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EDITORIAL

As the former editor in charge Sakari Saaritsa wrote in his final editorial, all good things come to an end. I have pondered over his words with worries over the last few months while editing Carnival. In spite of the enthusiastic state of the beginning, I was worried, if such a transfer from Helsinki to Bucharest could be easily done. I took a chance. Let me explain. Having taken on the task of editing Carnival at the annual conference in Zagreb, I realized that it depended a lot on the support of the editorial team in Bucharest and on the contributions of ISHA people. Neither of these seemed to be certain at that time.

Fortunately, Sakari was there to help. He wrote me tons of e-mail messages, all full of useful suggestions. Then, the seminar in Bucharest proved an excellent opportunity to vividly talk about the journal, so as to establish a well organized network for transmitting articles.

Approximately at the same time, our team in Bucharest also took shape and the world started to get around. In October, during the ISHA seminar in Turku, I had another opportunity to meet with the former editor, and to possible contributors.

Now the task is accomplished. We hold in our hands, the first issue of our journal published in Bucharest. Thus, I can amend Sakari's words because, all good things should continue, so as to come to an end. This issue of Carnival is a Christmas gift for all ISHA members and not only for them. I am looking forward to your gift for us, which I hope to be the fulfillment of a gap. We didn't cope with the lack of enthusiasm, but with the lack of people really interested in taking part in the editing process, that is to say, sending articles.

I would be so happy if following my appeal, you will dash with articles, forcing me to select them from an enormous pile of brilliant works.

And for more details, see the guidelines and don't forget that the deadline is February 1st 2001.

Till then, *Merry Christmas and A Happy New Year!*

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ME, MYSELF AND ISHA

KONSTANTIN ZU DOHNA

ISHA PRESIDENT

This little presentation is to introduce myself as President of ISHA. As president it is my assignment to represent you all as members and constituting entities of ISHA. So it would probably be not bad, for you to know what I am thinking and what my plans as president and member of the IS are. So let's start with...

How I see ISHA

ISHA is for me a very practical thing. All our organization is about exchange and meeting people. These two arguments together bear the whole following: ISHA-friends, -couples, -babies, learning, exchanging and understanding. Everybody is doing this at a rather egoistic level, mainly for himself or herself, but in the whole it makes ISHA alive and it makes it work. This is our strength and our weakness, although I didn't want to bother you with such banalities. Strength on the one hand, because it makes us hold together, because we have become friends, and we are happy to meet again. On the other hand a weakness because the feeling of responsibility for the organization is left to individuals and to their drive for participation. I hope that with the new constitution we'll be able to make the participation a bit easier.

How I see presidency

Being the president of ISHA is of course a big honor. I cannot deny, that I also enjoy being your representative, because I believe in ISHA in its programmes and in the ISHA people. Mainly I am trying to get the car better organized, or better, help to get it better. Because there are ideas and concepts going around, which can be supported and made come true. I am thinking about the new constitution, Carnival or our sponsoring campaign. The president should try to get involved, and that's what I'm trying to do.

Why I took the job

At the Annual Conference in Zagreb the situation was quite uncomfortable. The IS from Helsinki was giving over their job to the LA, but nobody was willing at the moment to get into a new IS. Until Julien Gentenaar offered to build an IS with two more volunteers. I was really worried as many people, were because without IS ISHA won't work. So I speculated on the last calm year of my studies with lots of time and, taking it as a must to take responsibility, I volunteered for the IS. Later that evening Adrian Robu, who also volunteered, Julien Gentenaar and I worked out the division of responsibilities. It came out that Julien became the Financial Manager, as everybody knows, Adrian Robu the Academic Coordinator and myself the President.

What my plans are

I am planning to concentrate on mainly two subjects. The first one is getting more sections alive again. For this task it has been created, a new leaflet which presents ISHA to the interested. As it is really good as I believe, it should attract new members and even sections. The second point is the sponsoring campaign,

although this is not the final stand. We from the IS want to sell advertisement space to European companies, because we believe, that they could be interested in addressing 1000 people in Europe. Let's see how far we can get.

I think that this is very important, because these two aims are close together. As the European Community told us in the last refusal of our request for grants: we are not active and representative enough. If we get more money from sponsoring to support sections and seminars, we will be more active and representative, because we'll arouse more interest. Then we could get a grant from the EU. Unfortunately this is of course only a concept. But it has to prove its value.

Let's hope for the best and again: Let's participate, organize a seminar or something smaller, take responsibility for the next IS! Think about it!

Update on the Constitution Group

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Hereby you'll find the latest news about the Constitution Group (CG). The CG was founded during the LA (Legislative Assembly) in Zagreb last April to find solutions to the problems ISHA is having with her current constitution. Members of the International Secretariat, the Treasury Committee and the five individuals of the Academic Board took up this enormous challenge.

Before we could start we had to draw a plan about how we would handle the whole issue. The only thing we knew for sure was that our proposal had to be ready in January 2001 if we would like the LA, coming together during the Annual Conference in Vilnius, to decide about it. According to our recent Constitution we have to inform all sections about this proposal at least three months in advance before the LA actually takes place. This way every section has the opportunity to comment on it. So, we had to start working right away in order to be ready in January.

We first established contact with different persons and organisations to see if and how they could help us. We sent out letters to the other members of IMISO (Intersectorial Meeting of International Student Organisations) to ask for copies of their constitutions in order to find similarities and differences with our own constitution.

Than a first attempt to re-write our constitution was made during the summer seminar of ISHA in Bucharest, Romania. But due to the fact that only three members of the CG were able to attend these meetings things were postponed until a next ISHA-meeting.

That meeting took place during the next ISHA-seminar in Turku, Finland. Five of us met in Helsinki before the seminar started. The discussion went on from where we had left it the last time. We talked about the problems that had the most priority, e.g. the fact that at least one member of the IS has to have the Belgian citizenship.

Because there are no active ISHA-sections in Belgium anymore we probably have to move our constitution to another country where other laws apply. Maybe it's necessary to change ISHA into an European organisation instead to hold on to the international concept we have right now.

During the week in Turku we (Mikko Seppälä and I) decided to take the lead in the process of change, because Konstantin and Juliën were already busy enough to form their strategy for the next year and Eugen had to focus his attention on publishing Carnival. Unfortunately, the other members of the CG weren't able to come to Finland. So, Mikko and I took a close look at every article in our constitution and by-laws and wrote everything down about what and how we would like to change it. Back home we will contact an expert in Dutch and Finnish law to see what form is most appropriate for an organisation as ISHA. After this consultation we will meet again in Nijmegen at the end of November. Hopefully it is then that we can formulate a definite version of our constitution. This proposal will be published in a next issue of Carnival and send out to every section so you can comment on it before deciding about it at the LA. When the LA has decided about it, the final version will also be published in Carnival and every section will receive a copy of the new constitution as well. So as you can see we're still working on a new constitution in order to make ISHA work even better in future.

ISHA - AN ACADEMIC EVALUATION

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International Students of History Association manifests itself on academic level through two channels: on the one hand seminars and conferences and on the other hand the ISHA Journal - Carnival. These activities are supported not by ISHA as a whole, but by ISHA local sections. Last year, Carnival was published by ISHA -Helsinki. This year, ISHA Bucharest, with the financial support of IS, publishes it.

Without EU grant, the IS is not in the position to give to ISHA local sections a financial support in order to organize seminars or conferences. In the future, this might prove to be also a problem for the financial support of Carnival. The main question is why did EU not offer us a grant and decided instead to support organisations that are less representative and more active than ISHA. If we want an answer, we have to see what we can do to improve the ISHA activities from an academic point of view. Thanks to ISHA-Helsinki Carnival has been published at a very good academic level. Unfortunately, for this number the articles came slowly and not so many as we expected. Only few people are interested in publishing in Carnival and almost all of them are local editors. If this situation is not changing, the academic standards of our journal will be affected.

When we organize a seminar or a conference we have problems in receiving the abstracts of the papers and the deadlines are not respected. The feed-back of the seminars is also a problem because not all the ISHA sections edit a journal of the seminar or send the papers of the seminars to the Carnival editor. That is why we decided that every ISHA section that organises a seminar or a conference has to present a financial and an academic report.

The ISHA network presents some problems. The fundament of ISHA are the local sections, but there is a lack of a good collaboration developing common projects. From this point of view, I believe that ISHA has the possibility to organise not only seminars or conferences, but also other kind of academic projects, e.g. summer schools. In order to improve the ISHA network we need to know who is active in ISHA and we need for every ISHA section a contact person.

We have to establish a better collaboration between the ISHA sections and also between the ISHA sections and the IS, in order to be able to increase the number of ISHA members and to receive a financial support from EU programs (e.g. Youth for Europe) or different foundations (e.g. SOROS) to organise seminars, conferences and even summer school for ISHA members. ISHA-Chisinau, ISHA Bucharest and ISHA-Zagreb already planned for a summer school under the topic **"The Heritage protection"**, that will be held in Bucharest, Chisinau and Zagreb, next year. We applied to SOROS Foundation for the financial support. So these three ISHA sections prove that ISHA can do more than seminars or conferences and it will be very good if their example of collaboration will be followed by other ISHA sections. If you need more information about this project or about EU programs do not hesitate to contact me.

BUCHAREST AND JOSEPH HAYDN

CHRISTOPH BATHELT

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If I had the opportunity to write a short comment in the imaginary guest-book of ISHA-Bucharest, it would be: "During that week, CB was happy." ISHA-Bucharest, thank you very much for the possibility of taking part in that seminar.

How to start...

... A description of one more ISHA-event? Shall I start telling you about all the magnificent buildings we have seen? About Ceausescu's colossus, the Parliament building? Or about the Carpathian landscape, the great mountains, the healthy springs? Or about the hospitality of the Romanians? Or about the cockroaches in the hostel, which made a participant talk about "Bug-a-rest" instead of Bucharest? About the daily heat of above 40° Celsius?

