens an artificial memory range contained into the artistic forms of the new age. The media catharsis as a part of resistance to the virtual impact in the transitional societies, especially in the countries established after the splitting of former Yugoslavia (Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia) brought a new sensibility in all artistic genres problematizing the new understanding of the identity matrix. The geo-political retailoring with the bloody tracks in those countries had removed their cultural policies, based on the former traditional values and schemes.

This paper in its research will analyze few segments of the phenomenological aspect of the media cathartic during the process of the modification of the cultural matrix under the influence of the past and tradition in the countries that reached their social and geo-political delirium and will detect the level of integration of the past in the new understanding of cultural identity.

Key words: past, identity, phenomenological, media, memory
Yksityisen muistisuhteen tunnistaminen kaunokirjallisuudesta. Omaelämäkerrallisen muistamisen muodot Raija Siekkisen lyhyproosatuotannossa

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Symbolic Capital of Forgotten Heroes: Case of Montenegrin Admiral Vladimir Barović

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Twenty-two years after the Dayton agreement put an end on the 1991-95 war(s) in Yugoslavia the region is still searching for reconciliation. Establishment of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia aimed to institute a coherent historical narrative of the conflict. Failing to do so, different initiatives, mainly coming from the civil society, were inaugurated in order to reach consensus around the wars and responsibilities.

This paper analyses the case of Vladimir Barović, Yugoslav National Army Admiral of Montenegrin origin. Admiral Barović refused to bomb Dubrovnik at the very beginning of the war, and committed suicide in the military base on Croatian Island Vis on September 29, 1991. In July 2016, after an initiative of a Montenegrin NGO, the state president Filip Vujanović posthumously awarded Admiral Barović with a medal of honor, after years of silence about this particular case. Although a Yugoslav soldier, Admiral Barović has been honored as a Montenegrin. This paper searches for the social logic behind this recognition asking what are the socio-political circumstances that frame Admiral Barović as a Montenegrin hero? Furthermore, the paper tries to answer the question what is the symbolic capital of forgotten actors of the Yugoslav wars and how can they be reframed in different socio-political circumstances. Finally, the paper argues that in the search of reconciliation, national mobilization proved ineffective. In this light, paradoxically, Yugoslavian symbolism that is emptied of meanings today could represent a fertile ground for the articulation of the reconciliation discourse.
CONSTRUCTING REVOLUTIONARY HEROINES: REPRESENTATIONS OF THE FEMALE TERRORISTS FROM THE PSR IN THE EARLY SOVIET RUSSIA

Nadezda Petrusenko

The paper will focus on the representations of the life paths of the female terrorists from the Party of Socialist-Revolutionaries (the PSR) in the texts of their sympathizers written in the early Soviet Russia. The attitude of the Bolsheviks to the PSR was dubious: on one hand, it was seen as a hostile political party, which challenged the Bolshevik’s right for political power; on the other hand, because of the common past with the PSR in the Russian revolutionary underground, during the early Soviet period the Bolsheviks saw pre-revolutionary political activism of the PSR as a part of history of the revolution. The auto/biographical publications about the female terrorists from the PSR written in the early Soviet Russia were oriented towards contextualizing the experience of these women in the version of history of Russian revolution, which was accepted by the Bolsheviks. The way the life paths of the female terrorists were constructed in these accounts was slightly different in comparison to the similar publications from the pre-revolutionary period. The differences that emerged after 1917 were closely connected to the standard of writing a revolutionary life that existed among the Bolsheviks. With the help of the auto/biographies of a few terrorist women written before and after 1917 the paper seeks to analyze the discursive change in the way the revolutionary lives of the female terrorists were constructed in the early Soviet Russia.
The great leap backward to the pre-WW2 time: unexpected effects of the new readings of history in post-Communist Eastern Europe

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In most Central and Eastern European countries, history is used to legitimize both internal and foreign policies (Mälksoo 2009). This paper is interested in the renewed focus of the official “historical politics” on the interwar period and the First World War. This focus is used by the elites to rationalize foreign policy moves, e.g. aligning the country with or against the Russian interests in the region. The paper explicates the ways in which the new orientation towards traditional values in the public sphere is derived from these two historical events. Drawing on examples from Poland and Serbia, three phenomena are discussed: 1. affirmation of a romanticized “nationhood” by anchoring in the interwar period, 2. blank rejection of all Communist heritage, 3. visual militarization of historical images.

