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EDITORIAL

Dear colleagues,

We are pleased to present the first issue of the journal *Acta Universitatis Carolinae – Studia Territorialia* for 2021. Last year we launched a call for papers entitled "Troubled Pasts and Memory Politics: Contesting Hegemonic Narratives in North America, Europe, and Eurasia," which produced a series of papers for our 2020 special issue. Here we continue to look into that theme in a new special issue that is a result of last year's call.

Aside from our regular review column, this issue brings together three original research articles that approach troubled pasts and memory politics in different national contexts and from the perspective of different disciplines. The issue opens with a study of memory politics – and the power thereof – in Honduras. In a review of historical travel accounts by prominent U.S. archaeologists, who long ago set the research agenda, and the details of archaeological excavations in Copán, Kathryn M. Hudson and John S. Henderson trace the origins of the modern Honduran national identity. The Honduran national identity project is heavily influenced by the rediscovery in the nineteenth century of the monumental remains of the ancient Mayan civilization by the North American scholars. Hudson's and Henderson's contribution to this special issue shows how the appropriation of pre-Columbian heritage by the Honduran state invented a "Mayan" national narrative that disadvantaged other, non-privileged indigenous groups.

In the second article, Juho Korhonen gives detailed insight into the intricacies of the politics of memory in contemporary Finland. For that purpose, he explores the celebrations of the hundredth anniversary of Finnish independence organized by the Finnish state in 2017. Korhonen's contribution scrutinizes the main communication and branding techniques used by the organizers, as well as narratives employed by the Finnish government for the promotion of its agenda. His analysis of the Finland 100 project concludes that the Finnish state is the

dominant mnemonic actor no matter its democratic rhetoric. It maintains strict control over the interpretation of what might otherwise be a contested national history and takes little account of recent historical research that contradicts the main tenets of its traditional history politics.

Finally, the third contribution to this special issue is a study of nostalgia for communist rule in Romania and the strategies that have been devised to dispel it. Through analysis of the images contained in *Ghidul ilustrat al comunismului românesc* (*The Illustrated Guide to Romanian Communism*), a local civic educational project from 2018 that targets Romanian youth, Manuela Marin transmits a highly critical reading of the country's communist past.

We hope that you will appreciate this special issue as much as we have taken pleasure in preparing it for you.

On behalf of the editorial board,

Jan Šír

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ARTICLES

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MEMORIES OF THE MAYA: NATIONAL HISTORIES, CULTURAL IDENTITIES, AND ACADEMIC ORTHODOXY

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Abstract
John Lloyd Stephens and Frederick Catherwood's travel accounts celebrating ancient Maya sculpture and architecture set the stage for the emphasis of the Maya as the pinnacle of cultural development in Mexico and Central America and for the appropriation of Maya prehistory as the foundation of modern national histories and identities. In the twentieth century, these discourses intensified into two interconnected hegemonic narratives – one in syntheses of precolumbian history by North American archaeologists and the other in national histories produced in Central America – that privileged the Maya as a source of history, legitimacy, and identity. This paper explores these narratives as they occur in Honduras through three distinct but interrelated lenses: academic discourse on Honduran archaeology; the conceptualization and development of a Honduran national identity; and the engagement of descendant groups with this constructed heritage. Considered together, these perspectives illuminate the complex cultural and political foundation(s) of memory.
Keywords: United States; Honduras; Maya; archaeological sites; indigenous people; identity discourses; memory
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Introduction

The population of the territory corresponding to what is now the República de Honduras, like that of the rest of Central America, has always been linguistically, culturally, and ethnically diverse. In precolumbian times the largest political entities, city-states, were limited in territorial scale and were relatively homogeneous linguistically and culturally. The sixteenth-century Spanish invasions of what would become Mexico and Central America led to the formation of colonial administrative structures that were far more territorially extensive than any precolumbian polity. The arrival of people with various Iberian, other European, and African identities substantially complicated the landscape of cultural diversity, even as forced homogenization and various forms of genocide began to erase the indigenous cultural spectrum. The dominance of a Spanish identity in the colonial context made any other kind of national identity a non-issue.

Following the wars of independence in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, national identity became a salient issue for newly independent countries throughout Spanish America, especially those, like Honduras, that had emerged from the Colonial period without distinctive identities. History is always the main well-spring of elements that make up identities and, in the case of the former Spanish colonies, the precolumbian past was far more likely than colonial history to provide distinctive features that would set them apart from the rest of Spanish America. This was especially obvious and attractive for countries whose precolumbian history included ancient civilizations that had left monumental architecture and sculpture and other impressive remains. Honduras and Guatemala drew heavily on the ancient Maya for new definitions of national identity; comparable processes were at work in Mexico with the Aztec past, in Peru with Inka monuments, and in other corners of Spanish America with less spectacular remains. In the United States, the relationship of the precolumbian past to contemporary identities was complicated by the widespread perception that archaeological remains were at once insufficiently impressive to provide historical roots for the new nation that could complete with the European heritage based on antiquities of the Mediterranean and Near East, yet too large and elaborate to be within the imagined capabilities of indigenous North American peoples. During the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth, the possibility of appropriating the precolumbian monuments of Mexico and Central America seemed to provide the answer.

Here we analyze the history of how the precolumbian past in Honduras has been mobilized by state actors and public intellectuals to provide the foundations

of a national identity. We follow these developments mainly as they are reflected in accounts and syntheses of archaeological research written by archaeologists, historians, and others for both academic and popular audiences; beginning with the last quarter of the twentieth century, our personal observations supplement published documents. This history is largely the story of archaeological documentation of Copán, a first millennium CE Maya city-state in far western Honduras. Early celebration of Copán's spectacular architecture and sculpture in the popular travel accounts of Stephens and Catherwood notwithstanding,[1] Lempira – a hero of local resistance to the Spanish invasion known only from a few casual mentions in documents – was an early focus of an emerging national identity discourse. He was eventually subsumed and marginalized by a growing emphasis on the Maya and their impressive material remains, though his significance was never entirely erased.

Our analysis highlights a particularly interesting dimension of the success of the Honduran national identity and history: its Maya-ness. The account of Honduras as Maya was founded on archaeological work revealing and celebrating the grandeur of ancient Maya city-states in general and of Copan in particular, but it departs from archaeological orthodoxy in significant ways. The story of Honduran Maya history represents precolumbian remains throughout the republic as Maya, whereas archaeological orthodoxy insists that the ancient Maya inhabited only the northwestern fringe of the country around Copán. The information produced by archaeologists was essential to the project, but archaeologists' understanding of it was not.

The parallel history of discourse about the ancient Maya in North America – also drawn from technical and synthetic popular writing on the Maya and from personal observation – provides an illuminating complementary perspective. Early inclinations in the United States to coopt the impressive monumental remains of Mexico and Central America, particularly Copán, foundered on the impracticality of actually taking possession of the physical monuments. Control of impressive monumental remains themselves is absolutely critical to national heritage/identity projects. The triumph of the Maya and their majestic architecture and sculpture in the development of Honduran identity provides an instructive perspective on national identity formation and the power of memory politics.

[1] John L. Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1841).

Figure 1. Honduras and the Maya world. Map by John S. Henderson.

Copán and the Maya

The archaeological remains of America's ancient civilizations were never "lost" from the perspective of local residents. In Yucatan, where Maya monumental buildings and sculptures were apparent to residents of the main seats of government, and in the highlands of Guatemala, where the Spanish invasion coincided with the heyday of the K'iche' and Kaqchikel Maya kingdoms, the ruins of whose capital cities lay close to the colonial capital, the Maya past was always obvious and accessible. In Honduras, recognition of the potential contribution of the precolumbian past to a national identity had to await the "rediscovery" of the Maya remains of Copán during the nineteenth century. At the same time, the remains of Maya civilization emerged as the most spectacular facet of the archaeological record throughout Central America. North American archaeologists and institutions took the lead in documenting and analyzing the material remains of ancient Maya city-states, providing the basis for academic and public recognition of the Maya as the New World equivalent of the ancient peoples of the Mediterranean and Near East who were perceived to be at the roots of the Western tradition of civilized life. This was especially true in Honduras, where – until the mid-twentieth century – the focus was almost exclusively on North American projects at Copán that laid the groundwork for the development of a precolumbian Maya foundation for Honduran national identity.

In 1841, *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan*, the first of two wildly successful accounts of Maya ruins by John Lloyd Stephens, exquisitely illustrated by Frederick Catherwood, brought Copán and other major Maya cities that had flourished in the fifth through eighth centuries to the attention of an international readership.[2] At Copán, in far western Honduras (Fig. 1), it was the deeply carved reliefs that captured the attention of Stephens, Catherwood, and their readers (Fig. 2). In Yucatan, it was the elaborately decorated standing architecture of cities like Uxmal.

Stephens's agendas were put on display from the outset. At Copán, the first site they visited on their initial visit to Central America, Stephens was so enchanted with Copán's sculpture that he managed to persuade the mayor of the local village to sell the ruins to him for the sum of fifty dollars. He dreamt of shipping the monuments to New York where they could be displayed for the edification of an admission-paying public. The plan never materialized; nor did his attempts to buy other Maya sites. Stephens and Catherwood did, however,

2 Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan.*

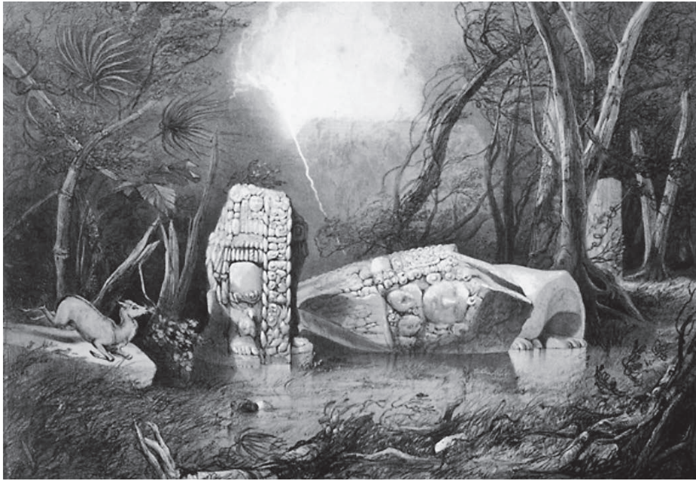

Figure 2. Copán, Stela C. Watercolor by Frederick Catherwood (*Views of Ancient Monuments in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatán*, Plate IV, https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.13557132.

manage to steal a variety of artifacts, including a few carved monuments. Most were destroyed when Catherwood's exhibition hall burned; a few found their way to museums.[3]

Especially in the United States, public interest in the art and architecture of ancient Maya cities – above all the great temples and palaces and the relief carving depicting what we now know to be Maya kings – had been piqued and the resulting identification with elegant monumentality would never fade. The growing influence of the newly established Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, which proclaimed that all of the indigenous peoples of the Americas were descended from migrants from the Holy Land, helped to sustain public interest in the precolumbian monuments of Mexico and Central America. In the later nineteenth century, especially in the 1870s and 1880s, interpretations of Désiré Charnay and Alice and Augustus Le Plongeon kept precolumbian civilizations, especially the ancient Maya in the public eye. Their ideas departed substantially

[3] R. Tripp Evans, *Romancing the Maya: Mexican Antiquity in the American Imagination 1820–1915* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 54–55; Victor W. von Hagen, *Frederick Catherwood, Archt.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1950).

Figure 3. World Columbian Exposition, replicas of buildings at Uxmal. Photograph by William Rand and Andrew McNally (*The Columbian Exposition Album*, Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co., 1893, unpaginated).

from conventional scholarship, but their documentation of precolumbian sculpture and architecture, especially Maya monuments, through photography and mold-making began to lay the foundations for an academic approach to precolumbian history.[4] The idea of transporting Maya monuments to the United States also persisted. In 1882, the newly founded Smithsonian Institution dispatched John F. Bransford to Honduras to assess the feasibility of crating up buildings and sculptures, transporting them to the coast, and shipping them to the United States.[5] Reality intervened once again. A decade later, the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, celebrating the 400th anniversary of the first voyage of

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4 Evans, *Romancing the Maya*, 103–160; Désiré Charnay, *Cités et ruines américaines: Mitla, Palenqué, Izamal, Chichen-Itza, Uxmal* (Paris: A. Morel et Cie., 1863); Désiré Charnay, *The Ancient Cities of the New World: Being Travels and Explorations in Mexico and Central America from 1857–1882* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1887); Augustus Le Plongeon, *Vestiges of the Mayas* (New York: John Polhemus, 1881); Lawrence G. Desmond and Phyllis Messenger, *A Dream of Maya: Augustus and Alice Le Plongeon in Nineteenth Century Yucatan* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988).

5 John F. Bransford, *Report on explorations in Central America, in 1881. Miscellaneous Papers Relating to Anthropology from the Smithsonian Report for 1882* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1883), 129–151.

Columbus, approached the enterprise of appropriating the impressive Maya past in a different way. Full-scale replicas of Maya buildings were built in the midway space (Fig. 3) alongside exhibits populated with large-scale photographs, portable artifacts, and indigenous people brought from Mexico.[6]

Meanwhile, Alfred Percival Maudslay laid the foundations for the first major academic investigation of an ancient Maya city: the Harvard investigations at Copán. Maudslay spent the spring of 1885 at Copán mapping the ruins, documenting sculpture and hieroglyphic inscriptions, and excavating several structures. His work helped maintain interest in Copán and the Maya on the part of Honduran politicians, government officials, and intellectuals and set the stage for the multi-year project undertaken by the Peabody Museum at Harvard University in the 1890s.[7] Those investigations made Copán the focus of academic interest in the Maya, especially in the United States, and cemented its position as the centerpiece of precolumbian Honduran history. The Peabody Museum archaeologists, like their predecessors at Copán and their contemporaries working elsewhere in the Maya world, were operating in an antiquarian mode: they were primarily interested in large buildings and the sculpture associated with them. They repaired and re-set some of the stelae (Fig. 4) – freestanding monuments with what would eventually be identified as royal portraits and hieroglyphic texts celebrating the lives of the city's kings – that were set in the main plaza and they consolidated and rebuilt palaces and temples in the central civic precinct.

The Copán project was the first extensive program of mapping and excavation at a Maya city. Along with contemporaneous investigations of ancient cities elsewhere in the Maya lowlands by explorers like Maudslay and Teobert Maler, interpretations of iconography and hieroglyphic texts by Ernst Förstemann and Eduard Seler, and the publicity generated by the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, it played a major role in solidifying the impressions fostered by Stephens and Catherwood. Ancient Maya civilization was established as an impressive cultural achievement on a par with its Old World counterparts. And the Peabody Museum was established as the preeminent institution engaged in revealing the grandeur of ancient Maya civilization and elucidating precolumbian history

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6 Evans, *Romancing the Maya*, 153–162.

7 George Byron Gordon, *Prehistoric Ruins of Copán, Honduras: A Preliminary Report of the Explorations by the Museum 1891– 1895*, Memoirs of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology 1, no. 1 (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1896); George Byron Gordon, *The Hieroglyphic Stairway, Ruins of Copán,* Memoirs of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology 1, no. 6 (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1902).

Figure 4. Copán, Great Plaza and stelae during Peabody Museum project circa 1895. Photograph courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, 2004.24.136.1.

in the Americas, and as the repository for impressive precolumbian artistic achievements and for important research collections.

The archeological landscape created by the work at Copán fostered the engagement of Hondurans – at least those living in the surrounding region and those who were sufficiently prosperous and intrepid to travel there from the major cities – with what would come to be the key feature of the national past. The Peabody Museum archaeologists understood it as a re-creation of the ancient city – partial, but faithful to the intentions of its ancient Maya designers – and its focus was resolutely on grand buildings and sculpture. Copán's archaeological landscape, expanded and elaborated again and again in subsequent decades, would become the focus of a national identity project built around association with the ancient Maya and it would shape that identity in unexpected ways. The materialization of a Maya heritage in Copán's archaeological landscape had at its core the apparatus of ancient city-states and the monuments that legitimized

them and kept the elite class that controlled them in power. The precolumbian monuments being mobilized to create a modern national identity had once been the reflection of an ancient identity: that of the rulers of Maya city-states. The parallel between the ancient and contemporary functions of the monuments was inescapable. Whatever the hope for inclusiveness that would embrace all Hondurans in a distinctive new kind of citizenship and whatever solidarity across class lines the archaeology of Copán might have fostered, when the new national identity crystallized it served to naturalize a hierarchical socio-economic order and the concentration of political power in the hands of its elite. In the last decade of the nineteenth century, the contribution of the Peabody Museum project to a Maya-focused Honduran identity was a potential yet to be realized.

One great unknown was the degree to which the archaeology of the rest of the territory of the new republic matched what the Peabody Museum investigations had revealed at Copán, which lies only a few kilometers from the western frontier with Guatemala. The beginnings of an answer were provided by explorations the Peabody expedition undertook in the lower Ulúa valley some 200 kilometers to the east during a period in which the work at Copán had to be suspended because of strained relations with government officials.[8] The great temples and palaces, monumental sculpture, and hieroglyphic texts that were so fascinating at Copán – and so revered by the notions of historical significance that motivated American archaeologists – were not present in the lower Ulúa valley. Gordon, who directed the investigations there, concluded that the region must have been occupied by non-Maya people whose societies were less complex and therefore less interesting than those of their Maya neighbors to the west. It is a perspective that proved to be very long-lasting among foreign archaeologists working in Honduras, but one that had noticeably less impact on Honduran, public intellectuals, and politicians.

Lempira and *Mestizaje*

Another contender for the focus of an emergent national identity during the last decades of the nineteenth century was Lempira (Fig. 5), a cacique from the

8 George Byron Gordon, *Researches in the Uloa Valley, Honduras,* Memoirs of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology 1, no. 4 (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1898); Kathryn M. Hudson, "George Byron Gordon and the Birth of a Colonialist Archaeology on the Southeastern Mesoamerican Frontier," *Histories of Anthropology Annual* 7 (2011): 246–264, doi: 10.1353/haa.2011.0010.

Figure 5. San Pedro Sula, statue of Lempira. Photograph by John S. Henderson.

western part of the country, south and east of Copán.[9] At the time of the Spanish invasion, this region was occupied by the Lenca, speakers of a now extinct non-Mayan language, and by other non-Maya groups. Although early Colonial period documents mention a figure that more or less corresponds to the Lempira of Honduran folklore, the Lempira of the public imagination – who heroically led the doomed resistance against Spanish invaders – was a creation of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Like the Copán Maya, Lempira could embody a precolumbian indigenous heritage – but in a different way. He was an individual drawn from historical documents, whereas the Maya were a collectivity materialized (for Hondurans) in buildings and sculpture at Copán. The invention of Lempira represents the beginning of a conception of the national identity as an aspect of *mestizaje*, a many-faceted notion embracing the blending of peoples that produced new hybrid ethnicities and cultures. Lempira could be imagined as an inclusive component of Honduran identity that was capable of reaching across socioeconomic lines, but – like the Copán Maya constructed by archaeology – *mestizaje* contained within it the seeds of exclusivity. Mestizos do not identify with the indigenous tradition, but they also do not qualify as members of dominant elites who are even more European and less indigenous.[10] They are, in many ways, a category apart.

Elaboration of the Lempira legend continued into the early decades of the twentieth century. His heroic resistance and sacrifice were celebrated in the lyrics of the *himno nacional*, formally adopted in 1915. The naming of the new national currency after Lempira in the early 1930s solidified his status as a national hero; his portrait on small-denomination coins and the one Lempira note (Fig. 6) ensured that the widest possible national audience would be reminded of his significance on a daily basis. As the twentieth century wore on, images of Copán's Maya architecture and sculpture increasingly framed Lempira's image on Honduran banknotes. This reflects yet another dimension of *mestizaje*: an attempt to fuse Lempira and the ancient Maya. Lempira embodies the transformation of the indigenous tradition into a Mayanized form that could be harnessed for the benefit of the elite, who identified themselves as European and white.

It is interesting that the official adoption of Lempira by the Honduran state coincided with a period of intense xenophobia in the country. Dario Euraque

[9] Darío A. Euraque, "Antropólogos, arqueólogos, imperialismo y la mayanización de Honduras: 1890–1940," *Yaxkin* 17 (1998): 85–101.

[10] Norman E. Whitten Jr., "El Mestizaje," *Encyclopedia of Race and Racism,* 2nd ed. (Detroit: Macmillan Reference, 2013), 99–104.

Figure 6. One Lempira banknote, 1932. Photograph by John S. Henderson.

emphasizes anti-African political sentiment: increasing reliance on black workmen by the United Fruit Company, a significant employer, triggered hostility in pro-labor factions in Honduran politics to immigration of people of African descent in general. The intensified celebration of Lempira was inevitably interpreted as a rejection, at least implicitly, of the significance of blacks and Afro-Indian mestizos in the national heritage.[11] Ramón Romero saw the intense United States presence, especially but not exclusively in the banana industry, as an impediment to the development of an appropriate national identity. Copán's precolumbian monuments could be understood as representing the inverse: a distinct indigenous, authentically Honduran kernel of a national identity.[12]

Copán-Maya Resurgence

Renewed archaeological investigations by foreign institutions and archaeologists, beginning in the 1930s, tipped the balance again. Largely on the strength of the appeal of the monumentality of Copán's architecture and sculpture, and due to the academic and financial interests they sparked in the United States,

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[11] Darío A. Euraque, "La creación de la moneda nacional y el enclave bananero en la costa caribeña de Honduras: ¿en busca de una identidad étnico-racial?" *Yaxkin* 14, no. 1–2 (1996): 138–150; Erin Amason Montero, "The Construction of Blackness in Honduran Cultural Production" (Doctoral Dissertation, University of New Mexico, 2010).

[12] Ramón Romero, *Identidad nacional en Honduras: una reflexión filosófica* (Tegucigalpa: Editorial Universitaria, 1990); Amason Montero, "The Construction of Blackness," 12–13.

Figure 7. One Lempira banknote, 1981, reverse. Photograph by John S. Henderson.

Lempira was subsumed by the Maya component of the Honduran precolumbian heritage. A hybrid national identity crystallized in which an indigenous cultural dimension, transformed by *mestizaje*, was grafted onto a core defined by Copán's monumental embodiment of the Maya. The centrality of the Maya to national identity is reflected in the monuments revealed by renewed archaeological research at Copán and by the images of Copán's ancient buildings and sculptures added to the design of the one Lempira banknote so that Maya monuments frame the Lenca hero (Fig. 7). Like this new composite composition, the national identity itself is a hybrid blending monumental ancient Maya elements and indigenous components transformed by *mestizaje*.

The Carnegie Institution of Washington undertook a second long-term investigation of Copán[13] as part of its program to explore ancient cities representing every part of the Maya world and every time period. This connected Copán and the uses to which Hondurans put it with burgeoning investigations

[13] Stephen D. Houston and William R. Fowler, eds., "Remembering Carnegie Archaeology," *Ancient Mesoamerica* 1, no. 2 (1990): 245–276, doi: 10.1017/S0956536100000262. John M. Longyear, *Copán Ceramics: A Study of Southeastern Maya Pottery* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1952; Publication 597). Gustav Stromsvik, "Substela Caches and Stela Foundations at Copan and Quirigua," *Contributions to American Anthropology and History* 7, no. 37 (1941): 63–96. Gustav Stromsvik, *Guide Book to the Ruins of Copán* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1947; Publication 577). Gustav Stromsvik, "Ball Courts at Copán, With Notes on Courts at La Unión, Quiriguá, San Pedro Pinula and Asunción Mita," *Contributions to American Anthropology and History* 11, no. 55 (1952): 183–214.

of other Maya city-states and with the developing picture of the complexities of the ancient Maya. Like the Peabody Museum project of the 1890s, the Carnegie work was firmly focused on temples, palaces, and monumental sculpture (Fig. 8); it substantially expanded the excavation and consolidation of palaces and temples. Carnegie archaeologists did not restore buildings to their original condition, but left them in "ruined" condition, framed wherever possible by trees that could be left in place without interfering with excavation (Fig. 9). The Carnegie version of the Copán Maya landscape naturalized the ancient Maya, blending their material remains with features of the natural environment. Maya city-states, their rulers, the temples, palaces and political art that sustained their power – and, by extension, the modern politicians who are their successors and the Maya national identity that helps keep them in power – were thus all made

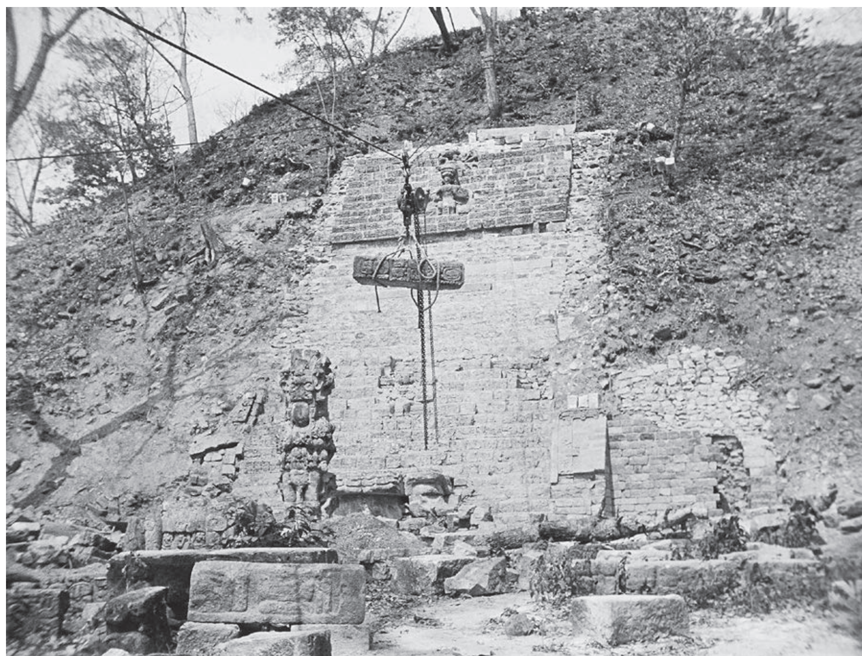

Figure 8. Copán, Structure 10L-26, Carnegie Institution of Washington repairing Hieroglyphic Stair, 1937. Photograph gift of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1958. © President and Fellows of Harvard College, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, 58-34-20/64988.