No, let me start in another way: At the time when the Austrian composer Joseph Haydn was already very old, a young student visited him and asked him to assess her art while performing a little song. She sang in a most wonderful way. But the old man made no comment. He only went to the musical score, and instead of an assessment he wrote down the date and his remark: "On that day, Joseph Haydn was happy." I think I was not the only one who had had certain prejudices before arriving in Romania. If there is any information in our media, it is mostly about the plight of street-children, gypsies, horror stories about the high level of pollution and other sad news. But during that week we got the chance to discover another face of Romania, which smashed these prejudices, fortunately very fast: a Romania with a rich historic heritage, a beautiful countryside, nice villages, a real metropolis as Capital, and, above all, indeed very warmly caring hosts. Everybody who missed that seminar, missed not only a nice further ISHA-event but an important experience, as well.

The workshops ...

...Of the seminar "Being Young in Europe" took place in the former Royal Summer Palace, which today is partly the residence of Romanian President, and partly a museum. During the opening ceremony, we were welcomed by the President's adviser, Mrs Zoe Petre, who is also historian and who held a lecture about the meaning of historiography, and Mrs Mariana Nitelea from the Council of Europe. In that truly noble atmosphere, we had workshops about „Constructing and de-constructing frontiers“, "Education. Ideology. Propaganda" and "About us and the others".

I would not like to present here a summary of the conclusions we drew at the end, but for me it was interesting -as it has always been- to discover views, opinions, ideas shared with other people, regardless of the country of origin. These are the moments, I think, "Europe could be so easy". Problems of education, even problems of motivating "the mass" were some of the issues discussed during the workshops.



The Cotroceni National Museum

Tradition, politics and Bucharest

Guided tours to the Bucharest Peasant's Museum, walks entitled "Bucharest Yesterday and Today", and to the Ethnographical Museum showed us an impressive and eventful, a somehow always exciting city in transition. In spite of earthquakes, WWII bombings and Ceausescu, Bucharest has a chance to become again „the Paris of the East”.

One afternoon, we visited the "People's Palace", the world's fourth biggest building. I do not remember any more how many houses and churches have been destroyed for that gigantic building, but it looks really like a surreal nightmare which one cannot believe. A walk around the whole monster would take an hour, but I gave up verifying it because of the 43°Celsius outside. Inside, we've got to see only 2 percent of the whole complex, but this was already enough (although I would have liked to go up to the roof...!). Quoting a German saying in a similar connection one can resume: "I didn't know that one can make so much with so much money." And another question also came up – although the so-called democratic and Western politicians allegedly dislike that kind of architecture, that waste of money etc. – why do they hold here conferences, like a NATO-meeting or others? The answer is: Although they do not like the communist demonstration of power, they like to surround themselves with pompous glamour, anyway, their vanity is the same! They still haven't finished working on it, but the Parliament, some ministries and offices are located here today. (Actually, it would be a good place to use kick-boards to manage all these distances between...!)



The Parliament Palace

Trips and tips

We spent three days in Călimănești, a little town, famous for health-care and recreation due to its mineral springs. Even there we had the opportunity of visiting many special places, like the monastery of Cozia and an old Roman fort. Though it is a place for recreation and perhaps self-reflection, we enjoyed very much our national drink evening, football and the culinary pleasures of Romania (not in the monastery, of course, I mean in the hostel). Especially the last one demanded very much from our physical capacities ... were food the only thing the Romanians had to offer – it would have already been worth undertaking a visit!

A trip to Curtea de Argeș brought us to the former capital of Wallachia, where also famous churches and monasteries could be visited. Then, after the healthy springs, we did, some other exercises for our health:

The ISHA-troops (as far as I have seen without any exceptions) took the fortress of Poenari, built by the Romanian Prince Vlad Tepes, mixed up by ignorants with Dracula. As someone counted (not me, I was gasping heavily for air) 1300 stairs upwards, but we were rewarded with a gorgeous view of the surrounding Carpathian mountains. Unfortunately, we also had to get down the 1300 stairs, so, at the end of the day I noticed, that one had muscles also on the stomach, not only on the legs....

Last evening ...

We spent the last evening in a restaurant, where chicken and rabbits were running around, innocently forgetting that they were all supposed to become the next course. That dinner took also almost four hours, which could be “survived” only with dancing between the courses. I was told that a Romanian wedding would last three days, only with dancing, eating, dancing, eating ...so you folks who intend to marry one of these many lovely Romanian girls – be careful!

... and final remarks

Above all, and once again, I'd like to express my gratitude to our Romanian hosts. The organisation was perfect, the workshops interesting, the food plenty and delicious and the excursions exciting. The people was jolly and satisfied, happy and exhausted – and lacking enough adjectives to continue my description, allow me to express my final verdict:

The seminar was a great success!

**BETWEEN DRACULA AND THE
ELECTRIC MAN****MIRKO SARUGA****ISHA ZURICH****MSARUGA@ALTAVISTA.NET**

In the end of July, the Association of Romanian Students of History in Bucharest, Societatea de Studii Istorice Erasmus, held an ISHA Seminar on the subject "Being Young in Europe". A lot of students from many different european countries joined in Romania to discuss the past, the present and the future of this subject.

Introduction

Arriving at the Gara de Nord. And I can't see any garlic hanging around in the station. It is already something like 35° hot. We are told that these kind of temperatures are quite nice. Some weeks before, it was around 45°. As always there is much to be done in an ISHA seminar. First there is the opening ceremony with two interesting speeches in the National Museum Cotroceni. Most of the academical part of the seminar takes place in this important building where the President of Romania has his offices. There is an exhibition of mainly Romanian history textbooks. I specially liked the book which seemed to be full of very important history: Every word in it was underlined. Another book was also of fundamental use. It was put under a leg of a table to stabilize it. Because it isn't hot enough already, in the evening we go to the Fire Club to have a warm icebreaking-party. Soon, maybe two hours after the party in the morning, the first workshops start.

People' Palace, lively toys and Croatian Poison

Exploring the country was an important part of the seminar. In Bucharest of course the second biggest building in the world, the People's Palace had to be visited. The menu consists also of the National History Museum, the Peasant's Museum and the Village's Museum. Our enthusiasm can't be reduced by the bus drives (amazing how many people you can put into a bus) and the nice temperatures. In the hotel we have some lively little toys. In the evening you can very easily clear them away by turning on the lights. Actually some participants didn't like the idea of turning off the lights again. After three days in Bucharest we leave for Kozia, a small vacation town with hot springs at the Feet of the Carpathian Mountains. There is much to be done here during a two days stay. In Kozia visiting an ancient Roman fortress, a monastery and the hot springs. And in Rîmnicu Vîlcea a visit to an art museum and the city hall. In the evenings there is Soccer. I'm not sure if the Slovenian-Romanian team won against the Croatians. It was too dark to see the ball anyway. Then we have a national drinks party. The Croatian poison wins the first prize of being drinkable. I think second are the Romanian and third the Ukrainian drinks. Or maybe the Slovakian or the Dutch drinks? Strange, I somehow can't remember much of this glorious night. The other night there is an enormous dinner. We eat for hours and hours excellent Romanian dishes. Then it's disco time. The DJ likes to play a lot of folk music in an oriental-Romanian style. Still there are some workshops to be done, too.

Who is better, Dracula or the Electric Man?

On the way back to Bucharest we have Dracula on the schedule. Thanks to Ionut we hear a shortened version of the never ending story of a church near Curtea de Arges. I can't remember the name of the next in

church, but it was a nice one too. And then we finally arrive near Vlad Tepes' little castle near Poienari. We have to climb more than one thousand steps up to hopefully see something creepy in this fortress. But the Wallachian prince doesn't show up and we leave to see his counterpart – the Electric Man. We meet this hero of the modern times guarding a huge power dam. We soon call him ZZ-Top, because he is above the dam and holds Z-like flashes in his hands like Zeus used to do. We say goodbye to this Romanian hero and ride home



The Electric Man



...and Vlad Tepes

Workshops

There were three workshop topics: 1. Inside Education – Gender, Age, Nation, 2. Constructing and Deconstructing Frontiers and 3. Education – Ideology – Propaganda. Workshop 3 was divided in two sections. Of course workshop 1 with the workshop leaders Mihaela, Mihaela and Mircea was the best. First there were Silvana (Bucharest) and Loredana (Bucharest) to talk about “Gender problems“. Whereas Silvana mostly concentrated at social differences, men are responsible for the outside world whereas women's place is the inside sphere, Loredana also looked at the physical differences between men and women. These two presentations were a good basis for a lively discussion. We somehow agreed that an important function of education should be to break all kind of gender based stereotypes.

From ancient Rome ...

Then we followed the topic of gender differences in education through history: Kristina (Zagreb) explained that in ancient Rome these differences were not that big as in later times. Camelia's (Bucharest) presentation was about the strong definition of the women as wives and mothers in the 16th century in Spain. Andrea and Annemie (Nijmegen) found a paradox in the ideas of Luther, Erasmus, Locke and Rousseau. The new opportunities at that time seemed to be made only for men. Renata (Zagreb) and Sophie (Zürich) had a closer look at the 19th century. Whereas in Croatia hardly anything can be found on women's education, in Switzerland there were some activities of women's organisations.

... till Postcommunism

Rado (Nitra) and Maja (Zagreb) both compared the situation before 1989 with it after 1989. For the case of Croatia you could say that there was a backward step for the women and also in Slovakia women are portrayed still in traditional roles. Jasmijn (Nijmegen) told us about her experiences of staying in a Kibbutz in Israel in the 21st century. While in theory all are equal, there are in everyday life still traditional men and women's jobs. Germin (Bucharest) focused on different generations of the Conquistadors all of them willing to climbing up the ladder of social scale. Finally Mirko (Zürich) wanted to tell us something about the youth movements in Switzerland from 1940 till 2000. But - stupid him - in the beginning of his presentation he dropped all his nice pictures of the movements on the floor, and until the pictures had been chronically sorted again with the help of everybody, the workshop was over.

HISTORY TEXTBOOKS EXHIBITION IN BUCHAREST

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During the communist period, the historical science was aimed to explain the evolution of mankind according to Marx's, Lenin's or local leaders views and the textbook, defined as the most read history book, was instrumentalized as a mean of propaganda.

