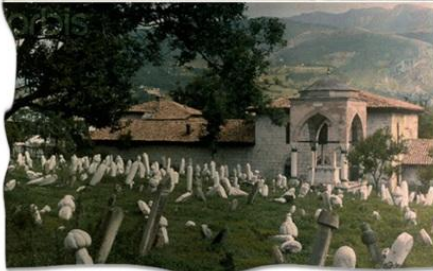
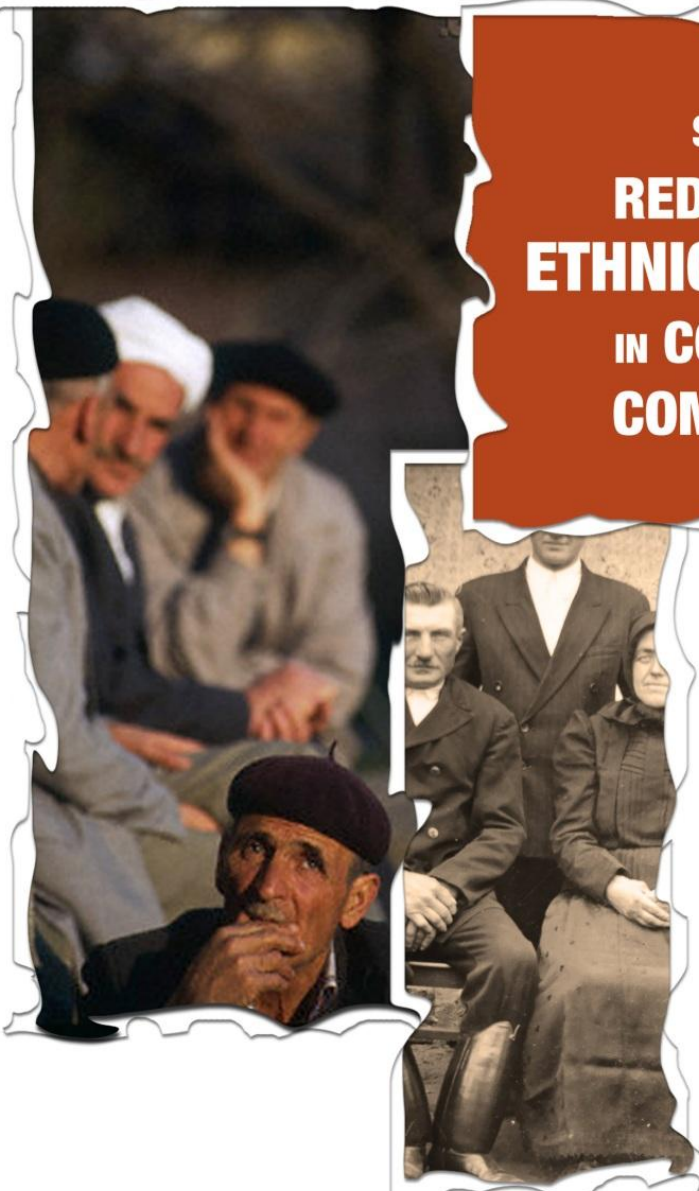


**18-19  
MAY  
2012**



**STUDENT CONFERENCE:  
REDEFINING THE NATION  
ETHNICITY AND NATIONHOOD  
IN COMMUNIST AND POST-  
COMMUNIST SOCIETIES**



**PARTICIPANTS**

**organizers:**





## **Redefining the Nation. Ethnicity and Nationhood in Communist and Post-Communist Societies**

### **Redéfinir la nation. Ethnicité et nation dans les sociétés communistes et post-communistes**

**May 18-19, 2012/ Les 18-19 mai 2012**

**Department of Political Science, University of Bucharest  
Faculté de Sciences Politiques, Université de Bucarest**

<http://fspubconference2012.wordpress.com/>

The process of continuous definition and institutionalisation of the concept of nation is an important dimension of political and social realities throughout the world. The phenomenon of nation-building permeates multiple areas of politics and everyday life, acquiring diverse forms. Laboratories for numerous nation-building projects across time, post-communist societies can be said to offer a privileged position for observing this protean nature of nationalism.

Far from losing its significance, nationalism in Central and Eastern Europe, the Balkans, the Caucasus and Central Asia adjusted itself to changing circumstances, political regimes and social orders. Arguably incommensurable, the nation-building strategies and manifestations of nationalism specific to the communist and post-communist periods respectively are strongly connected through a burgeoning “nation-talk”, i.e. the permanent usage of nation and ethnicity as key categories of social and political practices.

The student conference organized by the Department of Political Science, University of Bucharest, in collaboration with Université Paris 1 – Panthéon Sorbonne, Université Libre de Bruxelles (CEVIPOL), and the Institute for the Investigation of Communist Crimes and the Memory of the Romanian Exile (Bucharest), is an invitation to reflect upon the changing nature of nationalism in communist and post-communist societies. The last decades have brought forth a wide range of mutations from and denials of the traditional nation-state-centred nationalism, which in the view of Ernest Gellner sought the congruence of cultural and political boundaries. The different transborder and substate models of nationalism or the long-distance nationalism (Benedict Anderson) facilitated by new communication technologies can be seen as indications of these developments.

About 40 students will present papers and scientific posters addressing the following or related topics: communism and nation-building; nationalism and transition to democracy; memories of past conflict and the politics of reconciliation; nationhood and ethnicity in everyday life; ethnicised aggression and aggressive ethnicity; ethnopolitical settlements, relationship between majorities and minorities; transborder nation-building; regional identities and substate nation-building; racism, xenophobia; human rights and minority rights, group rights, pluralism.

Le processus continu de définition et institutionnalisation du concept de nation est une dimension importante des réalités politiques et sociales autour du monde. Le phénomène de construction de la nation intègre de nombreuses sphères de la politique et de la vie quotidienne dans diverses formes. A travers le temps, les sociétés postcommunistes, de vrais laboratoires pour de nombreux projets de construction de la nation, ont offert une position privilégiée pour l'observation de la nature changeante du nationalisme.

Loin de perdre de son importance, le nationalisme dans l'Europe Centrale et Orientale, les Balkans, le Caucase et l'Asie Centrale s'est adapté selon les circonstances changeantes, les régimes politiques et l'ordre social. Sans doute incommensurables, les stratégies de construction de la nation et les manifestations nationalistes spécifiques aux périodes communiste et post-communiste sont fortement liées par un essor du « langage de la nation », c'est-à-dire l'usage permanent de la nation et de l'ethnicité en tant que catégories fondamentales des pratiques politiques et sociales.

La conférence étudiante organisée par la Faculté de Sciences Politiques de l'Université de Bucarest, en collaboration avec Université Paris 1 – Panthéon Sorbonne, l'Université Libre de Bruxelles (CEVIPOL) et l'Institut pour l'Investigation des Crimes du Communisme et la Mémoire de l'Exil Roumain (Bucarest), représente une invitation à la réflexion concernant la nature changeante du nationalisme dans les sociétés communistes et post-communistes. Les dernières décennies ont mis en évidence une palette large de mutations et rejets du nationalisme traditionnel centré sur l'Etat-nation. Celui-ci, dans la vision d'Ernest Gellner, recherchait la convergence des frontières culturelles et politiques. Les différents modèles transfrontaliers et sous-Etatiques de nationalisme ou le nationalisme « à distance » (Benedict Anderson) facilités par les nouvelles technologies de la communication peuvent représenter des indicateurs de ce développement.

Environ 40 étudiants vont présenter leurs recherches concernant les suivants thèmes: le communisme et la construction de la nation ; le nationalisme et la transition démocratique; mémoires des conflits passés et politiques de réconciliation; nation et ethnicité dans la vie de tous les jours; agression ethnicisée et ethnicité agressive; règlements ethno-politiques, relations entre majorités et minorités; construction transfrontalière de la nation; nationalisme international, migration et diaspora; identités régionales et construction sous-Etatique de la nation; identités frontalières; racisme, xénophobie; droits de l'homme et des minorités, droits des groupes, pluralisme.