Figure 9. Copán, ballcourt, repaired by Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1941. Photograph gift of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1958. © President and Fellows of Harvard College, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, 58-34-20/38178.

part of the natural order of things. They cannot successfully be opposed. The park-like quality of Copán's archaeological landscape also transformed the exotic ancient Maya into a more manageable state for mobilization as part of the national identity project, much as *mestizaje* transformed exotic indigenous people.

At the same time, Parque La Concordia – located near the center of Tegucigalpa and originally built in 1883 as a memorial to president Luis Bográn – was remodeled as a monument to the Maya heritage of Honduras. Its structures combine elements similar to those found on buildings and sculpture at Copán with features of Maya cities located elsewhere in Mexico and Central America. The most prominent building was inspired by the Castillo, a temple at Chichén Itzá in northern Yucatan dedicated to the feathered serpent deity known as Kukulcan, but also incorporates a figure very much like a medieval European gargoyle (Fig. 10). Casts of actual Copán sculpture serve to "legitimize" the neo-Maya compositions. A model in the style of early twentieth century Honduran public architecture and grand elite residences is placed adjacent to small Maya building models. This gives the republican Honduran elite a literal place

in the archaeological landscape and suggests that their power is rooted in their continuation of an ancient hierarchical tradition. A small pond beneath the mature trees that shade the park situates Maya and neo-Maya elements within a "natural" environment. This constructed landscape serves to connect Honduras not only with the Maya as they are materialized at Copán, but also with other recognized centers of ancient Maya florescence and to intensify the association of the ancient Maya with dominant elites. The overall effect is to naturalize the constructed landscape that represents the hybrid whole.

A few years later, Parque El Picacho was built on an imposing hilltop overlooking central Tegucigalpa. This park was designed around buildings combining elements inspired by the architecture of Copán and other Maya cities. It was inaugurated in 1946 on the occasion of the Primera Conferencia Internacional de Arqueólogos del Caribe with great intellectual and political fanfare. It was intended to demonstrate Honduras' commitment to public archaeology and is often associated with the country's attempts to be part of the global heritage

Figure 10. Tegucigalpa, Parque La Concordia, building inspired by Chichén Itzá's Castillo. Photograph by John S. Henderson.

Figure 11. Tegucigalpa, Parque El Picacho, neo-Maya temple. Photograph by John S. Henderson.

movement. However, its emphasis on the Maya and focus on a re-invented Maya temple (Fig. 11) instead made manifest a national commitment to a customized and distinctly Maya past. El Picacho's neo-Maya temple is neither a replica of a particular Copán building nor a synthesis of Copán's distinctive architectural features. Instead, references to buildings at other Maya sites reflect identification with a more expansive pan-Maya international community that links Honduran history and identity with that of Mexico and other Central American nations.

The mid twentieth century also saw an uptick in archaeological exploration of Honduras beyond Copán. The Peabody Museum and the Smithsonian Institution jointly sponsored investigations in the Naco valley, the lower Ulúa valley, and the Lake Yojoa basin.[14] Although Herbert J. Spinden had included the

[14] William Duncan Strong, Alfred V. Kidder, and A. J. Drexel Paul, *Preliminary Report on the Smithsonian Institution-Harvard University Archeological Expedition to Northwestern Honduras, 1936,* Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections 97, no. 1 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1938).

lower Ulúa zone in his influential *Study of Maya Art*, probably on the strength of painted decorations found on the region's ceramics,[15] prevailing opinion among archaeologists – mainly from the United States – working in the region was still that the absence of masonry temples and palaces and especially of stelae with hieroglyphic texts marked the region as non-Maya, without complex political organization, and consequently of much less interest than Maya city-states. Jens Yde undertook brief investigations on behalf of Tulane and the Danish National Museum in Comayagua, Yojoa, the lower Ulúa valley, the upper Chamelecón drainage and Copán.[16] Doris Stone reported on more extensive excavations in the lower Ulúa valley, the Yojoa basin, the Comayagua valley and adjacent regions.[17] Dorothy Popenoe directed limited excavations in the lower Ulúa and Comayagua valleys.[18] Despite geographic breadth, this work was, in many cases, conditioned and framed by the persistent emphasis on Maya history in ways that aligned with North American academic interests and perpetuated a national Maya historical identity.

In the 1940s, Federico Lunardi, the papal nuncio to Honduras, published a study of Honduran ethnography arguing that all or virtually all of the indigenous peoples in the republic were Maya along with an archaeological synthesis that assigned all of the nation's material remains to ancestral Maya.[19] Lunardi's vision was essentially the opposite of orthodox archaeological opinion, which identified the Maya closely with the distinctive material remains of lowland Maya city-states. It did, however, provide key elements that had been missing from the Honduran national identity project: a rationale for extending a Maya label to all of the archaeological remains in Honduras and an explicit rationale for connecting them with recent indigenous groups who could also be identified as Maya, whatever other designation might have been used for them.

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15 Herbert J. Spinden, *A Study of Maya Art: Its Subject Matter and Historical Development,* Memoirs of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology 6 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1913).

16 Jens Yde, *An Archaeological Reconnaissance of Northern Honduras*, Acta Archaeologica 9 (Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaard, 1938).

17 Doris Z. Stone, *Archaeology of the North Coast of Honduras,* Memoirs of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology 9 (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1941); Doris Z. Stone, *The Archaeology of Central and Southern Honduras,* Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology 49, no. 3 (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1957).

18 Dorothy H. Popenoe, "Some Excavations at Playa de los Muertos, Ulua River, Honduras," *Maya Research* 1 (1934): 62–86; Dorothy H. Popenoe, "Ruins of Tenampua, Honduras," *Annual Report. 1935* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1936), 559–572.

19 Federico Lunardi, *Honduras maya: etnología y arqueología de Honduras* (Tegucigalpa: Imprenta Calderón, 1948).

Late Twentieth, Early Twenty-First Centuries

The constructed Maya landscape at Copán – which became the nation's first archaeological park when the Instituto Hondureño de Antropología e Historia was formed in the 1950s – has continued as a focus of national and international engagement with the invented Maya history of Honduras during the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Developments in Maya archeology and shifts in theoretical perspectives in anthropological archaeology in North America contributed to new approaches to understanding Copán in the second half of the twentieth century. New work at Copán in the 1970s and 1980s focused increasingly on areas outside the civic core of the ancient city. Investigations undertaken by the Instituto Hondureño de Antropología e Historia and by the Peabody Museum focused for the first time on residential zones on the fringes

Figure 12. Copán, consolidated building in Sepulturas residential zone on the edge of the city. Photograph by John S. Henderson.

of the city proper (Fig. 12) and on the more distant hinterland.[20] The goal was to move beyond an unexamined focus on the elite and rulers to explore the distribution of material remains throughout the Copán valley as a window on the broader Copán society. The broadened perspective on the context of monumental Maya remains also included a new interest in smaller Maya centers in adjacent regions and their roles in Copán's political and economic spheres.[21]

Intensified interest in the archaeology of regions that lay beyond the likely reach of Copán's political and economic shadow can be understood, in part, as a reflection of this new emphasis on research designed to answer particular questions about ancient societies that had taken hold in anthropological archaeology in the United States beginning in the 1960s. A growing recognition among foreign archaeologists that they should structure their investigations to be more in line with the interests and agendas of Honduran groups and institutions has also fostered an enhanced interest in contributing to a broadened understanding of precolumbian Honduras. Work was renewed in the Naco valley,[22] the lower Ulúa region,[23] the Yojoa basin,[24] and the Comayagua valley,[25] and extended into Santa

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[20] Claude-François Baudez, ed., *Introducción a la Arqueología de Copán, Honduras,* 3 vols. (Tegucigalpa: Instituto Hondureño de Antropología e Historia, 1983); Richard M. Leventhal, "Settlement Patterns at Copán, Honduras" (Doctoral Dissertation, Harvard University, 1979); William T. Sanders, ed., *Excavaciones en el Área Urbana de Copán,* 4 vols. (Tegucigalpa: Instituto Hondureño de Antropología e Historia, 1986–2000); David L. Webster, ed., *The House of the Bacabs, Copan, Honduras,* Studies in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology 29 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1989); Gordon R. Willey, Richard M. Leventhal, Arthur A. Demarest, and William L. Fash, *Ceramics and Artifacts from Excavations in the Copan Residential Zone,* Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology 80 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1994).

[21] Seiichi Nakamura, Kazuo Aoyama, and Eiji Uratsuji, eds., *Investigaciones Arqueológicas en la Región de La Entrada,* 3 vols. (San Pedro Sula: Instituto Hondureño de Antropología e Historia, 1991); William A. Saturno, "In the Shadow of the Acropolis: Rio Amarillo and its Role in the Copán Polity" (Doctoral Dissertation, Harvard University, 2000).

[22] John S. Henderson, Ilene S. Sterns, Anthony Wonderley, and Patricia A. Urban, "Archaeological Investigations in the Valle de Naco, Northwestern Honduras: A Preliminary Report," *Journal of Field Archaeology* 6 (1979): 169–192; Patricia A. Urban, "Systems of Precolumbian Settlement in the Naco Valley, Northwestern Honduras" (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1986).

[23] John S. Henderson, ed., *Archaeology in Northwestern Honduras: Interim reports of the Proyecto Arqueológico Sula* (Ithaca: Latin American Studies Program, 1984); John S. Henderson, "Variations on a Theme: A Frontier View of Maya Civilization," in *New Theories on the Ancient Maya,* ed. Elin C. Danien and Robert J. Sharer (Philadelphia: University Museum, 1992), 161–171; Rosemary A. Joyce, *Cerro Palenque: Power and Identity on the Maya Periphery* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991).

[24] Claude-François Baudez and Pierre Becquelin, *Archéologie de Los Naranjos, Honduras* (Mexico: Mission Archéologique et Ethnologique Française au Méxique, 1973).

[25] Boyd Dixon, "Prehistoric Settlement Patterns on a Cultural Corridor: The Comayagua Valley, Honduras" (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Connecticut, 1989).

Bárbara[26]; the Cajón area,[27] Yoro,[28] the Bay Islands[29] and eastern and southern Honduras.[30] Simultaneously, students of Maya hieroglyphic writing were building on the insights of Yuri Knorozov[31] and Tatiana Proskouriakoff.[32] By the 1970s they were beginning to produce what would become a cascade of breakthroughs in the understanding of hieroglyphic texts that we now recognized to be records of dynastic history.[33] Decipherments offered biographies of named rulers, with details of their genealogies and their political and military achievements.[34] The appeal of these historical specifics, which are illustrated by portraits of the protagonists on the stelae and other sculptural monuments, has proven irresistible and helped return the focus of Maya archaeology to the architectural and sculptural monuments of city centers.

The designation of Copán as a UNESCO World Heritage site in 1980 added substantially to internal and external perceptions of the status conferred by a Maya-based identity and to the economic rewards that accompanied the celebration of the site as the crown jewel of the national cultural-historical heritage. This development also reinforced the emphasis on monumental remains in Copán's

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[26] Wendy Ashmore, Edward M. Schortman, Patricia A. Urban, Julie C. Benyo, John M. Weeks, and Sylvia M. Smith, "Ancient Society in Santa Barbara, Honduras," *National Geographic Research* 3 (1987): 232–254; Edward M. Schortman, Patricia A. Urban, Wendy Ashmore, and Julie Benyo, "Interregional Interaction in the Southeast Maya Periphery: the Santa Barbara Archaeological Project 1983–1984 Seasons," *Journal of Field Archaeology* 13, no. 3 (1986): 259–272, 10.1179/jfa.1986.13.3.259.

[27] Kenneth G. Hirth, Gloria Lara Pinto, and George Hasemann, eds., *Archaeological Research in the El Cajon Region,* vol. 1 (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, Department of Anthropology, 1989).

[28] Christopher David Fung, "Domestic Labor, Gender and Social Power: Household Archaeology in Terminal Classic Yoro, Honduras" (Doctoral Dissertation, Harvard University, 1996); Julia A. Hendon, *Houses in a Landscape: Memory and Everyday Life in Mesoamerica* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010).

[29] Jeremiah F. Epstein and Vito Véliz, "Reconocimiento arqueológico de la Isla de Roatán, Honduras," *Yaxkin* 2, no. 1 (1977): 28–39; Vito Véliz, Gordon R. Willey, and Paul F. Healey, "Clasificación descriptiva preliminar de la cerámica de Roatán," *Yaxkin* 2, no. 1 (1977): 7–18.

[30] Paul F. Healy, "The Cuyamel Caves: Preclassic Sites in Northeast Honduras," *American Antiquity* 39 (1974): 433–437; Paul F. Healy, "Excavations at Rio Claro (H-CN-12), Northeast Honduras: Preliminary Report," *Journal of Field Archaeology* 5 (1978): 15–28; Paul F. Healy, "Excavations at Selin Farm (H-CN-5), Colon, Northeast Honduras," *Vinculos* 4 (1978): 57–79; Christopher T. Begley, "Elite Power Strategies and External Connections in Ancient Eastern Honduras" (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1999).

[31] Yuri V. Knorozov, *Selected Chapters from the Writing of the Maya Indians*, trans. Sophie Coe (Cambridge: Peabody Museum, Harvard University, 1967).

[32] Tatiana Proskouriakoff, "Historical Implications of a Pattern of Dates at Piedras Negras, Guatemala," *American Antiquity* 25, no. 4 (1960): 454–475, doi: 10.2307/276633.

[33] Michael D. Coe, *Breaking the Maya Code,* rev. ed. (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1999).

[34] Simon Martin and Nikolai Grube, *Chronicle of the Maya Kings and Queens: Deciphering the Dynasties of the Ancient Maya,* 2nd ed. (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2008).

civic core,[35] as has a museum built within the archaeological park during the 1990s.[36] Sculptures were moved to the museum and replaced in their original settings on the site itself by replicas; fallen blocks and pieces of sculptural decoration were assembled in the museum to recreate building façades that could not be restored in their original locations without violating contemporary sensibilities and internationally recognized conventions of architectural heritage. The new museum complements the original museum built in the adjacent pueblo by the Carnegie archaeologists, which now displays mainly pottery, stone tools, jewelry and other portable objects. Utilization of Copán's Maya landscape as the backdrop for inauguration ceremonies for a recent Honduran president serves as a vivid reminder of the political functions – ancient and modern – of its palaces and temples, royal portraits and celebratory hieroglyphic texts as the apparatus of the state and its rulers and as indicators of their historical legitimacy.

Despite this resurgent Maya focus, interest in the rest of Honduras has continued among local citizens as well as foreign and domestic archaeologists into the twenty-first century.[37] The Museo de Antropología e Historia de San Pedro Sula opened in 1996 to intense public interest. It is devoted to the precolumbian archaeology of the lower Ulúa valley in which San Pedro is located, which was occupied by societies that were organized quite differently from Copán. Local commitment to a focus on the region's precolumbian heritage was strong enough to stimulate resistance to government attempts to appropriate display space to feature casts of Copán sculpture.

Though discoveries outside the Copán region have included large and impressive buildings and monumental sculpture,[38] archaeological remains from other parts of the country have never posed a threat to the position of Copán as

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35 E.g., William L. Fash and Ricardo Agurcia, eds., *Visión del Pasado Maya: Proyecto Arqueológico Acrópolis de Copán* (San Pedro Sula: Asociación Copán, 1996); Robert J. Sharer, Loa P. Traxler, David W. Sedat, Ellen E. Bell, Marcello A. Canuto, and Christopher Powell, "Early Classic Architecture beneath the Copan Acropolis: A Research Update," *Ancient Mesoamerica* 10, no. 1 (1999): 3–23, doi: 10.1017/S0956536199101056; E. Wyllys Andrews V and Barbara W. Fash, "Continuity and Change in a Royal Maya Residential Complex at Copan," *Ancient Mesoamerica* 3, no. 1 (1992): 63–88, doi: 10.1017/S0956536100002315.

36 Barbara W. Fash, *The Copan Sculpture Museum: Ancient Maya Artistry in Stucco and Stone* (Cambridge: Peabody Museum Press and David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, 2011).

37 See, for example, John S. Henderson and Marilyn P. Beaudry-Corbett, eds., *Pottery of Prehistoric Honduras: Regional Classification and Analysis* (Los Angeles: UCLA, 1993); Eva Martínez, ed., *Arqueología y Comunidades en Honduras* (Tegucigalpa: Instituto Hondureño de Antropología e Historia, 2012).

38 E.g., Rosemary A. Joyce and John S. Henderson, "La arqueología del periodo Formativo en Honduras: nuevos datos sobre el 'estilo olmeca' en la zona maya," *Mayab* 15 (2002): 5–17.

the centerpiece of archaeology in Honduras, the focus of the Instituto Hondureño de Antropología e Historia's agendas, and the core of the national identity project. Publicity surrounding recent reports on archaeological discoveries in the Mosquitia region of northeastern Honduras[39] reflects part of the reason. Sensationalized press accounts describe a "lost city" of a mysterious, vanished culture. The "lost civilization" is constructed with reference to the Maya of far western Honduras – it is represented as astounding because its material remains are substantial yet unlike those of Copán. The civilization is unknown, not because there are no archaeological remains, but because they have no familiar label. They are less complex and less monumental than those of Copán and they are clearly not Maya in style. One might have expected that the material remains would be considered a reflection of a new dimension of Honduran identity, at least of its precolumbian component. Instead they are a curiosity, less important than Maya remains, and irrelevant to Honduran national identity except insofar as they are compared to its Maya core.

The emphasis on Maya archaeological remains in relation to national identity and the insistence on Maya-ness transformed by *mestizaje* as the only relevant kind of indigeneity empowers Ch'orti' descendants of the Maya who built Copán and who still live in the surrounding region but has disastrous consequences for non-Maya indigenous groups. Ch'orti' entrepreneurs find it relatively easy to profit from Maya-related tourism through the sale of craft items, providing exotic cultural experiences to complement site visits, and the like. They feel secure enough as representatives of a state-favored identity group to seek a voice in the development of policy for the archaeological park and roles in its administration. They have even applied direct pressure to the national government by occupying the park for brief periods in 1998 and 2000.[40]

Other indigenous people have found their attempts to maintain and revitalize their cultural traditions seriously compromised by insistence on the unique relevance of the Maya to Honduran national identity and their pursuit of economic improvement through tourism hampered by the Honduran government and by the international Ruta Maya structure. Lenca people in the Copán region in particular have felt co-opted by the Maya agenda and even pressured to project

[39] Douglas Preston, "Lost City Discovered in the Honduran Rain Forest," *National Geographic*, March 2, 2015, https://www.nationalgeographic.com/news/2015/03/150302-honduras-lost-city-monkey-god-maya-ancient-archaeology/.

[40] Brent Metz, "Questions of Indigeneity and the (Re)-emergent Ch'orti' Maya of Honduras," *Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 15, no. 2 (2010): 299, doi: 10.1111/j.1935-4940.2010.01087.x.

Figure 13. Copán Ruinas, museum built by Carnegie Institution of Washington with national seal of Honduras above door, 1946. Photograph gift of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1958. © President and Fellows of Harvard College, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, 58-34-20/45576.

fictive hybrid Maya-Lenca identities in order to be recognized. Copán Ruinas, the pueblo adjacent to the archaeological park, has always defined itself in relation to the ruins. For decades, the only museum in the area was the one built by the Carnegie Institution on one side of the Parque Central. The Honduran national seal over the entrance, hand-carved by Carnegie archaeologists, broadcasts the link between Copán and its Maya landscape and the Honduran state and its Maya identity while simultaneously linking both to the legitimation that comes from association with foreign archaeologists and institutions (Fig. 13). The pueblo's Parque Central was recently remodeled to feature exuberant neo-Maya style architectural and sculptural features (Fig. 14) as well as plaques honoring archaeologists involved in revealing Copán's monuments. A hieroglyphic text placed near the center of the plaza floor features the hieroglyph for *Xukpi* – the ancient name of Copán – surrounded by the signs for the cardinal directions. Hotels and businesses incorporate Maya elements into their premises, particularly the Xukpi name and the names of ancient Copán kings (Fig. 15). These practices certainly reflect marketing strategies, but they are also the products

Figure 14. Copán Ruinas, parque central. Photograph by John S. Henderson.

Figure 15. Copán Ruinas, street scene, souvenir shop named for Yax K’uk’ Mo’, the founder of the ruling dynasty of ancient Copán. Photograph by Kathryn M. Hudson.

of intense mobilization of elements central to official national history and to the constructed landscapes that embody it. In short, they reinforce the notion of a Maya national identity connected with international prestige and prosperity.

Discussion

Honduras emerged from the Colonial period without a distinctive national identity. Precolumbian Maya civilization, which had become a focus of international attention by the mid-nineteenth century, filled the resulting identity vacuum. The government drew legitimizing power from a connection to impressive archaeological remains within the national territory and to an increasingly widely acknowledged historical narrative. Until the mid-twentieth century, locating, identifying, clearing, consolidating, documenting, and analyzing the material remains of ancient Maya city-states that formed the basis for the Honduras Maya identity project was almost exclusively undertaken by archaeologists and institutions based in the United States. In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, Honduran archaeologists have had much more active roles. Most of them, however, were trained in the United States, and North American archaeologists have continued to set research agendas. From the beginning, Hondurans provided the labor that made the investigations possible.

The state project to build national identity on a Maya framework is most explicitly on display in the Museo para la Identidad Nacional in Tegucigalpa. A substantial fraction of the permanent exhibition space devoted to Honduran history is given over to precolumbian sculpture, jewelry, and other luxury artifacts, most of them reflecting Maya elite culture and rulers at Copán. A small theater screens a 25-minute film on Copán, which features monumental architecture and sculpture and recounts the history of the city's kings. The archaeology of the great bulk of Honduran national territory – which has not been occupied by the Maya in ancient or modern times – is unrepresented. Public construction projects, governmental and civil institutions, and civic events – modern and ancient – reflect cultural identifications designed to define a national character and to connect it with a broader pan-Maya heritage. The failure to acknowledge significant cultural variation in the population of Honduras after the Colonial period was actually a key element that facilitated the creation of a national identity built on a Maya heritage. The eventual recognition of the survival of indigenous people was cast in terms of transformation of indigenous identities through the process of *mestizaje* and focused on a generalized (fictive) Maya-ness.

Ironically, given the high status accorded the North American archaeologists who produced the raw materials that form the foundation for Honduran Maya identity and given the centrality of monumental architecture and sculpture in that archaeological record, the characterization of material remains throughout the national territory as Maya squarely contradicts archaeological orthodoxy. Foreign archaeologists working in Honduras have almost uniformly not recognized a precolumbian Maya presence beyond the Copán region because of the absence of these material reflections of states and their institutions. Despite this, the extension of a Maya label to remains in the rest of the country has generally been left unchallenged: for Honduran archaeologists not working at Copán or in its hinterland, association with the Maya offers professional advantages, and foreign archaeologists tend to be hesitant to adopt positions that might endanger the government permits on which their work depends.

The engagement of North American antiquarians and archaeologists with the precolumbian monuments of Copán has been driven in large part by the appeal – romantic as well as intellectual – of the ancient Maya. In addition, association with the impressive Maya past offers benefits for the careers of archaeologists and for the reputations of the institutions with which they are affiliated. But, especially in the nineteenth century, an inclination to appropriate the monuments of the Maya to provide a grand historical heritage and the foundation for a national identity for the United States was also a significant part of the equation.[41] The potential mobilization of the ancient Maya to create a monumental past for North America offers an interesting counterpoint to the Honduran national identity project.