This anti-Communist, traditionalist discourses on history in Poland and Serbia produces sometimes unexpected effects, e.g. a creation of “exotic historical brotherhoods” that appear as replacements for the old ideas of brotherhoods between nations. The old ideas of Yugoslav “brotherhood and unity” and Polish-Soviet friendship are replaced by the unexpected postulates of Serbian-Armenian and Polish-Georgian brotherhoods. The common denominator of such historical-rhetorical constructions is Russia, seen as power to either fight against or geopolitically bandwagon with.

The paper will address processes of conflating popular perceptions of history and geopolitics into the dominant conservative-leaning framework using Polish and Serbian examples. It will present a discourse analysis of the popular orders of historical and geopolitical knowledge performed in accordance with SKAD (sociology of knowledge approach to discourse).
Memory about Repressions and GULAG: Comparison of Private and Public Discourses (the Example of Media and Personal Stories)

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The research is devoted to the comparative analysis of two types of discourses about political repressions in USSR and the GULAG: public discourse, based on the media materials and private discourse, based on interview with repressed people. The problem of the study consists in the lack of knowledge about relation between individual and collective memory about GULAG and repressions. The study raises the following questions: what is the relation between individual and collective memory about political repressions in the USSR? What are the components of private and public memory? What is the image of repressions constructed in every type of discourses? How do different discourses create the representation of the memory? The theoretical object of the research is the representation of repressions and GULAG. Empirical base includes media materials and interview with repressed people. The complex method of discourse- and content-analysis is applied in the research. Results of the study show main differences between «constructions of memory” in different discourses about repressions. Private discourse can be described as strictly structured narrative of life events with arrest as the end of “normal life” and gender differences in trauma articulation while in the field of public memory there is a lack of trauma representation. Two discourses represent various opinions about figures of “culprits” and “victims” and show the negativity of Russian memorial culture about repressions.
Forming “Historical Continuity”: Representation of the Romanovs’ History in Russian TV Projects

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Understanding such concepts as authority, national idea, patriotism occupies a large place in public and academic spheres in Russia. Monarchial, imperial discourses keep their topicality in political, historical, public discussions. The appealing to historical events in the process of building a “consolidating image of history” [Reut, Teterleva, 2016, p. 245] becomes a significant element of Russian contemporary national identity. Such processes as “unification” of historical knowledge, proclamation of neutral and objective approaches to history, imposition of “patriotic feelings” are declared in Russia today.

The interest to the Romanovs’ history and its representations increases in post-soviet period. In the year of the 400th anniversary of the Romanovs (2013) a lot of historical documentary projects were created. One them is docudrama “The Romanovs” (Star Media, 2013). The protagonists in the docudrama are the monarchs of the Romanovs dynasty, whose “messianic” function in Russian history is positively absolutized. Successful implementation of power in the project “The Romanovs” consists of such factors as conjunction of personal and state lives, comprehensive knowledge about the processes taking place in the country, effective human resources management. The monarch is responsible for the positive changes in the state and not responsible for the mistakes. State development is more important than society welfare.

It turns out that the image of contemporary authoritarian, powerful and independent authority takes place in the project “The Romanovs”. This correlation creates an effect of “historical continuity”. 
Nykyisyyden ja menneisyyden dialogi elokuvassa *They came in crowded boats and trains*

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*They came in crowded boats and trains* on lyhytelokuva, joka kietoo toisiinsa toisen maailmansodan lopussa Suomesta Ruotsiin paenneiden evakoiden ja viime vuonna Suomeen saapuneiden irakilaisten pakolaisten matkat ja tarinat.


Elokuvaa tormaattaa keskenään erilaisia aikatasoja ja näkökulmia. Aluksi katsoja saattaa olettaa, että teoksesta esitetyt tapahtumat liittyvät ainoastaan elokuvassa esiintyviin nykyhetken pakolaisiin. Vähitellen katsoja kuitenkin ymmärtää, että elokuvan nimi viittaa sekä suomalaisiin että Suomeen saapuneisiin pakolaisiin. Esitelmässä näytä vastaava elokuva ja tarkastele, miten se pyrkii hämärästä ehdottomia eronteistoja meidän ja heidän sekä nykyhetken ja menneisyyden välillä.