**ORGANIZING TEAM:**

**Veronica ANGHEL**, MA, University of Bucharest, Political Science Department

**Francisca CATUTA**, BA, University of Bucharest, Political Science Department

**Cristina GOLOMOZ**, MSc, London School of Economics and Political Science

**Szilard-Istvan PAP**, MA, Central European University

**Raluca PETRE**, MA, Université Paris 2, Panthéon Assas

**Mihaela POPA**, MA, Université Paris 1, Panthéon Sorbonne

**Ana Maria NIA**, BA, University of Bucharest, Political Science Department

**Bianca Mihaela SUTA**, BA, University of Bucharest, Political Science Department

**Team coordinated by : Damiana OTOIU**, University of Bucharest, Political Science Department

**SCIENTIFIC COMMITTEE:**

**Bogdan Cristian IACOB**, IICCMER

**Alexandra IONASCU**, University of Bucharest, Political Science Department

**Silvia MARTON**, University of Bucharest, Political Science Department

**Laure NEUMAYER**, Université Paris 1, Panthéon – Sorbonne

**Damiana OTOIU**, University of Bucharest, Political Science Department

**KEYNOTE SPEAKER:**

**Laure NEUMAYER**, Maître de conférences en science politique, Université Paris 1, Panthéon – Sorbonne /  
Lecturer in Political Science, University Paris 1, Panthéon – Sorbonne

**DISCUSSANTS/ DISCUTANTS :**

**Mihai CHIOVEANU**, University of Bucharest, Political Science Department

**Razvan DUMITRU**, University College London, Department of Anthropology

**Alexandra IONASCU**, University of Bucharest, Political Science Department

**Silvia MARTON**, University of Bucharest, Political Science Department

**Laure NEUMAYER**, Université Paris 1, Panthéon – Sorbonne

**Damiana OTOIU**, University of Bucharest, Political Science Department

**Camil PARVU**, University of Bucharest, Political Science Department

**Adelina TANTARIU**, Institute for the Investigation of Communist Crimes and the Memory of the Romanian Exile

**KEYNOTE LECTURE by: Laure NEUMAYER,**

Maître de conférences en science politique, Université Paris 1, Panthéon – Sorbonne

Lecturer in Political Science, University Paris 1, Panthéon – Sorbonne

**« Identités nationales et identités européennes dans l'Europe postcommuniste : l'émergence de la question de la protection des minorités nationales ».**

**Résumé :** Deux facteurs concomitants peuvent être mis en avant afin de rendre compte des évolutions de la conception de la nation dans l'Europe postcommuniste : le contexte de l'intégration européenne, qui redéfinit la question de l'identité et de l'altérité, et la « redécouverte » des minorités nationales après la fin du silence officiel imposé par les régimes socialistes. Cette communication s'attachera à dégager les liens entre ces deux phénomènes, à travers une étude de la gestion de la question des minorités nationales par l'Union européenne depuis la fin de la guerre froide. Des divergences internes freinaient l'adoption de normes communautaires en matière de protection des minorités nationales par la CEE avant 1989, et c'est dans le cadre de sa politique d'élargissement que l'UE s'est progressivement saisie de ces questions à partir de 1993. On montrera que celle-ci a choisi de les aborder sous l'angle de la "réconciliation", en ajoutant une dimension interne à la définition existante de la réconciliation comme rapprochement entre deux pays anciennement antagonistes, pour y inclure la question des relations entre majorité et minorité dans un pays donné.

**« National Identities and European Identities in Post-Communist Europe: the Question of the Protection of National Minorities ».**

**Abstract:** Two coinciding factors can account for the evolutions of the conception of the nation in post-communist Europe: the context of European integration, which redefined the question of identity and otherness, and the "rediscovery" of national minorities after the end of the official silence imposed by the socialist regimes. This speech will focus on the links between these two phenomena through an analysis of the way the European Union dealt with the question of national minorities after the Cold War. While internal differences prevented the adoption of EC norms regarding the protection of national minorities before 1989, its enlargement policy could not ignore this issue. The EU approached it through the concept of "reconciliation" by adding an internal dimension to its former definition of this term: it touched upon not only relations between countries, but also relations between minority/majority within a given country. Yet the enlargement backlashed and the EU created its own norms for the protection of national minorities through an extension of its "non-discrimination" policy.

**PARTICIPANTS:****1. Raluca ABĂSEACĂ, étudiante (niveau master), Faculté d'Histoire et Philosophie, Université Babeş-Bolyai, Cluj-Napoca, Roumanie / MA student, Department of History and Philosophy, Babes-Bolyai University, Romania.**

---

Diplômée en Relations Internationales et Etudes Européennes en 2010, à la Faculté d'Etudes Européennes de l'Université Babeş-Bolyai, Raluca Abăseacă a élaboré un mémoire sur la politique étrangère russe d'après la guerre froide. Elle a été étudiante Erasmus à la Faculté de Sciences Politiques et Sociales, section Sciences Politiques, de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles (2008-2009). Actuellement, elle est étudiante en master à la Faculté d'Histoire et Philosophie de l'Université Babeş-Bolyai, avec un mémoire sur la question de l'identité dans le monde contemporain.

***La question du nationalisme dans l'ex-empire soviétique après la fin de la guerre froide.***

Ce qui rend la séparation de son empire plus complexe et la définition de l'Etat-nation russe plus difficile est le fait qu'après 1991, la Russie n'a plus coïncidé avec le peuple russe. La convergence entre la notion d'empire et celle de nation a eu un grand impact sur le mental collectif des Russes. La fin de l'empire soviétique a entraîné un besoin accru pour les pays de trouver une identité, de remplir le vide créé par la négation du communisme et de la domination russe. La fin de l'empire soviétique, de l'universalisme idéologique, mène à la fragmentation accrue des anciens pays soviétiques. Certains pays sont entrés dans des guerres ethniques et régionales, l'un contre l'autre ou dans le cadre du même territoire. En outre, le revirement religieux touche surtout l'Asie Centrale, où le nationalisme est en liaison avec l'islamisme.

Le nationalisme est en liaison avec l'anti-russisme. Même avant l'éclatement de l'Union Soviétique, les mouvements d'opposition qui existaient dans les républiques non-russes étaient fondamentalement nationalistes dans leur orientation. Néanmoins, le nationalisme n'est pas toujours un penchant intrinsèque ou naturel d'un groupe qui avance ses intérêts, mais un mythe politique qui est créé de manière consciente et manipulé par les élites. La mobilisation ethnique a lieu d'habitude dans le cadre d'une atmosphère de conflit entre plusieurs groupes communautaires. On prend pour exemple le cas de la Géorgie - l'ethno-nationalisme de l'administration Saakachvili entre en relation avec l'éveil des régions séparatistes, soutenu par la Russie.

**2. Andrei Alexandru BABADAC, étudiant (niveau master), Faculté de Sciences Politiques, Université Libre de Bruxelles, Belgique / MA student, Department of Political Science, Université Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium**

---

Andrei Babadac is MA student in Political Science at the Université Libre de Bruxelles (2011-2012). His thesis "Intelligence policies in the War on Terror – United Kingdom (2005-2007)" analyses from a realist perspective the changes which occurred as effects of the terrorist attacks of 7th July 2005. He participated in a series of conferences, focusing on the security policies and power-relations in international relations after 2001, in United Kingdom, France, Germany and Portugal. His works were published in journals such as the *Political Studies Review*, *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies*, *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing*.

***Parliamentarian Nationalism – A case-study : Hungary and Romania.***

Nation states meet the new challenges by sacrificing a part of sovereignty to supranational bodies can better respond to globalization issues. The European Union is one of these supranational organizations. This paper aims to clarify how nationalism has developed in three nationalist parties. By

analysing how different forms of nationalism is expressed in the traditional nationalist parties then conclusions concerning the direction of European cooperation will be the FIDESZ in Hungary (2000-2010) and The Greater Romania Party in Romania (2000-2008) will be reviewed based on the theoretical basis which is within nationalism research. Two types of nationalism became important in the analysis of nationalism and pan nationalism. Some conclusions should be drawn: (1) nationalism ways to express themselves has changed from movements into political parties. Portions have a housetraining image and hence cannot illegitimate, its origin, there is the violent movements. The parties also have a populist image: (2) the nationalists react towards supra reasons of principle, Nation and State must comply. The EU rejected both in the form of supra-national projects, and also because it opened up for increased immigration, with the common market: (3) changes in political climate internally but especially externally has led to the nationalists have begun to deviate from the nationalist principle to achieve their goals and meet the new challenges. Transition has taken place to pan nationalism which proved to be better in some cases: (4) the shift towards pan nationalism implies that nationalism has become the largest part negative. Opposition to the EU is relatively large out in Europe and just because people can get to vote on them. If the established parties do not wake up so will the nationalist parties have increasingly greater support and in the future to challenge the EU's basic values. Given the parties' circumstances, it is difficult to know how they would react in a situation where they have great influence. Hitler won power democratically and abolished it later. Another scenario is that European integration will continue smoothly in the even that nationalists are now seeing the benefits of the policy. The development of the nationalist parties can thus be interpreted as an argument to the idea of Europe now has no real opponent in that even the nationalists want a European Union.

---

**3. Janko BEKIĆ, doctorant, Faculté de Sciences Politiques, Université de Zagreb, Croatie / PhD student, Faculty of Political Science, University of Zagreb, Republic of Croatia**

---

Janko Bekić is a Research Assistant at the Institute for International Relations (IMO), Zagreb, Croatia. He received a degree (BA) in History from the University of Vienna and holds a M.A. degree in History from the same university. He is interested in topics such as ethnic, civic and plural nationalism, multi-, inter- and trans-culturalism, and the relationship of politics and religion. Currently he is involved in the project entitled "Cultural Diversity, Intercultural Communication and Digital Culture". He is also assistant editor of IMO's Croatian International Relations Review (CIRR). He is enrolled in the doctoral studies program "Comparative politics" at the Faculty of Political Science in Zagreb.