Communist propaganda and its successes

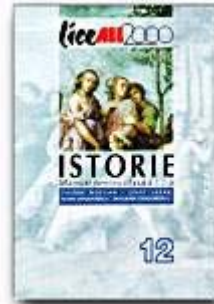
We used the key-concept of the exhibition organized by Erasmus/I.S.H.A. Bucuresti in its singular form in order to show a reality of the communist educational system, in contrast with the inter-war or nowadays Romania: one textbook, conceived and taught as an irrefutable authority, with no alternative allowed. We intended to discuss just on the case of history, but this was a common situation for all the subjects. There was, nevertheless, a gap between what we shall call "the many", common people which had a direct contact with history during their school years, and "the few" of the academic area or individuals, whom kept as hobby the scientific study of the past. While the first were more or less innocent victims of the propaganda, some of the latter kept the contact with Western historical schools or simply refused to obey the rules of the regime. Last year, this gap came forth light clearer as ever, originating the tumultuous debate on the new history textbooks, which gave us the idea of this exhibition, according to the main task of this I.S.H.A. seminar.

Hypotheses and disappointments

We asked ourselves where is the difference between the new instruments for teaching and the old ones. We divided the textbooks in those which appeal to history as a science, full of data, facts, arguments, and those which offer a perspective more or less in accordance with the ancient Herodotian concept of inquiry, of search for new dimensions of human life in the past eras. After the fall of the communist regime, there was a general need for using the newest approaches in school teaching, which, in the particular case of History, the substitution of the Marxist inspired terminology or chronology and the few lessons about the post-second world war evolution of the mankind was not sufficient, not to mention superficial. On the other hand, a democracy simply asks for "more" textbooks, for the possibility to choose. Naturally, the choice must belong first to the teacher, with a possibility for the student to become aware of other points of view, as well. The intention of bringing together textbooks from different countries and periods also urged us to find a guiding theme: "How is being young in a textbook?" We were, as we expected, disappointed: children and young people, although the beneficiaries of the textbooks are barely among their heroes, unlike the case of the literature textbooks. If they are, then those with a painful youth or childhood are preferred, be it a poor school in Ghana or the starving African children as victims of neo-colonialism, young people and women are shown working in cruel conditions, the child or teenager is a target for publicity, realities of the interwar world, music of the 1960's and the hippies, whom appeared as a (singular in the new Romanian textbooks) study case for history teens. Some of the students might know more on the music than their schoolteachers, but the social phenomenon itself deserved a better explanation. One should try a comparison with the violent May '68 presented by an illustration from a Greek textbook.

The second theme of the exhibition was "The Textbook: Instructions for use". As we could not exhibit a class and a teacher for each participating country, we appealed to our memories, identifying (un)usual ways of using a textbook: drawing, writing poems for "her", fixing broken furniture, even - cross your fingers, studying!

There was a corner dedicated to the boring textbooks, those based on text, with dull, unspectacular illustration, the old fashion style, in comparison with the new concept of colorful textbooks and with less information, but more exercises and lessons ascribed to everyday life or the evolution of historical structures textbook, although childhood and youth are still not main aims of the school study of History.



New Romanian History Handbooks

Conclusions

We have seen this project as a possible preview of the early October seminar in Turku, on changing history: the need of replacement of the standard view on the past, as shown by the evolutions in historiography or political status. We may conclude that it is not a commercial reason for the publishers to have more texts and images dedicated to childhood and adolescence, but one should also think about the scientific progress and the roads opened for the young minds, whom would have a good reflection subject on life.

The Romanian Television took pictures and interviews during the exhibition, and it was not only their crew to be interested in the project. We would like to thank once more to all the participants for their words of appreciation and the textbooks they kindly brought.

A project developed by:

Iuliana Conovici

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THE KINDERGARDEN OF OUR HOPES

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One thousand forty people died in Romania in December 1989 in order to overthrow the communist regime of President Nicolae Ceausescu. As the government was indeed overthrown and the Ceausescu couple was arrested and executed (after a masquerade trial), many people thought communism had also fallen in Romania. They were very disappointed to realize that the new leaders of Romania – at first perceived as a legitimate group emerging from the December Revolution – were in fact 2nd and 3rd rank nomenklatura figures.

Those who wanted and fought for the fall of communism would not accept that it didn't end. They contested the new leaders... and had the great surprise of being denounced as traitors, agents of foreign intelligence services, fascists. The parties opposing the Front of National Salvation (FSN) did not receive better treatment; they were accused of having paid those who attended the manifestations against Ion Iliescu and the FSN. These manifestations of discontent were repressed by the police and by some "benevolent" workers (actually manipulated) ever since in January and February 1990. Elections, set for April, were postponed to May the 20th.

The beginning

On the morning of April 22nd 1990, there were two manifestations of anti-FSN parties and organizations. As they marched on the streets of Bucharest, the two groups met and fused. They settled in the University Square (Piata Universității). The traffic was disturbed: the Gheorghe Magheru Boulevard, in the very center of Bucharest, was blocked. The people spent the night in Piața Universității, and the next day, and the next night. On the 24th of April, at 4:00 AM, the police made an attempt to clear the University Square. It succeeded, but only for a few hours, though the intervention was very brutal. By noon, the people were back in Piața Universității. They were there to stay; for the next seven weeks, the protest went on – day and night. Some forty of them started a hunger strike.



The Romanian National Anthem on the University walls

The tramps' requests

The main requests of the people in the University square were:

1. The application of the 8th Article of the Proclamation of Timisoara which stated that no former communist activist should be member of the Parliament for the next three legislatures, nor should a former communist activist ever become President of Romania;
2. The abrogation of the decree no.473/1977 subordinating the national television and radio stations to the government.

Sometime after the beginning of negotiations with the University Square people, Ion Iliescu lost his temper and called them tramps (golani). Proud to be depreciated by a communist, they joyously accepted the title. As the news of Iliescu's imprudence spread, the University Square filled with "tramps". The people there started wearing labels such as: "intellectual tramp", "student tramp", "retired tramp", "another tramp", "free tramp", "dollar manipulated tramp", "little tramp" and even "furry tramp" (as such labels were hanging even at the dogs' necks). All over the country, as a mark of solidarity, people called themselves "tramps". In the same spirit, students of Cambridge, Harvard, Oxford and the Sorbonne declared themselves to be "tramps". Eugene Ionesco announced he was an "academician tramp". Iliescu officially apologized for having called those people "tramps", but it was too late. Memories of Ceausescu calling the people protesting against his regime "hooligans" completed the picture. Proudly, the Tramps' Anthem stated:

*Rather be a stroller than a traitor,
Rather a hooligan than a dictator,
Rather a tramp than an activist,
Rather dead than a communist!*

The elections

On May 20th 1990 Iliescu and the FSN won the general elections with 85.07% of all the votes for the Presidency of Romania and 61.33% for the Parliament. The participation rate at the elections was over 85%. Thus, Iliescu became the legally elected President of Romania. After the results were announced, the manifestations' proportions diminished. Some intellectuals and some organizations (including student organizations) officially retired from the University Square. Low-class individuals appeared. The speakers were not as prestigious as the ones before the elections. But the manifestation went on. People demanded the resignation of President Iliescu, the fall of the government and of Communism. Contested, the newly elected leaders decided not to tolerate any more protests – that damaged their image of legitimacy and authority. On the 11th of June negotiations with the University Square people failed as President Iliescu refused the video recording of his meeting with their representatives. On the 13th of June, in the morning, there was a new, very brutal police intervention. Sometime in the afternoon, after mutual harassment, both the police and some of the University Square people became violent. Policemen were beating people; some people were throwing stones and Molotov cocktails. (Eyewitnesses relate that there were a few strikingly obvious groups of agitators that guided the people – who had not been violent before.) The siege of the Police Department was set on fire. President Iliescu appeared on TV asking the workers to help the police reestablish law and order.

Mineriada

On the 14th of June, a few thousands of miners arrived in Bucharest. Buses were waiting for them at the train station. Guided by agitators dressed up in brand new miners' uniforms, they went to the University Square. When they got there, they had wooden and iron bats and some other weapons of the sort. The University buildings, that of the Institute of Architecture and the sieges of the opposition parties were devastated. Valuables, electronic devices, study instruments and materials were stolen or broken.



On the 14th of June, a few thousands of miners arrived in Bucharest

A time of terror

The leaders of the opposition parties were nearly killed so that members of the new regime may appear (on TV) as their saviors. Students, intellectuals, people with beards, well dressed up, frightened or looking in any way displeased by what was happening in the streets were beaten and stepped on. Terror took over the city for two days. Six people died. Some five hundred fifty people were registered as wounded at the hospitals in Bucharest. Many innocent people (even passing-by members of the FSN) were beaten by people dressed up as miners. President Iliescu thanked the miners. He had called them (“in order to make them feel useful”, as he later declared) to help cleaning, rearranging and planting flowers in the University Square. Which they did. Hence, the miners’ uniforms reappeared many times in Bucharest. Yet the ghost of their coming to the city has haunted most of the citizens of Bucharest until February 1999 when the police forces were at last able to stop their march to Bucharest. That ghost did not disappear completely.

Why?

Many people tried to explain or at least describe in appropriate terms the “University Square phenomenon”. There were different stories, different interpretations.

For some people it was just a game. Songs, prayers, rituals, symbols (the word “tramp”), the age of many of the people there, the black-and-white, intolerant thinking (the people shouting in the Square were good, the government was bad, the supporters of the government either bad or stupid) were arguments supporting this theory. Close to this theory are the ideas of Răzvan Theodorescu, art historian, at that time president of the national TV and radio station. He sees the University Square as the celebration place of “the joy of mockery”, of “the joy of saying NO” of people who had not taken part in the December Revolution. In his opinion, these people needed – and found – the opportunity of living that experience and thus freeing themselves of their fears and frustrations. They were afraid to get out in the streets in December, but – not any more!

Aurora Liiceanu, a psychologist, emphasizes another aspect of the University Square phenomenon. It was, she says, an exercise. The people who went there were testing and practicing their abilities of going out in the streets and protesting against the actions of the government (impossible during the communist regime). It was an exercise of a we-them thinking, the search for a common identity, for communication and common values’ celebration.