Elokuvan traileri: https://vimeo.com/180143870
Belonging and bordering processes, the effects of memory politics in Bosnia and Herzegovina: the case of the centenary of Franz Ferdinand's assassination.

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Historically located at the crossroads of multiple political entities, Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) has been constructed as a European borderland, between East and West. Since the war of the 90's, when the former Yugoslav republic was divided along ethno-national lines, its ethnic and religious diversity has been framed as a security threat. European institutions and Member States have then been politically, economically and military involved in the Bosnian state-building and reconciliation processes, set as part of BiH's path towards the Union. In 2014, Sarajevo was placed at the ‘heart of Europe’ in the opening commemoration of the WWI organized by European embassies and their Bosnian partners in the capital city. The official narrative that pledged for ‘a Century of Peace after the Century of Wars’ suggested the positive impact of European integration on BiH’s violent past. However, local actors claimed divergent representations of the past, be it from a nationalist, anti-imperialist or emancipatory perspective. This paper proposes an analysis of these diverse appropriations of the commemoration of the assassination of Franz Ferdinand one hundred year after. Relying on sociology of memory and of the European Union, the paper analyses the power struggles at the core of the competition over the dominant narrative of the event among a wide range of actors. Based on fieldwork carried out in Sarajevo and Brussels, combining the collection of official documents, semi-formal interviews and ethnographic observation, it demonstrates that the attempts to institutionalize a certain memory of the event contributed to the reification of the «post-war» paradigm which enables the legitimation of the established order made by both local nationalists and European institutions’ domination over Bosnian polity.
Medieval Crusaders as Defenders of Civilization? Images of the Crusading Past within Current Populist Movements

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The military campaigns to (re)conquer or defend the Holy Land between 1095 and 1291 are among the most popular topics of medieval history. The dramatic events of the rise and decline of the Crusader States led not only to manifold encounters between Christians and Muslims. It had also fundamental consequences for the history of Europe and the Near East. Over the course of centuries, the crusades became a myth that has countless forms and positive as negative connotations. This myth was (and still is) frequently used in order to serve the needs of the remembering group. The myth should help to make sense of the world, define identities and to generate cultural borders. Yet again since 9/11, the crusading past is increasingly connected with distinct political interests that became popular particular within conservative and populist circles. By analysing webpages, blogs and vlogs mainly in the context of the populist movement in North America, I want to explore current images and functions of the crusading past. What events of the crusades are highlighted, what are omitted? What meaning is given to the crusades in world history? The aim of my paper is to investigate how the crusades are re-memorized within national and evangelical discourses that usually reject liberal, democratic and feminist ideas by emphasizing the dangerous changes of a globalized world.
An Eye for an Eye: Representing Violent Histories and Cultural Trauma in the American Action Thriller

LENNART SOBERON, University of Ghent

As Rosenstone (1995) argues, cinema remain a central component in how we deal with history. In interacting with events both topical and historical, filmmakers contribute to the social mediation of such events; reproducing or resisting a dominant reading of history. Whereas such historical representations often form the center of debates on historicity, this proposal utilizes discourse theory and conflict and memory studies in analyzing how such representations interact with the construction of cultural trauma and national identity. Adopting Alexander’s (2004) notion of cultural trauma, this proposal aims to investigate how cultural traumas are represented in the American action thriller, and how these representations can contribute to national discourses of remembrance. Arguabl

y few genres make greater work of historical narratives of conflict and violence than the American action thriller. When adopting an ritual stance to genre (Altman 1998, p.23-24), these films can be considered a form of modern mythology; repeatedly delivering distinct readings of history and interacting with wider discourses on the self, the Other and the nation. One topic that filmmakers systematically explore are ‘traumatic’ passages in American history. How meaning and memory are constructed from such an historic event therefore becomes a struggle of meaning; a “trauma process” (Alexander, 2004, p.27) in which discourses are solidified through collective representation. National wounds such as the Vietnam War and 9/11 attacks, for example, remain powerful cultural markers and are repeatedly utilized as backdrop, setting or psychological specters haunting its heroes. Furthermore, the likes of memory and trauma function as signifiers for collective identity (Meek, 2011). These markers in the history of the nation have wider consequence and can lie in the self/enemy/victim structure attributed to the events (Carpentier, 2015).