***When does Ethnic Conflict Occur? Three Preconditions for the Eruption of Inter-Communal Violence.***

In my paper, I would like to present a theoretical model, based on empirical data from Southeastern Europe, that tries to explain under what circumstances ethnic violence occurs and what are the ways to hinder its recurrence. The model is based on three preconditions that, according to historical record, need to be fulfilled in order for ethnic violence to take place, possibly followed by a war of independence and/or interstate war in which a neighbor state steps in to "protect its co-nationals". These three preconditions are: 1. The existence of a historical or geographical unit inhabited by a majority which has minority status on state level; 2. The direct territorial connection between the aforementioned region and a state which has an interest in supporting its separatist or irredentist tendencies and 3. The group in question belongs to a different civilizational circle than the majority at the national level (for example Muslim Albanians vs. Orthodox Serbs in Kosovo). However, the realization of these three prerequisites does not automatically lead to war, since the neighboring state, whose intervention on behalf of the respective minority is crucial, might not have an interest in getting involved in possible warfare. The reasons for its restraint might be economic weakness, membership of the other party in a strong military alliance, or a number of other reasons that can vary from case to case.

**4. Jean – Baptiste BLANC, doctorant, Université de Lausanne, Suisse / PhD student,  
University of Lausanne, Switzerland.**

---

Après l'obtention d'une licence en sciences politiques (2007, Université de Lausanne), Jean-Baptiste Blanc suit une maîtrise en science du langage et de la communication (2011, Université de Lausanne). Sa thèse, « La statistique des langues et des nationalités en Europe centrale », a été publiée dans le *Bulletin de linguistique et des sciences du langage* 26, Faculté des Lettres, Lausanne, 2011. Actuellement, il projette une thèse concernant les représentations sur la langue en Slovaquie orientale, région d'une rare complexité ethnolinguistique, dans le but de mettre en évidence un certain nombre de tensions intrinsèques au nationalisme linguistique, en particulier dans sa relation à la citoyenneté. Jean-Baptiste Blanc est assistant diplômé en linguistique (Université de Lausanne)

***Langue et appartenance ethnique dans les recensements démographiques en Europe centrale***

Une large majorité d'Etats d'Europe centrale conduit à intervalles réguliers des recensements démographiques. Ceux-ci incluent en général une ou plusieurs questions portant sur la langue et l'appartenance ethnique. Or, l'inclusion de telles questions suppose un travail de délimitation des variables. Comment définir la langue d'un individu ? Faut-il interroger la langue maternelle, la langue la plus fréquemment parlée ou encore les connaissances linguistiques ? Doit-on donner la possibilité au répondant d'indiquer plusieurs langues maternelles ? Et comment interroger l'appartenance ethnique d'un individu ? Faut-il présélectionner sur le formulaire un certain nombre de possibilités de réponse, au risque de créer un artefact statistique ? Un individu peut-il indiquer plusieurs appartenances ethniques ?

Les questions sur la langue et l'appartenance ethnique doivent-elles avoir un statut facultatif en vertu de leur caractère potentiellement sensible ? Tous ces problèmes confrontent les instituts nationaux de statistique à des choix dans la formulation des questions. Ces choix sont porteurs de conséquences en matière de résultats chiffrés et sont, à ce titre, politiquement chargés. Dans un contexte politique où la question des minorités ethnolinguistiques demeure une source importante de tensions, qu'il s'agisse par exemple des minorités hongroises en Slovaquie et en Roumanie ou de la minorité slovène en Autriche, les recensements démographiques constituent un enjeu politique de première importance. C'est d'autant plus le cas quand leurs résultats conditionnent l'octroi de droits linguistiques au niveau local. Plus généralement, les formulaires du recensement linguistique et ethnique témoignent d'une certaine façon de penser la langue dans sa relation à l'appartenance ethnique.

C'est dans cet esprit que nous proposons ici une analyse comparative des formulaires de recensement de ces dernières années en Europe centrale.

**5. Sorin CEBOTARI, étudiant (niveau master), Université d'Europe Centrale,  
Budapest, Hongrie / MA student, Central European University, Budapest, Hungary**

---

Sorin Cebotari has graduated (BA) the Department of Political Science at Babes-Bolyai University. His main interests are identity construction of the Russian minority in post-soviet countries and its impact on the level of social capital of the members of the minority group. His BA thesis addresses the issue of identity construction of Russian diaspora in Moldova. Sorin Cebotari also has participated in several student conferences, e.g. "the Days of Students Scientific Research of University Constantin Brâncuși", Social Sciences section, Tirgu-Jiu (Romania), 2010, where he presented the paper "Diversitatea in Republica Moldova. Politici de integrare si menținere a stabilității".

*The Naturalization Process as a Possibility to Increase the Level of Trust in Estonia.*

The amount of social capital is strongly related with the level of general trust in society. Thus in this paper I would like to observe if the process of naturalization, understood as acquiring Estonian citizenship, increased the level of trust of Russian-speakers. The process of naturalization implies the learning of the Estonian language as a component part of application for Estonian citizenship. Consequently, I assume that knowing Estonian permits Russians to interact with Estonians, to diversify their social networking, and through that to increase the out-group trust which influence the level of social capital. Studying the data, I observed that the level of trust for Russians from Estonia is not influenced so much by social meeting and participation, neither by naturalization process, which implies mainly learning of Estonian. Even those variations that exist are provoked mainly by religious identification, the region where one is from and if one considers himself discriminated or not, thus the naturalization process has no effect on the level of trust. Those results may have occurred for different reasons but one which I consider interesting to examine is that the Russian-speakers minority living in a specific geographical region in Estonia, in Narva region, so maybe the knowledge of Estonian did not influence their social interaction outside the group because mainly all their possible interactions could be let only inside the group, due to the geographic boundaries.

**6. Denis DAFFLON, doctorant, Université de Fribourg, Suisse / PhD student,  
University of Fribourg, Switzerland.**

---

A PhD candidate in political science at the University of Fribourg, Denis Dafflon holds a MA in European Studies (University of Geneva; 2004) and a Master in Comparative Politics (Russia and CIS countries; Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris, 2005). In 2010, he started a PhD dealing with the issue of the integration of national minorities in Georgia in the context of both the strengthening of the state and the redefinition of the nation following the Rose Revolution. In parallel to his PhD thesis, Denis Dafflon holds the position of programme manager of the Academic Swiss Caucasus Net ([www.ascn.ch](http://www.ascn.ch)).

*National Minorities in Georgia in the Context of Nation-Building and State-Building*

Georgia is certainly one of the states from the former Soviet Union in which the national-building process is the most complex. Ethnic diversity which characterizes Georgia makes it by essence a multiethnic state. However, the debate on diversity and on the degree of inclusion of the different ethnic groups composing the Georgian nation remains extremely vivid in the country. On the one hand, this may result from the ethnic conflicts that took place in the first year of independence in the early 1990's, and on the other hand from the legacy of the Soviet Union that developed a theory of nation based first and foremost on ethnic criteria. The seizure of power by Mikheil Saakashvili in 2003 was accompanied by a more inclusive discourse on the nation, thus instilling among the representatives of national minorities the hope of better opportunities in terms of political participation and social inclusion. However, one observes that twenty years after the breakdown of the Soviet Union, and more than eight years after the so-called Rose Revolution, the Georgian society is still very much functioning along ethnic lines. The objective of my contribution is to question on the one hand the reasons for the persistence of ethnicity in the definition of the nation in Georgia, and on the other hand to try to point out some new answers on the reasons for the lack of integration of minorities in the public and economic sphere. We will argue that this situation stems largely from weak informal networks available to the Armenians and Azeris in the country, but also from a weak notion of citizenship.

**7. Caroline DAMIENS, doctorante, INALCO, Paris, France / PhD student, INALCO, Paris, France.**

---

Après des études de Russe (INALCO) et de Cinéma (Université Paris 8-Saint-Denis), Caroline Damiens est actuellement en 1<sup>re</sup> année de Doctorat Arts-Histoire, sociétés et civilisations (*La représentation des peuples autochtones de Sibérie dans le cinéma soviétique et russe* sous la direction de Catherine Géry) Inalco, Paris. Elle travaille sur les rapports entre nationalisme, cinéma, autochtonie et postcolonialisme en Sibérie, en découvrant la problématique des peuples autochtones lors de nombreux et longs séjours en Russie dus à son activité professionnelle (Professeur de Français Langue Étrangère : Université d'Extrême-Orient, Institut pédagogique d'État d'Oussouriisk, École sakha-française (République Sakha-Yakoutie). Elle a également enseigné à l'Université d'Eurasie Gumilev (Kazakhstan), à l'Université de Manchester et à l'Université de Salford (Royaume-Uni), au Centre culturel français de Jérusalem (Territoires palestiniens).