Some other people saw it as the continuation of the quest for freedom that had begun in December 1989 in the city of Timisoara. For those remaining loyal to its memory, for the true, enthusiastic people that were a part of that University Square, the movement was indeed a fight for freedom and against any form of communism, of totalitarianism. For them, it was also the statement of the right to be free, to know and speak up the truth. They wanted to know the truth about December 1989, to find the people truly guilty of the 1040 dead of those times. For them, the University Square was “The Area Free of Neo-communism”, a place of

freedom, a sacred place.

Irina Nicolau, a writer and an ethnologist, called it “the kindergarten of our hopes”. “Kindergarten” because, although it gathered a great amount of energy and enthusiasm, it did not produce much, while the government people – not so loudly, but efficiently – created a strong solidarity with and positive opinion of the government’s actions. “Kindergarten” because the people in the University Square were allowed to play for a short period of time, but were afterwards beaten and sent to bed (oblivion). “Kindergarten” because, although its memory is cherished, it is not assumed as a present identity, but it is hidden, kept for oneself and not without a certain feeling of embarrassment.

I feel that every one of these authors is partially right, that is, the University Square was everything they said, but a more complex issue, including all that was said so far – and much more. It is only with the last author’s opinions that I tend to disagree with

The Kindergarten of my hopes

At that time, I was nine, going on ten. As my parents attended the meetings and marches, I did the same. I also demanded the fall of Iliescu and his regime (bad guys! liars! communists!). I shouted, though I did not quite understand what it was I shouted (yet thinking I did understand everything). But there, in the University Square, I learned freedom existed and was worth fighting for. I somehow identified freedom with the freedom of speech, a sort of “don’t tell me what to do and say!” I learned I could say NO to the government. I learned about solidarity, community values and common identity, about the magic of songs, about community songs and identity-mark songs. I learned about the power of the masses and mass actions. I learned that communism was bad (I found arguments proving it much later). I found out that scared and uneducated people could get violent when guided to that direction and that the masses, even with highly educated elements, were vulnerable to manipulation. On a certain level of my consciousness, I understood people must have principles and a purpose in life.

I am convinced I am not the only one to have learned all this in the University Square. There were many children and adolescents there. There was something pure, naive and perhaps childish in every one of the University Square people, a desire to learn things, a passion for values, truth and freedom so great that something must have remained of it. That is why I see the University Square not as a kindergarten, but as a school where many people learned values, principles, attitudes, tactics, psychology, philosophy and politics. Even though the movement did not obtain the immediate political effects it started to, it is wrong to say that nothing came out of it. It was a school, a very important school for most of the participants, who were all very young, regardless of their age, as they were at the beginning of a new life, of a New World, a world free of the communist ideology. The University Square was their first school – a school of freedom – for people who were just being young in Romania, Europe...

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GOTTA CATCH 'EM ALL !!! THE INFLUENCE OF TELEVISION COMMERCIALS ON CHILDREN

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Since the advent of television there are television commercials. Was it in the early days for soap and cars, nowadays it's for almost everything, from babyproducts to coffins. We live in a world which is full of advertising. Everywhere we look we see signs of it, on the streets, on schools, on the radio and of course on television. Who doesn't watch that magic box now and then?

People who want to sell something are very quick in putting advertisements on the television. And today it seems that we see more commercials than program. For instance: every 30-minute program consists of two blocks of 12 minutes of actual program-time and thus are 6 minutes commercials. To put it otherwise it means that 20 percent of the program-time is a commercial. So advertising through television is a quick way to reach huge amounts of consumers, especially because almost every home in Western world has one or more tv-sets. Among those millions of potential consumers is a group which are very open to commercials, namely children.

Studies

A recent study shows that the average American child watches some 20.000 television ads per year. The majority of these ads is for fast, fatty, salty, sugared foods and drinks of low nutrition value, for expensive toys and for household goods and toiletries. But what is the influence on children? To answer this question it is necessary to understand what children can and can't understand of the commercials in terms of understanding language and meaning of them. And of course what do the productmakers use as tools to sell as many products as possible to children.



... nothing but commercials

Commercials

But first, what is a commercial? A commercial, advertisement or ad is intended and specifically designed to produce an effect. They are intended to sell particular products or services; their effectiveness is ultimately measured in sales. Adults are presumed to recognize commercials and to grasp the selling intent. They discount part of what is said when they know someone is just making a pitch or trying to sell them some-

thing. If children do not understand that commercials differ from entertainment-programs, then any TV-advertising directed at them maybe unfair. So resarchers have sought to establish whether children perceive any difference at all between commercials and entertainment programs, and whether children percive and understand the selling intent of commercials.

Rules

Studies in the early seventies showed that the attention of children under seven years of age did not change when commercials came on screen, although the older children did. This led in 1974 to a regulation in the US which stated that commercials should be separated from the normal programs by using separators, i.e. fading, video and/or audio presentation of announcing something different was due to come. After testing the use of separators its outcome was that they we're not effective in showing children the discrimination between commercials and the normal program. The cue for them was the lenght of the program meaning that commercials are short presentations. They were also asked what the commercial was telling them to do. Only half of the tested youngsters who recognized the commercials, showed any awareness of the selling intend.

Research clearly supports the claim that young children under the age of 8 are unable to understand the intent of commercials and, in fact, accept these advertising claims as true. The critics of these researches claim that this has to do with the fact that young children have difficulty explaining anything, and that the results could be due to the youngsters' general lack of verbal ability. But after testing on this possibility, the same results came out. As one might expect from the increasing comprehension of selling intent with age, childrens trust in commercials declines with age.

Imagination

The methods used by advertisers is as diverse as there are products. One of these is the use toy-based cartoons. Who has not seen the cartoons of G.I.Joe, My little pony and He-Man. And the newest and perhaps the biggest in this trend is the Pokémon-series with even feature-lenght movies. These cartoons bring life to the toy and show the viewer, for instance children, how to use them. The toys become the heroes of these cartoons. Many of these toys are designed to promote violent play, like Action Man and G.I.Joe. These toy-based cartoons are more cheaply than the simple entertainment or even infotainment programs. This because the toy-manufactureres subsidise these cartoons. Most of the time during the commercial break there is an commercial included which shows the actual toy-product. This further increases children's inability to distinguish between programs and commercials.

Gifts

Another method of selling is the use of freebies, premiums or free-gifts. In America mostly associated with cereals, but we most likely know them from the McDonalds HappyMeal. These freebies are intended as an purchase incentive in a certain product category, i.e. cereal, fastfood. Studies have shown that the use of so-called freebies in tv-commercials are likely to confuse children. Although they may remember the freeby, young children tend to think that that is the primary product. Older ones are much better to distinguish the difference between he freeby and the actual product. Yet sometimes the freebies outweighs all other productfeatures in children's brand choices. Again this is more frequently with younger children than with the older ones.



Tricks

Apart from the above mentioned advertising-methods the industry uses all the other, more generally applicable, methods of tricks to sell their product. These include the use of a celebrity, the mentioning of scientific-sounding words and/or the words new and improved to imply superiority of the product and the association with the product with fun, success, glamour and the good life.

“Good for you”

A problem which is becoming more and more a topic of debate is the growing concern over the most prevalent nutritional disease among children in the United States, namely obesity. The reason for this debate is that the advertisers appeal to “fun to eat” and gaining peer-esteem. Children, who have a limited understanding of language, interpret such phrases as, “good to eat”, “fruit-flavoured”, and “containing fruit” as “good for you”. The food-commercials often promote high-calorie foods which, when eaten too often, may contribute to the energy imbalance that promotes obesity. Also the disclaimer “when eaten as part of a complete nutritional breakfast” are spoken rapidly by the announcer or shown in small print, and are not understood by most children.

So what is to conclude from all of this, are television-commercials bad for children? One could argue that it teaches them what is out there to consume. But more strongly voices argue that television-advertising is inherently deceptive and exploits children under the age of eight. One of the main reasons, so they argue, is the limited understanding of language. This means that they don't fully or partially understand what is said during a commercial and that what they understand is perceived as true. As the understanding of language grows, so does the awareness of the intent of the commercials, the selling of the product. After this awareness the advertisers see them as adults and treat them accordingly.

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The Baltic states - “lands between”?

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Ten years ago in 1990, the three Baltic states Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia renewed their Declaration of independence. After 50 years under Soviet rule, it was a brave step towards regaining freedom, though it should still take in fact more than one year to restore national sovereignty and real independence.

The essay is written to remind us of this anniversary, and to recall the situation of the three nations, whose situation has been determined by the others most of the time, a situation which was characterized by the British Historian John Hiden as “lands between”.

The beginning will be set with a brief overview: The region along the Baltic coast was inhabited by Couronians, Zemgalians, Latgalians, Estonians, Livs, Selonians, Lithuanians and the now-extinct Old Prussians. Though they are all called “Balts”, it is hard to reduce them to a common denominator. The Estonians belong, together with Finns, Karelians and Livs to the language family of the Finno-Ugrians. Couronians, Zemgalians, Latgalians, whose regions are the territory of today’s Latvia, and Lithuanians belong to the language family of the Baltic languages, which are Indo-European.

The Lithuanians were the only ones who were able to build their own state, prince Mindaugas proclaimed himself king in 1253. Only two years before, he had adopted Roman Catholicism. That state was an important enemy of the region northwards, which was going to be formed, in connection with German efforts of christianisation and colonisation in the East, declared as a crusade against the “pagans” by pope Innocence III. In the North, these efforts got in conflict with the Danes, who had similar goals in Estonia. The city of Riga was founded in 1201 by bishop Albert of Bremen and joined ever since in 1282 the Hanseatic League, Europe’s powerful trading bloc. The Estonian settlement Lindanisse was captured by the Danes in 1219 and fortified (present name Tallinn -“Tani linna”- means: Danish castle), and founded again in 1227 through the Knight Order of the Brethren of the Sword.

Since then, till the 20th century, German landlords, townsmen and clergy were the dominating minority over the native peoples, skilfully maintaining their privileges and rights.