Bibliography
Austro-Hungarian Heritage and Tourism Discourses in Pula, Croatia

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This paper will explore the links between tourism and cultural heritage in the city of Pula, in the north-eastern Adriatic region of Istria, focusing in particular on the legacy of the Austro-Hungarian period. Analysing the way heritage is represented and mobilised in tourist-oriented discourses to construct a particular image of a destination can also reveal certain ideological positions which can be related to local, regional or broader political, social and cultural values and identifications. In spite of a strong tradition in Croatian (and previously Yugoslavian) historiography of representing Austria-Hungary as a „prison of nations“, a despotic multi-ethnic empire which suppressed the rights of newly self-conscious nations, this period of Croatian history is now being re-evaluated in a more positive light, especially in urban centres, as a period when Croatia became part of a modern, urban and cosmopolitan European cultural sphere. The process of joining the EU was accompanied, in the sphere of tourism promotion, by a growing emphasis on long-standing cultural belonging to „Europe“ (conceptualised primarily as Western and Central Europe). Pula, whose fast and intense growth and modernisation were determined by its selection as the seat of the imperial navy in the 19th century, provides a particularly good case study. Specific regional politics and the multiculturalism dominating recent Istrian public discourse add another layer of complexity. Using critical discourse analysis, this paper will analyse visual and textual representations of Pula’s Austro-Hungarian heritage in recent tourist promotional materials and its role as a symbolic resource for constructing contemporary urban identity.
Kipeään menneisyyteen liittyvät ympäristöt ja niiden ympärillä käyty keskustelu nostavat usein näkyville menneisyyden käyttöön liittyviä jännitteitä, ristiriitoja ja muuttuvia asenteita. Yksi esimerkki tästä on Hitlerin rakennuttama lomakeskus Prora ja sen erilaiset nykyiset käyttötavat: yhtäältä synkkä turismi, toisaalta kipeän menneisyyden moralistinen ja pedagoginen muistaminen sekä rakennuksen kaupallinen uusiokäyttö lomakeskuksena.


Keskeneräiseksi jäänyt, osittain raunioitunut, osittain kunnostettu – Prora muistuttaa natsismin yhteiskuntaidealista ja natsisin ulossulkuvasta kuulumisen politiikasta. Ajatus Volksgemeinschaftista nojasi kuulumisen tunteen rakentamiseen, jonka kääntöpuolena oli juutalaisten, mustalaisten, vammaisten ja homo-seksuaalien ulossulkuminen ja massamurha. Kriittiset ja taiteelliset välintulojat voivat osallistua menneisyyden käyttöä ja menneisyyden ja nykyisyyden suhdetta koskevaan keskusteluun ja toimia menneisyyspoliittisina välintuloina nostamalla esiin ajankohtaisia ulossulkemisen ja inkluusion kysymyksiä.
After the WWII the issue of how to deal with sites and material remains that are connected to the Third Reich has stirred controversy. The exploration of the debates revolving around the use of these sites provides insights into the politics and the uses of the past. Prora, built between 1936 and 1939 in the Baltic Sea island Rügen was planned to be a holiday resort for the working-class men and their families in which the Nazi organization Kraft Durch Freude could propagate Nazi ideology, promote Nazi family politics and racial purity, prevent racial mixtures during leisure and strengthen the mental and physical health of its visitors. The complex was never completed and put into use by the KDF. Later on it was used for military purposes by the Soviet Union and after that was neglected for years.

In many respects, Prora is exemplary of contemporary memory debates and practices. On one hand, Prora is today a dark tourism attraction testifying for the fascination of dark heritage. The moralistic and didactic views on the past that emphasize the need to document and exhibit the historical monument as a Nazi project have been supplemented by suggestions of how to reuse the site and to “get rid of the negativity attached to the site”. Parts of the complex have been converted into luxury holiday apartments, which, it has been emphasized, is not intended to be a culmination of a Nazi plan but nevertheless has aroused annoyance.