As in Honduras, controversy about the relationship of indigenous people to archaeological remains complicated thinking about the pre-European history of the United States.[42] For much of the nineteenth century there was a consensus that construction of substantial ancient mounds, particularly prominent in the Mississippi and Ohio valleys, was beyond the capabilities of American Indians and that they should be attributed to a vanished race of "Moundbuilders." This entirely fictitious group was most often supposed to have migrated to North America from the Mediterranean and Near East, bringing with them their more "advanced" culture. Joseph Smith, founder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints offered a compromise perspective: American Indians themselves

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[41] Thomas C. Patterson, *A Social History of Anthropology in the United States*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2021), 4.
[42] Ibid., 18–25.

were the descendants of migrants from the ancient Mediterranean.[43] Whatever the ultimate origins of the Moundbuilders, the key consideration in relation to a pre-European historical foundation for the United States was their relationships to ancient monuments. As early as 1820, the American Antiquarian Society articulated the critical perspective:

> We see a line of ancient works, reaching from the south side of Lake Ontario to the banks of the Mississippi, through the upper parts of Texas, around the Mexican Gulf, quite into Mexico: increasing in number, and improving in every respect as we have followed them; and showing the increased numbers and improved condition of their authors, as they migrated toward the country where they finally settled.[44]

This interpretation, fully consistent with Mormon belief, came to be widely shared by antiquarians interested in the precolumbian remains of Mexico and Central America. It provided a rationale for appropriating those monuments to create a majestic historical foundation for the United States.

Stephens accepted the interpretation of a common ancestry for the monuments of the territory stretching from New England to Central America. His goals in undertaking exploration of Maya sites and in acquiring Maya antiquities were largely pecuniary: he wanted to maximize sales of his travel books and he hoped to generate income by charging admission to exhibitions of Maya antiquities. But he also wanted to contribute to the creation of an impressive past for the young nation. He sought the position of diplomatic envoy to the República Federal de Centroamérica and he used the status it lent him in his attempts to acquire Maya monuments. As he remarked, his formal diplomatic coat with its "profusion of large eagle buttons"[45] was a great help in his quest

> To buy Copán! Remove the monuments of a by-gone people from the desolate region in which they were buried, set them up in "the great commercial emporium" [New York], and found an institution to be the nucleus of a great national museum of American antiquities![46]

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[43] Joseph Smith, Jr., *Book of Mormon: An Account Written by the Hand of Mormon upon Plates Taken from the Plates of Nephi and translated by Joseph Smith, Jr.* (New York: E. B. Grandin, 1830).

[44] *Archaeologica Americana: Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society* (American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA, 1820), 245.

[45] Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan*, vol. 1, 127–128.

[46] Ibid.,115.

He also attempted to purchase Quiriguá, Palenque, and Uxmal; he imagined installing the latter on the banks of the Mississippi, surrounding it with a fence, and charging admission.[47] Stephens insisted explicitly that the antiquities of Mexico and Central America were rightfully part of the historical heritage of the United States and he believed that they would contribute substantially to putting it on an equal footing with much older European nations with respect to material remains of grand historical roots.[48]

In the second half of the nineteenth century, multiple voices echoed Stephens's desire to prevent not only European powers but also new Latin American nations from claiming precolumbian monuments as part of their heritage. Mormons, many of whom were settling in Mexico, considered the United States to be the preeminent American power and saw Mexican and Central American antiquities as reflections of the initial stage of an American civilization embodied in their day by the United States. Both Charnay and Le Plongeon subscribed to the notion of a United States historical heritage that embraced the precolumbian remains of Mexico and Central America.

As the Peabody Museum investigations proceeded at Copán, the United States claim to the antiquities of Mexico and Central America was materialized at the 1893 World Columbian Exposition. Exhibits representing precolumbian history – designed by Frederick Putnam, director of the Peabody Museum – featured full-size recreations of ancient monuments and building facades based on molds by Charnay and Edward Thompson, along with Maudslay's large-format photos. These exhibits – located to mirror the Fine Arts building that highlighted U.S. achievements in the arts – were presented as the historical prelude to the pinnacle of American development. The precolumbian exhibits were installed in the new Field Museum in Chicago and the Fine Arts building eventually became the home of the Art Institute of Chicago.[49]

For much of the later nineteenth century, especially in the aftermath of the "French Intervention," Mexico seemed politically unstable and appropriation of its precolumbian monuments by the United States – increasingly eager to identify material remains that could be represented as a reflection of its historical foundations and a legitimation of its influence on the international stage – seemed

[47] John L. Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Yucatan* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1843), vol. 1, 136.

[48] Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan*, vol. 1, 115–116, and vol. 2, 474.

[49] Evans, *Romancing the Maya*, 153–160; Patterson, *A Social History of Anthropology in the United States*, 42–43.

plausible. By the end of the century, this trajectory was definitively on the wane. Le Plongeon had inadvertently contributed to strengthening Mexico's grip on its precolumbian heritage through an abortive attempt to export a particularly well-preserved chacmool sculpture from Chichén Itzá. The decisive intervention of Yucatecan officials and the president firmly established Mexico's interest in and control of its precolumbian monuments despite foreign attempts to coopt them.[50] The emergence of a stable Mexico in the third decade of the twentieth century, following the revolution, signaled the definitive end of any prospect of the United States acquiring additional territory and of serious attempts to appropriate its precolumbian heritage. Maya antiquities had become objects of academic interest and embodiments of the exotic for tourists. United States archaeologists and institutions continued to shape Maya archaeology in Mexico and Central America into the twenty-first century – and to enjoy the benefits of their preeminence in that field – but a desire to represent Maya monuments as material reflections of U.S. historical roots was no longer part of the agenda.

Through the Carnegie investigations in the 1940s, archaeology at Copán focused almost exclusively on monumental architecture and sculpture. These obvious reflections of ancient Maya city-states and their ruling elites were a central component of the Maya identity project. Following the Carnegie expeditions, large-scale fieldwork did not resume at Copán until the 1970s. The foci of new projects directed by Claude Baudez and William Sanders reflected major shifts that had taken place in anthropological archaeology in the interim: a transition away from trappings of states and rulers and concomitant focus on settlement archaeology, particularly in the remains of the domestic life of non-elite components of complex societies. In the case of the Maya world this involved a new interest in the demography of the people living outside the civic cores of the great political centers, especially in their economic contribution to the maintenance of states and rulers. Even though it drew academic attention away from the monuments that had long been the focus of public discourse on Honduran history and the Maya, this shift did not dislodge Maya-ness as the key component of Honduran history and identity; by this time, Copán and its architectural and sculptural monuments were established as the precolumbian core of national history.

The same re-focusing of archaeological perspectives also fostered intensified investigations in other regions of the republic along with comparative and synthetic analyses that situated interpretation of archaeological remains throughout

[50] Desmond and Messenger, *A Dream of Maya,* 42–49; Evans, *Romancing the Maya*, 134–135.

the republic in the same analytical domain.[51] While not a renewal of Lunardi's notion that all Honduran archaeological remains were Maya, this change did nurture a perspective that envisioned a Honduran archaeology that was truly national, embracing Copán and the rest of the republic. For academic archaeologists, greater attention to non-elite components of precolumbian societies reflected theoretical developments that involved a new concern with variability within and across regions. In Honduras, one result was to encourage engagement in the Maya identity project by a broader spectrum of Honduran citizenry, although that was not necessarily part of a conscious strategy.

Rapid progress in the decipherment of Maya inscriptions in the 1970s and 1980s tipped the balance back toward state institutions and ruling elites that became increasingly identifiable as named individuals with partially documented biographies. The Mexican site of Palenque was the initial focus of this work, but epigraphers were soon delineating Copán's rulers and their history. By late 1980s, the focus of archaeological excavation was also shifting in ways that reemphasized the civic core and the trappings of kings and states. This reinforced the place of monumental remains of ancient Maya state as the core of Honduran official Maya history.

In the early years of the twenty-first century, archaeological investigations were active in almost every part of the republic[52] and the Instituto Hondureño de Antropología e Historia was actively promoting investigations outside the Copán region in the interest of reducing Copan's domination of national archaeology. To some degree, this expansion of geographic focus reflected new theoretical interests in archaeology, but it was stimulated in part by political rivalries within the Instituto Hondureño de Antropología e Historia. The 2009 coup in Honduras interrupted that process; arguably – as Amason Montero, following Darío Euraque, suggests – the new regime believed that maintaining the monumental Maya focus would offset perceptions that the republic had been de-stabilized.[53]

The failure of archaeologists to develop explicit definitions of cultural categories contributed to the mismatch of academic and popular understandings of "Maya." Since the end of the nineteenth century, archaeologists working in the lowlands of northern Guatemala, Belize, and eastern Mexico have treated monumental architecture and sculpture – especially temples, palaces, and stelae with portraits of rulers and hieroglyphic texts celebrating their genealogies,

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[51] Henderson and Beaudry-Corbett, eds., *Pottery of Prehistoric Honduras.*
[52] Martínez, ed., *Arqueología y Comunidades en Honduras.*
[53] Amason Montero, "The Construction of Blackness," 8–9.

their great deeds, and their connections with supernatural beings – as distinctive archaeological markers of a conceptually homogenized Maya civilization and, by extension, the precolumbian Maya in general. In fact, of course, these are features of city states; they reflect the activities and interests of ruling elites and they functioned largely to maintain and enhance their power. These features are not well suited as markers of a Maya cultural tradition: daily lives and material culture of other social groups were only indirectly related to city-state trappings. Moreover, monumental architecture and political art were absent from much of the territory occupied by speakers of Mayan languages, assumed by most archaeologists to be coterminous with the extent of a Maya cultural tradition.[54]

Not surprisingly, public intellectuals and state actors who took leading roles in appropriating the precolumbian Maya for the Honduran national history and identity project never overtly recognized "Maya" as a cultural construction. Interestingly, archaeologists did not do so explicitly until well into the twenty-first century. Beginning in the late 1980s, concepts like the self, the other, subjectivity, and cultural construction came to be common in anthropological analysis, stimulated by the work of Foucault and other postmodernists.[55] Despite that shift and the simultaneous ferment in social anthropology and history about Maya and other ethnicities, especially in highland Guatemala and Chiapas, academic archaeologists continued to treat "Maya" as an unproblematic label for an objectively defined category.[56]

The failure of Lempira to maintain a central place in the official version of Honduran history and identity in the face of growing emphasis on a precolumbian Maya past can be attributed, in large part, to the absence of impressive material remains associated with him and with the Lenca in general. In the same way, the inability of the United States to possess or control the majestic architecture and political art of ancient Maya city-states made it impossible to appropriate the Maya in service of the creation of a national identity. Information on ancient societies – even by the most authoritative academic voices and institutions – are insufficient to constitute the foundation for national history and identity; actual monuments are essential.

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[54] John S. Henderson and Kathryn M. Hudson, "The Myth of Maya: Archaeology and the Construction of Mesoamerican Histories," in *On Methods: How We Know What We Think We Know About the Maya,* ed. Harri Kettunen and Christophe Helmke (Markt Schwaben: Anton Saurwein, 2015), 7–24.

[55] Patterson, *A Social History of Anthropology in the United States*, 158–159.

[56] See Kay B. Warren, "Introduction: Rethinking Bi-Polar Constructions of Ethnicity," *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 6, no. 2 (2001): 90–105, doi: 10.1525/jlca.2001.6.2.90 for a perceptive overview of early discourse on these issues.

In Honduras, emphasis on the monumental dimension of the material remains of the precolumbian Maya and the Maya component of the recent indigenous population reified a single strand of the country's complex and multi-faceted past as the essence of its history. Honduras gained a national identity rooted in its distinctive past, and the republic made itself part of a historical narrative that continues to attract substantial international attention. The consequences of these processes are not, however, positive for all elements of Honduran society. The corollary of this asserted national Maya identity is marginalization of other indigenous cultural traditions. Lempira, a non-Maya folk hero revered as a leader of resistance against the Spanish invasion, provides the most obvious illustration: he is depicted on the currency named after him framed by memorializing objects and monumental buildings from the ancient Maya city of Copán. In this and other ways, the official emphasis on Maya heritage in the development of a national Maya identity not only ignores the complexities and contingencies of identity, ancient and modern – especially in relation to the state – but also erases the diversity of the Honduran people and their cultural achievements in the past and in the present. Even the living Maya are marginalized and are not among those who benefit most from the tourist industry based on the creations of their ancestors.[57]

The emphasis on the material remains that ancient Maya states used to legitimize power naturalizes the social stratification and inequalities that characterized them, thereby rationalizing the same conditions in the modern republic. The creation of an archaeological park at Copán contributed to the same process, encompassing the essence of precolumbian Maya civilization within a framework that made explicit the dominance of the state and the national history and identity it espoused. The precolumbian Maya were effectively part of a process of *mestizaje*. Honduran Maya history is thus memory politics writ large and an illustrative manifestation of how monumental remains of complex and troubled pasts, interpreted for public consumption in simplified ways not necessarily congruent with orthodox archaeological opinion, can shape the future.

[57] Warren, "Introduction"; Jean E. Jackson and Kay B. Warren, "Indigenous Movements in Latin America, 1992–2004: Controversies, Ironies, New Directions," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 34 (2005): 549–573, doi: 10.1146/annurev.anthro.34.081804.120529; Carleen D. Sánchez, "Creando la identidad nacional entre las ruinas," in *Estudios culturales centroamericanos en el nuevo milenio*, ed. Gabriela Baeza Ventura and Marc Zimmerman (San José: Editorial Universidad de Costa Rica, 2009), 94–103.

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STUDIA TERRITORIALIA 1

UNDEMOCRATIC HISTORY POLITICS IN A DEMOCRATIC STATE: CELEBRATIONS OF FINLAND'S 100 YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE

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Abstract
This article analyses the history politics of the Finnish state as illustrated by the organization of the celebrations of the centenary of Finland's independence. The article suggests that the Finnish state and its Finland 100 project promoted an undemocratic, controlled, and carefully curated approach towards the politics of history. An homage to pluralism was constructed on top of an immutable national narrative that was actively safeguarded and adopted as the only acceptable framework for interpretation of the connections between Finland's past, the present, and future. In other words, as the primary source documents I analyzed show, lip service to the "harmonious coexistence of different perspectives" was coupled with controls over contested and alternative interpretations, with guidelines that urged the Finland 100 organizers to "report any weak signals of crisis to central communications in good time."
Keywords: history politics; politics of history; Finland; democracy; nationalism; national anniversaries
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Introduction

In 2017 the Finnish state organized and coordinated massive celebrations of the centenary of its independence under the auspices of the *Finland 100* project.

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In the end, the project organized about 170,000 events around the world. Its total budget was approximately 20 million euros.[1] The celebrations were followed by extensive reporting that evaluated and promoted their results. There followed two years of research on what was termed by the organizers of the project as the "permanent legacy of the centenary."[2] The government described the celebrations as a "historically exceptional phenomenon" that increased Finland's "social capital," "broadened [its] cultural diversity," established a "legacy," and carried "lessons for the next century of independence."[3]

In this article, I analyze the history politics (defined in detail below) behind the planning of the celebration and the subsequent reporting on its results. I analyze two aspects of the celebrations. First, I examine the historical interpretations and their connections to the present and future that were promoted by the organizers. I wanted to determine what connections they highlighted and what they left hidden and occluded.[4] Second, building on what I learned, I analyze how Finland 100 presented these interpretations and connections, whether or not they were derived from historical research, how open and argumentative the process of arriving at them was, how amenable to debate and alternative perspectives the project was, and what relationship there was between historical research and the public sphere. My analysis will be contextualized and elaborated in a discussion of the questions and complexities of the Finnish politics of history, especially as regards how open and democratic is the relationship between on-going historical research and knowledge production with public and state promoted history. In a nutshell, I ask whether diverse voices of historians and of historical actors are equally heard in public and state promoted history. Drawing on this analysis, I characterize what kind of a history political actor the Finnish state is, as exemplified by the Finland 100 celebrations.

In my research, I analyzed material produced by and about the Finland 100 project. The main documents are a 152-page report published by the organizing committee and a hundred-page analysis of the Finland 100 project's results commissioned by the Office of the Prime Minister. The latter was produced by

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1 Valtioneuvoston kanslia [The Prime Minister's Office] (hereafter VNK), *Suomi 100 vuotta. Yhdessä. Suomi 100 -juhlavuoden raportti.* Valtioneuvoston kanslian julkaisusarja 9/2018, 28–31, http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-952-287-664-5.

2 Ibid., 5, 83.

3 Ibid.

4 For the term "occlusion" see for example David Jenkins and Steven Lukes, "The power of occlusion," *Journal of Political Power* 10, no. 1 (2017): 6–24, doi: https://doi.org/10.1080/2158379X.2017.1285156, or Julian Go, "Occluding the Global: Analytic Bifurcation, Causal Scientism, and Alternatives in Historical Sociology," *Journal of Globalization Studies* 5, no. 1 (2014): 122–136.

a consortium of private research companies and a think tank.[5] Other primary sources included materials produced during the organization of the festivities, such as promotional brochures and instructions and guidelines for participating companies, associations, and other entities. They also included press releases and notices issued by the Prime Minister's Office. Secondary materials included the few academic studies of the events produced so far, as well as general literature on the politics of history and history politics in Finland.

I argue that in the context of its history politics, Finland, otherwise a democratic country, maintains strict control over its national historical narrative. In fact, the need for a controlled consensus over an openly disputable historical narrative is asserted. Paradoxically, this is justified by a desire to maintain a democratic society and political system, both in the present day and in the future. In other words, a more democratic and research-based contestation of Finland's past is understood as a possible threat to the stability of the country's democracy. This belief creates a problematic gap between public debates and historical research to the effect that certain historical knowledge and perspectives are concertedly overlooked. All of this contributes to undemocratic history politics in Finland. Comparing Finland 100 and the idea of Finnish history it promoted to previous independence celebrations and to a variety of historical knowledge not recognized in public debates in general, I conclude that the Finland 100 celebrations exhibited a long-term logic of the Finnish mnemonic regime that shuns pluralistic and multisided interpretations of and discourse about the past.

Finnish historians Marja Jalava and Pauli Kettunen have made similar observations, pointing to a Finnish history politics that sees future progress as dependent on the active maintenance of an unchanged continuity between the present and past.[6] Historical research that in other countries has led to the recognition of historical discontinuities, or politically different, alternative pasts, has in Finland led to an even narrower focus on continuities. Even as historical research has increasingly questioned this form of history politics, public political discourse backed by the state's authority through efforts such as independence celebrations continues to actively emphasize a one-sided historical interpretation. The

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5 The 194 491 Euro research has been conducted by Cupore, Owal Group Oy, and Demos Helsinki Oy. Suomi 100 -tutkimushanke, *Statsrådets kansli – Valtioneuvoston kanslia*, https://vnk.fi/suomi-100-tutkimushanke.

6 Marja Jalava and Pauli Kettunen, "Epilogi: jatkuvuudet, katkokset ja tulevaisuudet historiantutkimuksessa," in *Menneet tulevaisuudet: Ajankohta, poliittisen historian vuosikirja 2018*, ed. Elina Hakoniemi, Iikka Kärrylä, Kristiina Silvan, and Riikka Taavetti (Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto & Turun yliopisto, 2018), 315–320.

Finland 100 project presented a particular take on Finnish history with the intention of further monopolizing Finland's collective memory and mnemonic regime.

Within the wider international scholarship on collective memory and mnemonic regimes the Finnish case is somewhat particular. In the Finnish case, historical research, writing and interpretations as well as collective and public memory are not particularly politicized or publicly guarded activities, but the relationship between them is. The case is interesting in relation to recent trends in research literature. Geneviève Zubrzycki and Anna Woźny point to a trend in literature on collective memory and the politics of history that focuses on "the different processes through which collective memory and nationalism become imbricated in daily life."[7] Peter Verovšek suggests that besides the formal institutions and substantive content of the politics of history, research should also focus on "the interactive channels through which ideas about the past are conveyed, disputed, silenced, and negotiated in society as a whole."[8] In analyzing Finland 100, I follow Verovšek, as well as Zubrzycki and Woźny, in focusing on how those channels are managed and controlled – and thereby what kind of perspectives about how the past should be approached and understood are highlighted or occluded – and who as a result holds performative and symbolic power in the mnemonic regime.[9] I will begin by outlining what I mean by history politics as a one dimension of democratic discourse, which is specifically related to the formation of collective memory and the processes that determine how the past is publicly discussed.

History Politics and the Politics of History

The politics of memory and the uses and abuses of history are wide fields of research, which posit that "remembering the past, particularly collectively, is always a political process."[10] This belief in the innately political nature of historical

[7] Geneviève Zubrzycki and Anna Woźny, "The Comparative Politics of Collective Memory," *Annual Review of Sociology* 46 (2020): 175–194, doi: https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-121919-054808.

[8] Peter J. Verovšek, "Collective memory, politics, and the influence of the past: the politics of memory as a research paradigm," *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 4, no. 3 (2016): 537, doi: https://doi.org/10.1080/21565503.2016.1167094.

[9] Zubrzycki and Woźny, "The Comparative Politics of Collective Memory," 177.

[10] Michael Bernhard and Jan Kubik, *Twenty Years after Communism: The Politics of Memory and Commemoration* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 3, doi: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199375134.001.0001.

knowledge and interpretations is paired with the idea that societal actors intentionally engage not only in promoting specific ideas about the past but, more importantly, in efforts to impact and even control the ways in which societies do and can discuss and debate the past. Bernhard and Kubik refer to such actors as "mnemonic actors," who are "political forces that are interested in a specific interpretation of the past. They often treat history instrumentally in order to construct a vision of the past that they assume will generate the most effective legitimation for their efforts to gain and hold power."[11] When successful, these actors can impose "mnemonic regimes," which constitute "the dominant pattern of memory politics that exists in a given society at a given moment in reference to a specific highly consequential past event or process," i.e. these "regimes constitute the building blocks of the official field of (collective or historical) memory."[12] Much like a political regime, a mnemonic regime can be more or less open, and more or less democratic. It may seek to empower a variety citizens' and societal actors' capacities as mnemonic actors or, on the contrary, support certain exclusive hierarchies and limits on who gets to engage the past and use history, and how they can do so. As with political regimes, the state is usually the most powerful and capable mnemonic actor. The state can outsource interpretations of the past to select institutions, media outlets, or various civil society actors. Alternatively, it may seek to maintain strict control over such interpretations in its own hands or from time to time strategically intervene in their production and dissemination by others. The policies and practices of participation and recognition (inclusion and exclusion) of the state and of other actors with power over the past and the interpretations of history form a *history politics*.

At the extreme, some history politics may all but fully control, guide or suppress historical research, preventing any knowledge of the past and its connections to the present from becoming the subject of free inquiry and debate. Though never fully possible, in such extreme cases a society has no meaningful *politics of history*. An analogy with the existence of an autonomous civil sphere is quite apt; though never fully extinguishable, the political effects of an autonomous and capable civil sphere can be mostly suppressed. As with a similar distinction in democratization research, history politics then relates to the participatory and deliberative aspects in contrast to the politics of history, which relates to the institutional terrain. *History politics* is about the capacity to be heard, to make claims and to put forward historical interpretations. The *politics of history* is

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[11] Ibid, 4.
[12] Ibid.

about the infrastructure and institutions, the fora where historical knowledge is discussed.[13] The Finland 100 celebrations were one highly visible and extensive forum of Finnish politics of history. In this article I focus on who and what kind of historical knowledge gained access to and visibility in that forum. In other words, I focus on history politics.

History politics actively define the limits and the constitution of the politics of history. In most countries, national histories are actively foregrounded in preference to other historical perspectives, and the connections and questions those other perspectives evoke. That is a history political act that can shape the uses of history, such as the hierarchies between different meanings of and perspectives on historical knowledge. For example, we may end up emphasizing domestic processes of nation-making over transnational ones and at the same time, with that very juxtaposition, also occlude from consideration the historical entanglements between those two perspectives. Especially in democratic societies, these type of issues should be open for debate as political questions. How much funding, for example, should be made available for historical research? What kind of historical research? Is that funding to be given to projects inside or outside academic institutions? Should the projects be about the nation or about something else? How much state support should there be for the publication of history-related books, both academic and non-fiction? And especially, how much support for promotion of an active, open and democratic politics of history is there in society, and what institutions and practices are in place to support it? The activities of those institutions connect historical research of various kinds with the public sphere. In an open, democratic environment they welcome alternative, minority, and critical perspectives. With this comes of course a caveat: support for one historical topic, question or perspective will always mean that another one goes unsupported in terms of both resources and visibility. This is another reason why decisions and policies regarding history are political.

At its simplest, then, the politics of history refers to how at any given time and place society lays the foundations and set the limits within which the past is

[13] For example, Hackmann makes a similar distinction between the politics of history as the general spaces of public debates about history and history politics or what he then terms history policies as the often symbolic or ideological battles over who represents acceptable historical knowledge. See Jörg Hackmann, "Defending the 'Good Name' of the Polish Nation: Politics of History as a Battlefield in Poland, 2015–18," *Journal of Genocide Research* 20, no. 4 (2018): 587–606, doi: https://doi.org/10.1080/14623528.2018.1528742. Verovšek makes a similar distinction between the substantive content and institutions, on the one hand, and interactive and discursive channels, on the other, where the politics of memory play out. See Verovšek, "Collective memory, politics, and the influence of the past."

researched, interpreted, presented — and as a result, remembered.[14] In a democratic society with a free and open public sphere, historical interpretations and presentations are open to debate, and subjected to freely conducted historical research. They are free of political constraints and pressure, or favoritism, when it comes to financing and symbolic gestures by the state. In other words, historical interpretations and activities are open to democratic exchange, struggle and contestation. I do not mean by this to promote any ideas of objective historical truths, or imaginaries of "the past as it actually happened." Rather, I recognize the fact that history is the "most ideological of sciences," as historian Ronald Grigor Suny, among others, has pointed out.[15] It is the recognition of the latter, rather than the pursuit of the former, that highlights the importance of democratic history politics.