*L'identité nationale russe face aux peuples colonisés dans le cinéma russe de l'après-communisme. Un exemple: les Yakoutes dans l'œuvre d'Aleksei Balabanov.*

Après des siècles d'expansion, de colonisation vers l'Est et d'acculturation, ceux qu'on nommait « petits peuples du Nord » retrouvent dans l'après-communisme identité et nouveau culturel. Cependant, à l'heure où la Russie post-soviétique, fédération toujours multiculturelle et qui ne peut prétendre au statut d'État-nation, s'interroge sur son identité nationale, quelle place leur est laissée ? Deux films récents du réalisateur Aleksei Balabanov, *Reka (La Rivière, 2002)* et *Kočegar (Le Chauffeur, 2010)*, posent la question du colonialisme et de l'impérialisme soviéto-russe. Balabanov est plus connu pour ses films violents souvent taxés de nationalistes (*Brat (Le Frère), 1997 ; Brat 2 (Le Frère 2), 2000*) qui chantent la fierté russe retrouvée dans les années 1990. Pourtant, en 2002, il tourne *Reka*, une histoire d'amour et de jalousie située en Yakoutie, avec des personnages yakoutes en langue yakoute. Cette première rencontre avec l'Autre est suivie de *Kočegar*, dernier film du réalisateur, qui réexplore cette thématique tout en mettant en scène les rapports entre Yakoutes et Russes sur fond de violence. Le cinéma russe serait-il entré dans le postcolonial ? A travers une interrogation sur l'identité russe qui parcourt toute son œuvre, que nous donne à voir Balabanov avec ces films ? Nostalgie impériale ou redécouverte de l'impérialisme et de la colonisation ? Est-ce une tentative de donner une voix aux peuples autochtones de Sibérie dans le cinéma ? Comment et en quoi cet Autre colonisé diffère-t-il de l'ennemi intérieur du Caucase (également mis en scène par Balabanov dans *Vojna (La Guerre, 2002)* ?

**8. Sergiu DELCEA, étudiant (niveau licence), Faculté de Sciences Politiques, Université de Bucarest, Roumanie / BA student, Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Bucharest, Romania**

---

Sergiu Delcea is a third-year BA student in the English Department of the Faculty of Political Sciences, from the University of Bucharest. His current field of interest, which includes his BA topic, is the entanglement of welfare-state construction and nation-building patterns in 20th century Romania. For this aim he has coupled his previous skills in historical research, with new aptitudes concerning welfare-system analysis in a comparative perspective, which he has obtained during his Erasmus stage in Umea University, Sweden.

*The Impact of the Nation-building Process in the Development of the Romanian Welfare State – late 60s and early 70s.*

The aim of this paper is to analyze the intermingling of the nation-building process and welfare-state construction in communist Romania. This phenomenon has its earliest roots in the interwar period, but enters an accelerated phase under a regime boasting itself with welfare-related promises. Yet, the

entanglement of these two constructions in Romania is an under-researched subject, requiring scholarly attention.

The focus of my research will be on the period of economic boom in the late 60s, which clearly offered the favorable economic contingency for welfare implementation. Further relevance of the period stems from the continuation of the nation-building process under communism, up until the early 80s. After 1965 it was Ceausescu's firm belief that his historical mission was to construct the "Socialist nation", albeit it is difficult to discern from his speeches what meaning he conferred to this concept, other than that of a purely homogenous polity. While at a first glance his speeches advocated the ending of the nation-building process in ethnic terms since 1918, the link between welfare ideals and nation-building is intimate and intricate: as a component of the modernization from above pattern, welfare benefits were oftentimes employed as a political tool to rally various groups (intellectuals for instance) or entire classes to the socialist nation-state. The corollary of this elite manipulation is the drifting of welfare ideals from the logic of social justice towards the logic of nation-building in Marxist terminology: the socialist nation is the only "imagined community" of equal and protected individuals, without privileges.

**9. Taras FEDIRKO, étudiant (niveau master), MIREES Recherche Interdisciplinaire et Études sur l'Europe de l'Est, Faculté de Sciences Politiques 'Roberto Ruffilli', Forli, Université de Bologne, Italie / MA student, MIREES Interdisciplinary Research and Studies on Eastern Europe, Faculty of Political Science 'Roberto Ruffilli', Forli, University of Bologna, Italy**

---

Taras Fedirko obtained a BA in Geography at L'viv Ivan Franko National University in L'viv (Ukraine) in 2011. Besides his academic activities at the University of Bologna, he works as a translator of fiction and poetry (Italian\English – Ukrainian) and co-edits a magazine on literature, art and social critique "TpoStory" ([www.prostory.net.ua](http://www.prostory.net.ua)). His research interests include: political subjectivity, post-communism, social anthropology, Ukrainian nationalism and state-society relations.

*'Us' vs. 'Them': Class and Nation in the Symbolic Order of Post-Soviet Ukraine.*

The paper I propose will discuss how dominant images of the state and society in contemporary Ukrainian public culture intertwine with moral discourse as dominant framework for 'folk' narratives of post-Soviet life to produce representations of the nation as 'class', or better, as a moral community of exploited and displaced. It will examine how the idea of Ukrainians as the nation of the oppressed, nurtured by many historians who worked in the 'national' historical paradigm, obtains new meanings when put into the context of citizens' everyday attempts to make sense of inequality, poverty and political crises in Ukraine. Approaching the relationships between 'the state' and 'the nation' in the public culture from an anthropological perspective, the paper will analyze how moral narratives of the nation as 'class' function as an ordering scheme for individual stories, making for the symbolic shortage of 'post-Soviet aphasia' (Oushakine) and producing distinct political subjectivities. Making use of theoretical debates in anthropology of post-communism and elaborating on a wide range of literature and empirical cases, the paper will indicate just how tightly representations of the nation are interwoven with 'folk' narratives of the state and everyday life in Ukraine. Discursive analysis of media narratives, citizens' letters to West Ukrainian newspapers, and right-wing politicians' speeches will constitute an empirical core of my research, guaranteeing the originality of the study.

**10. Gabriela IONAȘCU, doctorante, Faculté de Sciences Politiques, Université de Bucarest, Roumanie / PhD student, Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Bucharest, Romania**

---

Ancienne étudiante de la Faculté de Philosophie de l'Université de Bucarest (licence, 2004-2008), de l'École des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales- Paris (master 2 en études politiques, 2008-2009) et du Collège des Arts Libéraux de Berlin (*project year* en éthique et théorie politique, 2010-2011), Gabriela Ionașcu est actuellement inscrite en première année de doctorat à la Faculté des Sciences Politiques de l'Université de Bucarest.

*Le citoyen à la roumaine. La politique des réfugiés en Roumanie (1990-2012).*

Avant la chute du régime communiste, les Roumains eux-mêmes passaient pour des réfugiés et pour des demandeurs d'asile tandis que les réfugiés étaient une catégorie inexistante sur le territoire roumain. La protection des réfugiés devient ainsi une dimension intrinsèque du processus de démocratisation en Roumanie, en marquant à la fois, une transition vers une nouvelle *nationhood* et vers une nouvelle manière de penser l'appartenance à l'Etat. Le but de la recherche sera de décrypter l'évolution des attitudes et des réactions institutionnalisées des acteurs politiques roumains concernant les réfugiés durant les vingt dernières années, afin de mieux comprendre la possible reconfiguration des représentations liées à l'idée de citoyenneté roumaine. En second lieu, nous allons déceler quelle est la catégorie des réfugiés « préférée » par les autorités roumaines, ou autrement dit, quels sont les étrangers « privilégiés » en Roumanie. Nous allons procéder à une analyse qualitative des principales réglementations visant les réfugiés en Roumanie ainsi qu'à d'autres rapports des institutions de profil (MI, OIM, Migration Policy Institute etc.) qui puissent dévoiler la structure des stimulants positifs ou négatifs à l'égard des nouveaux venus. La dyade instaurée entre les exclus et les privilégiés, les rapports qui se nouent dans la codification des bénéfiques étatiques relèvera dans notre étude comment le « citoyen à la roumaine » puisse être redéfini après la chute du régime communiste et quels sont les sources et les ressources institutionnelles employées dans ces buts.