Never completed, partly in ruins and partly renovated – Prora is a monument of Nazi utopia that reminds of Nazism’s exclusionary politics of belonging. Volksgemeinschaft was a national community based on the desire and experience of belonging and, on the flipside, the social exclusion and mass murder of those considered unfit and racially inferior. As a critical commentary not only on the use and reuse of this site and other memory debates revolving around it, through critical intervention this presentation comments on the contemporary issues of social inclusion.
The uses of the Soviet and queer pasts in and around Jaanus Samma’s "NSFW. A Chairman's Tale"

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This presentation discusses uses of the past in and around an art exhibition by Estonian artist, Jaanus Samma, titled "NSFW. A Chairman's Tale". The exhibition is based on archival and oral history sources left by the life of a Soviet Estonian man who was trialed and convicted for sex between men. The exhibition represented Estonian in Biennale of Venice, 2015, and in 2016 it was on view in Museum of Occupations in Tallinn.

The placing of Samma’s work into the Museum of Occupations gave rise to protests in Estonian media. The exhibition was perceived as the first step in transforming the museum from a historical museum concentrating on the past occupations into space for contemplation of the present and the future, named as Museum of Freedom. Furthermore, it was discussed whether an exhibition on homosexuality fits to the image of the occupation era. The story was both interpreted as inappropriate to the narrative of Estonian national suffering but it was, too seen as telling an account of human rights violations important to be heard.

This presentation studies both the exhibition itself as well as its reception in Estonia from the perspectives of queer history and Estonian post-Soviet memory politics. On one hand, Samma’s exhibition is an example of the international interest in queer pasts. When the histories of queer lives are discussed, it is often done with sources resembling those that Samma utilizes in his art – court files and oral history interviews. Art has, too, been used to imagine pasts of which very little evidence is found. On the other hand, the presentation addresses the resonance of Samma’s work with Estonian memories of the Soviet past. The presentation asks what can be accommodated within the current understanding of the Soviet era and how the changing ideas of the past are visible in the discussion around the Chairman.
Negotiating narratives of civic progress in postwar historical pageants

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Performing the past via historical pageantry gained high popularity in the early twentieth century. With regard to Britain, recent scholarship has convincingly shown that historical pageants also remained popular and ambitious undertakings in the very different contexts of the inter-war and post-war periods, pulling in “huge crowds of both performers and spectators, all in the name of civic publicity” (Hulme, 2016). Historical pageantry has remained until now an unexplored theme in Finnish historiography. The popularisation of television in the late-1950s and 1960s diminished the role and popularity of pageants in Finland just as occurred elsewhere. In the immediate post-war period, however, historical pageantry remained a significant political, social and cultural practice of local community engagement with the past. The most vivid testimony to the post-war urban enthusiasm for pageantry was the staging of a historical pageant in Helsinki, “so far the largest ever organized in the country”, on 11 June 1950, within the context of the celebration of the four-hundredth anniversary of the capital. Following Helsinki’s example, the major industrial city in the country, Tampere, staged its own historical pageant in 1954, also in association with a city jubilee (that of 175 years).

In Finland, as in many other parts of Europe, the war was followed by urban growth. Population growth was fueled by a high birthrate and migration from other parts of the country, and also by the resettlement of evacuees. Another important push for post-war urban growth were the massive land annexations. To construct of a sense of community in Helsinki and in Tampere, it was important to stress the city’s inclusive nature by showing that the urban community had been able to incorporate new citizens coming from elsewhere while maintaining its own distinct identity. History was to be a guide, not just to post-war survival but also to post-war urban growth and modernization. Drawing from the examples of Helsinki and Tampere, this paper discusses how past in historical pageants was used to reconstruct postwar urban communities, to negotiate narratives of civic progress, and to manage the changes the two cities were experiencing. Postwar historical pageants are intriguing examples of the intersecting politics of past and memory, and the politics of belonging.
"Past is past for a reason": The high school students’ views on the use and significance of history.

Anna Veijola, University of Jyväskylä
Jukka Rantala, University of Helsinki

One aim of the history education is to provide tools for understanding the present and for reflecting on future development. To achieve this goal, students need to understand how history is used in society.

In the fall of 2015, an unprecedented number of immigrants arrived in Finland. The immigration as a phenomenon was discussed in different media. Some of the texts (e.g. in newspapers) reflected the immigration or refugees in the light of Finnish history. There were texts in which immigration was equated with Finnish war children sent to Sweden and Denmark or Karelian evacuees during the Second World War. We compiled a document-based task consisting of three newspaper items and one screen shot from a forum of a newspaper. In all of these texts past was reflected in the present. High school students (n=131) in five different schools read these texts and answered two questions: firstly, how history was being used in the texts, and secondly, in the light of history, should refugees be allowed to Finland.