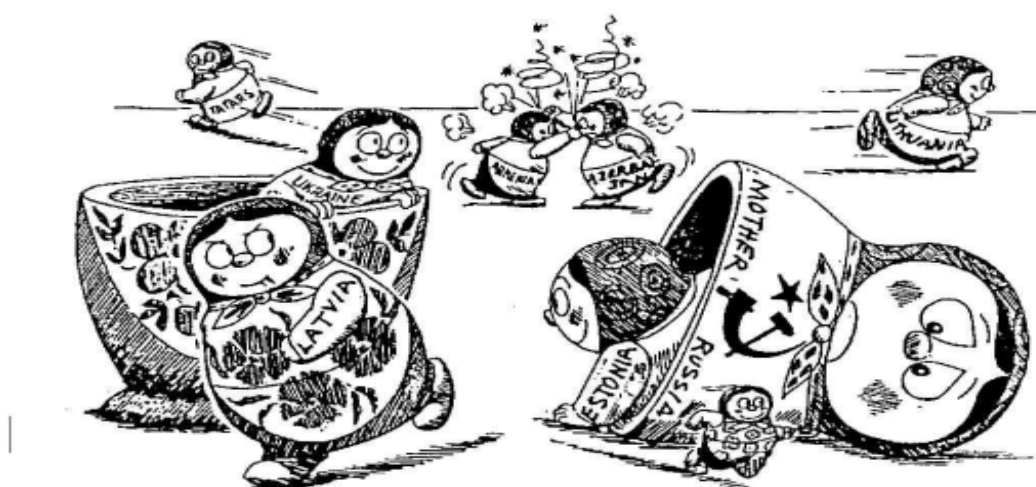
The conquered territory was called Livonia and consisted of several smaller states: The state of the Brethren of the Sword, which joined in after the Order’s defeat at Saule 1236 the Teutonic Order of Livonia, the Riga Archbishopric, the Courland Bishopric, the Dorpat and the Ösel (Saaremaa) Bishopric. The Order and the bishop of Riga had to maintain their power against Poles, Danes and Muscovites (Russians), especially during the 16th century under Tzar Ivan IV the Terrible.

Lithuania could not be subjugated, it became rather an important European power, its territory lay from the Baltic sea almost to the Black sea. After the so-called Cracow wedding in 1386 between Queen Jadwyga of Poland and the Lithuanian Prince Jogaila / Wladyslaw Jagiello, Lithuania and Poland were reigned as a personal union, which became a real union in 1569 at the Union of Lublin. Since then, the country came under a rapidly growing Polish influence and lost a lot of its identity. The aristocracy switched to the Polish, and so did the educated classes.

After the heavy wars against Ivan the Terrible the region was devastated, in some villages not one living soul was left.

The Order was weakened enormously after several defeats. In 1561, the last Grand Master, Gotthard Kettler, decided to surrender and to dissolve the Order. The country was divided into four parts between Denmark, Sweden and Russian, and Poland. Courland and Zemgale (the region southwards between the river Dvina/ Daugava and the Baltic sea) were united in a duchy, which became vassal of Poland-Lithuania. Kettler resigned from his office as Grand Master and took the crown of that duchy. The 17th century became a time of prosperity and wealth for the Duchy under the rule of the Ketteler dynasty, even overseas colonies (Trinidad and Tobago) were purchased.

When his family became extinct, the favourite of Tzarina Anna Ivanovna, successor of Tzar Peter the Great, Ernst Johann Biron, received the duchy. Rising and falling in the Empress' favour, banned to Siberia under her successor, pardoned under Empress Katharina the Great, he was a toy in the game of greater powers. One by one the Baltic lands were included in the Russian Empire. In 1721 Estonia and Livonia, and in 1795 also Courland, the last of them.



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

In the North, the various domains were unified in 1584 into the “Ehsten” principality with a common knight-hood. In the Swedish-held part of Latvia, Lutheranism was reintroduced, after the Poles started Counter-Reformation there. Numerous laws were passed against paganism and sorcery, showing that within the population these practises were still present. The university of Dorpat (now Tartu) was founded in 1632 and –theoretically- opened for Estonians and Livonians, and the power of the German landowners was curbed, they were not allowed any more to increase arbitrarily the peasants' duties. In comparison with the next period of time, it is regarded as “Golden Age”, Riga became the biggest city in kingdom of Sweden. After losing the Nordic war in 1721, Sweden lost all its properties in the Baltic lands in the peace of Nystad, and Russia under Tzar Peter I the Great won an entry to Europe with his new provinces.

Only 90.000 people of Swedish Livonia were alive when the war was over, 40% of the land uncultivated. The “privilegium Sigismundi Augusti” was restored everywhere, but the German land owners, a minority of no more than 1,5 %, regained not only what had been lost during the Swedish period, but also what they had never before enjoyed.

Under Tzarina Katharina II the Great's reign, originally a German princess, the influence of German-Baltic families on the Imperial court of St. Petersburg and therefore also on Tzarist policy increased. On the other hand, Katharina leant towards the ideas of Enlightenment, so the situation of the peasants changed a little. She ordered more educational facilities to be built, and partly also due to the Hernhutian movement, a Pietist

group, at the end of the 18th for instance, 63% of the population of Livonia were able to read and write.

At the same time, the first signs of a national awakening appeared. Initially, German intellectuals, Pietist pastors and writers with Enlightenment ideas, wrote down a lot of the local songs, called “Dainas”. The songs were a most important source of national identity and self-confidence, traditions and messages. Among these collectors, especially in the late 19th century, the most famous one was Krisjanis Barons (later called “father of the Dainas”), who had a special board for 3000 songs, today they say each Latvian owns his own song. The local languages and dialects were discovered and recorded, and last but not last some Germans (Garlieb Merkel, contemporary of Goethe) drew the public’s attention to the bad conditions the peasants were living in.

At the beginning of the 19th century, serfdom was abolished by Tzar Alexander I. Unfortunately that policy failed because the peasants remained highly dependent on their former lords, as long as all land was still owned by them. During industrialisation, the Non-German population in the cities increased. Riga, Liepāja and Ventspils were the most important Russian sea ports, and Riga especially became a major industrial centre. A general improvement in the economy of cities and rural areas became apparent. More and more people were able to send their children to Dorpat, St. Petersburg and Moscow for education, Baltic student associations became centres of intellectual consciousness and political movements. People from these fraternities and other associations helped to develop the Baltic languages, initially only languages of peasants and servants, to the rank of standardized literary languages.



Monument to the founder of Vilnius - Grand Duke Gediminas

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

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

During World War I, the Baltic provinces were divided. The German army went on to the river Dvina and remained there until 1917. In other regions, industrial equipment was taken to Siberia, together with many workers and refugees.

When Russia accepted the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, it also accepted the loss of the Baltic provinces. There were voices that proposed to turn them into a German satellite state, Lithuania with a German prince as ruler, and Courland and Livonia as Prussian state. But in November 1918, when Germany had to plead for armistice, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania proclaimed their own independence and democracy. There were also communists, who demanded Socialist Soviet Republics; units of the Red army entered the countries in their support. Among them were the famous Latvian riflemen, originally Tzarist military units, with Latvian insignia and command language, who fought on both sides of the front against their “countries’ enemies”. The legitimate governments had to ask German troops to intervene. Together with German volunteer forces

(the Landeswehr, the Baltenregiment and the Iron Division) the could banish the Bolsheviks. Unfortunately, the Germans didn't hurry to leave. Only with the Allies' pressure and heavy fights, the sovereignty of the Baltic states could be won back in 1920; even Russia accepted their independence that year.

During the first period of independence, the Baltic states tried to maintain themselves in the role of "bridge" between Russia and Germany. The Germans (in Lithuania: the Poles) lost their former influence by radical land reforms between 1918 and 1920. Owners of large estates were expropriated. Nevertheless, the legislation for the protection of minorities was exemplary for that time.

Beginning with a hard position (almost a Third of the populations was killed or fled, the industrial equipment had been removed deep into Russia or destroyed due to war events) considerable achievements were made in agriculture, education, science and arts, and also a certain degree of new industrialisation with products such as the "Minox"-photo-camera, radios, telephones and air-crafts.



Estonia



Latvia



Lithuania

Sometimes sympathising with Soviet Russia, sometimes with Germany, in the early 1930ies they drifted in a vacuum of security systems. The period was marked by political instability (during that time, Latvia had 18 cabinets, Estonia no less than 20!), until the situation changed in the Baltics with a coup d'état and a presidential dictatorships in all countries. A further constant point of conflicts between Lithuania and Poland was the area around the capital Vilnius, which was occupied by the Poles since 1920. Though they were aware of their uncertain position between greater powers, they were not able to co-operate as a whole. Only in 1934, the Baltic Entente was signed, but it was more a symbolic than a real political signal against their dangerous neighbours.

The Red Army began to build military facilities along the Estonian and Latvian borders, including new army bases and clearing of forests to provide their military forces easier access.

In August 1939, the world was surprised by the agreement between the USSR and Nazi-Germany which divided Middle East-Europe in two spheres of interest, and the Baltic states were allocated to the Russian zone. After consulting with Western governments to gauge their willingness to intervene, all three governments had to realise they have no choice but to submit. With pressure, stationing of Army units and falsified elections, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania became subjugated and incorporated to the Soviet Union, and several hundred thousands of Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians were deported to Siberia, particularly intellectuals, politicians (so Latvias and Estonias president Karlis Ulmanis and Konstantin Päts) and members of the "bourgeoisie".

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

During the Second World War, the lands were "liberated" by German troops. At first, people agreed to get the Soviets driven out, but it soon became obvious soon that Germany was not interested at all in supporting national aspirations. So it came to pass that again Baltic volunteers again fought during the war on both sides of the front-lines, some of them with hoping to fight for their country, others just compulsorily drafted by the German army or SS. After the war, the Soviet Socialist Republics were re-established, collectiviza-

tion completed and again, thousands of men, women and children tortured, deported and killed. Almost there is no family without a member to mourn for. Some resistance could remain with the so-called “forest-brothers”, but in the beginning of the 50ies they had to surrender, too. It took fifty years for the Baltic states to get their independence back.

As in the times during the Tzarist Empire, it fell to the émigré communities abroad to keep traditions alive. Heavy military bases (naval port Liepāja, Ösel Island) were built, for the “front-line” of defence of the Soviet Union from Kaliningrad to Kronstadt. Industrial development was forced for the needs of the whole Union, disregarding environmental conditions. Many Russians and Ukrainians came to work. They and members of the Russian military forces settled down, preferably in blockhouses of the growing suburbs, not willed to learn local language or adopt local customs. The original population threatened to become a minority in their own land.