**11. Magdalena KOHÁKOVÁ, doctorante, Faculté de Sciences Humaines, Université Charles, Prague, République Tchèque / PhD student, Faculty of Humanities, Charles University, Prague, Czech Republic**

---

Diplômée du Département d'Ethnologie à la Faculté d'Art, Magdalena Koháková donne des cours d'anthropologie visuelle dans le cadre de la même institution. Les résultats de sa recherche sont régulièrement publiés dans les journaux de spécialité (ex : *Studia Ethnographica Pragensis, Art History in Broaden Field, One Art Magazin* etc.). Elle se concentre sur les questions qui touchent au nationalisme et à l'identité nationale, particulièrement sur le langage visuel et son rôle dans la formation du discours nationaliste.

*Représentation visuelles de la cité Ostrava durant la transition du communisme à l'époque capitaliste/ Visual Representation of the City of Ostrava during Transition from Communism to Capitalistic Era.*

Dans le monde contemporain, nous sommes plus que jamais confrontés avec des contenus visuels. Dans ce contexte, l'exploration des formes visuelles devient progressivement productive, particulièrement dans le domaine de l'anthropologie sociale et culturelle, qui vise la recherche et l'interprétation des contenus culturels, des sens, et des différences dans la « lecture » du monde qui nous entoure.

Le but de ce travail est de discuter (analyser) les changements dans la représentation et dans l'identité visuelle d'Ostrava, une ville au Nord-Est de la République Tchèque, qui sont apparus comme étant nécessaires après la chute du Rideau de Fer et la transition de l'Etat vers le capitalisme. Depuis l'arrivée du communisme en République Tchèque en 1948, Ostrava est perçue comme un laboratoire de la société et de l'organisation socialiste – des mines, des usines et de vastes quartiers regroupant des maisons modulaires disposées géométriquement ont été construits. Ostrava était vue comme une ville socialiste exemplaire, et comme une ville de l'industrie et de l'exploitation minière, où le temps était à part entière utilisé pour la modernité et le fonctionnement correct de la société socialiste. Après la Révolution de Velours (1989), les usines et les mines ont été fermées, car avec le passage au capitalisme à influence étrangère, elles paraissaient excessives. La ville éprouve donc une nécessité de rompre avec son passé communiste et de tracer une ligne claire entre le passé communiste et le présent démocratique. Son image a changé – de la ville du travail, elle est devenue la ville de la détente et du sport. Cette nouvelle identité acquise a été promue par toutes les formes de la communication médiatique, surtout par le discours visuel.

Dans l'actuelle recherche de ce phénomène, nous procédons à une analyse de contenu des représentations visuelles d'Ostrava dans les matériaux publicitaires, livres illustrés et de photographie et autres matériaux imprimés, qui présentent Ostrava des années '50-'80 et des années '90 jusqu'au présent. Les conclusions sont aussi basées sur une recherche ethnographique de terrain, menée à long terme sur cette problématique.

---

**12. Ioana Mara LEONTE, doctorante, Université Babes-Bolyai, Cluj-Napoca, Roumanie / PhD student, Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania**

---

Ioana-Mara Leonte is currently in her first year of doctoral studies at the Babes-Bolyai University. She is pursuing her PhD in both History, at UBB, and in Political Science at the Paris-Est Marne-la-Vallée University with a thesis on the French colonial discourse in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Mara Leonte has a MA in Compared Political Science and two BA (in Management and in History).

***Joyous to Live in a New World. Communist Nationalist Discourse in Children's Press. Case study: "Cutezătorii" (1967 – 1989).***

The creation of the "New Man", the new model citizen of the communist society begins not at adulthood, but at a much younger age, during the first years of school education. By being a member of the party organizations and through school books, children's press and extracurricular activities, the pioneers first become acquainted with the official ideology of the Romanian communist regime and notions such as nation, patriotism, heroes or national identity. We argue that the communist reinterpretation of nation and nationalism is extremely present throughout the entire educational process, including here the state controlled press, providing the communist youth with a brand new set of values and ideals. Especially during the so-called nationalism-communism, a special care is given to the national-relevant elements. This article focuses on the official communist discourse as it is reflected in the magazine of the National Council of the Pioneers' Organization, "Cutezătorii". This official discourse offers new patterns of desirable patriotic behavior, new national celebrations; new heroes and role-models are depicted as these heroes have to both create the image of a glorious history and to lead to the creator of the new socialist world – Nicolae Ceausescu. The relevance of this study is given by the impact that education at this young age has on the future development of a person, on the image of the self and the attitude towards others or nation as a higher identity.

**13. Irina LONEAN, doctorante, Université de Bucarest, Roumanie ; Université Libre de Bruxelles, Belgique / PhD student, University of Bucharest, Romania ; Université Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium**

---

Après avoir suivi les programmes de licence et de master de la Faculté de Sciences Politiques de l'Université de Bucarest, Irina Lonean est actuellement doctorante à l'Université de Bucarest et à l'Université Libre de Bruxelles. Sa thèse en cours porte sur les formes discursives de l'Etat postcommuniste roumain. Ses intérêts tournent autour de la question des élites politiques en Europe Centrale et Orientale, les réformes de l'Etat et de l'administration en Europe Centrale et Orientale après 1989, le gouvernement local en Europe Centrale et Orientale. Ses recherches connexes portent sur le patronage politique et la politisation de la fonction publique, ainsi que sur la corruption en Roumanie.

*Citoyenneté, nation et nationalisme dans la Roumaine postcommuniste/ Citizenship, Nation and Nationalism in Post-Communist Romania.*

En nous fondant sur la méthodologie de l'analyse critique du discours (Wodak 2008), sur les commentaires de la Constitution et sur l'évolution de la loi de la citoyenneté, nous pouvons nous demander quelle est la relation entre la nation et la citoyenneté dans la définition de l'« État national » roumain. Considérant que la question de la citoyenneté fait partie de n'importe quelle définition de l'État, quel est le type de nationalisme que l'État présuppose ? L'hypothèse présentée jusqu'à présent accentue une contradiction dans la Constitution de 1991. Les auteurs de la Constitution ont voulu fonder le corps politique sur une communauté cohérente de langue, d'histoire, de territoire, de culture et de religion (Preda 2005), tout en essayant d'intégrer dans le corps politique des personnes qui appartiennent aux autres communautés culturelles et historiques (Ionescu 2009). Comment expliquer la contradiction du texte de la Constitution ? Nous proposons l'élargissement de l'objet d'étude, en ajoutant à l'analyse de la Constitution l'analyse de la loi de la citoyenneté, ses évolutions depuis 1991 et les débats parlementaires autour de ces lois au cours du temps, compte tenu de la relation entre la construction de la nation et le processus de construction de l'État qui arrive à instrumentaliser la nation à l'aide de la citoyenneté. La conclusion de la recherche montre que l'interprétation d'une contradiction constitutionnelle ignore la complexité des notions de nation et de citoyenneté et les différentes formes de nationalisme. L'emploi du concept de nationalisme libéral (Tamir 1993, Auer 2004), sans se limiter à cela, peut nous aider à mieux comprendre les possibilités et les limites du développement de politiques multinationales en Roumanie (Kymlicka 2001).

**14. Barbara MARTIN, doctorante, Institut des hautes études internationales et du développement, Genève, Suisse / PhD student, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva, Switzerland**

---

Barbara Martin graduated in History and Russian from the University of Geneva in 2009, spending two years abroad during her studies, in Galway, Ireland (2004-5) and Saint-Petersburg, Russia (2007-8). In 2011, she received a Master's degree in International History and Politics from the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, in Geneva; during her Master's, she spent a semester in exchange at Yale University, USA (2010). Her Master's research focused on the Holodomor in Russo-Ukrainian relations. Barbara Martin is currently pursuing a PhD degree at the Graduate Institute, in Geneva, and her current research focuses on Dissident Historiography of Stalinism during the Soviet period.

*The Holodomor in Russo-Ukrainian Relations (2005-2010).*

In the post-Soviet period, the leaders of the newly-independent Ukrainian state have attempted to build a new identity that would unite a divided nation, split between the Eastern Slavic bond linking it to

Moscow, and a yearning for an independent Ukrainian identity oriented towards Europe. In this context, the Holodomor, the Great Famine of 1932-33, which was caused by Stalin's politics of collectivization and killed several millions of Ukrainians, constituted the great "national tragedy" upon which a new national identity could be built. By proclaiming that the Holodomor was a genocide, Ukrainian leaders have symbolically attempted to break the bond uniting Kiev to Moscow, by assigning to the two "brotherly peoples" the respective roles of victim and perpetrator.

This paper will examine Moscow's reaction to these politics of memory in the aftermath of the Orange Revolution, as nationalist policies were given a prominent place in Viktor Yushchenko's political program and the Holodomor was set on a par with the Holocaust. Russia's virulent reaction, it will be argued, can be explained by the perception of Kiev's Holodomor politics as a symbolical attack, not only on the two nations' "brotherly bond", but even on the very fundamentals of Russian post-Soviet identity. By proposing an alternative interpretation of the famine, labeled as "common tragedy of the Ukrainian and Russian peoples", Moscow sought to neutralize the unsettling potential of this historical event and relegate Kiev's "genocide thesis" to the rank of nationalist exaggeration.