In this presentation, we observe high schools students’ views on using the past to justify present politics. We also consider how history teaching could provide tools for analyzing the political uses of the past.
Looking back on transformation and reconciliation in South Africa

Georgi Verbeeck (Maastricht University / University of Leuven)

20 years after the demise of Apartheid in South Africa, the country is generally praised as a model of peaceful transition serving as an example for countries facing equal challenges of dealing with a traumatic past. Of two decades of political and social transformation a fundamental question can be raised: how can we look back at failures and success of the South African model? Was the South African politics of memory – reconciliation instead of retribution – a success or not? Has it served as model, or is it merely a local miracle with a limited potential to be adopted world widely? And what role are historical consciousness and memory playing in a society aiming at reaching new forms of justice? The paper aims at 1. a critical analysis of the aftermath of the reconciliation process in South Africa, 2. an elaboration on lessons that can be drawn for societies today, and 3. a reflection on the role of history and historical scholarship in the politics of memory in this and other cases.
‘For we are not the last of yesterday, but the first of tomorrow’
The Memory work of European Waffen-SS Veterans after 1990

Steffen Werther, Södertörn University

The subject of this paper is the memory work of Waffen-SS veterans, as well as the legacy of the Waffen-SS within different groups of next-generation sympathizers and admirers. The paper focuses on the decades following the collapse of the Soviet Union and concentrates on Norwegian, Danish and German W-SS-veterans, but draws also on source material from several other countries.

The paper’s hypothesis is that the veterans and their young sympathizers have been able to exploit changes in definitions of “Europe” and "Europeans" inherent first in the Cold War and after 1990 in EU expansion. They had long seen themselves as the first true pan-Europeans, the first to defend “European” values against Communism. In the 1990s, the Fall of the Wall seemed to confirm the veterans' revisionist interpretation of World War Two as - first and foremost - a trans-European struggle against Bolshevism.

On the basis of concrete cases of memory work in Scandinavia itself, but also in Estonia, Hungary, Ukraine and Russia, the paper seeks to address three dimensions: 1) the SS veterans' so-called European Narrative narrative, which includes the idea of a voluntary pan-European army of idealists, who fought against communism, for their fatherlands and for a free Europe; 2) the establishment, legitimisation and public celebration of W-SS grave-sites and memorials; and 3) the "handing over" of the W-SS torch to a younger generation of extremists and admirers.

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The relative success of the term ‘post-truth’ – Oxford Dictionary’s 2016 word of the year – belies the horror experienced at its use and significance. With its settlement into common parlance comes revulsion at what it indicates and what it might suggest for the future of those discourses that had so invisibly rested on the stability of ideas of truth and truthfulness. Yet these discourses themselves have a genealogy and our contemporary guarantors of truth have their origins in, amongst other things, the European *wunderkammern* that would give rise, in turn, to the Museums and discourses of knowledge to which contemporary truth must eventually refer.

This evolution can be usefully compared with the ways in which the individual moves from Jacques Lacan’s register of the Imaginary towards an uneasy relationship with and in the Symbolic, with the Museum serving as an example of the Name of the Father by and against which truth is guaranteed. For the truth of the museum we have the pre-truth of the *wunderkammer*: yet the pre-truth of these collections of arbitrary objects necessarily points through the truth of the Museum to a position of post-truth, wherein the seemingly inarguable transparency of the contemporary guarantors of truth are themselves revealed as contingent and conditional. Might the horror of post-truth be the horror of the Real, the true Truth of truth, with the glimpse afforded of what lies beyond truth being what is at stake in these moments?

This paper, informed by Lacan, seeks to explore the ways in which past conceptions of truth and knowledge haunt the present collapse of stable, rational meaning in the contemporary crisis of a post-truth era.