By maintaining and supporting open historical research and interpretations on the one hand, and on the other, the capacity of members of society to debate history's connection to the present and the future, a democratic society can deal with troubled pasts in an inclusive manner. This includes accepting interpretations and evidence as well as discussion even of past events and trajectories that are divisive, troublesome and that may bring into question basic assumptions, myths, and norms of national, social, and political identities. This often leads to tensions, not only between different segments of society, but also between historians' views and the collective memory — that is, what people assume others also believe and take for granted about their imagined national narrative.

To maintain and achieve a *democratic politics of history*, history politics is intentionally used or approached as a means to open and sustain inclusive and argumentative debate over historical interpretations. This type of history politics ideally aims at an increasingly self-reflexive understanding of its own boundaries and limitations.[16] Perhaps the most common example of such an approach to history politics in academia is the various debates concerning problems of methodological nationalism and nationally bounded historiographies. Germany provides another famous example. There the term *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* refers to open and public debate about the Nazi period. Historian Seppo Hentilä

[14] See for example Kimmo Elo, "Satavuotias Suomi Katsoi Peiliin ja Menneisyyteensä," *Ennen ja Nyt*, September 19, 2018, https://www.ennenjanyt.net/2018/09/satavuotias-suomi-katsoi-peiliin-ja-menneisyyteensa.

[15] Ronald Grigor Suny, "Soviet Georgia in the Seventies," Washington, DC: Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, The Wilson Center (1979), 7, https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/media/documents/publication/op64_soviet_georgia_seventies_suny_1979.pdf.

[16] This again is akin to how the participatory process relates to the institutions of democracy.

clarifies that the idea is specifically not to control and get rid of troubled pasts, but to make even the most difficult histories open to discussion and approachable, so that they are researched as openly and widely as possible and subjected to the scrutiny of historical inquiry by historians and the public.[17]

We can say that a *democratic history politics* then aims to make the politics of history visible and known, including its possible limitations and shortcomings. This requires us to consider both the active as well as the passive interpretations and delineations of history that seek to hide, occlude or forget unwanted past events and processes (and in doing so highlight and even glorify others) for political and social purposes of the present. This type of "democratizing history" allows silenced actors to be heard, and overlooked or unwanted connections and conflicts to be examined, instead of imposing a consensus about what should be perceived as proper history, not to mention historical truths.

In summary, the *politics of history* refers to what could be characterized as a phenomenological concept, the constant presence and need for referring to the past that ultimately arises from and takes place in social and political structures and the interactions and discourse they enable or prevent. *History politics* refers to an intentional, agentic understanding. It refers to the instrumental use of history and the past in order to achieve certain societal or political goals.[18] These goals may be more or less democratic. When analyzing the mnemonic regimes of a society, the relation between history politics and the politics of history needs to be considered.

Next, after a brief initial outline of the general characteristics of Finnish national history, I will discuss Finland's celebrations of the 100th anniversary of its independence as a case of history politics. I will examine its relation to the politics of history in Finland, and the democratic depth of this relation.

Finland and the Politics of History

The historian Pauli Kettunen has described the politics of history in Finland as fairly active and enthusiastic but centered around ideas of national necessities.

[17] Seppo Hentilä, "Löytyykö totuus komissioista? Historiantutkimus ja totuuskomissiot," *Tieteessä Tapahtuu* 23, no. 8 (2005): 5–12, https://journal.fi/tt/article/view/57097.

[18] Pilvi Torsti, "Historiapolitiikkaa tutkimaan: Historian poliittisen käytön typologian kehittelyä," *Kasvatus ja Aika* 2, no. 2 (2008): 61–71, https://journal.fi/kasvatusjaaika/article/view/68160.

In the national past, “what was done, had to be done.”[19] The traditional role of historians was “softening troubled pasts that prevented national integration.”[20] Especially after the fall of the Soviet Union, the historian’s role changed. Since then, national myths have been increasingly challenged by historical research that rejects the primacy and continuity of the national narrative. How this change in the relation of historical research and the public sphere will affect the relationship between history politics and the politics of history remains to be seen. This article hopes to contribute to an understanding of that relationship. Indeed, as historian Pertti Haapala notes, national history is not just the nation’s collective memory; it is also its collective forgetfulness.[21] In that sense, the dispelling of myths and a broader critique and discussion about a national past of necessities – or any transformations of the politics of the present and future – will require an active engagement with Finland’s national politics of history. We do not simply move away from past interpretations into new and “improved” ones. Historical interpretations do not advance on a linear trajectory of progress. Rather, historical interpretations and knowledge are connected to political ideas about the connections of the past, present and future.

Overall, the Finnish politics of history is centered around and supports a narrative of ever-increasing national unity and development. Several problematic events and turning points exist in Finnish history, but their political nature is largely dependent upon their relation to this central narrative.[22] Some examples of historical processes that run counter to the idea of national sovereignty in Finnish history can clarify this distinction. One of them has been accepted into the central narrative, the others have not.

First, the term “Finlandization” still pops up today every now and then, usually pejoratively, as a political accusation. The term refers to the relation between Finland’s foreign and domestic policy in the Cold War era. The American CIA described Finlandization in 1972 as “a highly developed sensitivity to Soviet wishes on a wide range of subjects and the ability and willingness to voluntarily restrict their [the Finns’] own courses of action.”[23] While still a highly politicized

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19 Pauli Kettunen, “Kansallinen ‘me’ ja historia globaalistuvassa maailmassa,” *Tieteessä Tapahtuu* 16, no. 5 (1998), 1–8, https://journal.fi/tt/article/view/58560.

20 Ibid.

21 Pertti Haapala, “Tarvitaanko kansallista historiaa?,” *Tieteessä Tapahtuu* 16, no. 5 (1998), https://journal.fi/tt/article/view/58564.

22 Jalava and Kettunen, “Epilogi.”

23 Central Intelligence Agency, *Finlandization in Action: Helsinki’s Experience with Moscow*. Reference Title: ESAU LVI. RSS No. 0059/72 (1972), ii, https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/esau-55.pdf.

historical term as it is used today, Finlandization has become accepted in the sense that today it can be used as a metaphor in political arguments by all sides, regardless of their political hue; former communists may use it as much as other politicians. It can be used to refer to any phenomenon whose general logic can be likened to Finland's historical power relationship with the Soviet Union. Furthermore, although it was originally coined in West Germany, the term has become a part of public discourse and national historical imagination in Finland. The term Finlandization is accepted because it brings together – under the central national narrative – various sides of Finland's post-WWII story, in which economic growth, building of the welfare state, and a balancing act between the West and the Soviet Union went hand in hand. In other words, Finlandization is not understood as a break or discontinuity in a unified national narrative even though it raises critical questions about that narrative. It retrospectively reflects the past contestations that took place in the process of maintaining national continuity. These contestations are now understood as painful but accepted historical necessities or collateral damage in a struggle for national survival. As part of the institutionalized version of Finnish history, of politics of history, Finlandization is thought to embody the connections and conflicts between various sides of society and how their linkages in the past in fact led to a unified present. Finlandization has become a part of a collective memory of the past from which the Finns have learned and continue to learn and thereby, also, continue to strengthen the unity of the nation in the present. Bringing Finlandization up every now and then is simply a reminder not to get into the same pickle again, and yet it refers to the success of getting out of that pickle. It reminds the Finns that their nation persevered successfully through the Cold War. The term implies that divisive actions taken at the time can be criticized but should not be understood as fundamentally opposed to national unity or Finland's historical continuity.

The historical examples that remain excluded from the central narrative also relate to the relation of domestic and foreign policy and similarly raise questions about the history of national sovereignty and independence. These are not the actions that the Finns took to maintain their fragile or diminished sovereignty, but the variety of efforts the Finns undertook to relinquish themselves of that responsibility for the perceived good of the nation, especially between 1917 and 1945. Some key moments include debates over democratic rule *vis-à-vis* sovereign power (democracy as incompatible with sovereignty) in Finland all the way up to American and British recognition of Finnish independence in May 1919. Another is the conclusion of treaties by the Left and the Right with foreign powers during the civil war. Yet another is the adoption of an authoritarian

constitution for the Prince of Hessen whom the victorious bourgeois side elected as King of Finland after the civil war. A final example is the politics that aligned Finland with Nazi Germany and included ideas of a Greater Finland. Approximately 1,400 Finnish volunteers joined the Waffen-SS and fought for Germany outside of Finland.[24] In contrast to Finlandization, which today stands as a reminder not to allow external challenges to undermine national unity, these other moments in Finnish history are still understood to drive a wedge between a united past and the political pluralism of the present. This is true even though at the time those actions were no more and no less problematic or confrontational from the perspective of sovereignty than Finlandization was. Furthermore, academic research conducted on these histories is rarely cited in the public debate as part of Finland's institutionalized politics of history. In Finland, they are not understood as parts of more general historical processes and are not considered a part of a common national history, even if outside of Finland, from a global and comparative history perspective, they are just as much a part of Finnish history as Finlandization.

Kettunen has described this difference as arising from Finland's particular rules of national memory regarding truths and facts, and "the correct order of remembrance" of the relations between different national truths and facts.[25] In simple terms, Finlandization gathers various national truths under the same umbrella of historical continuity, whereas the idea that the victors in Finland's civil war did not want an independent Finland, in the sense of post-1919 nation-state sovereignty, disrupts the order and connection of truths in the collective national narrative and memory. For example, independence is given priority over histories of collective violence. Historical considerations that challenge this "correct order" are seen as disrupting the "democratic" stability and the national consensus that are features of the Finnish politics of history.

These are of course particular examples of prioritization, and the politics of history is replete with other similar cases, ideas and events. Many of them are less poignant or less well-known. They include concepts and ideas that are openly included, like Finlandization, and others that are excluded, like efforts to avoid sovereign independence. Some events and processes are forgotten or occluded, and perhaps never researched or learned about. Overall, the main line of exclusion in the processes and practices of history politics is drawn in favor

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24 See for example Simo Muir and Hana Worthen, eds., *Finland's Holocaust: Silences of History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

25 Kettunen, "Kansallinen 'me' ja historia globaalistuvassa maailmassa," 1–8.

of historical knowledge that enforces continuity. It is drawn against historical knowledge that would question, pluralize or problematize national historical continuity. In this regard, Finland differs somewhat from other countries, such as those described by Zubrzycki and Woźny, where discontinuous or disruptive narratives are not excluded from the politics of history, even when they have been politically targeted or even denied altogether as actual history.[26] The way those countries deal with alternative historical knowledge amounts to a more open history politics, even when it leads to political refutation or exploitation of those views. That is not to say that other countries' history politics are better or worse than Finland's, but rather that, like other democratic processes, a participatory and democratic history politics cannot be assumed to automatically follow from institutional design. In other words, the insistence on "correct order," and strict and exclusionary gatekeeping in the processes and practices of history politics, results only in what may seem at first glance more equal and less politicized fora for the politics of history in Finland than the "open door" situation in other countries. However, the insistence on institutional stability restricts open and inclusive participation. A focus on the civility and openness of discussion and debate at the fora of the politics of history is maintained in Finland by keeping dissonant or disruptive voices outside, by restricting participation.

The Finland 100 Celebrations

Regarding Finnish independence day celebrations in general, Heino Nyyssönen says they are "exceptional in present day Europe" because of their strong association with war and the solemnity of national remembrance "strongly bound to tradition."[27] As we shall see, while the organizers of the 100th anniversary celebrations aimed to produce a more cheerful atmosphere of commemoration, they did not succeed in fundamentally changing the event aside from encouraging greater participation, according to the analysis commissioned by the Prime Minister's Office.[28] One telling example of this is a project known as

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[26] Zubrzycki and Woźny, "The Comparative Politics of Collective Memory". Zubrzycki and Woźny discuss specifically the German, Japanese, Polish, American, and Turkish cases.

[27] Heino Nyyssönen, "The Politics of Calendar: Independence Day in the Republic of Finland," in *National Days: Constructing and Mobilising National Identity,* ed. David McCrone and Gayle McPherson (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 136–137.

[28] Ruokolainen et al., *Suomi 100 – Juhlavuoden vaikutukset: Osa 1.* Valtioneuvoston kanslian julkaisuja 10/2020, http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-952-287-905-9.

the "Guards of Honor," in which young people in several cities were recruited to perform "emotional ceremonies" over the graves of "the deceased heroes who safeguarded Finland's independence."[29] This type of activity simply expanded on the solemn, traditional nationalism inherent in previous Finnish independence day celebrations. I suggest that there is a similar dynamic going on in the country's history politics, as expressed through the celebrations.

The official purpose of the extensive celebrations around Finland's 100th independence day, according to its main organizer, the Prime Minister's Office, was to collectively "celebrate Finnish democracy, equality and a strong civil society."[30] The organizers specified that the project would "reflect on the past 100 years of Finland's independence, assess its present and explore its future."[31] The project thereby took on a very active and intentional history political stance. It even began planning the celebrations' own historical future by proclaiming them to set a "legacy for the next 100 years."[32] From the beginning, the project aimed to make the 2017 event a historic one. The participants were guided to document their activities for later research.[33]

This centennial was to provide an "opportunity to take a fresh look at life" through the "history of an entire nation" in order to "evaluate our current circumstances, make changes, and plan for the future."[34] Other stated goals of the project were increasing the inclusivity, openness and diversity and strengthening the feeling of "belongingness" in Finnish society, with the theme "together" and the "spirit of togetherness."[35] Afterwards, the organizers deemed their effort successful: "As the year went on, the significance of the together theme grew deeper and broader, until it defined every aspect of the celebrations ... [which] grew into an exceptionally prominent and inclusive event," that "provoked wide debate."[36]

The organization of the celebrations was launched in 2011 when a committee was set up to prepare a memo containing suggestions for the upcoming celebrations. The memo, delivered in 2012, suggested that the anniversary events "contemplate the various sides of the independence process through various events" and highlight "the connections of Finnish independence with similar

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[29] VNK, *Suomi 100 vuotta. Yhdessä. Suomi 100 -juhlavuoden raportti,* 60.
[30] Suomi 100-hanke ja VNK, *Opas Suomi 100 -ohjelmahankkeille* (March 2017), 2.
[31] Ibid., 17.
[32] VNK, *Suomi 100 vuotta. Yhdessä. Suomi 100 -juhlavuoden raportti,* 83.
[33] Suomi 100-hanke ja VNK, *Opas Suomi 100 -ohjelmahankkeille*.
[34] VNK, *Suomi 100 vuotta. Yhdessä. Suomi 100 -juhlavuoden raportti,* 7.
[35] Ibid., 5, 9, 13, 31, 64.
[36] Ibid., 5.

events elsewhere in Europe."[37] Except for an academic conference organized in 2017, in which I also participated,[38] in the end these initial themes regarding the history political stance of the celebrations were not connected to the overall organization. Comparative contemplation representing various aspects of the Finnish independence process was not present. Any such contemplations were relegated to a few academic events, which indicates that the most popular celebrations were used to shape a purposeful, monolithic politics of history around Finland's independence. The history politics that emerged was quite different from what was originally planned.[39] The lack of methodological nationalism even caused a scene at the one academic conference. During one of the keynote speeches, a participant began to loudly protest the lack of focus on Finnish achievements and a "Finnish history," as I witnessed firsthand.

One of the main objectives of the Finland 100 project was, in fact, to "showcase success stories from Finland," of which there were plenty to be found "if the focus was on a historical perspective," in the words of the organizers.[40] In their eyes, the way the present and specifically Finnish independence was presented in the celebrations was the main determinant of their success. Historic events and processes that might have distracted from the orderly image of an ultimately successful and triumphant past were ignored. This aspect was enforced in the theme of the celebrations as "harmonious coexistence of different perspectives, practices, and contributors."[41] This policy reminded me of the propaganda that I witnessed on display at a permanent exhibition of the national history museum of Uzbekistan in late 2019, where five different political parties in harmonious co-existence seek the good of the nation. In the Finland 100 celebrations, differences were papered over within a unified historical narrative of Finnish independence. For example, an expensive video advertisement commissioned for the celebrations promoted the image of a vast, unified past of great solidarity, which

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[37] Ruokolainen et al., *Suomi 100 – Juhlavuoden vaikutukset: Osa 1.,* 15.

[38] Reform and Revolution in Europe, 1917–19: Entangled and Transnational Histories Conference. University of Tampere, Finland, 16–18 March 2017.

[39] The project was launched under a Left-Right coalition government but was finalized and implemented under a Right-Populist government. However, the literature produced so far suggests that the Finland 100 celebrations represent a continuity of other similar politics of history. It is hard to say whether a Left-leaning coalition would have been willing to diverge from such institutionalized politics of history and actively press for a more open history politics in connection with the Finland 100 celebrations.

[40] VNK, *Suomi 100 vuotta. Yhdessä. Suomi 100 -juhlavuoden raportti,* 11.

[41] Ibid., 40.

the advertisement then went on to project into the future.[42] This advertisement was typical of the way the relation of past and future was painted throughout the celebrations; a straight and narrow path marked out by a one-way arrow pointing from the past, through the present, and into the future, along which Finland was being propelled forward by its history of successful national development.

The celebrations had a strong international component organized under the banner of the "Finland Brand."[43] Over 500 projects and thousands of events took place outside of Finland with the aim of "raising Finland's international profile" and seeing "the Finnish flag hoisted in every corner of the world."[44] The events were organized in cooperation with the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Finnish embassies abroad. One of the more striking examples was the projection of the Finnish flag onto the surface of several famous monuments worldwide. For example, the colosseum in Rome was lit up in blue and white, and the event was broadcast live on national television in Finland. Interviewed on the evening news, the Finnish ambassador to Italy explained joyfully to the audiences at home that to him, seeing the Finnish colors on the Colosseum confirmed how Finland's 100-year history is "part of a western tradition that began in antiquity."[45] The event at the Colosseum was an example of the active mobilization of the celebrations by the state to promote highly dubious and populist interpretations of history in Finland.

The international events and their promotion and "branding" of the "story of Finland" reflects also the strong influence of consultancy and marketing agencies employed in the organization of the celebrations. Their efforts were even awarded a prize as Finland's "communication act" of the year.[46] Similarly, the celebrations' initial focus on inclusivity was understood and measured simply as coverage and reach through detailed quantified data of the amounts and varieties of events organized and the audience they attracted. This served only to highlight a lack of focus on the quality and diversity of the contents. Marketing

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42 "Suomi Finland100 – Believing in the Impossible," YouTube video, 1:00, posted by SuomiFinland100, November 15, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L4DxP0irRy8.

43 VNK, *Suomi 100 vuotta. Yhdessä. Suomi 100 -juhlavuoden raportti, 105.*

44 Ibid., 5, 49.

45 See for example Juho Korhonen, "National Self-Determination before and after 1917: the Case of the Grand Duchy of Finland of the Russian Empire" (Presentation at the Constellations of Empire, Nationalism and Revolution in 1917 and 2017 Conference, Watson Institute, Brown University, Providence, RI, USA, December 8, 2017), https://watson.brown.edu/events/2017/constellations-empire-nationalism-and-revolution-1917-and-2017.

46 "Suomi 100 on Vuoden viestintätyö – SEK ja valtioneuvoston kanslia tekivät vuosisadan keikan," official site of The Finnish Association of Marketing, Technology and Creativity (MTL), June 15, 2018, https://mtl.fi/2018/06/suomi100-on-vuoden-2018-vuoden-viestintatyo/.

and brand management considerations are beyond the scope of this article, but the approach advocated by the marketing professionals likely contributed to Finland 100's carefully curated, one-sided narrative of an unquestioned national past culminating in an admirable present day society. For example, extensive communications manuals were prepared for the use of the various companies, associations and other participants of the celebrations. These manuals included instructions on how to "avoid crises," which included advice to monitor the tone of conversations and to contact the Finland 100 central communications office if even "weak signals" of emerging problems were detected.[47] The organization thus sought to pre-empt any criticism of the way in which the celebrations were managed and what they represented.

The desire for control of the message also comes through in the self-assessment by the Finland 100 organizers of the results of their efforts. According to the initial reporting, a "positively open and pluralist Finnishness" underlined the celebrations.[48] This was apparently exemplified by how "playfulness was evident alongside the more traditional formality" and in how "national identity and national self-esteem were more clearly defined on the basis of Finn's own values rather than on a definition of exclusion, by which we use other countries or nations as benchmarks for what we are not."[49] This long-winded, rather self-absorbed take on national identity is reminiscent of self-help guides and norms of schoolyard behavior. It exemplifies the lack of intent and effort to grapple with complicated, contested issues of nationalism. It indicates a straitjacketed approach to promoting, yet not openly debating, an essentialized national history. This same approach and oxymoronic marketing speech was repeated throughout the organization efforts. For example, in 2013 the Prime Minister's Office issued instructions that the celebrations should inform, teach and discuss "the central values and principles, on which Finnish democracy's pluralistic values are founded."[50] Yet, the politics of history of the Finland 100 celebrations were organized so that no such discussion was possible. For example, in the celebrations the history of Finnish democratization was conflated with the sovereignty of the nation-state, although they arose quite separately in Finnish history. Finland had implemented universal suffrage as one of the first states in the world in 1906 and 1907 under the Russian Empire. Independence followed

[47] Suomi Finland 100. Viestintäopas, April 1, 2016, https://www.riihimaki.fi/wp-content/uploads/sites/3/2016/05/Suomi-100-Viestintaopas-2016.pdf.
[48] VNK, *Suomi 100 vuotta. Yhdessä. Suomi 100 -juhlavuoden raportti*, 86.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ruokolainen et al., *Suomi 100 – Juhlavuoden vaikutukset: Osa 1.*, 16.

over ten years later and in a manner that jeopardized Finland's earlier democratic development. Nevertheless, the Finland 100 celebrations advanced the theme of democracy as integral to Finland's independence in the form it took starting in 1917–19. Nationalism has a complex and conflict ridden relationship with democracy everywhere, not only in Finland. Yet the Finland 100 project papered over these questions and promoted Finnish exceptionalism with disingenuous ideas like that of national "values and principles" that make Finnish democracy essentially pluralistic.

The initial report on the results of the project, put together by its organizers, begins with bold statements about Finland's history and makes similar claims to those of the traditional nationalist historiography. It locates the agency of state-making and independence in the nation and in the hands of the Finns. For example, it dates the start of joint Finnish "decision-making," as they term it,[51] in independence that it claims started in December 1917. The project immediately sweeps under the rug historical contestations over independence and domestic politics at the time. More importantly, such a portrayal suggests that the civil war period in 1918 was part of the Finns' harmonious joint nation-building and decision-making. The organizers ignore the fact that Finland's Independence Day itself was a creation of the winners of the civil war. It was a highly politicized act that sought to erase the memory of the part the Left played in the formation of the state and in the Finnish struggle for autonomy and independence. An alternative interpretation, more in line with democratic history politics, would have highlighted the multiple struggles, contestations and interconnected politics through which the Finnish state-building process passed. What highlights the intentionality of this choice by the organizers is that this historical knowledge is readily available to the lay public in Finland. The organizers' interpretations did not result from a lack of knowledge.

Tellingly, only one historian's voice is present in the documentation and research that has so far been produced by the organizers of Finland 100 and the Prime Ministers' Office. Historian Antti Häkkinen was asked to provide a less than a page of opinion about the celebrations as part of the organizers' first self-evaluation, which he prepared under the guidance of the organizing authorities. In the project's self-assessment, Häkkinen writes the following: "I believe – and the research supports this – that a kind of neo-patriotic movement has been strengthening for a long time. The centenary year gave it new and fresh forms of expression. It is patriotism reimagined. Let's hope the content is not just

[51] VNK, *Suomi 100 vuotta. Yhdessä. Suomi 100 -juhlavuoden raportti,* 5.

the same old story."[52] Häkkinen's brief contribution to the report has a sharply different, more critical and more analytical tone than other texts produced or commissioned by the Prime Minister's Office about the celebrations.

Ultimately, Häkkinen's wish that the celebrations would not reproduce the "same old story" was thwarted by the highly controlled, undemocratic history politics championed by Finland 100's present-day-focused, tightly curated program. The consequences of focusing on the present and dismissing an open and pluralistic understanding of the history of Finnish nationalism were summed up well by Häkkinen: "It appears to be a positive process of liberation [from a stricter traditional patriotism], though it may not end this way. Moments of madness have their dark side. They can also be targeted at others, they can divide and create otherness." He ends by stating that a "research-based in-depth study on the mental structures [behind this neo-patriotism] is badly needed."[53]

The first report of the extensive follow-up research on the celebrations commissioned by the Prime Minister's Office came out in 2020.[54] The one-hundred-page report assessed the effects of the celebrations on Finnish society. The research was funded by an approximately 200,000 euro budget. It drew its conclusions from eleven research and documentation projects that were conducted as Finland 100 was being organized. The report did not contain any assessment of the project's impact on the public's historical knowledge, nor did it talk about history politics. The relation of the Finland 100 celebrations to the past and to history has so far not been assessed anywhere else in the reporting, with the exception of Häkkinen's half-page of critical remarks. This despite the fact that the organizers themselves, chief among them the Prime Minister's Office, called the entire Finland 100 project a "historically exceptional phenomenon," that will "go down in history" with "historically great impact and extent."[55] Again, we find a mismatch of rhetoric and action that is reminiscent of many other intersections of propaganda and undemocratic politics.