**15. David MARTINEAU, étudiant (niveau master), Université Queen de Kingston,  
Canada / MA student, Queen's University in Kingston, Canada**

---

David Martineau is currently enrolled in the MA program in Political Studies at Queen's University in Kingston. He previously received a Bachelor of Arts degree from Université de Montréal. Throughout his undergraduate degree, he also studied at the University of Prince Edward Island (Canada) and the State University of Saint-Petersburg (Russia) where he spent his last semester. His main research interests are ethnic conflicts, nationalism, minorities and democratization in the post-Soviet space. He has already presented some of his work on Chechnya in a conference at McGill University in Montreal.

*Ethnicity and Nationalism as a Card Game. Successes and Failures of State-Building in Moldova and Latvia.*

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, newly independent republics were faced with new challenges and new opportunities. Many republics needed to cope with minorities pressing for more political power or autonomy, and at the same time, titular political élites created new institutions that would give more power to the majority ethnic group. In some cases, this process of nation-building was seen as a relative success (i.e., the minority accepted the legitimacy of the central government), whereas in others it was seen as a failure (i.e., the minority did not accept the legitimacy of the central government). Thus, this paper examines what makes successful and unsuccessful nation-buildings. To answer this question, I compare the case of Latvia (relative success) and Moldova (relative failure).

Both Moldova and Romania had an important Russian-speaking minority in the early 1990s. Moreover, they both crafted ambitious nation-building projects. However, in the Latvian case, the minority recognized the legitimacy of the central authority, whereas in Moldova, the inhabitants of Transnistria decided to secede.

Most of the work dedicated to nation-building focuses on institutional factors. Without disregarding these factors, my approach consists of looking at ethnicity-related variables. Specifically, I look at the nature of minorities' identity, the coherence of majorities' identity, and the role of kin-states. This paper constitutes one chapter of a broader work where institutional variables (economy, political regime and European Union) are taken into account.

**16. Ekaterina NIKOLOVA, doctorante, Institut des hautes études internationales et du développement, Genève, Suisse / PhD student, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva, Switzerland**

---

Ekaterina Nikolova is in her first year of Doctoral studies in Anthropology and Sociology of Development at the Graduate Institute of Geneva. She works on constructed identities and minority rights for Roma populations in Europe. In 2009 she completed her masters in International Development, focus Child Rights, at the University of Amsterdam. As part of her studies, she conducted in-depth fieldwork in the south of India (she researched child and adult prostitution among the Devadasi, Mathamma and Bedni communities).

***Roma International: Space and Lack Thereof for "Gipsies" in Minority Rights Discourse.***

In the context of heightened international interest in the "largest and most marginalized European minority", it is pertinent to examine how this interest translates into commitment. I propose to draw a discursive picture of the "international Rom": where do the Roma fit in minority rights discourses, particularly at the United Nations level? I am interested in identifying the human rights tools, which can be perceived as relevant to the Roma, and exploring those which explicitly mention them to discern the kinds of "spaces" available to them.

This paper will start with a historical sketch of the Roma, followed by definitions of "minority" and a discussion about where Roma fit in. Then, I will examine the evolution of minority rights, the spaces for Roma in UN human rights discourse and, finally, Roma's attempts to carve out space for themselves by domesticating minority issues.

I conclude that spaces for Roma are opening in human rights discourses and Roma are gradually carving their own space and claiming recognition as a transnational minority and even a non-territorial Romanistan. The political sphere, however, remains for the most part terra non Roma. In order for the emergent recognition of Roma rights to move from interest and necessity into commitment it needs to be tied to practical opportunities to exercise those rights. The right to participation is perhaps the most essential one when respected, as it would allow the Roma to claim all the other rights be it as a minority or a people of a transnational nation sans territory

**17. Szilard- Istvan PAP, étudiant (niveau master), Université d'Europe Centrale, Budapest, Hongrie / MA student, Central European University, Budapest, Hungary**

---

En 2011, Szilard-Istvan Pap a obtenu une maîtrise en Sciences Politiques à l'Université de Bucarest et il suit actuellement un master en Etudes du Nationalisme à l'Université d'Europe Centrale à Budapest. Durant ses années d'étude, il a participé à plusieurs projets de recherche touchant aux sujets de communisme et de nationalisme. Par exemple en tant que collaborateur de l'Institut d'Investigation des Crimes du Communisme et de la Mémoire de l'Exil Roumain (IICCMER), il fut membre de l'équipe de recherche de l'IICCMER qui réalisé, en juillet 2011, une recherche de terrain anthropologique consacrée à l'histoire de la minorité ethnique allemande présente en Roumanie. Ses principaux domaines d'intérêt sont le nationalisme transfrontalier et la mémoire sociale.

***A qui appartient cette maison? Ethnicité et habitation dans des zones rurales contestées / Whose is this House? Ethnicity and Houses in Contested Rural Areas***

La disparition de l'*interethnicité* comme une expérience quotidienne est un trait définitoire de nombre de villes et villages de Transylvanie. L'émigration des ethniques allemands durant le régime communiste et leur exode massif après 1989 ont engendré des conséquences non seulement pour ceux qui sont partis,

mais également pour ceux qui sont restés. La disparition presque complète de la communauté saxonne ne peut pas simplement être considérée comme une réalité démographique, mais aussi comme un changement social qui laisse des empreintes visibles au niveau des groupes locaux, des gens ordinaires et de la vie quotidienne.

A l'aide des outils théoriques fournis par plusieurs paradigmes théoriques (le constructivisme et l'ethno-symbolisme) employés dans les études du nationalisme, ce travail se propose d'analyser les éléments de la cognition sociale influencés par le changement démographique mentionné ci-dessous. Il fait valoir qu'il y a une forte dissonance entre le premier et le second, en soulignant que la disparition des environnements ethniquement mixtes n'a pas enlevé à l'ethnicité son caractère pertinent en tant que cadre cognitif et interprétatif de la vie des gens ordinaires. Cette affirmation est illustrée par l'étude de Câlnic, un village dans le Sud de la Transylvanie. Le travail soutient que dans ce cas particulier, la dissonance entre réalité démographique et cognition sociale est maintenue par les maisons abandonnées ou laissées en arrière par les Saxons qui ont émigré. Ces maisons contribuent énormément au maintien de l'*interethnicité* comme un moyen d'expérimenter et de préserver les catégories ethniques comme des piliers pour la compréhension du monde tout autour. Cette hypothèse est soutenue par l'analyse de discours et de récits liées à ces maisons. A cet égard, l'objet de l'étude est double : elle examine non seulement le contenu de ces récits, mais aussi leur structure.

Le travail conclut que l'ethnicité demeure l'aspect central du cadre d'interprétation et du système cognitif des habitants de Câlnic, non seulement parce qu'elle est héritée du passé à travers des histoires avec un contenu ethnicisé, mais aussi parce que le processus de transmission est réalisé à l'aide de récits dont la structure ressemble à celle de la communication rituelle.

The disappearance of *interethnicity* as a day-to-day experience is the defining feature of many Transylvanian villages and towns. The emigration of ethnic Germans during communism, and their mass exodus after the fall of this regime entailed consequences not only for those who left, but also for those who remained. The almost complete vanishing of the Saxon community cannot simply be regarded as a demographic reality, but also as social change whose impacts can be best perceived at the level local groups, ordinary people and everyday life. With the help of the nationalism studies paradigms of constructivism and ethno-symbolism the paper attempts to analyze elements of social cognition influenced by the above-mentioned demographic change witnessed in the southern regions of Transylvania. It argues that there is a strong dissonance between the former and the latter by pointing out that the disappearance of ethnically mixed environments did not make ethnicity irrelevant as a cognitive and interpretative frame in the life of ordinary people. This claim is exemplified by the study of Câlnic, a village in southern Transylvania. The paper holds that in this particular example the dissonance between demographic reality and social cognition is maintained by houses abandoned, or left behind by the emigrating Saxons. These houses contribute enormously to the maintenance of *interethnicity* as a modality of experience, and to the preservation of ethnic categories as pillars of comprehending the surrounding world. This hypothesis is supported by the analysis of discourses and narratives related to these houses. In this respect the focus of the study is dual: it puts under scrutiny not only the content of these narratives, but their structure as well. The paper concludes that ethnicity remains the central aspect of the interpretative frame and cognitive system of the inhabitants of Câlnic not only because it is inherited from the past through stories with ethnicized content, but also because the process of transmission is carried out with the help of narratives whose structure resembles that of ritual communication.

**18. Laura PARKKINEN, doctorante, Université de Turku, Finlande / PhD student,  
University of Turku, Finland**

---

Laura Parkkinen is currently a journalist and a researcher, interested in Populism, Islam, contemporary France. In 2002 she got her MA in literature and in 2003 her MA in political science at the University of Turku.