Biography:

Scott Wilson is a Senior Lecturer with the Department of Performing and Screen Arts at Unitec, Institute of Technology in Auckland. He was the 2013 Fulbright Visiting New Zealand Scholar at Georgetown University, and is the author of *The Politics of Insects: David Cronenberg’s Cinema of Confrontation* (2011). He has recently edited a volume on extreme and unpopular music, *Music at the Extremes: Essays on Sounds Outside the Mainstream* (2015).
Problem of contemporary nationalism and politics of multi-belonging among Russian migrants in Finland

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Finland and Russia have rich common history, and no wonder, that Russian-speaking migrants are the third largest group in Finland. We have already thoughtful research background of cultural and social interactions. However, while the role of smaller migrant groups (like Kurd and Arabs) is being actively researched, the phenomenon of belonging of Russians in Finland remains still unclear. All the more reason, political and cultural processes taken place in the Russian Federation and Ukraine have caused certain changes in different migrant groups from the former Soviet Union in Finland. In this paper I research to what extend nationalism is represented in everyday talks and internet activity of Russian migrants in Finland I am taking interviews among people of different social groups, like employees, students, repatriates, who have Finnish roots. Using critical discourse analysis and thematic analysis, I analyze the concepts of "the Russian people", "nationalities of the Russian people", "Motherland" in narratives of my interviewees and their expectations, which, I believe, will help to understand phenomenon of multi-belonging and nationalism.
Making sense of a difficult past: Commodification and disneyfication of memory and urban space in Southeastern Europe

Jovana Vukcevic

This paper presents a critical inquiry into the role of uncomfortable heritage in nation branding with the particular focus on the specificities of the politics of memory, forgetting and revisionism in the post-communist post-Yugoslavia. It addresses legacies of unwanted, ambivalent or unacknowledged past and different strategies employed by both states and private actors in “rebranding” their heritage, ensuring its preservation, but re-contextualizing the narrative of the past through contemporary tourism practices. It questions the interplay between nostalgia, heritage and market, and the role of heritage in polishing the history of totalitarian and authoritarian regimes in the Balkans.

In order to analyse plurality of ways of dealing with controversial, ambivalent and unwanted heritage of dictatorships in the Balkans, the paper considers two prominent examples of heritage commodification in Serbia and Montenegro, and the re-appropriations of those narratives for the nation branding purposes. The first one is the story of the Tito’s Blue Train, the landmark of the socialist past and the symbol of Yugoslavia which has nowadays being used for birthday parties and marriage celebrations, while the second emphasizes the unusual business arrangement turning the fortress Mamula, former concentration camp through the Second World War, into a luxurious Mediterranean resort. The paper will trace publicly contested processes of commodification related to these heritage sites and role of both local and international community, media and CSO in political and economic appropriation of certain „lieux de mémoire”. Questioning how the „uneasy” past was acknowledged and embedded into the official heritage institutions and tourism practices, study examines the changing relation towards the legacies of dictatorships, inviting us to rethink the economic models of the things past.
From Diabolisation during Communism to post-’89 Mythicisation of Romanian Germans. Discursive Shifts, Politics of National Identity and Public Television Broadcasting

Andreea ZAMFIRA

In the aftermath of the Second World War, ethnic Germans in Romania were demonised, collectively accused for the Holocaust. After 1989, surprisingly, they were mythicized and idealized. Studying Romanian National Television’s programs in German, which were broadcast in the communist period and after 1989, helps us to explain, first, these discursive shifts in relation with the politics of national identity and, second, the double discourses sealing the destiny of the German community. In the 1970’s and 1980’s, both the GFR and the ethnic Germans in Romania were considered enemies. This fact is proven by the documents from that period preserved by the National Council for Study of the Security’s Archives. However, Ceaușescu’s and the Communist Party’s official discourse on "cohabiting nationalities” was different from various and even contradictory reasons. First, there were demographic and labour market reasons, and the desire to maintain an impression of apparent equality. Second, during the selling of ethnic Germans to GFR, Ceaușescu was trying to increase the "ransom” sums by highlighting (also by means of TV) the objective and subjective belonging of these individuals to the Romanian socialist nation. After 1989, in accordance with the new politics of national identity, Romanian Germans’ tevisual image radically changed towards philo-germanism and mythicisation (sometimes interpreted as strategies of accumulating social and cultural prestige).

Empirically, this research is mainly based on Television archives (a sample of 120 TV programs) and document-interviews with members of the television staff – still an unexplored source of testimonies and data.