The Prime Minister's Office issued strict guidelines and focus points for further research on the celebrations. They do not mandate seeking answers to any critical or historical political questions. Rather, the Office's focus is on whether the celebrations promoted "Finnishness," without defining that term,

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[52] VNK, *Suomi 100 vuotta. Yhdessä. Suomi 100 -juhlavuoden raportti*, 106.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Ruokolainen et al., *Suomi 100 – Juhlavuoden vaikutukset: Osa 1*.

[55] Ruokolainen et al., *Suomi 100 – Juhlavuoden vaikutukset: Osa 1*, 83–84; and "Suomi 100 -juhlavuoden laajuus ja vaikutukset historiallisen suuria," Prime Minister's Office, September 25, 2018, https://vnk.fi/-/suomi-100-juhlavuoden-laajuus-ja-vaikutukset-historiallisen-suuria.

on identifying "lessons learned" that can be useful for organization of similar "large thematic events" in the future, and "activating citizens." Another objective for further research is cementing in place the "national cultural capital" that the Finland 100 project created.[56] Finally, the research is supposed to provide suggestions for increasing this type of impacts of the project.[57] Unfortunately, a critical academic research approach to the celebrations is missing from the guidelines for follow-up research. Rather, the guidelines demand that the celebrations be taken at face value and their success be evaluated in that limited framework. The Prime Minister's Office is in no uncertain terms using public funds to commission research into how to encourage citizens and civil society to be more active in accepting and promoting a particular and politically questionable version of Finnish nationalism. There is one lonely sentence in the Prime Minister's call for papers that promotes diversity, which reads: "The starting point of study is the cultural diversity and multilingualism of Finland."[58] This sentence stands alone in its own paragraph. The rest of the text does not specify the way cultural diversity and multilingualism should be a part of the research. Nor does it suggest that the celebration of cultural and linguistic diversity implies anything other than an uncontested, immutable, monolithic national narrative.

The guidelines issued by the Prime Minister's Office, which seek to ensure the replication of the national cultural impacts of the celebrations in the future, actually bring into question the scientific impartiality of the research on their outcomes. The report on the celebrations nevertheless contains evidence about how they were organized, which is useful for the purposes of this article when analyzed from the perspective of history politics.

The preparations for Finland 100 coincided with the onset of the 2015 refugee crisis in Europe and the rise of populist right-wing parties in Finland and elsewhere in Europe. According to interviews conducted for the report, the rise of right-wing sentiment was concerning to the organizers, who feared that the celebrations might take on an unwanted nationalistic undertone, contrary to their desire to feature multiculturalism as an asset of contemporary Finland.[59] These worries led the organizers to stress that Finland 100 would be a "positive"

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[56] *Suomi 100 -tutkimushanke,* Prime Minister's Office, accessed November 15, 2020, https://vnk.fi/suomi-100-tutkimushanke.

[57] The research projects were still continuing in early 2021. The Social Democrat-led center-left coalition that took power in 2019 has so far not commissioned any new studies that would have a broader focus or include historical political research.

[58] *Suomi 100 -tutkimushanke*.

[59] Ruokolainen et al., *Suomi 100 – Juhlavuoden vaikutukset: Osa 1.*, 17.

celebration of “all Finns and friends of Finland.” They made a deliberate effort to avoid, or “bypass” as one interviewee in the study put it, the question of whether the celebrations were only for Finnish citizens.[60] The goal of “positivity” was perhaps achieved from a public relations perspective. However, it carried with it a telling hint of avoidance rather than engagement with sensitive issues. These included how the celebrations should deal with the politics of history, nationalism, the construction of the Finnish nation-state, and national historical myths. If national independence is not at the heart of debate, discussion, and assessment of the identities, histories and myths surrounding “who the polity is for,” then what is? But the organizers wanted to present an independence that was supposedly far-removed from all the contentious ideas that give meaning to the concepts of a nation and a nation-state.

History politics do not receive any attention in the extensive comparisons that the report on the outcomes of Finland 100 makes with previous Finnish independence celebrations and with similar celebrations in other countries. This despite the use of comparative historical data in the analysis. Rather, the focus of the report is on the instrumentalization and the functional role of the celebrations, and on their reach and impact. This approach is akin to functionalist and modernization theories. Even more so, the reporting focuses uncritically on how organization and lessons from previous celebrations have been used and applied.[61] In a brief overview, the report shows how since 1967, Finnish independence celebrations have expanded their ideas about what constitutes the national framework and identity. They incorporated more and more aspects of life under their umbrella: the report states that independence celebrations have moved from being state-centric to being a wider celebration of “the Finnish way of life.”[62] The 100th anniversary, with a stated goal of being the historically most capacious and extensive event of its kind,[63] then fits neatly into this trajectory of portraying and understanding more and more aspects of lived experience as representations of nationality and nationalism in unchanged functionality from 1967. That trajectory is very much in contrast with recent developments in historical research, which emphasize connected histories and transnational forces and networks, not to mention earlier, well-established works on the invented and socially constructed nature of nationalism.

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[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid., 19.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid., 20.

In the vein of invented and constructed nationalism, the organizers of the celebrations sought out and brought in ideas from elsewhere for expanding and extending the celebration of nationality. Their report cites Norwegian celebrations in which immigrants were dressed in Norwegian national costumes and the movies that the Estonian state commissioned to celebrate its independence.[64] The organizers actively reflected upon the Finnish historical trajectory as one comparable and commensurate with a universal notion of national development and fitted local contexts and narratives into this framework. However, important differences can be seen in the way Estonia celebrated the centennial of its 1918 declaration of independence with the historical sensitivities that a post-Soviet context brings. Canada, another source of inspiration to the organizers, treated the idea of civic participation very differently than did Finland 100. It accommodated a critical and problematizing approach to the country's history as a nation of colonial settlers and later of immigrants. Indeed, as the report shows, Canada grounded its celebrations in an introspective understanding of its internal plurality (requiring participation by first nations and other ethnic or language minorities), while Norway grounded its celebrations in its constitution.[65] Such critical approaches were glaringly absent from the Finnish celebrations and were clearly dropped in the process of supposedly learning from these examples. Rather, questions about the legacy of democracy, struggles over the framing of the constitution, and minority histories were subsumed into a narrative of Finnish national unity. For example, Sami perspectives running against the grain of the national narrative were relegated to the academic realm or fully excluded.[66]

Despite a thorough preceding discussion suggesting otherwise, the report in the end interprets the more critical focus on national history in Canada and Norway as essentially nationalistic. The report's conclusion hews to the political guidelines about the replicability of promoting Finnish nationalism that the report's authors were given. For example, the report claims that in Norway, the "integral focus on history, information, and possibilities for citizens' mobilization and civic activity" is a sign of nationalism.[67] The report thus supports the underlying intent of the Finland 100 celebrations and their organizers to restrict

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[64] Ibid., 23.

[65] Ibid., 24.

[66] See for example Reetta Toivanen, "Sápmi Saami 100," *Voima* (February 6, 2017), https://voima.fi/hairikot/artikkeli/sapmi-saami-100/; Jukka Nyyssönen, Pigga Keskitalo, and Tiina Kinnunen, "Sápmi 100? Saamelaishistorian vastanarratiivejä Suomi 100-tapahtumassa Sajoksessa," *Ennen ja Nyt* 2 (2018), https://www.ennenjanyt.net/2018/09/sapmi100-saamelaishistorian-vastanarratiiveja-suomi100-tapahtumassa-sajoksessa/.

[67] Ruokolainen et al., *Suomi 100 – Juhlavuoden vaikutukset: Osa 1.,* 26.

participation and the diversity of perspectives, especially when it comes to historical interpretations surrounding Finland's independence and nationalism. They preferred to steer clear of problematic and divisive interpretations of the past. In so doing, the planning of the celebrations, the celebrations themselves, and the after-action reporting on them represent an effort to control Finland's history politics and troubled pasts. The only mechanism present for inclusion is the acceptance of a widening national historical framework, whose premises are not openly contested. Finland 100's consideration of independence through "history, the present and the future" translates into an enforced narrative of a unifying national framework, instead of an open and democratic discussion of the contested meanings of independence and nationalism – and possible changes to them. An open discussion would require giving space to a variety of interpretations and imaginaries of Finland's history and its connections with the present and the future.

As the report states, the theme and objective of the celebrations of Finland's centennial "do not differ from previous anniversaries," except that they sought to mobilize Finnish society more intensively.[68] Nevertheless, it presents Finland 100 as a non-nationalistic project, or at least less nationalistic than elsewhere, despite the fact that the stated goal of the Prime Minister's Office was cementing Finland's national cultural capital.[69] Historical research on Finnish nationalism and independence, and the knowledge and interpretations of its history, have significantly changed over time, sometimes through painstaking and politicized debate. By contrast, the state-organized independence celebrations have kept to a singular trajectory, only expanding their size, reach, and pervasiveness. For history politics regarding Finland's independence and the celebrations that are aimed at bringing state and citizen together, historical research (not to mention alternative and marginal histories) has had little effect on ideas about independence and nationalism. This indicates that in Finland, the official politics of history has successfully been kept static and uncontested, along with a monolithic, exclusionary history politics.[70]

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68 Ibid., 22.

69 Indirectly, the report does in fact achieve one goal set by the Prime Minister's Office by falsely presenting Finnish nationalism and its history as objectively determined, colorless, and unifying.

70 Similar conclusions have been expressed about Independence Day and other celebrations in Finnish schools. Niemi et al. argue that these celebrations are considered to be important to creating "a sense of national or cultural community," but that they overlook the "intercultural potential." Pia-Maria Niemi, Arniika Kuusisto, and Arto Kallioniemi, "Discussing school celebrations from an intercultural perspective – a study in the Finnish context," *Intercultural Education* 25, no. 4 (2014): 255, doi: https://doi.org/10.1080/14675986.2014.926143.

Based on the studies the Prime Minister's Office commissioned to determine the effects the Finland 100 celebrations had on Finnish national identity and civil society, no goals, practices, or forms of participation for defining historical questions or introducing alternative perspectives were specified beforehand. Besides allusions to contemplation of comparisons and multiple sides in the early memo mentioned, the entire organization of Finland 100 was that way from its inception. It was silent about its own history politics even though it placed heavy emphasis on inclusiveness, togetherness and diversity that supposedly build on a shared past. This amounts to a controlled, non-democratic approach towards history politics in the Finnish national context. The massive 100th anniversary of independence celebrations are perhaps the clearest example and reflection of the prevailing situation and especially of the current developments and trajectories of Finnish history politics in general.

Finland 100 and International Comparative History Politics

Analyzing the Estonian case from which the Finland 100 organizers also claimed to have drawn inspiration, Karsten Brüggemann and Andres Kasekamp note that in an open society it should be "hardly possible to pursue 'the one and only' narrative any more" and to "exclude divergent interpretations."[71] It is in the comparison with Estonia, a neighboring country and nation that represents a historically close comparative case with Finland, that we can detect contrasts that are descriptive of the Finnish case. While Estonia was a part of the Soviet Union and took a strong nationalist turn in its politics of history after the fall of the Soviet Union, representative of post-socialist countries in general, Finland had remained independent but was within the Soviet sphere of influence. And while Estonia had to first break and then come to terms with its past after 1989/91, Finland went through a similar but much less shocking reorientation that did not force an open confrontation with the politics of history, especially in the public sphere. On the contrary, earlier critical perspectives towards Finnish history politics and the politics of history were dismissed as having been caused by a need to appease the Soviets. Jouni Tilli, for example, says that the political character of certain key historical interpretations "has been somewhat

[71] Karsten Brüggemann and Andres Kasekamp, "The Politics of History and the 'War of Monuments' in Estonia," *Nationalities Papers* 36, no. 3 (2008): 425–448, doi: https://doi.org/10.1080/00905990802080646.

neglected ... often in ways that deny the political character of historiography."[72] In contrast, as Brüggemann and Kasekamp argue, Estonia has made major strides in "deconstructing the once dominant narratives of suffering nations," and in coming to terms with its troubled past and a divided historical memory in the public sphere (beyond academic historical research).[73] This has led to open contestation, debate and conflict over the politics of history and to clashes of history politics in a process headed towards the "democratization of memory" over the "sacralization of memory."[74]

The Finland 100 project shows that although the state and other entities may not aim directly at the sacralization of a unified narrative, their motivation and conception of supposedly non-nationalistic politics of history is to avoid the democratization of memory; diversity in the present is added and included into an unchanging and untouchable past. Different narratives and perspectives do not clash and there is no contest in the present over "historical truths," accurate and informative interpretations or alternative perspectives. The situation increases the distance between the sphere of academic historical research and the public sphere. The disputes which have flared up in post-socialist countries are inevitable when the politics of history have been similarly torn asunder, but in Finland such disputes are interpreted as problematic if not shameful failures because they are viewed through the lens of an imagined acceptance of diversity in the present that is premised on an untroubled past.

Matti Jutila has described this as a "securitization of national identities," meaning that simplified historical narratives are used to present "a more unified image of the nation than what would be historically accurate."[75] Opening up the past to both more diverse conceptions and to previous exclusions would in fact desecuritize rather than reify or undermine national identities, Jutila explains.[76] However, it would appear that the type of history politics promoted by the Finland 100 project perceived this as a threat to the marketability of the putatively diverse Finnish national identity in the present, and opted rather to put everything under the umbrella of the Finnish nation rather than to democratize the politics of history concerning that umbrella.

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72 Jouni Tilli, "Elina Sana's *Luovutetut* and the Politics of History," in *Finland's Holocaust: Silences of History*, ed. Simo Muir and Hana Worthen (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 164.

73 Brüggemann and Kasekamp, "The Politics of History," 427.

74 Ibid.

75 Matti Jutila, "Securitization, history and identity: some conceptual clarifications and examples from politics of Finnish war history," *Nationalities Papers* 43, no. 6 (2015): 941, doi: https://doi.org/10.1080/00905992.2015.1065402.

76 Ibid.

The story of a bar owned by a Finn in Berlin was a telling example of the state of Finnish history politics. It was found that the Finnish owner belonged to a society that memorialized Finnish soldiers who served in the Waffen-SS during World War II. The bar owner had posed for pictures with his father's SS-helmet. In Berlin this led to boycotting of the bar, while in Finland, the case was considered a curiosity and a matter of cultural differences in historical understandings. No similar activity towards the main branch of the bar, located in Finland, took place. The bar owner described his membership in the memorial association, and the association itself, as purely a neutral and apolitical matter of "historical remembrance," unconnected with present-day politics. Interestingly, his explanation resonated with a Finnish kind of logic in which Germans could simply not be expected to understand that in Finland the interpretation of history was different. This logic excluded the possibility that the Finnish and German politics of history, not to mention their histories themselves, might be connected. Finnish news articles about the case rushed to point out that displaying Nazi symbols is not a crime in Finland as it is in Germany. The Finnish press steered clear from the actual politics of history of SS-commemoration. At times it repeated, without reference, the historically false and problematic statement that the Finnish SS-volunteers did not necessarily know that they were specifically joining the SS-troops and that they were mainly motivated by anti-Soviet sentiment.[77]

As Tilli puts it, touching also upon Finnish actions in World War II, "Finnish historico-political debate has been hampered by an inability and unwillingness to understand how the consequences of a political atmosphere were permeated by profound nationalism."[78] Even the Finnish SS-volunteers fighting on the Eastern Front are depoliticized by portraying them simply as part of a unified Finnish defense against the Soviet Union. "The historiography of the Finnish *Waffen-SS* experience is imbued with a major paradox: the volunteers' involvement in the war on the Eastern Front tends to be understood in the domestic context … as

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[77] See for example Visa Noronen, "Lammin Sahtikeisari Pekka Kääriäinen on kohun keskellä," *Hämeen Sanomat*, March 10, 2019, https://www.hameensanomat.fi/uutiset/lammin-sahtikeisari-pekka-kaariainen-on-kohun-keskella-saksalaisjarjesto-vaatii-boikotoimaan-entisten-ss-miesten-apuyhdistyksen-aktiivin-ravintolaa-639964/; Solmu Salminen, "Suomalaispubia vastaan lietsotaan boikottia Berliinissä," *Iltalehti,* March 7, 2019, https://www.iltalehti.fi/ulkomaat/a/a42e368a-43d7-442a-a5aa-6e5e8b5dc50b; Anna Saraste,"Suomalainen olutravintola boikotin kohteena Berliinissä," *YLE,* March 9, 2019, https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-10681429; Ines Siren,"SS-perinnettä vaalivan yrittäjän baari suljetaan Berliinissä," *Helsingin Sanomat,* September 10, 2019, https://www.hs.fi/kaupunki/art-2000006233727.html.

[78] Tilli, "Elina Sana's *Luovutetut* and the Politics of History," 152.

though the *Waffen-SS* volunteers were in effect fighting on the Finnish front."[79] According to this interpretation, Antero Holmila specifies, all those soldiers can therefore be presented as identical and appropriated into the Finnish narrative.[80] The "neutral" national narrative has the power to subsume even the Finnish Waffen-SS in a shared, uncontestably virtuous past.

The Finland 100 Celebrations as History Politics

Why would a democratic state like Finland be opposed to open, democratic history politics? When organizing, branding and promoting the once-in-a-century celebrations of independence (an important forum for the politics of history), and perhaps more interestingly, commissioning subsequent research into their impact on society, why would it fall back on a one-dimensional, deterministic narrative? Why would it continue to promote the politicized inventions of national tradition instead of information developed in more recent historical research?

The massive Finland 100 celebrations had as their stated goal spreading a message of the diversity and inclusiveness of modern Finland. That message was carefully curated and with great resources woven on top of a singular and history politically undemocratic interpretation and representation of the past. As Eemeli Hakokängäs summarizes critically, the theme "together" did not encourage any critical perspectives and few opinions were raised that would have inquired about the actual historical construction of the understanding of Finnishness.[81]

The government-organized celebrations actively avoided discussion of contested aspects of Finnish history. Instead, they sought to bring everyone "together" under a non-transparent and closed narrative of national history that made present day diversity and inclusiveness hinge on a non-historicized and exclusionary process of how the past is understood and connected to the present. The stated aim of the massive organization effort, the public relations, and the media coverage was to gather separate and even contradictory aspects of Finnish history, past and present, under the same umbrella of "positive," "successful" national

79 Antero Holmila, "'Soldaten wie andere auch': Finnish Waffen-SS Volunteers and Finland's Historical Imagination" in *Finland's Holocaust: Silences of History*, ed. Simo Muir and Hana Worthen (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 219.
80 Ibid.
81 Eemeli Hakokängäs, "Arvostelut: Soturikansasta rauhanrakentajaksi: suomalaisuuden myyttien historia," *Kasvatus ja Aika* 12, no. 1 (2018): 65–66.

unity, togetherness and belongingness without critically questioning the history political work and exclusions that go into achieving such singularity.

Another key finding is that an open and democratic history politics was largely displaced by a focus on the celebrations themselves as a historical event in the making. For example, according to the official release of the Prime Minister's Office on independence day 2017, the celebrations "will remain in Finland's history as the most extensive and diverse jubilee year that Finns and friends of Finland created together."[82] This shifted the focus from what was celebrated to how it was celebrated and how the celebrations would look from a future standpoint.

The Finland 100 celebrations were an active history political instrument. The celebrations' relationship to politics of history was largely in line with the previous 50th and 75th independence anniversary celebrations, despite the celebrations' stated theme of "together" and the aim for diversity. Those earlier celebrations also steered clear of alternative historical narratives and did not open up historical conversations in a democratic manner any more than did the 2017 version. In the previous celebrations in 1967 and 1992, this meant that the events of the Finnish civil war and the histories of minorities were ignored and occluded. The traditional national historical narrative was repeated in the service of supporting a nationalist identity. The disappearance of Finland's close relations with the Soviet Union was the only factor that was substantially changed in 2017 compared to 1967 and 1992.[83] To some extent, the missing Soviet factor enhanced the nationalist dimension of the 2017 celebrations. For example, historian Taina Uusitalo has shown that the celebrations included an increased idealization of the so-called Jääkäri-troops, trained in imperial Germany, who joined the civil war on the side of the bourgeoisie whites. The celebrations' positive portrayal of those troops contrasts with recent historical research on their role in Finnish history.[84] When historically marginal groups were incorporated into the national narrative, it took place without a historical discussion of their original exclusion and oppression, as Taavetti suggests regarding the homoerotic art of Tom of

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[82] Valtioneuvoston kanslia (Prime Minister's Office) Press Release, "The Finland 100 centenary reached its climax in Finland and around the world," December 6, 2017, https://valtioneuvosto.fi/-/10616/suomi-100-juhlavuosi-huipentui-suomessa-ja-maailmalla?languageId=en_US.

[83] Kaisa-Leena Rahikka, "Suomi 50 ja 75 vuotta: historiapolitiikka juhlavuosina 1967 ja 1992" (Master's thesis, University of Helsinki, 2020).

[84] Taina Uusitalo, "Jääkäriliikkeen diplomaatit historiantutkimuksen valossa 1914–1918," *Ennen ja Nyt* 2 (2018), https://www.ennenjanyt.net/2018/09/jaakariliikkeen-diplomaatit-historiantutkimuksen-valossa-1914-1918/.

Finland.[85] The relationship between past exclusion and present acceptance is glossed over by an appropriation of the past into a progressive developmentalist national narrative.

Throughout the planning, organization and reporting on the hundredth anniversary of Finnish independence, the state and key organizers have exercised control over history politics. They actively juxtaposed an open assessment of nationalism's history and its alternatives with the possibilities of a more inclusive nationalism today. Occlusion of the civil war and conflation of democratic developments with independence are telling examples of this strategy. Discrepancies or mismatches between past and present-day intentions and motivations are seen as possibly eroding a unifying national narrative.

This analysis confirms earlier research on Finnish independence day celebrations by Nyyssönen, who argues along similar lines in favor of a Finnish history politics that evaluates and judges the past from the present context, where the present is seen as "more advanced" and should therefore be kept a distance from any "unpleasant" pasts.[86] Similarly, Holmila summarizes that Finnish historical culture actively ignores and avoids engagement with considerations of troubled pasts in order to cling to unifying myths and historical logics.[87] The continued promotion of this type of undemocratic history politics can eventually transform the relation between the separated academic and public politics of history and lead to a political confrontation, as those two perspectives drift further apart from each other. This has the potential to lead to the political undermining of open historical research and knowledge. What is at stake in democratizing Finnish history politics, then, is, in fact, the real continuation of inclusive and democratic politics in the present and the future if, and when, the curated and mythical image of a unified national past crumbles.

Importantly, the stated goals of the celebrations were to "understand the past, observe the present and create a direction for the future."[88] This did not, however, entail support for transparent historical research or the promotion of recent findings and debates in the field. Rather, the celebrations, and the later reporting on them, promoted historical interpretations and memory politics that centered around a unilinear, deterministic reading of state sovereignty and independence, one that is more associated with the authoritarian states of the

[85] Riikka Taavetti, "Suvaitsevaisuuden soturi. Tom of Finlandin ilo ja häpeä satavuotiaassa Suomessa," *Ennen ja Nyt* 2 (2018).

[86] Nyyssönen, "The Politics of Calendar," 137.

[87] Holmila, "'Soldaten wie andere auch'," 239.

[88] VNK, *Suomi 100 vuotta. Yhdessä. Suomi 100 -juhlavuoden raportti*, 5.

twentieth century than modern democracies. This was especially so since the argumentation and decision-making process leading up to these interpretations of history in Finland 100 was anything but transparent. The celebrations were meant to have reflected upon the past, but unlike the organizers claimed in their self-assessment, when it comes to history, they did not provoke “wide debate”[89] but rather cemented a particular hegemonic politics of history centered around an increasingly pervasive and expansive national narrative.

Conclusions: History on Display, Look but Do Not Touch

Though more research is required, based on my initial analysis, I identify the Finnish state as an active mnemonic actor, which, in light of the Finland 100 project and the kind of mnemonic regime that those actions imply, maintains an undemocratic history politics in relation to the country’s politics of history. In short, the access of alternative or critical voices or historical perspectives to the national fora of the politics of history is strictly controlled.

Overall, we see that the Finnish state is a controlling, selective and coordinating mnemonic actor. Its history politics is constituted by two major separations that it seeks to maintain. First, in the public sphere and through its public relations work, the state, largely through coordination and cooperation with third parties, maintains discursive and epistemological control over how interpretations of the past connect with the present and the future. In simple terms, the influence of necessity on the events in national history is portrayed as having led to a more open present but only because the Finnish nation was monolithic and unified. This narrative allows room for stories of compromises made and conflicts avoided, such as Finlandization, but it excludes from national memory actions that could have undermined or prevented the “togetherness” of the nation.