Baltic culture and traditions were prohibited or at least prevented.

Mikhail Gorbachev’s policy of “perestroika” since 1985 was seen as a new opportunity for old demands. Beginning with ecological protests, mass protests got a deep highly a national character. Gatherings like the 1988 song festival (every fifth year since 1873), which has always preserved the national spirit in large measure, gave the Balts the reputation of making a “singing revolution”.

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



Mikhail Gorbachev

In 1988, the Baltic Soviet Republics were declared as sovereign states within the USSR, one year later the military acts of 1940 were declared as illegal by the international law. A human chain of over 1.5 million men from Tallinn via Riga to Vilnius remembered the fateful Molotov-Ribbentrop treaty of 23rd August 1939, it is considered one of the biggest Anti-Soviet demonstrations ever held.

In 1990 the countries restored their constitutions and “continued” their statehood. Beginning with Estonia, which published a “Declaration for the national independence of Estonia” on 2nd February 1990, Lithuania followed on 11th March 1990 with its declaration of independence, Latvia on 4th May 1990. Elections to Soviet-styled parliaments, the freest ever, were held and ushered in progressive minded legislatures. On 8th May 1990, Estonia re-introduced its old constitution of 1938. They all were constantly reiterating that they were illegally occupied and annexed by the Soviet Union in 1940, and so technically did not need to re-declare independence. They said their countries were already independent de jure, and that they intended to make them independent de facto.

Gorbachev’s efforts to keep the Union together had no success. In the next weeks and months, political and economic pressure was brought to bear on the Baltic states, including an oil blockade. In January 1991, when the world’s attention was drawn to the Gulf war, a last attempt was made by Soviet paratroops to stop the separation movements in all Baltic republics by force: Key buildings were occupied, 14 men were shot in Vilnius, five in Latvia. Contrary to the official policy, the president of the Russian FSR, Boris Yeltsin, ,

flew to Tallinn and declared his support for Baltic independence drives. In February 1991 Lithuania held a referendum on independence, which passed overwhelmingly. In the next months, Latvia and Estonia also held referenda, which also produced large majorities in favour of independence, inclusively a large number of Russian votes. A counter referendum by Moscow on maintaining the Soviet Union was boycotted by pro-independence Balts.

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

In September 1991, the Baltic states became members of the UN, the European council and applied for membership of the EU in 1995, in the meantime, Estonia has been invited to begin formal talks. Russian military forces were withdrawn in 1993 and 1994, the environmental damage caused by their fifty year presence is estimated at run into the tens of billions of US-dollars.

In the beginning of the new millennium, one can summarize:

The position of the Baltic states in the past was primarily determined by Germany and Russia (resp. the Soviet Union). With the expatriation of the German Balts and with the loss of the geographic vicinity, Germany lost its direct interests. After fifty years of democratic experience and co-operation within international organisations, there is surely not even an indirect interest in hegemony any more, too.

Today the Baltic states are confronted with urgent difficulties. Apart from the high number of difficulties with economy and pollution, there are still severe problems with various minorities: Not that much with exotic ones like Tatars (Muslims who remained here from the 15th) century or Karaites (who profess a kind of Judaism) in Lithuania, but with the Russian speaking minority (Russians, Ukrainians, Belo-Russians) which was almost the half of the population in the beginning of the 1990ies. As long as they are not really integrated, they threaten to create their own subculture.

As long as the Russian Federation is still an uncertain factor, with naming the region “closer foreign countries” there is also no guarantee of a long lasting political security.

My point of view is that only a membership in NATO and European Union in co-operation with Russia and with sincere efforts of integrating their minorities secures a long lasting independence. The Balts have to maintain their identity within the European consciousness, where they undoubtedly belong to as much as Belgium or Spain.

A special “Baltic economy zone” (the “Baltic council” is already a good step), a solid transit trade in both directions via the sea ports of Palanga, Klaipėda, Liepāja, Ventspils and Tallinn, and, above all, real co-operation between the Baltic states themselves – can bring the countries from “lands between” to “lands amongst”.

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HISTORY – GANDA

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Many historians have come, following their normal subjective approach, to apparently paradoxical conclusions. This is the fertile subjectivity. Nevertheless there is another so called subjectivity meaning, this time, manipulated distortion of the facts serving political system propaganda. The present article attempts to analyse the attitude of the Romanian communist regime towards history. This was the opposite view, as I like to call it, for the past was first re-constructed and then interpreted as to support the policy of the Party.



The restored monument of Adamclisi

Introduction

Using a relevant example, this paper analyses the background of a public celebration that centred on an ancient historical monument. The sources used are contemporary Romanian newspapers - *Scanteia* (The Spark) and *Scanteia Tineretului* (The Spark of the Youth) - as well as journals of history: *Pontica*. It should be noted that the totalitarian communist regime paid much attention to the information people were allowed to access; accordingly, newspapers were printed by communist organisations under strict censorship. In May 1977 Romanian President and Communist Party leader Nicolae Ceausescu featured the opening ceremony of the recently restored Tropaeum Traiani - an ancient monument erected in 109 AD at the orders of Roman Emperor Trajan, to celebrate a victory against the ancient inhabitants of the present territory of Romania, the Dacians. The Sunday 29 May edition of *Scanteia*, as well as the 30 May edition of *Scanteia Tineretului* recorded the event as the final part of the "working visit" of Nicolae Ceausescu in the Constanta county. Both newspapers followed the official way of reflecting facts imposed by the Romanian Communist Party (PCR), which is evident in the use of the same photos and of almost identical terms. So important was

 this official communist version that even Pontica, a publication of the Archaeological Museum of Constanta and subsequently one that should have maintained strict rigorous scientific standards, could not escape it. A brief introduction to the routine of communist “working visits”(1) is necessary at this point. Since the ‘70s visiting places where working people gather (plants and so on) became more and more important, actually overwhelming the cultural dimension of propaganda, which as you can see does not disappear anyway. The president travelled by helicopter. These elements formed an important part of the Ceausescu era “ritual,” which announced a personality cult. The helicopter would land and a crowd of carefully selected and instructed people would welcome the presidential couple (Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu) with cheers and ovations. As Scanteia described the president’s visit to Adamclisi, the site of Tropaeum Traiani, “presently they are acclaimed with ovations and cheers. For many minutes people cheer Ceausescu - PCR.”(2) Having visited the Archaeological Museum of Adamclisi, the official column - followed Scanteia- headed towards the monument, where Ceausescu cut the inaugural ribbon.

Humorous as these moments may seem today, in 1970s Romania they were standard communist propaganda. Reality was, of course, very different in most cases, as the waiting for the presidential helicopter was long and tiring, with people standing for hours in harsh weather conditions. We can therefore doubt the actual enthusiasm of the crowd.



DECEBAL - The Dacian Ruler



TRAJAN - The victorious Roman Emperor

Scientific methods combined with propagandistic interpretation

During the communist regime, every political speech had a historical dimension, because of its huge propagandistic impact. The current communist ideology imposed nationalism as historical argument. The idea of national unity was adapted for every historical period, and all speeches made constant references to it. That brought into Romanians’ minds the “vocation of unity,”(3) in other words the subordination of the individual to the national political body - needless to say, this political body was under the complete control of the communist party. Communists tried to legalise their idea through a “millenary” historical tradition. This attempt started to focus on the early history of the Romanian people, that is to say on the problem of the Dacian-Roman origins, and on Romanians’ continuity in the territory they nowadays inhabit. In order to sustain their argument – written sources are limited for that period, the communist encouraged the archaeological research.

Specialists were in charge of this research, so the results of their campaigns, recorded in archaeological reports, are still perfectly valid today. The problems occurred when the conclusions were drawn up. One has to distinguish between the historians following the version approved by the Romanian Communist Party and the specialists trying to understand the historical phenomena.

The 1977 volume of Pontica provides an interesting case. Breaking with its traditional format, this history journal included three forerunner articles, followed by the main sections. These articles were supposed to establish a link between the scholarly publication and the communist version imposed by the Institute of History of the Romanian Communist Party. The initial and the final paragraphs of the articles included historiographical clichés related to communist themes - Tropaeum Traiani was seen as “a true chronicle engraved in stone, telling of the bloody saga of the 101-106 AD period.”(4). None of the three articles failed

to thank the “receptive and extremely understanding Party,”(5) for the interest it manifested in this area. On the other hand, it is also true that these articles brought to light technical terms and details about the methods and stages in restoration.



The head - line of the official newspaper announcing Ceausescu's visit in Constanta County

Historical anniversaries and personality cult

Leaving the scholarly Pontica and returning to Scanteia, we should note the festive tone of the article on Ceausescu's visit to Adamclisi. The article went on presenting the inauguration of the restored monument, which was just a prelude of the “magnificent” manifestation that was to involve the entire local community. In the photo (the same in all the newspapers) we can distinguish nothing else but a group of “pioneers”, to use the term given by the Party to this organisation of young people. We know that all these celebrations followed an inflexible pattern: we can find there representatives of the entire local working class - peasants, agronomic engineers, vets; its future members (children of the communist youth organisations for kindergartens-“hawks of the motherland” and schools- “pioneers”) were of course there, too. Having presented the essential facts, we have to answer a crucial question: why so many people and why were they attending such an event? The answer should be based on the understanding of the complex ritual(6) used in the personality cult imposed by Ceausescu in the 1970s. The people welcoming the official delegation had been instructed for weeks on how to express their boundless joy and gratefulness towards the “guests of honour.” By carefully analysing the whole event, it becomes strikingly evident that in communist Romania the personality cult made use of historical anniversaries. These celebrations had a specific purpose. Keeping in mind that during the communist regime religion was quite prohibited in the public space, following the well known tradition started by Marx's: “Religion is opium for masses!”, this regime emphasized on an spectacular system of rituals supposed to be more efficient than the propaganda through religion now forbidden. Their ambiguity made them perfect for political manipulation. The preference for historical anniversaries was owed to the perfect ground they offered for highly politicised speeches and sumptuous ceremonies.