*Populism, Ethnicity, Soviet-Rhetoric, Rhetoric of the Past and Religion in France, Poland and Finland after Second World War.*

Populism has often been seen as synonym to racism. Here populism is seen as a political style, with a charismatic Leader, who appears during a political crisis. However populism can be detailed according to Pierre-Andre Taguieff (2007) to three historical forms: a) protest populism of 1950-1960, b) identity populism of 1980 -1990, c) new populism of 2000. My aim with this paper is to compare three countries and the type of populism there. In France there is a long tradition of anti-Semitism and in Poland the relation to the past and to the Soviet Union characterizes populism there also as a religion. There is a certain form of Eastern European populism (see Don Kalb 2007) (marked by past, the role of religion Poland) and Central European (France) populism.

My question is how Finland relates to this. It is really interesting when considering Finland's geopolitical position. How is Finnish populism made up, is it marked by the past with the Soviet Union or marked by racism? Which is the role of religion, when Catholic religion has often been put together with populism and Finland is a Lutheran country? I will shortly present topoi, typical elements of populism in Poland and France, and then come to Finland. How did the Populist Party in Finland handle the past and how religious is it? Can we see Eastern/Western populism? I think this is very interesting when we want to understand populism as a concept. However, the two strongest populist movements were after The 2nd World War in Finland in the 1970s and in France in the 1950s. Those two countries are far from being similar, but some elements are: strong state and nostalgia of the past. In 2011 a new wave of populism came to Finland, when a Party called True Finns gained at the election over 30 percent of votes. Is this party a far right party or simply something else? How is it using religion? I will answer these questions through discourse analyze and by reading speeches.

**19. Thea PILTZECKER, Chercheur attaché à l'université Al-Quds Bard Honors  
College, Territoire Palestinien / Research Fellow, Al-Quds Bard College, Palestinian  
Territories**

---

Thea Piltzecker is a 2011 graduate of Bard College in literature and human rights. She is currently a Research and Writing Fellow at Al-Quds Bard Honors College, where she teaches English and literature and conducts research on nationalism in Palestinian culture. She is the recipient of the 2011 Lockwood Prize and the 2010 Social Equity Prize, both from Bard; she was awarded a 2010 grant from the Human Rights Project for her research on traditional Bulgarian music. Her work has been published in *Cherno i Byalo Magazine* (Sofia, 2011); *La Voz Magazine* (New York, 2010); and *Sui Generis Magazine* (New York, 2009). Thea Piltzecker has interned for the Hungarian Human Rights Foundation, as well as worked as an international news journalist for Network Global Companies, both New-York based.

*"Go Now and Tell Them": the Evolution of Bulgarian Folk Songs as Markers of Political Resistance and Cultural Solidarity.*

This paper will explore the phenomenon of folk songs as socio-political resistance to the Ottoman Empire in nineteenth-century Bulgaria, as well as their resonating effects in the post-Communist era. I am

interested in the ways in which music functions as a factor in political rebellion and the establishment of a recognizable unified culture.

During the time of the Turkish occupation, songs travelled quickly over mountain ranges, reaching isolated villages with news and nationalistic sentiments. Given limited opportunities for expression, folk songs became a subversive tactic in the Bulgarian independence struggle. The cultural image of the haiduk – at once a fighter, poet and martyr – popularized the guerrilla movement. Bulgarian writers adopted thematic elements of the folk songs – the weeping forest, heroic mother or dying insurgent – to form a uniquely Bulgarian literary voice. More than music to pass the time, specific songs became rallying cries for the independence movement, culminating in the 1876 revolution against the Ottomans. But once this goal had been reached, what happened to the songs' political relevance? The musical continuity and social adaptability of these folk songs is truly remarkable; in today's political climate, their adaptability is both a boon and a possible hindrance to national unity.

In many ways, Bulgarian folk songs are a palimpsest of the country's history: they trace the initial invasion of the Ottoman Empire, the heroics of the revolutionaries, and the (re)appropriation of similar themes under Communism. In a post-Communist context, these folk songs provide a much-needed collective self-awareness, with room for both cultural dissention and unification.

**20. Ionuț PIȚURESCU, doctorant, École Nationale de Sciences Politiques et Administration, Bucarest, Roumanie / PhD student, National School of Political Studies and Public Administration, Bucharest, Romania**

---

Ionut Piturescu is a Romanian filmmaker and a Phd candidate in Cultural Anthropology. He explored and field researched Europe, North and Latin America, Maghreb, South-East Asia, the Arctics and especially the Balkans. Presently he is coordinating Anthropeosis – Center for Intercultural Research and Development. In 2010, for his short film "Quest", Ionut Piturescu was granted the Quinzaine des Realisateurs Award at Cannes Film Festival.

***Ethnicity, Representation and Identity Construction in the Balkans. Case-study: the Aromanian Vlachs.***

In 2012 we celebrate the 15 years long "effectiveness" of the Europe Council's Recommendation 1333/1997 concerning the Aromanian Vlachs as a valuable part of the European cultural patrimony. The Aromanian Vlachs identity construction unveils a certain consistency in the flow of their professional endeavors. Possible reminiscence of the Eastern Roman Empire, they were documented inhabiting the Balkan region as mountain people earning their living as semi-nomadic shepherds but also as developers of urban trade centres, merchants and craft-workers. As mobile sheep flocks owners accompanied by considerable numbers of mules and horses, they started to trade products themselves, gradually becoming famous shepherders and merchants, with an important contribution to the commercial connection between Orient and Occident. Even after their flourishing urban networks have been burnt up in the conflictual forming of the Balkan national states, through the communist and post-communist period they continued to play an important role in the nations building of the region. The Aromanians Vlachs, surnamed "the European citizens *avant la lettre*" (Gauss) or the "chameleons of the Balkans" (Nicolau), correspond to what Barth called situational identity so their ethnicity construction merges in a most interesting way with the participation to others' nations construction.

Thus, in the context of the violently conflicting ethnicities and the coercive policies used in the communist and post-communist period in the Balkan region, it is interesting to analyse the recent relationships between the Aromanian collective identity and the way they select their approach to ethnopolitical settlements, relationship between majorities and minorities, regional and border identities. By the statistics of international research centres, the Aromanian Vlachs are virtually among the biggest minority groups

in a few Balkan national-states. Caught in the middle of the nationalistically explosive triangle at the border between Albania, the Republic of Macedonia and Greece, the Aromanian Vlachs play their part on the European identities map, re-emerging as one of the unsolved dilemmas of the South Eastern Europe.

**21. Cristina PREUTU, doctorante, Université Alexandru Ioan Cuza (Département d'Histoire), Iași, Roumanie / PhD student, Alexandru Ioan Cuza University (History Department), Iași, Romania**

---

Depuis 2010, Cristina Preutu est doctorante à la Faculté d'Histoire de l'Université "Alexandru Ioan Cuza", avec la thèse *La propagande communiste en Roumanie. 1960-1974. Thèmes, moyens et manifestations*. Ses domaines d'intérêt tournent autour de l'histoire du communisme, notamment la propagande dans les régimes totalitaires.

*Le symbole de la nation dans le discours de Nicolae Ceaușescu*

Le régime politique de Nicolae Ceaușescu est défini comme un régime de communisme national. Dans ses discours de la seconde moitié du gouvernement, il se déclare le leader de la nation roumaine et non pas le leader de la classe ouvrière.

L'hypothèse principale autour de laquelle s'articulera l'étude est celle que le régime communiste de Nicolae Ceaușescu a généré et développé une rhétorique de la politique sociale fondée, notamment, sur l'idée du nationalisme et de la métaphore de l'Homme Nouveau. Même s'il s'arroge le rôle du gardien de la pureté idéologique, selon lui, l'Homme Nouveau, l'homme communiste, n'était pas simplement un homme qui souscrit aux valeurs universelles communistes, mais il est un « vrai roumain ». Par l'intermédiaire d'une approche interdisciplinaire, cette étude repose sur une confluence des méthodologies empruntées à l'histoire et à la linguistique. Donc, le principal axe réside dans l'analyse de discours politique roumain de la période du 1965-1989, un discours centré sur l'idée de la création de l'Homme Nouveau. Dans ce cas, nous souhaitons identifier et analyser les symboles d'identification utilisés par Nicolae Ceausescu dans la création de l'image de la nation. Le principal support bibliographique sera constitué des archives et aussi de ses discours publiés dans la presse centrale ou dans des volumes spéciaux.

En guise de conclusion, nous souhaitons donner réponse à quelques questions: pourquoi a-t-on besoin de ce type de discours politique, quel est la dynamique sémantique du symbole de la nation et quelles sont ses conséquences dans la politique sociale menée par Nicolae Ceaușescu?