Secondly, a separation between academic historical research and public historical interpretations is maintained. These two aspects and arenas of the politics of history, the public and the professional, are kept separate by the perception or an implicit logic of their incommensurateness. The belief is that keeping the two sides separate maintains the autonomy of both and that their interaction may undermine both of them. Pauli Kettunen has described this as an old Finnish tradition of understanding historians as the therapists of the nation, who selectively

[89] Ibid.

provide only positive impulses to the patient.[90] So while the Finland 100 celebrations, for example, seek to reflect upon the past, they do so only in terms that are acceptable and understandable to the majority, which means actively interpreting everything through the lowest common denominator, that is, a colorless and immutable national framework. Anything outside this framework, or which may possibly undermine it, is thought to lead to "harmful" nationalism. In other words, an encompassing, generic uncontested national history politics, that enforces a benevolent interpretation of the great events and memories of the national past, is seen as the necessary antidote to possibly dangerous, confrontational interpretations of history.

These two divides together strengthen and enforce each other. Their interaction makes resistance to the dominant mnemonic regime more difficult and endows the regime with a degree of hegemony. A good example of this comes through in the documentation of the Finland 100 celebrations I have discussed in this article. The highlighting of troubled aspects of the past, such as the exclusion of minorities and discriminatory or even racist behavior, is shunned for fear of undermining progressivist and inclusive politics in the present. In other words, if new historical information about past atrocities and questionable processes and trajectories of nation-making or national unity were allowed to be promulgated openly and democratically in the public sphere, not to mention with state support, this might lead to confrontations and setbacks in the slow development of a supposedly progressive, yet more extensive and, ideally, all-encompassing national culture in the present and future.

In a very simplified sense, all this is analogous to a museum where national history is on display. The audience is encouraged to come and see the exhibit, but only the curators get to touch the objects and decide what will be displayed, and how and with what explanations. Even the researchers who discovered the objects on display do not have a say in how they are presented once they are exposed to the public's eyes. In other words, the state's history politics aims to prevent other perspectives from undermining the foregrounding of a particular and historically simplified narrative of national continuity and progress. The difference between Finland 100 and previous similar efforts is that outside consultants, public relations managers, and new technologies of communication provided an inescapable exhibition of national history that reached into more spheres of life. In the words of the lone historian who participated in the official self-evaluation, Finland 100 presented "new and fresh forms of expression" for

[90] Kettunen, "Kansallinen 'me' ja historia globaalistuvassa maailmassa," 1–8.

“just the same old story.”[91] The politics of history in Finland centers on the extension of the dominant narrative into the future. As such, despite a more immersive museum experience, this mnemonic regime promotes the historical traditions and the politics of an invented national narrative from the early twentieth century, rather than welcoming the arrival of twenty-first century democratic history politics.

[91] VNK, *Suomi 100 vuotta. Yhdessä. Suomi 100 -juhlavuoden raportti,* 106.

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STUDIA TERRITORIALIA 1

THE POLITICS OF MEMORY AND THE REFASHIONING OF COMMUNISM FOR YOUNG PEOPLE: THE ILLUSTRATED GUIDE TO ROMANIAN COMMUNISM

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Abstract
This paper analyzes the contents of a pocket-sized booklet entitled *Ghidul ilustrat al comunismului românesc* (*The Illustrated Guide to Romanian Communism*), which was published to counter growing nostalgia for the communist era that is popular among Romania's young people. Influenced by family members and the media, the postmemory of Romanian communism among the country's youth tends to focus on the positive aspects of the communist period and ignore the crimes of the postwar regime. The guide provides a selective reading of the history of Romanian communism and identifies repression as its main feature. The critical visual analysis of the images in the guide identifies the various forms that repression took during communist rule. It targeted not only individuals but also entire social groups, who faced imprisonment on political grounds. At the same time, the repression took quotidian form as the regime extended its control over people's private lives and even their habits of consumption.
Keywords: Romania; public memory; postmemory; post-communist nostalgia; civic education; visual analysis
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Introduction

Although more than thirty years have passed since the Revolution of December 1989, the event still triggers hot debate about what communism in Romania was and how it should be remembered in the present day. During the last three decades, the public memory of communism has evolved from unanimous dislike to a mix of nostalgia for the good old times and vivid recollections of the crimes and human rights violations committed by the communist regime. Moreover, an increasing number of young people who did not directly experience communism have a positive image of it.[1]

My paper focuses on the project of a local NGO in Romania aimed at countering the nostalgia for communism that is popular among the younger generation. The project resulted in *Ghidul ilustrat al comunismului românesc* (*The Illustrated Guide to Romanian Communism*), a pocket-sized booklet intended to introduce young people to the "true" history of Romanian communism. The booklet provides a selective reading of that history. It stresses facts that its authors hope will reveal the repressive nature of communism and persuade young people to abandon nostalgic notions about it. The booklet identifies repression as the main feature of the communist regime and attempts to explain it to its young readers.

In this article I will focus primarily on the visual aspects of *The Illustrated Guide to Romanian Communism*. My analysis will address the following questions: what are the events that highlight the criminal nature of Romania's communist past in order to counter youth nostalgia for it? Does the guide interpret repression as an individual experience or as a collective trauma? Does the guide regard repression as a few exceptional events (e.g., imprisonment of dissidents) or as a daily experience of common people? To answer these questions, I will examine the visual content of the guide, which is intended to show how communist repression evolved and how its forms and its tactics changed over time.

In the process, I employ a critical visual analysis that focuses on the images in the booklet. My first step is *describing* the image by "pointing out features contained within it, such as formal properties of composition, color, tone and contrast."[2] The second step is identifying the *subject matter* and the persons, objects, places, or events captured in the image. Examination of the *form* of the image

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1 Manuela Marin, "Assessing Communist Nostalgia in Romania: Chronological Framework and Opinion Polls," *Twentieth Century Communism* 11 (2016): 20–21, doi: 10.3898/175864316819698558.

2 Jonathan E. Schroeder, "Critical Visual Analysis," in *Handbook of Qualitative Research in Marketing*, ed. Russell W. Belk (Cheltenham, Northampton: Edward Elgar Pub, 2006), 305.

focuses on the way in which the subject matter is presented.[3] Special attention will be given to the use of color and color combinations to convey a mood and enhance certain elements of the message.[4] In analyzing the images of *The Illustrated Guide* I will also consider what Victoria E. Bonnell has defined as *visual syntax*, namely "the positioning of figures and objects in relation to each other and the environment."[5] I will show how communist symbols and the historical roles of different communist personalities (for example, the Romanian leader Nicolae Ceaușescu) are reinterpreted (or their official meaning subverted) by the guide in order to convince its readers that repression was the main instrument the communist regime used to solidify its position in Romania.

Grasping the full meaning of the image in the booklet requires its analysis in relation to its other elements. As Gillian Rose notes, "visual images make sense in relation to other things, including written texts and very often other images."[6] While I do not analyze the texts that contextualize the events or characters that appear in the booklet's images, I organize this article according to the titles of its chapters and analyze the images it uses to illustrate them. In that way I intend to deconstruct the internal logic of *The Illustrated Guide* and its message. Lastly, I apply the *images in use* approach to critical analysis of visual communication, in which "images are not considered as meaningful objects in and of themselves but as part of the process of negotiating values."[7] I examine *The Illustrated Guide* as a tool used in the civic education of Romanian youth for raising their awareness of the repressive nature and the human rights violations of the Romanian communist regime.

My paper is structured in four main parts. An introduction is followed by a discussion of the theory of public memory, nostalgia, and post-communist nostalgia in particular. The purpose of this conceptual background is to show the reader how young people's "postmemory" is increasingly constructed by positive impressions of the communist past. I examine the process of coming to terms with the communist past in Romania and the contradictions in its public memory in the following part. The part after that focuses on the behind-the-scenes

[3] Ibid., 305, 308.

[4] Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to Researching with Visual Materials*, 4th ed. (Los Angeles: Sage, 2016), 64.

[5] Victoria Bonnel, *Iconography of Power: Soviet Political Posters under Lenin and Stalin* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997), 10.

[6] Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, 22.

[7] Matteo Stocchetti and Karin Kukkonen, Introduction to *Images in Use: Towards the Critical Analysis of Visual Communication*, ed. Matteo Stocchetti and Karin Kukkonen (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2011), 3.

story of *The Illustrated Guide to Romanian Communism*, how it has reached young people all over Romania, and how it has inspired or become part of other cultural and educational initiatives. Lastly, the paper assesses the effectiveness of the visual content of the guide in countering post-communist nostalgia among today's young people in Romania.

Public Memory, Nostalgia, and the Young People of Romania

For the purposes of this paper, I have adopted John Bodnar's concept of public memory. According to Bodnar, "public memory is a body of beliefs and ideas about the past that help a public or society understand both its past, present, and by implication, its future." Public memory is a "communicative and cognitive process" that ideally takes place in the public sphere, where it "emerges from the intersection of official and vernacular cultural expressions." Official cultural expressions "[promote] interpretations of past and present that reduce the power of competing interests that threaten the attainment of their [the societal elite's and public authorities'] goals." In contrast, vernacular cultural expressions are produced by a set of diverse and constantly changing (and sometimes contradictory) interests, which make up the whole of society. Vernacular culture competes with official culture for control of the significance and interpretation of historical events that relate to "serious matters in the present."[8] As my paper will demonstrate, coming to terms with the communist past in Romania means that the public memory of communism has evolved from an exclusive focus on condemning repression to a blend of revulsion at its criminal aspects and nostalgia for its more positive aspects.

Since the 1990s, the Romanian public memory has endorsed an interpretation of the communist past that focused on repression. This was the all but exclusive narrative about communism in Romania until the mid-2000s. Since then, the dominant narrative has emphasized repression as the "true" nature of communism and employed its image to counter a growing strain of nostalgia for the days of communist rule (post-communist nostalgia) in the vernacular culture. I have chosen as a case study a pocket-size booklet called *The Illustrated Guide to Romanian Communism*. The booklet is one of many civic initiatives that attempt to reinforce the criminal image of communism for the purpose of

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[8] John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 13–15.

combating post-communist nostalgia, especially among young people. The guide "calls into question the communist past and its still potent symbols" in order to provoke public discussion of communism and dispel the myths being created around it.[9]

According to Svetlana Boym, nostalgia is a feeling of longing for past times, people, objects, feelings, events, and relationships that no longer exist. It implies "a sense of loss and displacement" based on an obvious contrast between a romanticized version of the past and a present that is considered inferior.[10] Nostalgia is not so much about the past but about the present and its relationship to the past.[11] My paper will show how the social and economic insecurities of the transition period favored the rise of a nostalgic reinterpretation of Romanians' lives as they were before December 1989. Opinion polls conducted in Romania after the fall of the communist regime indicate that this nostalgia is not of the *restorative* type, that is, it is not aimed at "rebuilding the lost home" or the communist political regime.[12] Most of the respondents longed for the social and economic stability of communism, but also wanted to preserve the existing democratic structure. The results of the opinion polls reflect two types of nostalgia: *endo-nostalgia*, nostalgia for the past one experienced personally, and *exo-nostalgia*, nostalgia for a past not lived personally.[13] As my paper will show, exo-nostalgia – arising from parental influence, advertising,[14] art,[15] and "cool" bars, pubs and restaurants decorated with "red" symbols and serving drinks and dishes with "communist flavor"[16] – tends to idealize the image of the communist period among a growing number of today's youth.

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9 Caterina Preda, "Art and Politics in Postcommunist Romania: Changes and Continuities," *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society* 42, no. 3 (2012): 123, doi: 10.1080/10632921.2012.726550.

10 Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), xiii, xvi.

11 See also Fred Davis, *Yearning for Yesterday: A Sociology of Nostalgia* (New York: Free Press, 1979).

12 Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*, xviii, 41. On the roots of nostalgia for communism in Romania, see Marin, "Assessing Communist Nostalgia in Romania," 10–26.

13 David Berliner, "Are anthropologists nostalgist?" in *Anthropology and Nostalgia*, ed. Olivia Angé and David Berliner (New York: Berghahn Books, 2015), 21.

14 Dragoș Petrescu, "Selective Memories of Communism: Remembering Ceaușescu's Socialism in Post-1989 Romania," in *Gebrochene Kontinuitäten. Transnationalität in den Erinnerungskulturen Ostmitteleuropas im 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Agnieszka Gąsior, Agnieszka Halemba, and Stefan Troebst (Köln: Böhlau, 2014), 314–319.

15 Caterina Preda, "Le rôle de la nostalgie dans la mémoire artistique du passé communiste dans la Roumanie contemporaine," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 57, no. 3–4 (2015), 1–16, doi: 10.1080/00085006.2015.1092709.

16 See for example, Emilia Sava, "Salata Ana Pauker şi cocktail Scânteia," *Adevărul*, March 1, 2010, 32.

The positive image of communism in the minds of Romanian young people illustrates what Marianne Hirsch has called "postmemory." In her understanding, postmemory "describes the relationship of the second generation to powerful ... experiences that preceded their births but that were nevertheless transmitted to them so deeply as to seem to constitute memories in their own right."[17] The transmission of postmemory usually takes place in the family, because "postmemory's connection to the past is not ... actually mediated by recall but by imaginative investment, projection and creation."[18] When they decide to abandon their indifference towards the communist period, young people use stories they have heard or read from different sources to make sense of a social and political reality that is foreign to them.[19]

The Public Memory of Communism: From Disparagement to Divisive Remembering

The violent end of the communist regime in December 1989 and the then-recent memory of the severe hardships people had to face during the 1980s relegated the communist period to the trash bin of Romanian history for many years. The former communists that gained power in Romania in 1990 openly discouraged all debates about the communist past. They argued that the communist period had to be forgotten as soon as possible in order to build a new, democratic order in Romania. Some in the Romanian elite and civil society opposed what Vladimir Tismăneanu called the "politics of amnesia" with regard to the communist past and demanded official condemnation of the regime's criminal practices.[20] In response, public memory began to focus increasingly on political repression, dissident activities, the hardships and deprivations of everyday life under communist rule, and the crimes and surveillance of the infamous Romanian

[17] Marianne Hirsch, "The Generation of Postmemory," *Poetics Today* 29, no. 1 (2008): 103, doi: 10.1215/03335372-2007-019.

[18] Marianne Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture after the Holocaust* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 5, 34–40.

[19] On this subject see Albena Hranova, "Loan Memory: Communism and the Youngest Generation," in *Remembering Communism: Private and Public Recollections of Lived Experiences in Southeast Europe*, ed. Maria Todorova, Augusta Dimou, and Stefan Troebst (Budapest, New York: CEU Press, 2014), 233–250; or Kristen Ghodsee, *Lost in Transition. Ethnographies of Everyday Life after Communism* (Durham, London: Duke University Press, 2011), 190–191.

[20] Vladimir Tismăneanu, "Democracy and Memory: Romania Confronts its Communist Past," *The Annals of the American Society of Political and Social Science* 617 (May 2008): 168, doi: 10.1177/0002716207312763.

secret police, the Securitate.[21] Positive memories of the communist period were repressed because those who expressed them were afraid to be dubbed "nostalgic for communism."[22] Such people were viewed as backward and rooted in the past. They were mocked for their apparent refusal to embrace the democratic and market reforms triggered by the regime change in December 1989.[23]

The situation changed in the second half of the 2000s.[24] Several developments eased the way for a new assessment of Romania's communist past. Since 2005, several advertising campaigns successfully marketed products that survived December 1989. The advertisements employed a romanticized image of the "good old times" of the communist period. Examples were ads for Dacia automobiles, produced in Romania since 1966, and Rom chocolate bars. The commercials brought idealized snapshots of the Romanians' lived experiences under communism into the mainstream. They liberated positive memories from the moral guilt of praising anything related to the communist regime. Hit hard by the world economic crisis of 2008, which jeopardized their country's relative economic prosperity, many Romanians began to look back on the communist period with nostalgia and reappraise the modest but risk-free life of the communist period. Positive memories of the 1965–77 period, when Romanians enjoyed relatively decent living standards, contrasted sharply with the problems the world economy was causing many Romanians in the twenty-first century. Memories of the economic hardships of the 1980s were overwhelmed by current worries.[25]

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21 See Petrescu, "Selective Memories of Communism," 311–313; Daniel Barbu, *Republica absentă. Politică și societate în România comunistă* (București: Nemira, 1999), 107–117; Simina Bădică, "The Black Hole Paradigm. Exhibiting Communism in Post-Communist Romania," *History of Communism in Europe* 1 (2010): 83–95; Cristina Petrescu and Dragoș Petrescu, "Retribution, Remembering, Representation: On Romania's Incomplete Break with the Communist Past," in *Geschichtsbilder in den postdiktatorischen Ländern Europas. Auf der Suche nach historisch-politischen Identitäten*, ed. Gerhard Besier and Katarzyna Stoklasa (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2009), 155–156, 164–166; Cristina Petrescu and Dragoș Petrescu, "The Canon of Remembering Romanian Communism: From Autobiographical Recollections to Collective Representations," in *Remembering Communism: Private and Public Recollections of Lived Experiences in Southeast Europe*, ed. Maria Todorova, Augusta Dimou, and Stefan Troebst (Budapest, New York: CEU Press, 2014), 45–70; Cristina Petrescu, "Websites of Memory: In Search of Forgotten Past," in *Remembering Communism*, 595–613.

22 Dumitru Tinu, "Nostalgia normalității," *Adevărul*, March 23, 1999, 8.

23 Marin, "Assessing Communist Nostalgia in Romania," 10–13.

24 Petrescu, "Selective Memories of Communism," 305, 313, 319–321; Manuela Marin, "Communist Nostalgia in Romania," *Studia UBB Historia* 58, no. 2 (December 2013): 63–64.

25 Petrescu, "Selective Memories of Communism," 319–321.

At the same time as Romania's public memory was beginning to accept selected positive aspects of communism, it was affected by the political changes of 2004. The neo-communists were ousted from power by a coalition of center-right parties that aimed to capitalize politically "on the rhetoric of confronting the past."[26] The new government issued an official condemnation of the communist regime's crimes in 2006.[27] Subsequently, it created the Institute for the Investigation of the Crimes of Communism and the Memory of the Romanian Exile (Institutul de Investigare a Crimelor Comunismului şi Memoria Exilului Românesc, or IICCMER) in 2007. This was the second research institute in Romania, created after the National Institute for the Study of Totalitarianism (Institutul Naţional pentru Studiul Totalitarismului), whose mission is to research and document repression and human rights violations during the communist period.[28] A similar public memory institution, founded in 1993, is the Museum of the Memorial of the Victims of Communism and of Resistance (Memorialul Victimelor Comunismului şi al Rezistenţei) established inside an infamous communist prison in the northern part of the country (Sighetu Marmației). It is the only state-funded museum about the communist period in Romania. Although the exhibition mainly focuses on the repression in the 1950s at the beginning of communist rule in Romania and pays tribute to interwar Romanian political leaders who died in the Sighet prison, it also addresses topics concerning the history of European and Romanian communism through to its demise in 1989.[29]

While official expressions of the public memory of communism continue to underline its repressive nature, after 2008 the vernacular public memory has increasingly focused on its positive aspects. This was reflected in opinion polls

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[26] Mihai Stelian Rusu, "Transitional Politics of Memory: Political Strategies of Managing the Past in Post-communist Romania," *Europe-Asia Studies* 69, no. 8 (October 2017): 12, doi: 10.1080/09668136.2017.1380783.

[27] See Bogdan C. Iacob, "The Romanian Communist Past and the Entrapment of Polemics," in *Remembrance, History, and Justice. Coming to Terms with Traumatic Pasts in Democratic Societies*, ed. Vladimir Tismăneanu and Bogdan C. Iakob (Budapest: CEU Press, 2015), 417–474; and Monica Ciobanu, "Criminalizing the Past and Reconstructing Collective Memory: The Romanian Truth Commission," *Europe-Asia Studies* 61, no. 2 (2009): 313–336, doi: 10.1080/09668130802630870.

[28] Iacob, "The Romanian Communist Past," 417.

[29] Bădică, "The Black Hole Paradigm": 96–97; Gabriela Cristea and Simina Radu-Bucurenci, "Raising the Cross: Exorcising Romania's Communist Past in Museums, Memorials and Monuments," in *Past for the Eyes. East European Representations of Communism in Cinema and Museums after 1989*, ed. Oksana Sarkisova and Péter Apor (Budapest: CEU Press, 2008), 297–301; Vladimir Tismăneanu, "Democracy and Memory," 166–180; James Mark, *Unfinished Revolution: Making Sense of the Communist Past in Central-Eastern Europe* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), 38–44.

conducted after 2008. They show that some Romanians still approve of the leadership of the last Romanian leader, Nicolae Ceaușescu, and the economic and social achievements of his regime. Some respondents identify him as Romania's best political leader of the past 100 years – and were he a candidate in an election, the great majority of those respondents would vote for him.[30] The reasons for the positive assessment of the communist regime were given as the job security and the predictability of the near future at the time, relatively decent living conditions, social equality, and the belief that the intentions of the system were essentially good. Moreover, the respondents highly valued state interventionism and the social protection measures of the paternalist state, which ensured a modest but risk-free life to citizens who played by its rules.[31]

The opinion polls in question, as well as a study commissioned by the Soros Foundation of Romania in 2010, came to a worrisome conclusion: many young people who did not experience communism at all had a positive image of it. The 2010 study indicated that 31 percent of those aged 20 and younger said that communism was a good yet poorly implemented idea, while 38 percent of them believed that the period of communism was better than the contemporary one. Their reasons for this exo-nostalgia were the current state of Romania's education and health systems, the inability of the state to enforce its laws, and last but not least, the current standard of living, which was considered to be lower than in the communist period. One can notice similar positive assessments of the communist period among Romanian adults. The responsibility of postmemory for the nostalgic image of the communist period was confirmed by questions about the respondent's main sources of information about the recent past. The findings show that in 82 percent of cases, the family was the main source. In

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[30] See "Potrivit unui sondaj naţional al CURS despre nenorocirile abătute asupra României, Emil Constantinescu pe un preţios loc II după Nicolae Ceauşescu," *Adevărul*, November 17, 1999, 1; Valentin Protopopescu, *Mari Români. Povestea unui succes mediatic* (București: Trei, 2007), 72; Aniela Nine, "Barometru de opinie – Ceauşescu, înger şi demon," 2007, http://www.9am.ro/stiri-revista-presei/2007-12-06/barometru-deopinie- ceausescu-inger-si-demon.html; IRES-IRES-COP, "Românii şi nostalgia comunismului," July 2010, http://www.ires.com.ro/uploads/articole/romanii_si_nostalgia_comunismului.pdf; "Percepţia actuală asupra comunismului", September 2010, http://www.crimelecomunismului.ro/pdf/ro/evenimente/perceptiile_romanilorasupra_comunismului/perceptia_actuala_asupra_comunismului.pdf; Roxana Covrig, "Sondaj INSCOP. Comunism versus democraţie. Câţi români l-ar vota pe Nicola Ceaușescu," *Adevărul*, December 14, 2014, http://www.dcnews.ro/sondaj-inscop-comunism-versusdemocra-ie-ca-i-romani-l-ar-vota-pe-nicolae-ceau-escu_462287.html; IICCMER-CSOP, "Atitudini şi opinii despre regimul comunist din România. Sondaj de opinie publică, 23 mai 2011", 2011, http://www.crimelecomunismului.ro/pdf/ro/raport_sondaj_opinie_publica_iiccmer_ mai_2011.pdf, etc.

[31] Marin, "Assessing Communist Nostalgia in Romania," 17–19.

62 percent of cases in which children reported that their parents are nostalgic for communism, the children also had a positive opinion about the communist regime.[32]

Romanian young people's positive evaluation of the communist period also results from a rebranding of artifacts of the period as "cool stuff." Commercials, art exhibitions, and the opening of bars, pubs or restaurants decorated with "red" symbols or serving drinks and dishes with a "communist flavor" integrated the good memories of communism into the mainstream starting in 2007.[33] The trend was boosted by media publicity in 2009 that marked the passing of twenty years since the fall of the communist regime. Three national newspapers (*Jurnalul Naţional*, *Adevărul* and *Libertatea*) published articles and collections of readers' testimonies about the most mundane details of everyday existence before December 1989. Readers left comments fondly remembering their school years and childhood games, holiday celebrations and birthdays, and how they told jokes, watched TV, listened to the radio, attended Communist Party meetings and interacted with the communist authorities, shopped for carpets, stood in line for food, and bought goods under the counter and on the black market.[34]

Nostalgic memories of the communist period survived the thirtieth anniversary of the fall of communism in Romania, although they were beginning to fade somewhat. In 2019 the media industry did not commemorate the events of December 1989 the same way it did ten years earlier. Instead, the public memory was focused on events that accompanied the founding of democratic Romania. However, nostalgia for communism did not lose its appeal among Romanians, young people included. Opinion polls conducted in 2019 reported the same reasons for a positive evaluation of the communist period that were identified in 2009, including jobs for all, decent living standards, and readily available housing.[35] Moreover, over 64 percent of those polled had a good opinion of Nico-

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32 Andrei Gheorghiţă, "Trecutul comunist în conştiinţa adolescenţilor," in *Implicarea civică şi politică a tinerilor*, Gabriel Bădescu et al. (Constanța: Fundația Soros, 2010), 65–71.

33 Marin, "Assessing Communist Nostalgia in Romania," 15–16. Also see Alexandra Bardan, "Marketing Post-Communist Nostalgia in Romania: A Case Study on Contemporary Anniversary Events," *Styles of Communication* 10, no. 1 (2018): 50–73; or "Nostalgia Waves: A Media Framing of Post-Communist Nostalgia in Romania," *Polis* 29, no. 3 (2020), http://revistapolis.ro/documente/revista/2020/3(29)/2.%20Articol%20NOSTALGIE%20Alexandra%20BardanX.pdf.

34 Marin Manuela, "Between Memory and Nostalgia: The Image of Communism in Romanian Popular Culture. A Case Study of *Libertatea* Newspaper," *Palimpsest*, no. 5 (2013): 4–16.

35 "Nostalgici după comunism. Din ce în ce mai mulți tineri cred ca era mai bine pe vremea lui Ceaușescu," *Știrile TVR*, February 9, 2019, http://stiri.tvr.ro/studiu-nostalgici-dupa-comunism-din-ce-in-ce-mai-multi-tineri-cred-ca-era-mai-bine-pe-vremea-lui-ceausescu_841495.html

lae Ceaușescu, while one in five Romanians had an excellent opinion of him.[36] Another opinion poll conducted at the end of 2019 found that almost 60 percent of Romanian youth believed that people's lives were better under communism, while 20 percent of them had no interest in finding out more about the topic.[37]

These results confirmed the conclusions of other journalistic investigations of the increasing appeal of communism among Romanian youth. In 2017 *Vice.com Romania* published five short interviews with young people aged 16 to 18 who declared themselves to be communists. The motives they listed for their political choice included a desire for "social equality," the promise of "a guaranteed job and decent housing" and equal access to education, and a perceived lack of equal opportunity under capitalism. Some of them held Nicolae Ceaușescu in high regard for "the industrialization of the country," his "investments in science," or "good living conditions." One interviewee even swore to "take revenge for Comrade Ceaușescu," "destroy the rich parasites," and haul those who ruled Romania after 1989 and "destroyed" it before a people's court of justice. All of the interviewees mentioned that family members, especially their grandparents, had "only words of praise for the socialist period." Thus, the postmemory formed in their minds was based on images their elders had transmitted in which "people lived better, everyone had a roof over their head and a free apartment from the state, plus there were factories and plants built by Ceaușescu."[38]

#view; "Sondaj. La 30 de ani de la prăbușirea comunismului în Europa, peste jumătate dintre români cred că viața lor s-a înrăutățit," *G4Media.ro*, November 12, 2019, https://www.g4media.ro/sondaj-la-30-de-ani-de-la-prabusirea-comunismului-in-europa-peste-jumatate-dintre-romani-cred-ca-viata-lor-s-a-inrautatit-aceasta-cifra-ne-plaseaza-pe-ultimul-loc-comparativ-cu-alte-foste-tari-comun.html; Christine Leșcu, "Percepții despre comunism după 30 de ani," *Radio România Internaţional*, December 18, 2019, https://www.rri.ro/ro_ro/perceptii_despre_comunism_dupa_30_de_ani-2609009.

[36] "Sondaj. La 29 de ani de la Revoluție, 64% dintre români au o părere bună despre Ceaușescu", *Revista 22*, January 2, 2019, https://revista22.ro/actualitate-interna/sondaj-la-29-de-ani-de-la-revolutie-64-dintre-romani-au-o-parere-buna-despre-ceausescu.

[37] "Aproape 60% dintre tinerii români cred că era mai bine în communism," *Europa FM*, December 20, 2019, https://www.europafm.ro/aproape-60-dintre-tinerii-romani-cred-ca-era-mai-bine-in-comunism-audio/.

[38] Răzvan Filip, "Tinerii români născuți după '90 mi-au spus cum au ajuns să fie comuniști," *Vice.com Romania*, September 8, 2017, https://www.vice.com/ro/article/3kk3p5/tineri-romani-nascuti-dupa-90-mi-au-spus-cum-au-ajuns-sa-fie-comunisti.

Educating the Youth about Communism: The Story Behind *The Illustrated Guide to Romanian Communism*

The Illustrated Guide to Romanian Communism was an initiative of Forum Apulum, a Romanian NGO. The idea of creating a booklet that would tell the history of the communist past in Romania originated in April 2017 as a result of experiences that members of the NGO had in working with young people. They noticed that Romanian youth were ignorant of communism and, moreover, often shared erroneous, nostalgic assumptions about the communist past held by their usually older relatives. Initially, Forum Apulum organized an open-air event called "The Party wants you to get a haircut" (*Partidul te vrea tuns*). The title echoed a very popular commercial for the Rom chocolate brand that survived the fall of communism. The commercial tells the story of a long-haired young man who, after taking a bite of Rom chocolate, travels back in time and is kidnapped off the street and shoved into a car by members of the former Romanian secret police, the Securitate. He is taken blindfolded to an interrogation room where a Securitate officer is casually reading the official newspaper of the Party, *Scânteia*. The agent tells him, "The Party wants you to get a haircut, you rocker!" and he is given a military-style haircut.[39] The commercial equated the pleasurable act of eating a chocolate bar with the "strong sensation" of mistreatment by the communist regime, and implied that communism was "cool." The event organized by Forum Apulum had a different goal. Youngsters were invited to attend lectures, discussions, and film screenings, from which they were meant to learn about the horror of the crimes and abuses of communism. Because the event was intended to take place regularly, once a year, Forum Apulum came up with the idea of creating a guide that would tell the story of the communist regime in Romania in a few words and with many colorful pictures. The Forum Apulum team, in cooperation with history teachers, made a draft of the guide and asked different Romanian artists to illustrate the episodes it depicted in the history of Romanian communism, using mainly three colors (red, white, and black). The texts accompanying the drawings were written Diana Filimon and Ciprian Cucu, the president and vice-president of Forum Apulum.[40]

The guide was officially presented in March 2018 at an event organized in Bucharest by another Romanian NGO, Funky Citizens. Funky Citizens aims to train "civically fit" young people. It teaches the history of communism in its

[39] The commercial with English subtitles can be found at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pm8K1q0N-F4.

[40] Diana Filimon, President of Forum Apulum, in an interview with the author, August 14, 2020.

programs for the civic education of young people. *The Illustrated Guide to Romanian Communism* became one of its many projects. In May 2018, the guide and an exhibition about Romanian communism were featured at the Transylvania International Film Festival (TIFF), which is one of the most important cultural events in Romania.[41] The publication of the guide inspired Forum Apulum to sponsor other projects focused on the communist period in Romania, which were also geared for a young audience. They included an art exhibition called *Resisters* (*Rezistenții*), about the people who dared to oppose and protest the communist regime,[42] and a re-enactment on Instagram of the events of December 1989 in Timișoara, where anti-communist protests began. Above all, the Forum Apulum team responded to invitations from history teachers and visited elementary and high schools all over Romania. They distributed more than 4,500 copies of the guide. Each presentation of the guide was followed by discussions with students about communism and its consequences for the lives of people in Romania.[43]

The History of Communism as Told by *The Illustrated Guide to Romanian Communism*

The guide provides a selective reading of the history of Romanian communism, focusing on repression. Thus, it not only promotes the criminalization of Romania's communist past by making criminality "the essence of the communist ideology and of the regimes that claimed it,"[44] as Laure Neumayer puts it, but it also counters Romanian youth's post-communist nostalgia. The topics in the guide focus on events and phenomena that would be of interest to young readers. Additionally, the victims of repression are sympathetically portrayed as young people. Besides providing a visual history of Romanian communism, in its second part the guide attempts to dispel myths about the so-called good life during the communist period.[45]

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[41] "Partidul te vrea tuns," *Transilvania International Film Festival*, May 22, 2018, https://tiff.ro/eveniment/partidul-te-vrea-tuns.

[42] "Rezistenții," Forum Apulum, accessed June 7, 2021, https://forumapulum.ro/ro/educatie-civica/rezistentii.

[43] Diana Filimon, President of Forum Apulum, in an interview with the author, August 14, 2020.

[44] Laure Neumayer, *The Criminalisation of Communism in the European Political Space after the Cold War* (London: Routledge, 2020), 2.

[45] *Ghidul ilustrat al comunismului românesc*, 2nd ed. (Alba Iulia: Forum Apulum, 2020). The online version of an earlier edition from 2018 is available at https://forumapulum.ro/ro/educatie-civica/ghidul-comunismului.

Figure 1. Loading communism (1) by Dan Perjovschi. Source: *Ghidul ilustrat al comunismului românesc*, 2nd ed. (Alba Iulia: Forum Apulum, 2020), 5.

The first part of the guide traces the history of Romanian communism from the end of World War II until the late 1980s. The theme of the narrative is repression as a violent assault on the individual and his or her human rights. Repression is portrayed as a collective national trauma and finally, as the daily experience of Romanians in the communist era. By touching upon sensitive themes, including the falsification of election results, plagiarism by Elena Ceaușescu, and bribery as a means of obtaining scarce goods, the guide is a useful tool for teaching civics to Romanian youth.

The first chapter opens with a drawing by Dan Perjovschi, who uses the symbol of communism – the hammer and sickle – and the word "communism" itself to graphically illustrate its repressive nature. The sickle skewers stick figures and the hammer hits them on the head. The word "communism" is written twice with the letters "om" (which means "human" in Romanian) crossed out. The drawing is meant to represent the basically repressive

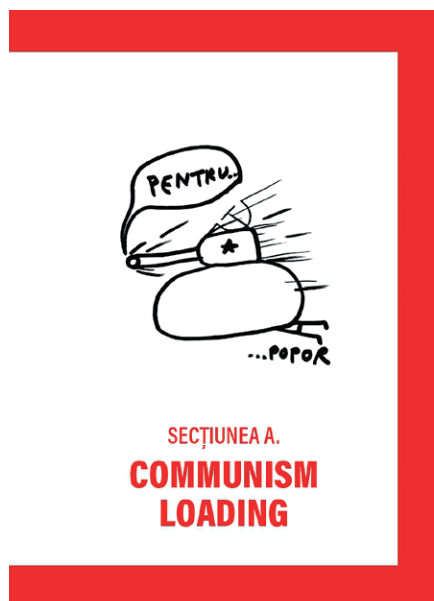

Figure 2. Loading communism (2) by Dan Perjovschi. Source: *Ghidul ilustrat al comunismului românesc*, 2nd ed. (Alba Iulia: Forum Apulum, 2020), 7.

character of the regime, which destroyed the individual by annihilating its humanity (Fig. 1).[46]

The chapter "Communism Loading" is headed by another drawing by Perjovschi, which captures the forcible way communism was established in Romania. A tank blazoned with the Soviet star grinds over a stick figure, accompanied by the words *Pentru ... popor* [For ... the people] (Fig. 2).[47] This is a blunt allusion to the fact that the Romanian Communist Party was brought to power with the help of the Soviet Red Army, which occupied the country at the end of World War II. The text in the subsequent pages details how the communists managed to gain political power and implement their first repressive measures. Although their political ascension began shortly after the coup d'état of August 1944, the guide identifies the first postwar government led by political ally of

[46] *Ghidul ilustrat*, 5.
[47] Ibid., 7.

the communists as the zero hour of communist rule in Romania. Backed by the Soviets, the Romanian Communist Party used organized violence and electoral fraud to gain control over the apparatus of the state. The young king, Michael, was the last obstacle to the final installation of the communist regime. Communist leaders blackmailed him into abdication in December 1947 by threatening to kill almost 1,000 students who had been arrested in November as they expressed their support for the monarchy on the king's name day.[48]

Ana Kun, another well-known Romanian artist, created the illustrations for the first chapter of the booklet. In order to illustrate the many forms that violence took after 1945, she drew frowning human faces in red, which bombard the viewer with small texts outlining the main changes in Romanian society: the hope for a brighter future brought by the Soviet "brothers" and their fatherly leader, Stalin; the persecution of wealthy Romanian peasants; the subordination of the national economy to the Soviets; and new role models (such as Ana Pauker, the first woman in the world to become a minister of foreign affairs). The illustrations on the page that discusses the 1946 elections that brought the Romanian Communist Party to power on the back of gross electoral fraud follows the same pattern. Blood-red hands offer ballot papers up to the sun, the electoral symbol of the Romanian Communist Party and its allies. Each ballot contains a small text that describes in a different way how the communists won the elections: in sum, it did not matter for whom one voted, it mattered who counted the votes.

The text invites readers to appreciate the importance of fair elections in safeguarding democratic regimes.[49] This admonition is consistent with the purpose of the guide, which is to use the history of communism to educate young people in civic affairs. The next page, which describes the abdication of King Michael on December 30, 1947, contains a riddle. The reader is asked to identify the main political characters on the next page. Again, the faces are drawn in red and they seem to be engaged in a dialogue about the fate of Romania. Stalin is depicted at the top of the page, imperiously ordering Petru Groza, the acting Romanian prime minister in 1947, and Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, the Romanian Communist Party leader, who are portrayed as his subordinates, to depose the King by New Year's Eve. Groza passes the message to the King that Romania would become a republic that very day. King Michael protests, raising constitutional objections to ending the monarchy. Gheorghiu-Dej replies, pointing at a

[48] On the establishment of communist rule in Romania, see Dennis Deletant, *Romania under Communism: Paradox and Regeneration* (London, New York: Routledge, 2019), 26–88.

[49] Ana Kun, artist, in an interview with the author, August 18, 2020.

Figure 3. The Abdication of King Michael I by Ana Kun. Source: *Ghidul ilustrat al comunismului românesc*, 2nd ed. (Alba Iulia: Forum Apulum, 2020), 13.

crowd of people in prison uniforms whose lives are at stake if the King refuses to abdicate (Fig. 3).[50]

The chapter "Communism Loading" also portrays the first measures taken by the new communist regime in order to enforce its rule. Personal freedom was severely limited and human rights were trampled. Well-known writers were purged from public life, and the entire national history was rewritten to create room for the heroes of the new era. The guide depicts the nationalization of industry and the collectivization of agriculture as the communists imposed their will upon Romania. In this case, the illustration is very simple. On a map of the country, the artist Arina Stoenescu writes the date on which the law on nationalization was adopted and also the number of properties confiscated as a result. The numbers frame factory furnaces, which are meant to suggest that

[50] *Ghidul ilustrat*, 8–13.

Figure 4. Dystopia Romania by Dan Perjovschi. Source: *Ghidul ilustrat al comunismului românesc*, 2nd ed. (Alba Iulia: Forum Apulum, 2020), 18.

the aim of nationalization was to hasten the industrialization of the country. On the opposite page, dedicated to the collectivization of agriculture, figures on the same map of the country state that 3,000 people lost their lives and 80,000 were imprisoned because they opposed collectivization, which took place between 1949 and 1962. In the middle of the number of victims, the artist has depicted a seed, from which a stalk of wheat sprouts.[51] This image echoes a decorative element of the coat of arms of communist Romania.

The second chapter, entitled "Romanian Dystopia," details the repressive mechanisms developed by the communist regime during its early years. The preamble to the chapter again features drawings by Dan Perjovschi that illustrate how repression and terror destroyed the individual. The first drawing features a stick figure that gradually transforms from a normal, head-up person to an

[51] Ibid., 16–17.

upside-down figure, re-educated in accord with communist norms. Recalling the novel *1984*, Perjovschi depicts Communist repression of human nature with a boot stamping on human figures and crushing them. The same boot stamps first on the mouth of a human face, then on the whole head, and finally destroys its altogether. This is a blunt allusion to the way in which communist repression and censorship annihilated the human spirit (Fig. 4). The same repression is represented by a hammer and sickle that impale and spill the blood of a human figure.[52]

The text of the chapter explains the institutional mechanisms of communist repression and the ideological reasons for imprisoning so-called "class enemies," especially intellectuals. The Romanian media has covered persecution of citizens by penitentiary wardens and guards, and the guide gives further details of the harsh living conditions and the torture to which inmates were subjected by prison authorities.

The booklet pays special attention to the "Pitești Phenomenon," an "experiment" in the "re-education of prisoners" that took place at the Pitești Prison between 1949 and 1952. The idea of "re-education" was inspired by the theories of the Soviet educator Anton Makarenko (1888–1939). He was a specialist in juvenile delinquency and a partisan of re-educating young detainees with the help of their peers who were already indoctrinated. The Romanian communist authorities took Makarenko's ideas to the next level by turning permanent and extreme psychological and physical torture into a common instrument for the re-education of young students who displayed other political sympathies than communist ones.[53]

The illustrations of this chapter, by the Romanian artist Saddo, are rendered in different shades of blue and grey in order to suggest repression and death. The government's organs of repression are symbolized by the larger-than-life figure of an officer wearing a dark suit with a tie. He waves the flag of the Soviet Union above his head in order to display his solidarity with the Soviet Union. He adopts an aggressive posture with his huge fists clenched around the flagpole, apparently ready to punch the reader. The next drawing identifies the target of the communist official's fists: the intellectual elite, represented by a pair of broken glasses whose shards are scattered on the floor in a pool of blood. The experience of imprisonment is depicted in a drawing of a young man who sheds

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52 Ibid., 18–19.

53 Manuela Marin, "Lovinescu–Ierunca Collection at Oradea University Library," COURAGE Registry, doi: 10.24389/27737, http://cultural-opposition.eu/registry/?uri=http://courage.btk.mta.hu/courage/individual/n31054&type=masterpieces.

Figure 5. The Pitești Phenomenon (1) by Saddo. Source: *Ghidul ilustrat al comunismului românesc*, 2nd ed. (Alba Iulia: Forum Apulum, 2020), 24.

Figure 6. The Pitești Phenomenon (2) by Bogdan Topârceanu. Source: *Ghidul ilustrat al comunismului românesc*, 2nd ed. (Alba Iulia: Forum Apulum, 2020), 27.

a large tear while sitting in a prison cell. The artist focuses on the prisoner's oversized hands, which tightly hold the bars of the cell in a futile effort to escape imprisonment (Fig. 5). The "Pitești Phenomenon," in which inmates tortured their fellow inmates, is illustrated with a drawing of two persons wearing striped prison uniforms. A re-educated inmate prepares to attack his fellow prisoner, who has been knocked to the ground. The victim raises his hands in a desperate attempt to protect himself from the coming blows. On a following page, a prisoner's boot crushes the head of another prisoner. Red blood flows from his nostrils and mouth.[54]

Terror is captured as the main feature of the political regime during the 1950s in a reinterpreted coat of arms of the Romanian state. The ears of wheat on

[54] *Ghidul ilustrat*, 26, 28.

Figure 7. The Golden Age by Dan Perjovschi. Source: *Ghidul ilustrat al comunismului românesc*, 2nd ed. (Alba Iulia: Forum Apulum, 2020), 33.

the original seal are replaced by bullets and barbed wire. The mountains and the fir trees which featured in the center of the real coat of arms are substituted for by the Jilava prison building, one of communist Romania's most infamous houses of detention. The prison is set against the background of a cemetery and is topped by a hammer and sickle. The tricolor banner on the coat of arms is replaced by a solid red ribbon (the color of the Communist Party flag) that identifies the Romanian state not as the People's Republic of Romania but as the Totalitarian Republic of Romania. The entire coat of arms rests on a pile of bones, which once again reinforces the idea that the communist regime was built on terror, repression, and death (Fig. 6).[55]

The next three sections leap forward in time to deal with the rule of the last Romanian communist leader, Nicolae Ceaușescu. The reasons he is featured are

[55] Ibid., 27.

obvious: not only is Ceaușescu the most famous Romanian communist, but his rule is becoming the object of positive memories among Romanians.

The chapter entitled "The Golden Age" refers to the sycophantic praise that party propaganda heaped on Ceaușescu and his rule. Perjovschi's drawings represent Ceaușescu as a distinctive human figure, radiant as the sun. The rays he emits stab the people, who bow down to him, in an allusion to the hardships of Ceaușescu's reign, especially during the 1980s. The difference between what party propaganda said about Ceaușescu's rule and the harsh reality of everyday life is captured in the next drawing. The Ceaușescu figure speaks about how the sun is shining, i.e., the benefits of communism, while a figure representing a Romanian citizen lies prostrate in the pouring rain (Fig. 7).

The chapter provides a chronological journey through the history of communism after 1965. It starts with Ceaușescu's appointment as party leader and addresses several well-known aspects of his leadership, including a visit to North Korea that allegedly influenced him to strengthen his control of cultural life and promote a pompous cult of personality. Special attention is paid to Ceaușescu's wife, Elena. Because she lacked a university degree, she built her successful professional career on plagiarizing the work of others.

The illustrations in this chapter, by Răzvan Cornici, are the most colorful of the entire guide. Each of them is framed by red curtains that create the impression of a theatrical stage. The first drawing stresses the connection between Nicolae Ceaușescu and the Soviet Union. His portrait mirrors that of the Soviet leader, Leonid Brezhnev, as on a playing card.[56] This indicates that despite some political and cultural liberalization at the beginning of his reign, Ceaușescu remained a faithful ideological and political soldier for the Soviet Union. The choice of Leonid Brezhnev to represent the USSR reflects the fact that the two led their countries at the same time and that in both cases, their rule was a period of stagnation, followed by internal crisis.

The next illustration links Ceaușescu with the most eccentric leader in the communist world: Kim Il-Sung, the North Korean leader that he so admired. The two are portrayed in official attire, standing next to each other and holding models of their most famous constructions, in Ceaușescu's case, the gigantic House of the Republic (Casa Republicii).[57] Kim Il-Sung puts his hand on

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[56] Ibid., 34.

[57] Casa Republicii, nowadays hosting the Romanian Parliament, was supposed to accommodate various state institutions, such as the Communist Party's headquarters, the government and the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania. It was part of a grandiose Civic Center project and entailed the demolition of an entire Bucharest neighborhood rich in historical buildings.

Figure 8. The Ceaușescus by Livia Coloji & Răzvan Cornici. Source: *Ghidul ilustrat al comunismului românesc*, 2nd ed. (Alba Iulia: Forum Apulum, 2020), 38.

Figure 9. Elena Ceaușescu by Livia Coloji & Răzvan Cornici. Source: *Ghidul ilustrat al comunismului românesc*, 2nd ed. (Alba Iulia: Forum Apulum, 2020), 41.

Ceaușescu's shoulder, in a gesture suggesting that Kim approved of Ceaușescu and entrusted him with his legacy. The illustration reflects the widely shared belief that the North Korean model inspired Ceaușescu to create his own brand of communism.[58]

Another negative feature of Nicolae Ceaușescu's leadership was his and his wife's cult of personality. Artist Răzvan Cornici draws the Ceaușescu couple in official attire, smiling widely and holding the sun and the moon in their hands. This refers to the unconditional power they exercised in Romania. White doves fly around them, indicating the supposed peace and prosperity that their leadership brought to Romanians. The Ceaușescus stand on a yellow podium supported by several mountaintops. This is a mocking reference to the Romanian

[58] *Ghidul ilustrat*, 36.

leader's claim to be "The Carpathian Genius." In turn, the mountains rest on the heads of four children wearing the red ties of the Communist children's organization, the Pioneers. As a whole, the illustration suggests that Ceaușescu's rule, with its false claims of peace and prosperity, only stunted the growth of young people, who had to bear the burden of his leadership (Fig. 8).[59]

The last drawing in this chapter is dedicated to Elena Ceaușescu and speaks of the academic fraud by which she transformed herself into a renowned scientist. She is depicted wearing a white lab coat, a hint of her alleged profession as a chemical engineer. She holds rewards for her "prestigious" academic activity: a laurel wreath and a bouquet of flowers. The fact that her career was based on plagiarism is illustrated by her standing on the back of an unidentified colleague in a white lab coat, who has an oversized brain (Fig. 9).[60] The drawing is based on fact: Elena Ceaușescu's doctoral dissertation and scientific papers were the result of research performed by employees of the National Institute of Chemistry, of which she was the director despite her utter lack of qualifications.

The fourth chapter deals with the so-called *decreței*, the "children of the decree." They are the children who were born after the issuance of the government's Decree 770 in 1966, which prohibited abortion. The focus of the chapter is on how this legislative measure deprived women of the right to control their own bodies and resulted in many tragedies: women died as a result of abortions performed illegally and many unwanted children were abandoned in orphanages.[61] Black and red are the main colors used for the illustrations, which is meant to convey death and repression. The fact that women's bodies and their children's lives were subject to external (political) control is best captured in a drawing that depicts the belly of a pregnant woman whose unborn child is tied with a red chain. The chain is coming out of the woman's body as if pulled by someone unidentified, who is controlling and organizing her life even before she gives birth (Fig. 10).[62]

Ceaușescu's ambition to increase the country's population to 22 million was his reason for banning abortions. Thus, another drawing by artist Emilian Mocanu features his portrait against a black background, in which a chart on a red background replaces Ceaușescu's eyes. The lines on the chart show the upward demographic trend envisioned by the Romanian leader. The color red and some

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[59] Ibid., 38.

[60] Ibid., 41.

[61] On this subject, see Gail Kligman, *Politics of Duplicity. Controlling Reproduction in Ceausescu's Romania* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

[62] *Ghidul ilustrat*, 45.

Figure 10. The decree's children (1) by Emilian Mocanu. Source: *Ghidul ilustrat al comunismului românesc*, 2nd ed. (Alba Iulia: Forum Apulum, 2020), 45.

Figure 11. The decree's children (2) by Emilian Mocanu. Source: *Ghidul ilustrat al comunismului românesc*, 2nd ed. (Alba Iulia: Forum Apulum, 2020), 51.

small skulls suggest that demographic growth was accomplished by victimizing women and children.[63] Both women and children were victims of the forcibly pronatalist policy of the Romanian Communist Party.

As mentioned above, many children were abandoned at birth by their parents because they did not have the means to take care of them. Some died in the unbearable living conditions of Romania's orphanages, while others ended up on the streets. The orphanages where children were sedated, isolated, and maltreated by those responsible for their wellbeing is still a shameful topic in Romania. As a consequence, the chapter on the *decreței* ends with a drawing of a young man sitting by a window, with his head bowed and his hands clenched on his legs. He does not notice that a rat is crouched behind him. The room is dark and the only light that enters through the window is red. The light casts a red

[63] Ibid., 47.

Figure 12. Life on rations by Dan Perjovschi. Source: *Ghidul ilustrat al comunismului românesc*, 2nd ed. (Alba Iulia: Forum Apulum, 2020), 53.

shadow of the young man's silhouette on the floor next to the rat. The red light is a metaphor for the communist power that was responsible for the tragedy of the youth confined in social care institutions (Fig. 11).[64]

The last chapter of the part of the booklet on the history of communism addresses the economic crisis that the Romanians experienced during the 1980s. The crisis resulted in the rationing of food and basic consumer goods, and forced people to spend most of their time queuing to buy the necessities of life. In Perjovschi's drawing that introduces the chapter, long lines of people are attached to the letters of the word "life" (*viață*, in Romanian) to show that standing in line was the main activity of Romanian life during the 1980s. A stick figure has his stomach hollowed out by a hammer and sickle, a clear allusion to the incompetence of the communists, whose economic policies condemned people to starvation (Fig. 12).[65] The chapter traces the causes of the economic crisis of the 1980s and describes its consequences for the population. Shortages of consumer goods

[64] Ibid., 51.
[65] Ibid., 52–53.

Figure 13. Food store by George Roșu. Source: *Ghidul ilustrat al comunismului românesc*, 2nd ed. (Alba Iulia: Forum Apulum, 2020), 63.

contributed not only to standing in line, but also to a flourishing black market which favored people with personal connections. The corruption stimulated the first movements of protest against the regime.

The topic of rationing is illustrated with an image of a food store. Artist George Roșu adds the letters "ție" to the Romanian word for food store, *alimentara*, to create the image of "rationing" (in Romanian, *rație*). The idea that the food store shelves are empty is conveyed by the rest of the drawing, which depicts a store window with a notice announcing that "We have nothing," even though potential buyers are welcomed by an "Open" sign.[66] The limited amount of consumer goods available transformed sales clerks into important persons in society: they were the only ones who had access to needed goods. One could only buy something if he or she had personal connections with a seller or was part of the local political elite.

The next drawing features a food seller behind her scales. Her face is symbolically divided in two. Each face addresses one type of customer: she turns a

[66] Ibid., 59.

frowning face to common customers wearing plain grey clothes, whom she tells that her store has nothing to sell. Her smiling face is turned to wealthy shoppers who wear blue hats and coats as a sign of their superior political and social status (or perhaps even their membership in the Securitate). She tells them that she has goods to offer (Fig. 13).[67] The drawing uses the mundane situation of buying goods to dismantle the myth of people's equality under communism. It underlines the reality that the political elite enjoyed higher standards of living than common Romanians.

Speaking of myth-busting, the second part of the *Illustrated Guide* deconstructs five myths about the communist period that are at the core of postcommunist nostalgia and young people's postmemory. The text provides statistics and describes the mechanisms the communists used to promote the so-called communist welfare. The text and photographs provide young readers with solid arguments that dispel the myths that the communist economy performed well, that most people owned their own homes, that there was no unemployment, that economic policies were sustainable, and that the education system was better than it is now.[68]

Conclusion

My paper analyzes the illustrations in a pocket-size booklet entitled *The Illustrated Guide to Romanian Communism*, which was published to counter growing nostalgia among Romania's young people for the communist period. The work of a local NGO, the guide provides a selective reading of the history of communism, focusing on the criminality of Romania's communist past and stories that might interest its young readers but about which they probably know little. *The Illustrated Guide* endorses the official expressions of the public memory of communism, which emphasize political repression, suppression of dissident activities, crimes, and the hardships and deprivations of everyday life. The hope of the booklet's authors is to influence the vernacular public memory of the recent past. The weightier influence of family, corporate marketing, and the mass media is leading young people to express positive opinions about the communist regime and develop a positive postmemory of the times. In order

67 Ibid., 63.
68 Ibid., 67–75.

to counter the nostalgic messages about the communist past, the guide stresses repression as the key to understanding the entire communist period.

A critical visual analysis tells us how the guide identifies the various faces of repression and its evolution during the communist period in Romania. While repression was an assault on individual human rights, it also targeted most of the social groups in Romania, including peasants, students, and the old, capitalist-era economic, political and cultural elites of the country. Individuals and their loved ones could face imprisonment and re-education for political misdemeanors in the early days of communism. The repression continued under Nicolae Ceaușescu's rule, but it took on more mundane and quotidian forms. People's family intimacy and especially women's bodies came under the close scrutiny of the Romanian communist party and the state as a means of increasing the birth rate. The result was many unwanted children whose childhoods were ruined in bleak orphanages. The rationing of basic goods and long queues for buying shoddy goods were another face of communism that people experienced in their daily life. These and many other topics, such as fraudulent elections and the destruction of all forms of political opposition, are addressed in the guide as a warning to its young readers against the consequences of disregarding their civic responsibilities and failing to protect democratic rule in contemporary Romania.

REVIEWS

Richard Connolly, **Russia's Response to Sanctions: How Western Economic Statecraft Is Reshaping the Political Economy in Russia**. London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018. 228 pages. ISBN 9781108227346

The year 2014 marked a turning point in relations between the West and the Russian Federation. After Russia's aggression against Ukraine, the United States, the European Union, and their allies imposed sanctions against Russian individuals and companies who were believed to be responsible for violations of international law. Their goal was to increase the cost that the Russian Federation would have to pay for its illegal activities and thus force the country to de-escalate the conflict. Sanctions were first imposed after Russia's annexation of Crimea. They were followed by another round of sanctions after Russia intervened in Eastern Ukraine. These sanctions targeted entire sectors of Russia's economy. Their scope was expanded and in the year 2015, the lifting of the sanctions was linked to implementation of the Minsk accords, which were intended to stop the war in Donbas. However, given that Russia has continued to violate the accords, the end of the sanction regimes is not yet in sight.

This book by Richard Connolly, a British professor who teaches at Birmingham University and is the director of the Centre for Russian, European and Eurasian Studies (CREES), deals with the topic of anti-Russian sanctions. It offers an analysis of the Russian government's reaction to them, and how it has tried to mitigate their impact. The aim of the book is to explain the mechanisms that the Russian government has used for that purpose and assess whether they were successful. Connolly focuses his analysis on three main sectors of Russia's economy: energy, defense, and finance. The book does not assess whether the Western sanctions have been successful, but it can and should be the basis for further research of the issue, which the author says is his intent. A detailed analysis of the three sectors of Russia's economy is preceded by chapters that summarize the theory of economic sanctions, introduce the Russian system of political economy, and explain the anti-Russian sanctions imposed by the West.

In the first chapter, the author discusses different academic approaches to analyzing sanctions. He notes a lack of consensus about how to assess the success of sanctions and presents the reader with two competing views of the issue. The first approach deems sanctions to be successful only if they manage to fully achieve a given goal without resort to any other instrument of coercion. The second approach considers sanctions to be successful if they force the targeted country to react to them in any way, even a small one. From the first point of view, sanctions are almost always unsuccessful. Sanctions more often tend to be seen as successful when the goal is incremental change. The author also stresses an important distinction between the impact of sanctions and the effectiveness of sanctions. Impact is measurable influence that sanctions have on the targeted state, while effective sanctions accomplish the goal of the states imposing them. Connolly follows up with an explanation of the different goals sanctions can have and an overview of the main factors that increase their impact and limit the ability of a state to effectively cope with them. In that way, the author clarifies his main theoretical concepts, which makes it easier

to understand the rest of the book. The author states that the academic literature lacks an extensive, "monograph-length" analysis of states' reactions to sanctions imposed upon them, which hinders research in the area (p. 28).

The second chapter of the book describes the Russian system of political economy. The author defines Russia as a limited access system, which means that organizations, both state and non-state, limit entry into its market and competition within it in order that they may accrue rents for themselves. This type of political economy is the opposite of an open-access system, which is characterized by open competition and fair access to the market (p. 23). In Russia's case, the state has the leading position in the market and distributes rents from globally competitive industries to less competitive ones. Therefore, the state stands atop the Russian political economy (p. 30). The book's second chapter builds upon the previous one. The leading role of the Russian government in the system of political economy is shown to be one of the factors that enables the state to deal effectively with the impact of sanctions. Connolly connects the theoretical concepts presented in the first chapter with their use in practice.

In his analysis of Russia's political economy, Connolly identifies four of its main components and discusses the relationships between them. The first component is the rent-producing sector, which is comprised of big Russian companies that are competitive on the international market. These enterprises operate primarily in the natural resources sector of the economy. The rent-dependent sector is comprised of companies that are not competitive on the global market and that trade only inside of Russia. They are often subsidized by the state. The third main sector is smaller than the previous two but is more dynamic. It is characterized by private ownership and free competition. Finally, the author identifies the financial sector as an important part of the Russian political economy. That sector is heavily dominated by the state and allocates financial resources to the places where the state deems it necessary. Connolly emphasizes the extent of the influence that the state has over the economy throughout the chapter. Although he finds that the state's influence helps Russia to cope with sanctions, he believes it has a negative effect on the overall economy, which is overly dependent on natural resources and is not competitive on the global market.

In the third chapter, Connolly identifies the main steps the Russian government has taken to mitigate the impact of the sanctions. The state ensures the security of the strategic areas of the economy and subsidizes the imports they need. It has also cultivated closer economic relations with non-western countries (p. 68). The overall goal has been reducing the economy's dependence on Western markets and technologies (diversification) and making Russia more self-reliant (Russification) (p. 79).

The third chapter also analyzes the makeup of Western sanctions. Connolly identifies poor coordination as the main problem that reduces their effectiveness. Giving specific examples, he shows how differences in the U.S. and EU sanctions regimes lessen their overall impact. One example is the forced termination by the U.S. government of all contracts between American and Russian enterprises in targeted sectors, while the EU sanctions did not force European enterprises to cancel any contracts concluded before

sanctions were imposed (p. 67). The author proceeds to give an overview of the Western sanctions and then identifies three economic sectors for further analysis.

The three sectors discussed in the following chapters are the energy industry, the defense industry, and the financial system. In each case, Connolly recounts the history of the sector and the role it plays in the Russian and global economies. He then describes the specific sanctions the West has imposed on the sector and the Russian response to them. Finally, he assesses the overall impact of sanctions on the sector. The author devotes only limited space to analysis of the Russian response, but he nevertheless lists most of the specific steps the Russian government has taken, with a few exceptions. The book explores the parallels in the experiences of the different sectors. After assessing the impact of the sanctions in each chapter, Connolly arrives at the conclusion that the Russian response has been effective in most cases, and that any truly disastrous impact has been averted. It is important to note here, however, that the author does not consider the quality of substitute products and technologies, such as non-Western technology imported for the use of the energy industry (p. 111). The long-term impacts of the sanctions are not yet known, and the author does not try to answer that question.

Connolly ends the book with an overall assessment of the effectiveness of the steps that the Russian government has taken to mitigate the effects of the sanctions. He compares the results of his analysis with the prevailing theoretical assumptions. All in all, according to Connolly, the Western sanctions have had a great effect on Russia, but not in the way Western policymakers imagined (p. 191). The sanctions have not brought about a severe economic crisis, although they have greatly affected the political economy. Russia has been able to deal with the direct impact of the sanctions relatively quickly. One of the main reasons that was possible is the state's leading role in the system of the political economy. In a "normal" environment, that system would impede economic growth and hinder the development of competitiveness and innovation. In a crisis, however, it has proved itself capable of mitigating the effects of the sanctions. This result, Connolly says, is in line with that part of the theory of sanctions that says an authoritarian state will have an easier time dealing with them than a democracy. He adds that the measures the Russian government has taken in response to sanctions have cemented in place the current shape of the Russian economy. Although the economy has avoided devastating effects from the sanctions, in the future it may be even less competitive and innovative than it is now (p. 196).

According to the author, assessing the impact of sanctions on Russia is difficult because there was a massive drop in the price of oil at the same time sanctions were imposed. The decline in the price of oil has probably had greater effects in the Russian economy than the sanctions. The policies implemented by the state responded not only to sanctions, but also to the fall in oil prices.

The book offers a relatively complex overview of the Russian reaction to the sanctions and lists the main steps taken by the Russian state in reaction to them. The book is not overflowing with jargon, dates, and definitions and thus will serve readers who are not well-versed in the topic. In general, Connolly does not speculate about the long-term

effects of Russian efforts to neutralize the impact of sanctions. However, the issue of the quality of available substitutes for goods and services affected by the sanctions, especially in the energy sector, would be worth mentioning. The substitutes, be they from Russia or from elsewhere, will not likely be as good as those imported from the West, and in the long term Russia's ability to exploit new hydrocarbon deposits will be limited. The overall message of the book is rather optimistic for Russia, but it may be too early to reach such a conclusion.

Connolly's book has the potential to bring not only academic readers but also the general public closer to the internal decision-making processes that drove Russia's response to sanctions after 2014. It can serve as a starting point for further research aimed at determining the ultimate effectiveness of sanctions against Russia. The book can also help us to better understand the tools that states have at hand for dealing with economic sanctions. Connolly expresses the hope that other efforts to impose sanctions will be analyzed in a similar way, which will then help to further improve our understanding of their impact and effectiveness.

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Vasile Rotaru, **Russia, the EU, and the Eastern Partnership: Building Bridges or Digging Trenches?** Stuttgart: Ibidem, 2018. 185 pages. ISBN 978-3-8382-7134-7

The dynamics of EU-Russia relations have been affected by a number of events in the past three decades. Among them is the launch of the EU's Eastern Partnership (EaP) in 2009. With the introduction of the Eastern Partnership, the EU created a framework for strengthening its cooperation with six former Soviet republics that lie on the periphery of Europe: Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan. The creation of this framework was perceived by Russia as a major challenge to its influence in the territories that the Kremlin refers to as Russia's "near abroad."

Vasile Rotaru is an international relations researcher at the National University of Political Studies and Public Administration in Bucharest. He is the author of numerous papers focused on Russia-NATO and Russia-EU relations. Nearly a decade after the launch of the EaP, Rotaru attempted to define its impact on relations between the EU, the countries participating in the EaP, and Russia in his book *Russia, the EU, and the Eastern Partnership: Building Bridges or Digging Trenches?* The book was published as part of the Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society series. In it, Rotaru explains how the countries' relations evolved both prior to and after the launch of the Eastern Partnership. He explains how Russia's perception of the post-Soviet countries as its "near abroad" evolved and discusses the fundamental differences in the worldviews of the two crucial actors in the Eastern European arena, Russia and the European Union.

The book is divided into two main parts, each with three chapters. Part I focuses on relations between the European Union and Russia since the 1990s. It puts those relations into the context of their two increasingly different, mutually incompatible worldviews. Part II then explores the Eastern Partnership, the causes that led to its founding, and its impact on Russia's relations with the EaP's participating states.

In Chapter 1, the author introduces his theory that most of the conflicts in Russia-EU relations emerge from essential differences in the entities' worldviews. According to Rotaru, Russia sees international relations and issues of sovereignty through the prism of political (neo)realism. He says that Russia clings to archaic Westphalian principles, always putting its own national interests first. In contrast, he describes the European Union as a postmodern institution that perceives the world through the lens of its own liberal institutionalism and therefore focuses mainly on maximizing mutual benefit by enhancing cooperation between countries. These very different worldviews then project themselves into how both entities approach what Rotaru refers to as their "common neighborhood." Thus, Russia believes it is crucial to keep the EaP countries within its sphere of influence in order to secure what it perceives to be its own national interests, including its national security, economic prosperity, and international prestige. He says that the EU, on the other hand, cooperates with its neighbors on a mutually voluntary basis and promotes common values rather than a profit-based agenda.

The following two chapters describe the historical development of EU-Russia relations. Rotaru divides that development into two periods – one before the

Russian-Georgian war of 2008 and another after. EU-Russia relations had been less than ideal since the early 1990s. However, Rotaru suggests that the "common neighborhood" became a primary source of tension between Russia and the EU as Russia's foreign policy became "economized" during Putin's second presidential term. The rise in the price of Russian gas and oil was accompanied by a deterioration of the relations between several post-Soviet countries and Russia. That boosted the former Soviet republics' appetite for European markets. The author states that their voluntary tilt to the West posed a major problem for (neo)realist Moscow, which sought to maintain its sphere of influence.

In the third chapter, Rotaru argues that despite the obvious interdependence of the EU and Russia, Russia actually needs the European Union much more than the EU needs Russia (p. 68). He supports his claim by referring to the EU's policy of diversifying its sources of energy and Russia's problems with accessing markets for its oil and gas outside of Europe. Russia's annexation of Crimea in 2014 certainly led to EU-Russia relations reaching an all-time low. On the other hand, Russia's move on Crimea contributed to a major consolidation of relations between the EU and the neighboring countries to its East.

Rotaru describes the process of creating the Eastern Partnership in the fourth chapter of the book. He dates its origins to a joint initiative of the United Kingdom and Denmark in the early 2000s. A number of events, however, accelerated the inception of the EaP. Among them were the 2003 Rose Revolution in Georgia, the 2008 Russian-Georgian war, and the 2009 Russia-Ukraine gas crisis. The 2004 and 2007 EU enlargements also played a role because the EU's new member states became the main proponents of the Eastern Partnership. The author then recalls examples of the Kremlin's mostly hostile reaction to the foundation of the EaP, and likens the steps Russia took to chastise the EaP participants to the United States' proclamation of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823 (p. 88). Rotaru points out several ways the EaP challenges Russia and its worldview and how it supports the worldview of the European Union.

Chapter 5 focuses on how Russia itself contributed to the inception of the Eastern Partnership. Rotaru argues that Putin's aggressive foreign policy, which focused on Russia's "near abroad," made it virtually inevitable that the EaP countries would establish closer relations with the West. The author emphasizes that Russia's hostile energy diplomacy, its "food wars" waged against imported foodstuffs, and its interference with the sovereignty of other post-Soviet states made even traditional allies such as Belarus and Armenia turn to the West (p. 114). He implies that it was Russia's behavior that pushed the EU into creating the EaP. He supports this claim by pointing out that the inconsistencies in Russia's energy forced the EU to deepen its relationship with other energy exporters and transit countries.

The last and most extensive chapter of the book deals with events in the years following the inception of the Eastern Partnership. Rotaru analyzes the subsequent development of relations between Russia and each of the EU's Eastern European Partners individually. He puts special emphasis on Russia-Ukraine relations, and shows how Russia's annexation of Crimea affected Moscow's relations with the other post-Soviet states. Citing several examples, Rotaru shows a close link between the enthusiasm of those

countries for the Eastern Partnership and a corresponding increase in Russian meddling in their domestic affairs. At the end of the chapter, Rotaru challenges the common assumption that Russia is a country with imperial ambitions. He suggests, for example, that Russia's annexation of Crimea was a purely strategic step aimed at securing Russia's interest in its own security, rather than the result of the Kremlin's imperial ambitions. In that regard, he notes the location of the Crimean peninsula, surrounded as it is by NATO countries, and the port of Sevastopol, which hosts the Russian Navy's largest warm-water fleet of ships (p. 159).

Rotaru brings a fresh perspective to the relations between Russia, the EU, and their common neighbors. Besides describing developments in their relationships, he provides insight into the inner motivations of those actors. He explains that many of the conflicts between them originate in essential differences in their worldviews. In six chapters, he provides a number of arguments and examples that illustrate the notably different natures of both Russia and the EU.

However, some of Rotaru's claims are confusing. One can scarcely agree with Rotaru that Russia "seeks to keep order" in neighboring countries and wants to prevent them from "falling prey to general instability" (p. 23). Rotaru himself cites any number of examples of Russia meddling in the affairs of its neighbors, destabilizing them and violating their territorial integrity. Similarly, the author's claim that Russia generally puts an emphasis on sovereignty (p. 33) may be confusing at first, but at the end of his book he explains that Russia approaches the concept in a very specific and hypocritical way (p. 156). An occasional lack of clarity most likely originates in Rotaru's writing style rather than his basic ideas. Nevertheless, the book as conceived overall is of quite practical use. The author's decision to assess the general characteristics of Russia-EU relations early in Part I of the book and only then focus on the Eastern Partnership allows him to present his topic clearly and in detail. Although Rotaru describes the post-2009 relations between Russia and the EaP participants precisely and synoptically, it might have been a good idea to focus as well on developments in the relations between the EU and the six EaP countries in a separate chapter.

Vasile Rotaru delivers an interesting piece that analyzes a very complex triangle of relations between the European Union, Russia and the countries in their "common neighborhood." In 180 pages, he describes three decades of changing policies, good and bad decisions, and simmering conflicts. He provides reasonable explanations for them that are rooted in Russia's and the EU's differing worldviews. Thus, despite making a few disputable claims, Rotaru's book is a valuable contribution to the topics of Russia-EU relations and the Eastern Partnership. It remains relevant even two years after its release, given that no work with such a focus and the same scope has since been published.

Jiří Růžek

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INSTRUCTIONS FOR AUTHORS

1. Manuscript Submission

The journal *Acta Universitatis Carolinae – Studia Territorialia* publishes original scholarly works that have not been published anywhere else, are not currently awaiting publication in other journals, and are not simultaneously being considered for publication by another journal. Unless agreed otherwise, manuscripts are only accepted in English. American English is preferred, but British English is also acceptable as long as the spelling is consistent throughout. Authors should consult the Chicago Manual of Style or the Oxford Style Manual for grammar and style.

To receive consideration, manuscripts should be uploaded online through the *Studia Territorialia* journal management system. Alternatively, they can be sent to the editorial team via e-mail at stuter@fsv.cuni.cz. Submissions must be presented in a standard document format such as Word (.doc, .docx, .rtf, or .odt). All correspondence between authors and the editors will take place via e-mail.

By submitting their manuscripts, the authors agree that their submission may be screened for unoriginal content at any stage of the editing and production process using an automated similarity check system.

2. Peer Review

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4. Editorial Guidelines

The journal *Studia Territorialia* publishes articles, book reviews, and reports.

An article should typically be between 6,000 and 9,000 words in length (excluding abstract, notes and appendices). A book review should strive for a limit of 2,000 words. Longer texts may also be considered if the subject matter warrants such treatment. All articles must contain an English-language abstract of no more than 150 words as well as four to six keywords.

A submitted manuscript must contain the following items: abstract, keywords, and main text, with appendices (if any) included separately. In a covering letter, the authors must provide their full names, institutional affiliations, ORCID (if registered), and their contact information, as well as acknowledgments, information on financial support received, and a disclosure statement on possible conflicts of interest. Submissions by more than one author must designate a single contact person as the corresponding author.

Words in a language using other than the Latin alphabet must be Romanized into the Latin alphabet. Bibliographic items in footnotes must be transliterated in accord with an accepted transliteration table such as the ALA-LC Romanization Tables. A simple phonetic transcription should be used for foreign terms and names in the main text.

It is the responsibility of the authors to make sure they have obtained all necessary permissions for possible reproduction of any third-parties' copyrighted material, such as graphics.

5. Reference Style

All articles must contain references. References should be in the form of footnotes formatted in accord with the Chicago Manual of Style for Notes. No separate bibliography or reference list at the end of the text is required.

Citations should always include a DOI (Digital Object Identifier), if the cited material has one.

Electronic sources should be cited including the date of last access, if appropriate.

6. Reference Examples

Books

One Author or Editor

Philipp Ther, *The Outsiders: Refugees in Europe since 1492* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2020), 121–123.

Two Authors or Editors

Roy Allison and Christoph Bluth, eds., *Security Dilemmas in Russia and Eurasia* (London: The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1998).

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Harold D. Clarke, Matthew Goodwin, and Paul Whiteley, *Brexit: Why Britain voted to leave the European Union* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

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Sh. Z. Eliava and G. I. Broido to the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, V. I. Lenin, L. D. Trotsky and L. B. Krasin, telegram, Tashkent, December 27, 1919, file 588, fol. 13, container 4-39-43, Chicherin Papers, Foreign Policy Archive of the Russian Federation, Moscow.

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