The ceremony at Adamclisi gathered in simple people, scientists (historians, architects), and political leaders and offered the former the false impression of the importance of local history, giving credibility and support to the regime. It also provided the aura of patriotism that Ceausescu needed. Such an event embodies the history and the subordination as everyday aspects of life

New regime, same methods

History was a major source of symbolic resources for the political apparatus. The long-term effects of this policy were dramatic. The communist propaganda got into people's minds and inserted clichés that could be easily activated - as it turned out, even after the communist regime had been overthrown in Romania, in December 1989.

The summer of 1992 witnessed an event reaching for generally educated people the climax of the ridicule. Ion Iliescu, the then recently elected president of democratic Romania, organised a similar manifestation, involving the same monument. Here we deal with a tradition the new regime chose to activate because it was still effective. The propagandistic purpose of the event was easily accomplished because people's minds had to do only a small memory effort. The new anniversary – 1890 years from the Roman's victory over the Dacians – acquired a new dimension. After 1989 Romanians were free to express their religious beliefs. This basic dimension of their daily existence was too important not to be used for propagandistic purposes, therefore a group of priests were brought in to give their blessing to a monument initially dedicated to Mars, the ancient warrior god. The ceremony took place following the same principles as the communist one, in 1977. The purposes were the same, but the abuse was double. Not only history, but also the beliefs of the people were involved in an event serving political propaganda. Even more unfortunate is the fact that this method worked again, the Romanian people having been diverted once more from their daily life problems, this time with the help of pompous historical ideas.

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CLAIMING THE IRISH CHURCH

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Ireland is a forgotten country. This island is usually skipped in European history, and far more attention is paid to its bigger sister Britannica. It is an island at the end of the world, and generally overlooked. Edward Gibbon has even said: "Of Ireland, I know nothing, and while I am writing the history of a great empire, I have not leisure to attempt to the affairs of a remote and petty province.

Introduction

There is an era in Ireland's history with a very shining reputation: the early Middle Ages. While the rest of Europe was suffering from the fall of the Roman Empire, the Migration and the raids of the Danes, a Christian civilisation was flourishing over there in Ireland, on the edge of the world. The Irish Church had a very distinctive character from the Roman Church on the European continent, and had its own rules and traditions. The English invasion in the 12th century ended those glory days. Since then the history of Ireland has become a sad chain of misery and suppression.

In the 19th century those glory days attracted the attention of historians, who could not help seeing the rift between those times and their gloomy present situation. In the 19th century Ireland was still occupied by the British. The majority of Ireland was Catholic, but the elite mainly consisted of Protestants. A lot of Catholics despised the English, and revolted against British rule. But the clergy condemned those uprisings, because a good Catholic person was to respect authority, for all authority derived from God. Some Protestants were afraid of Irish independence because of the Catholic majority in Ireland. Others, mainly young romantic nationalists, sought Ireland's freedom. It was a turbulent period.

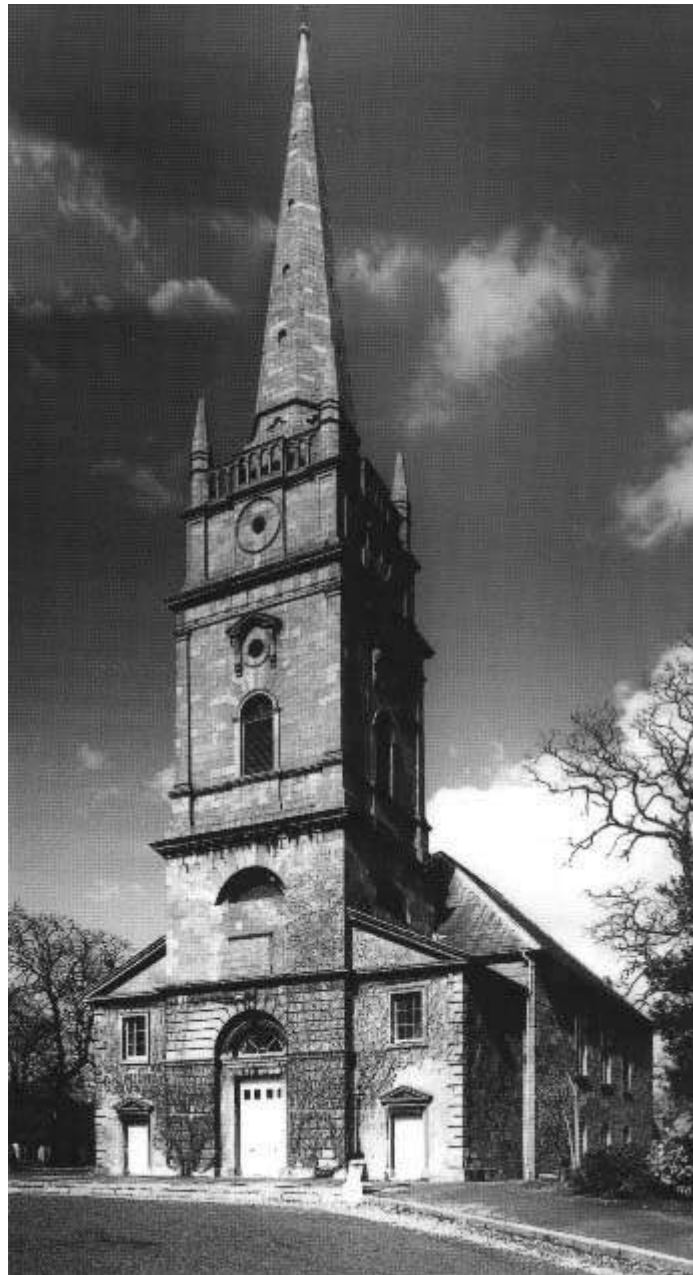
Dream of order

With respect to the writing of history in general and the writing of the history of the Middle Ages in particular, the 19th century witnessed three developments which influenced the way historical science was conducted. The first was the rise of nationalism during that century. Secondly, there was the rise of scientific history writing according to Leopold von Ranke's methods. These historical clichés are known to every student of history. The third characteristic, the increasing popularity of the Middle Ages, deserves some more attention.

Many of the 19th century elite came to prefer the era between 500 and 1500 to their own days. Roughly two "kinds" of Middle Ages can be discerned here. Some people dreamed of the Medieval order. Back then society had had the orderly structure of feudalism. Every member of society knew his place and the authority of King and Church was generally acknowledged and respected. The world was so much better organised than the chaotic 19th century. Others saw the Middle Ages as an era when humanity was not yet damaged by the rationality of the Enlightenment. During the Middle Ages, they claimed, there were still true emotions, religion and mysticism. These romantic visionaries were very fond of ancient traditions, to be found among the pure, simple people who represented the true spirit of a nation.

Connected to this appreciation of the natural, the 19th century favoured things that had been gradually,

organically developed during many centuries. They disliked shocking changes and abrupt swings. That is why people were much more sympathetic towards the organic development of the British parliament from the Middle Ages on, than towards the sweeping changes of the French Revolution. The Irish scholars, who sat down in the 19th century to write the history of their country, did so too. Their research is a mixture of scientific objectivity and an attitude towards their country which was influenced by their own place in Irish society at that time. I cannot go into all the political and religious details of the troublesome Irish century. But I think it is clear that different groups had a different view on the history of Ireland, especially as far as the Irish Church in the Middle Ages was concerned. I have examined ten church histories of Ireland from the 19th century – four written by Catholics, six by Protestant historians – to see how they handled the Irish Church in the Middle Ages. It was not my intention to find out who was right, who told the “truth”, but merely to make clear how the contemporary situation of the authors influenced the way they saw and constructed the history of the Irish Church in the Middle Ages. I especially paid attention to the three characteristics of 19th century history I already explained: the use of scientific methods, nationalism and the appreciation of the primitive and the natural.



St. Peter's Church of Ireland, XIII - th Century

Eternally Catholic

The two conflicting beliefs in 19th century Ireland resulted in two visions of the Irish Church in the Middle

Ages: an eternally Catholic Church and a Church which had always been independent from Rome. According to the 19th century organic ideal, both “parties” claimed that the Irish Church had been the same from the early Middle Ages till the present, 19th century days. There had never been any profound changes. That unchanging character of the Irish Church proved a stumbling block for Catholic writers. They strove to present the Church as Catholic. From the very beginning it had been connected with the Church of Rome, they said. The traditions of the Church of Ireland had been the same from the very early days on. Being Irish and being Catholic are connected in these studies; they have the same meaning, it is the same identity. The historical data, however, does not underline this point of view.

The Irish Church has had customs that can hardly be considered as Catholic. Why did Ireland have a deviating tonsure? How come Ireland had so many bishops without bishoprics? Is it not an old Catholic tradition that every bishop should have his own see? What about the monastic character of the Irish Church? Monasteries seemed to have been much more important, and their abbots much more powerful than bishops. Even St. Brigid, the legendary abbess of the Kildare monastery, but still a woman, was said to have had jurisdiction over “her” bishop. These authors had to use all their eloquence to explain why the Irish Church had its own method of calculating the date on which Easter was to be celebrated. Rome, after all, used a different calculation. So what was left of the claim that the Irish Church had always been even more Catholic than the pope himself ?

The Catholic writers solved this problem by reasoning that a diversity of customs did not affect the uniformity of the faith of the Church. As long as every one believed in the same thing, a variation in discipline did not really matter. They point out that especially Irish missionaries had been responsible for Christianising Europe as far as Iceland, and even Greenland. So there was nothing wrong with the faith of the Irish, whether during the Middle Ages or the present day, for that matter.

Freedom and autonomy

The Protestant authors had a far easier job. There is enough historical proof to state that the Irish Church had always had its own distinctive customs, which were not like the traditions of the Roman Church at all. Just like the Catholic writers, they consider the Irish Church a firm institution where very little has changed during centuries. They stress the unique customs of the Irish Church during the Middle Ages, because it proves that the “natural” Church of Ireland was always independent from Rome. Some authors ascribe the Irish Church even British, Gallican or Oriental roots, but never Roman. The Irish Church has always been its own way of doing things. This Church represented true freedom and autonomy, just like the Irish (Protestant) Church of the 19th century. But they do not assert that the Irish Church in the Middle Ages was Protestant *avant la lettre*, or had Protestant features. They just claim that the Church has always been independent.

There is also a nationalist tendency to glorify the happy days when Ireland was a light of civilisation in a barbarous world. Especially the Catholic authors really dwell in those days when Ireland had the reputation of *insula sanctorum et doctorum* – the Island of Saints and Scholars. Protestant writers question this a little more, wondering how profound the Christian faith really was, and how much pagan customs were still in use. On the whole, however, they are very proud of this episode in Irish history as well. The last typical 19th century feature is the appreciation of the primitive and the natural. The Scots, for example, were admired because of those attributes. They were considered to be the best example of a *Kulturvolk* in the whole Europe. But the Irish, despite the fact that they were regarded as a very primitive people indeed, are not admired because of it. The primitive nature of the Irish is not an ideal, positive thing. None of “my” ten authors celebrates the naturalness of the Irish. On the contrary, Protestant authors make negative remarks about the barbarous island and the pagan customs which were still practised during the Middle Ages. Catholic historians, in turn, stress the civilised Irish society during the early Middle Ages. According to them, the Irish were no barbarians, but pious missionaries who brought the light of civilisation and the Christian faith to the rest of Europe. Not a word about the simple purity of the peasants – instead we get stories about wise monks educating the spiritual people. In that field Ireland was so famous, that students from all over Europe flocked to its coasts to receive education. Hardly primitive.



Graveyard of ruined church in Ireland

Scepticism

For a 20th century reader such as myself the Protestant writers seem to be much more scientific than their Catholic colleagues. They begin with historical data instead of presumptions about the eternal Catholic character of the Irish Church. The Catholic writers are manipulative and do not conduct true historical science. But I question this seeming objectivity of the Protestant writers. They have a programme as well, and they want to win people on their side just as much as the Catholic authors. It is not that conspicuous because historical data supports the Protestant vision. But in the end both parties are propagating their own vision. Protestants stress the autonomy of the Irish Church just as boldly as the Catholics claim its Roman-Catholic character.

As a consequence the ones who are in power can afford to be critical about their own position. Their place in society is strong enough to step back and look at it “impartially”. That is exactly what is happening in these Church histories. Catholics could not afford that kind of scepticism. They were still put down and had make efforts not to drown. Reconsidering their own place in history was out of the question, since that place had not even been firmly established yet in their contemporary society.

Again, history has taught me not to judge too quickly, if to judge at all. Studying history writing from the past tells us so much about the way those historians saw the world. But it also made me re-evaluate my own writing. Who knows how people in a hundred years will judge the things we now consider so very scientific and academic? I can only conclude that modesty towards my own humping around, combined with respect towards the achievements of the past, is the best option.

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LOVED MORE THAN MUM AND DAD TITO'S PERSONALITY CULT IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS

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One of the main characteristic of Tito's 35 years long rule was his personality cult. It already started during World War II developing after it, when Tito took the power, and continued after Tito's death. We can say that it was one of the worst personality cults of all. It included almost all the social space, but the most typical was manifested in primary school, especially in teaching, which became a part of communistic propaganda.



Tito

The aim of this propaganda was to awake the feelings of love for "the greatest son of our nations" who is "loved more than mum and dad" and, after Tito's death to persuade the children to stay on his way faithful to his work and his ideas. But the main point was to turn the children into the faithful followers of the communist ideology, loyal to the communist regime, to Yugoslavia and to Tito himself as the simbol of all that.

The Cult

Tito's personality cult was mostly expressed in the way of teaching history and a subject called nature and society. The first post-war school programs, that were very short, already contained texts about "comrade Tito", about his difficult childhood, schooling, apprenticeship, revolutionary work, his role during the "Liberation war" and after it. The texts about Tito in the first post-war textbooks are the proper examples of the communist propaganda. In People's reader from 1948 there is a text written by Milovan Djilas, the boss of propaganda, with the title "Creator of the happy life of the nations of Yugoslavia". The text says for example that it is difficult to find a person like comrade Tito who should represent his people in such a complete way in the most difficult period of its history and who should guide so directly the struggle for freedom, existence, indepedence, progress and welfare. The text claims that Tito and his people are inseparably connected, that Tito is the embodiment of all the moral, the honourable, the brave, the talented, the gentle, that he leads

people like a proud hawk, that he is a simbol and a flag, organizer and creator of new Yugoslavia, the master and the leader of our nations, the only capable man leading the people to the victory.

Meeting the Comrade

From the 1950's and further propaganda tried to make Tito's person closer and more affable to children, so besides teaching about Tito's life, school programs planned meetings with an eminent partisan who should talk to the children about his meetings with Tito, so that they could make a more complete impression about him. They also planned a walk across Zagreb when children had to visit places connected with Tito's life, where he lived, worked, where he was imprisoned, where he had party conferences etc. It was necessary to stress that Tito lived and worked under inhuman conditions and poverty struggling for the workers' rights and the Party at the same time.

So it would be stressed the difference between the current position of the labour class that lives happy and contentedly with a life that human beings deserve, thanks of course, to comrade Tito. For the same reasons, of all the parts of Tito's life, his childhood was and always the most emphasized, because it was difficult, poor, he had to work like an adult person, so he didn't have much time for play and school. But thanks to comrade Tito, in socialism children have happy, care-free and secure childhoods.

Children also learnt about Tito's character, expecially about his love towards children, about children's and the whole people's love towards Tito, as well as about his human qualities – his humanity, goodness, generosity, altruism, firmness. That was learnt from episodes from Tito's life, such as when he saved a little bird fallen from the nest, when he gave the last tins of food to an exhausted partisan, when he gave the figs to the hungry children during the war etc.



1=Tito, 2=Tito, 3=Tito

In the end of Tito's life and after his death, the learning about him was more systematic, so the school program planned that the pupils of the first form should learn about Tito and the children, about his big care for them, for their happy childhood, about Tito as the children's great friend as well as about their love, respect, loyalty and gratitude to "our greatest man and children's friend".

In the second form children learnt about Tito's childhood, schooling, working and struggling for the progress. In the third form they were taught about Tito's struggle for the workers' rights, freedom, brotherhood and unity of "our nations" and also about World War II. In the fourth form: about Tito as a statesman and about his person. In the textbooks it was said that there was no greater person than comrade Tito in the history and in the present – of all nations, that with Tito we jumped the centuries and won centuries – , that all our achievements are connected with Tito, that he opposed to everything that weakened our nations, that his first care were to fortify our country and to preserve brotherhood and unity. That is why he was so respected in the whole world and now, when comrade Tito is gone, his ideas and work are a permanent "finger – post" for our nations which continues them.

In the higher forms of primary school it was taught about Tito in the eighth form in history classes. His role was to be emphasized, but it wasn't magnified so much because pupils were taught more about events and processes, rather than individuals and the syllabus was very large.

Tito's personality cult was also presented in Croatian language teaching. Children had to read books on Tito's childhood and other stories and texts about his life in which his difficult childhood and personal character were stressed. In higher forms text-books also contained abstracts of his speeches. Very often children had to write essays and poems about Tito, mostly on the occasion of his birthday or death anniversary.

Here are some examples:

Tito:

*Tito is a pearl in my eye,
Tito is a doe in the brook,
He is the bird's warble
He is blue violet.
Tito is a pearl in the grass,
Tito is the sky that is dyeing blue.
He is ripe cherry,
He is our brave army.*

Thank you comrade Tito!:

*Thank you comrade Tito
because you struggled so indefatigably
that it would never be war again.
Because you didn't let me stay
without parents, sister or brother
like my father.*

Comrade Tito:

Comrade Tito was our president. Comrade Tito and the partisans defended our country. He fought and shot the fascists. During the struggle he was wounded in his arm. He had a big dog. Children loved Tito and Tito loved them.

Let's sing for our Comrade!

In music teaching children also learnt the songs about Tito, or these ones where he was just mentioned. Some of them were from the "Liberation war", and others were composed after it, these were often assigned

to children. Here are some fragments of these songs:

*Let the blue waves wave
let small kids grow
let golden cereals grain
because Tito will live forever!*

*Hey, the land is proud of cereals
Tito with us, we with Tito,
Dance the proud wheel dance,
we love you comrade Tito!*

*Comrade Tito, we swear to you
that we shall never stray from your
way!*

*Comrade Tito, with violet,
the whole youth loves you.
Comrade Tito, our dear hope
old and young people love you.*

*That is what our struggle gave us
that we have Tito for marshal.*

Youth's Day

The important part of Tito's personality cult was the celebration of his birthday, on May 25th, that was named Youth's day. It was celebrated in the whole Yugoslavia; the main one was in Belgrade when Tito received with congratulations the relay-race baton that had been carried through the whole Yugoslavia. In schools on that occasion there were organized various contests, exhibitions, performances with singing, plays, dances, recitations etc, in which children "celebrated the birthday of their greatest friend to whom they owed their happy childhood and better future".

In the instructions for the celebrations it was said that "performance will influence on the awakening of patriotism, love towards the Party and Tito. Pioneers will identify themselves with comrade Tito's person, they will wish to be like Tito, to learn like Tito, to fight against difficulties, enemies, for freedom and independence like comrade Tito".

After Tito's death, the 4th of May was also celebrated but more moderately. Children also wrote essays about Tito; in memory of his death, at 3.05 PM when the alarms in the whole Yugoslavia hawled they had to stay calm for a while. There were writtenn letters to the Presidency and to the Party, promising loyalty to Tito. Otherwise, children swore loyalty to Tito for the first time in the 1st form when they became pioneers. Loyalty to Tito was also showed by visiting his native-village Kumrovec, or his grave in Belgrade and other places connected with his life or with the "liberation war".

Conclusions

We can say that this propaganda about Tito among the children was quite successful. During his life he was very popular among people, expecially among youth, so the main point of that propaganda-for the loyalty to Tito and to the communist ideology- was reached. And when the whole system started to decline together with Yugoslavia, the last toward whom people had any positive and nostalgic feelings was Tito. Today, 20 years after his death the opinions on Tito are different-positive and negative-, he is considered either "the personality of the century" or "the criminal and the killer" but everybody agree that he was an important person.

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