**22. Mateusz SMOTER, étudiant (niveau master), Université de Varsovie, Pologne, Études Est-Européennes / MA student, University of Warsaw, Poland, East European Studies**

---

Mateusz Smoter graduated with a Bachelor's degree in international relations at the University of Warsaw. Currently he is MA student at the Centre for the East European Studies at the University of Warsaw.

*Le concept silésien d'une nation séparée. Histoire, culture, language/ Silesian Concept of the Separate Nation. History, Culture, Language.*

Poland, as one of the most religious and ethnically homogenous country in Central Europe, was lucky to avoid an outbreak of ethnic conflicts after the 1989' transformation. However, the post-communist period created a possibility for particular minorities to manifest their identity. The article proposes a multi-

dimensional framework for understanding the process of self-identification of the Silesian region in Poland which has been manifesting the strongest autonomous tendencies in recent years. It explores a way in which factors such as: history, religion and language are used by representatives of the Silesian movements to emphasize that Silesians are the separate nation rather than Poles, Germans or Czechs. Their proposals aim at the decentralization of the country and vary from the autonomy within the state to complete separation. Those claims meet response from the right oriented parties which see them as a threat to the integrity of the country. Using the historical memories of national grievances they are trying to evoke emotions of fear towards the "others" and by refusing to recognize their separateness they are trying to equate them with German nationality. The goal of the proposed framework is to provide an arguments of both sides in order to present changing circumstances of the "nation-talks" in post-communist Poland.

**23. Alexandra STEF, étudiante (niveau master), University College London,  
Université Corvinus, Budapest, Hongrie / MA student, University College London,  
Corvinus University, Budapest, Hungary**

---

Alexandra Stef is a postgraduate student at University College London (School of Slavonic and East European Studies) and at Corvinus University Budapest, in a double-degree international Masters programme (IMESS) in the Politics of Central and Eastern Europe. She holds a BA in International Affairs from the Central University of Venezuela (2007). Her research interests are the discursive practices of power, nationalism and collective identity, and the politics of memory in post-communist societies.

*Official Memory of Communism and the Post-Communist Society: Constructing the New Liberal Democratic Nation?*

State-sponsored initiatives of public memorialization of the Communist regime are commonly justified by society's need to remember its past. This broad formulation might reveal some essential features of post-authoritarian societies once it is submitted to interrogation. What is chosen to be remembered from the Communist regime? How is Communism publicly presented to a wide audience (many for whom Communism is part of lived experience)? Which values are transmitted through a top-down memorial discourse? What is the role of official memorial discourses in constructing a post-Communist society?

Based on research conducted in two post-Communist societies, the paper will contribute to answers for the above questions with one guiding concern: explaining how present post-Communist societies are defined through the use of the recent past. Preliminary results suggest that in both case studies (Hungary and Romania), official institutional projects of memorialization of the Communist regimes respond to concrete "needs of the present". As the literature informs, one of those needs is the consolidation of the new political system presented as liberal and democratic. Memorial discourses can, then, be seen as an effort in this consolidation task. Forging an image of the national collective in terms that are congruent with the new liberal democratic political system is an aim and a potential outcome of public memorial projects. The paper will provide examples and attempt to explain how the state-sponsored memory of Communism can shape the construction of a new national collective.

**24. Arno Wilfried TRÜLTZSCH, étudiant (niveau master), Université de Zagreb,  
Croatie/ MA student, Zagreb University**

---

Arno Wilfried Trultzsch developed an interest in South Eastern Europe, which lead him to study "Intercultural studies of Europe" at Halle University. He earned a B. A. degree in 2010 with a thesis on the Greek-Macedonian naming dispute and its indications on Macedonian public discourse. After a placement

at a political think tank in Berlin, he started a Master's programme in European Studies, with a special focus on politics and history of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), at Leipzig University. He is about to finish his 2 year Master's programme, intending to graduate with a thesis on the "Serbian (minority) question" in Croatia.

***Contradictions of the "Return to Europe": Citizenship Rights of Ethnic non-Croats and the Europeanization of Croatia. 1990-2011.***

Just with slight references to the historical events, this paper will make the attempt to explain a part of the delay towards a liberal democracy in Croatia via the concept of "citizenship" and "citizenship rights". A new state always creates new legal categories of citizens that regulate membership of the new body politic, which is itself still in the making. In this process, Croatian nationalism lead to unjust patterns of granting or denying this membership, which excluded many former members of the once Yugoslav republic Croatia, but equally welcomed new members beyond the (simultaneously disputed) borders of the new state. The reasons and consequences of this new citizenship regime, working rather on the basis of de-facto administrative practices than by tight law, lead to exclusion and provided an opportunity of ethnic engineering, in favour of ethnic Croats and mostly against ethnic Serbs, and sometimes Roma, too. Since 2000, Croatia tried to mend the wounds of the war and open itself to European and international legal rules, taking political measures to fully include all its citizens, regardless of religious or ethnic background, and to make return and reconciliation after the Homeland War possible. Thus, the paper also seeks to provide an insight into the Europeanization of Croatia, taking the changing citizenship regime and the legal situation of the minorities as a mirror and indicator of the Europeanization processes, while briefly referring to other policies as well. In the end, the paper wants to indicate reasons for the "long journey" of Croatia towards EU membership, as ethnic Croat nationalism had a rather counterproductive than consolidating role in this process.

**25. Gergana TZVETKOVA, Master européen régional en droits de l'homme et démocratisation (EMA) sur l'Europe du Sud-Est, Université de Sarajevo & Université de Bologne / European Regional Master's Degree in Democracy and Human Rights in South-East Europe, University of Sarajevo & University of Bologna**

---

Gergana Tzvetkova received her BA degree in Political Science and International Relations and History from the American University in Bulgaria. Last year she completed the European Regional Master's Degree in Democracy and Human Rights in South-East Europe. She has three years of experience as a program assistant and program coordinator in Bulgarian NGOs. At the moment she is also doing an internship at the public policy institute Center for the Study of Democracy in Sofia, Bulgaria. Her main fields of interest are transitional justice, research on totalitarian regimes and raising awareness about their crimes.

***Memory Revived. Ways of Remembering the 'Revival Process' in Bulgaria in Terms of Transitional Justice.***

The 'Revival Process' – the Bulgarian communist regime's campaign for forceful assimilation of the Bulgarian Muslims – remains one of the darkest chapters in the country's past. There are still many ambiguities surrounding the reasons behind this episode, the ways in which this crime was committed, as well as around its future implications. The present paper focuses on the increasingly important discipline of transitional justice and the practices associated with it. In particular, I center on the significance of memory preservation as a way of dealing with the past and of encouraging social dialogue regarding past trauma. I explore how the memory of the 'Revival Process' has been present in the public discourse in Bulgaria, and what tangible and intangible forms it has been taking for the approximately 20 years since

the fall of the communist regime. The paper describes and analyses the steps that have been taken in the direction of memory preservation by discussing each group of 'carriers of memory,' as defined by the French historian Henry Rousso, namely: official, organizational, scholarly and cultural carriers. I, therefore, focus on acts and initiatives on the part of various actors to rekindle the memory of this particular historical chapter, arguing that the fight against its eradication is a sign of political and social maturity, as well as of the willingness to reconcile with the past itself. The paper concludes with a call for a more profound analysis of and more widespread interest in the period of the 'Revival Process.'

### POSTER SESSION, PARTICIPANTS

1. Fiorella BELCIU & Adelina DABU, BA, University of Bucharest, Political Science  
Department: *Identity and Politics in the Communist Romania: Making the Case for Bessarabians.*
2. Anamaria Elena GHEORGHE, PhD, University of Bucharest, Political Science Department :  
*National Identity in Central Asia.*
3. Alberto MANCA, BA, New York University : *The Communist Master Plan for Rebuilding the Civic Center of Bucharest after the 1977 Earthquake.*
4. Roxana MARIN, MA, University of Bucharest, Political Science Department : *Instrumentalizing Nationalism in Ceaușescu's Romania. An Inquiry into the Post-1989 Repercussions of Nationalism in State Socialism.*
5. Mihai ROSU & Andrei SORESCU, BA, University of Bucharest, Political Science Department : *Some Sort of Half-breed: in between Ethnic and National Identities in the Case of the Moldavian Csangos.*
6. Valentin STOIAN, PhD, Central European University, Budapest : *XIXth Century Romanian Intellectual Anti-Semitism and its Contemporary Relevance.*
7. Alexandra TOADER, PhD, Alexandru Ioan Cuza University, Iasi : *Rediscovering Nationalism: New Aspects of Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej's Cult of Personality in the '60s.*
8. Denisa UDREA, MA, American Studies, University of Bucharest : *Movies and Propaganda in Communist Regimes: The Myth of the Saviour and the Shaping of Romanian National Identity.*



# PARTENAIRE:

