



**Edited by
Haris Dajč and
Maja Vasiljević**

CHALLENGING THE SHADOW OF THE IRON CURTAIN:

The International Conference on the Cold War.

BOOK OF ABSTRACTS



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Aleksanteri Institute
COLD WAR RESEARCH GROUP

***Challenging the Shadow of the Iron Curtain:
The International Conference on the Cold War.
Book of Abstracts***

Edited by

Haris Dajč and Maja Vasiljević

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CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

Tuesday, October 25th

Faculty of Philosophy, Conference room

“Dragoslav Srejović“

9.30-10.30 Registration

10.30-10.40 Opening Remarks and Conference

Overview by Ph.D. Prof. Nikola Samardžić

(University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philosophy)

Session 1

Chair: Ph.D. Prof Nikola Samardžić

10.40 -11.00am

Introduction

Ph.D. Prof. Marjatta Hietala

(University of Tampere, School of Humanities and
Social Sciences):

“Cities and Transnational Interaction. The Cultural
Contacts between West and East European Urban
Centres during and beyond the Cold War”

11.00-11.15am

MA Kirsi Ahonen

(University of Tampere, School of Humanities and
Social Sciences):

“Town Twinning between the East and the West: A Tool
of the Cultural Cold War or Interaction that Bridged
Divides?”

11.15-11.30am

Ph.D. Timo Vilen

(University of Tampere, School of Humanities and
Social Sciences):

“Russian and East European Studies in Western Europe during the Cold War – Patterns, Problems, and Prospects”

11.30-11.45am

Ph.D. Prof. Audrone Januzyte

(Mykolas Romeris University, Department of Political Science, Vilnius):

“Collaborate and Conform or Resist Against the Soviet Regime in Lithuania 1944–1990: A Case Study on Resistance of Students and Professors”

11.45 -12.00noon

Ph.D. Sampsa Kaataja

(University of Tampere, School of Humanities and Social Sciences):

“Computing Communities Crossing the Dividing Line? Information” Exchange between the Estonian and Finnish Computer Scientists 1960-2000”

12.00-12.30pm Coffee break

Session 2

Chair: Ph. D. Prof. Aleksandra Stupar

12.30-12.45pm

Ph.D. Prof. Nikola Samardžić

(University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philosophy):

“Belgrade Under Communist Rule: Reconstruction and Urbicide, Parallel Realities Under iron Curtain“

12.45-13.00pm

MA Haris Dajč

(University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philosophy):

“Western World and Yugoslavia from Stalin to Kennedy”

13.00-13.15pm

Ph.D. Prof. Aleksandra Stupar

(University of Belgrade, Faculty of Architecture):
“Belgrade_International: Tracing the Channels of
Architectural Exchange and Promotion”

13.15-13.30pm

Ph.D Prof. Mirjana Roter Blagojević
(University of Belgrade, Faculty of Architecture),
MSc Marta Vukotic Lazar (Urban Planning Institute of
Belgrade):

“Between East and West – Influences on Belgrade
Urban and Architectural Development from the early
20th Century to the 1970s”

13.30-13.45pm

MA Maja Vasiljević
(University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philosophy):
“Intercultural Relations between Tito's Yugoslavia and
Kekkonen's Finland”

13.45-14.00pm

Ph.D Doc. Nenad Radić
(University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philosophy):
“Shield of National Liberation and Tito’s Marshall
Badge“

Wednesday October 26^h
Faculty of Architecture, Room 200
Session 3

Chair: Mirjana Roter Blagojević

10.30-10.45am

Ph.D. Prof. Mervi Kaarninen
(University of Tampere, School of Humanities and
Social Sciences):
“Tampere University in Cold War limbo: From Finnish
'Manchester' to University Center”

10.45-11.00am

Ph.D. Prof. Aleksandar Mirković
(Arkansas Tech University, Department of History):
“Angels and Demons: Yugoslav Resistance in the Media
(1941-45)”

11.00.-11.15am

MA Goran Musić
(European University Institute in Florence):
“The City in Self-Management: Rise and Fall of New
Belgrade’s Alternative Modernity“

11.15-11.30am

MRes Felix Jeschke
(University College London, School of Slavonic and East
European Studies)
“A Dialogue of Monologues: Representations of the
Berlin Wall and National Identity in the Work of Peter
Schneider”

11.30-11.45am

Ph.D. Anne Lujza Szasz
(Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Sociology)
“My life as an Eastern in the West. The story of a
musician of Roma origin from Hungary”

12.00-12.30

Project meeting
Faculty of Architecture
Conference tour

Introduction by Ph.D. Prof. Zoran Nikezić
(University of Belgrade, Faculty of Architecture)

12.30 - 15.00

Conference tour: New Belgrade, Zemun

15.00-16.00

Lunch/Closing of the Conference and meeting

Nikola Samardžić

Belgrade Under Communist Rule: Reconstruction and Urbicide, Parallel Realities Under Iron Curtain

Belgrade was liberated from German occupation by the joint communist partisan and Soviet forces on 20 October 1944. There was, however, a civic minority that felt how the aliens have occupied the city again, even that the German rule was more tolerant, and the living conditions more favorable, although the general silence with regard to the holocaust has remained as a dark moral stain on the civic conscience. Yugoslav capital and the biggest city, Belgrade was targeted as the communist revolution's most important stronghold. The revolution was both political and social. The social pressure of the newcomers, settlers, the liberators, was as brutal as the political oppression. Still, as Belgrade was important for the new regime as the source of institutional competence, a coexistence of civic culture and the communist regime was created in the process of repression, mutual adjustments and, progressively, through calming relations. These processes were complex, and usually took place without public participation. The regime has maintained, until its very endings, its totalitarian and authoritarian characteristics. The first post-war generation in Yugoslav culture was consolidated during the first decade of the new government, when the limits of mutual tolerance have been gradually set. The boundaries of the regime tolerance were then expanded or narrowed in accordance with the movement of the

pendulum by the Yugoslav regime approaching the East or West. Political repression has eventually weakened, and tolerance was more pronounced in periods of economic growth and easing political tensions. With all its specific restrictions, the liberalization of politics and the economy was beneficial. An important factor in the relative freedom and tolerable political and ideological climate also became the universal acceptability of the Yugoslav regime. Yugoslav culture was developed in sharp contrast with the poor, rural and uneducated society.

Marjatta Hietala

Cities and Transnational Interaction. The Cultural Contacts between West and East European Urban Centres during and beyond the Cold War (2010-2013)

The project aims at assessing the nature of cultural interaction between Western and Eastern Europe during the Cold War and its aftermath by exploring the transnational cooperation, networks and contacts between cities as well as institutions and non-governmental organizations operating in cities. The role of cities and towns is understood in two ways. First, cities and towns constitute the space and stage for varied activities and actors and second, city or municipality may be seen as an actor promoting transnational cultural interaction. Cities and other actors operating in them are viewed as channels of interaction. In addition to cities and municipalities, friendship societies, professional associations, learned societies and educational institutions will be covered. The impacts of

cultural cooperation and networking and the innovative potential included in these encounters will be examined as well. By 'culture' we refer to a broad range of activities including arts, science and education. Researchers of the project will focus on such fields as universities and science, architecture and city planning as well as exchanging performing and visual arts and music.

Audronė Januzyte

Collaborate and conform or resist against the Soviet regime in Lithuania in 1944–1990: a case study on resistance of students and professors

In 1944 Lithuania was occupied, annexed, and became one of the 15 constituent republics of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. There was a programmed continuation of the far reaching and tragic destruction of Lithuanian education and culture. During the period of soviet occupation, in fact, Lithuanians were not only destined to a different fate by political changes, but also had very few possibilities of surviving. One possibility was to accept the new Soviet regime and participate in the building of a totalitarian society in Soviet Lithuania. Second possibility was to escape from the communist terror to the West and to continue working in exile. Third possibility was to resist against the occupation and sovietization. This presentation deals with the resistance against the Soviet regime by students and professors in Lithuania in 1944–1990. The study will address main question: what type of resistance did occur by students

and professors during the period from the mid-1940s to the end of the 1990s when Lithuania and Lithuanians were had been under the Soviet occupation?

Aleksandra Stupar

Belgrade_International: Tracing the Channels of Architectural Exchange and Promotion

During and after the Cold War European cities on both sides of the Iron Curtain (especially national capitals) represented important transmitters and mediators of architectural and planning practice. Perceived as an expression of official politics and acceptable aesthetic their built environment was especially promoted by public authorities and used on two different levels – as a specific display of ‘state-approved’ architectural styles/planning concepts and a stage for events and meetings which facilitated formal and informal professional contacts between institutions, societies and scholars. Belgrade, the capital of ex-Yugoslavia and Serbia, represents an interesting case because of the specific geo-strategic position of the country during the Cold War. Furthermore, the elements of self-management socialism (mostly financed by the West) created a unique professional environment, open to both Western and Eastern influences. As an important centre of the Non-aligned movement, Belgrade also promoted its cosmopolitan spirit and international orientation, shaping its image in accordance with the anticipated identity and the ambitions of President Tito. Considering all these aspects, the paper will analyze and present official and unofficial channels of cultural and

professional exchange which enabled dissemination of architectural and planning ideas between two opposite ideologies.

Mirjana Roter Blagojević and Marta Vukotić Lazar

East and West – Influences on Belgrade Urban and Architectural Development from the early 20th Century to the 1970s

If we want to understand modern urban development of Belgrade in the 20th century, it is necessary to understand the importance of its specific geo-strategic and geo-political position between East and West – on the confluence of the Sava and the Danube rivers – having a crucial impact on its urban and architectural development throughout history. Political and cultural influences of the East and West, which were alternating after the Serbian state had been restored, constitute the basic elements of its modern identity, which is also largely expressed in a constant struggle between the traditionalism and modernism, the conservative and the progressive.

After the WWI, the *Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes* and later on the *Kingdom of Yugoslavia* was formed (1929), which apart from the erstwhile Kingdom of Serbia, consisted of the regions that used to be part of the Austro-Hungarian and the Ottoman empires. The new Kingdom was a political and cultural symbiosis of the East and the West parts of the Balkans. The Capital,

Belgrade, lost its centuries-long border position. In the large scale reconstruction of the, in the war devastated town, the state authorities tried to reconcile the existing historic and cultural differences in the new Kingdom, and in its urbanism and architecture, to reflect a new national, political and cultural identity.

After the WWII, Belgrade was the capital of the Democratic Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, led by the Communist Party and Tito. By 1948, the country claimed allegiance to Soviet Union. After 1948, the Yugoslav political elite chose the “third way” between the communist East and capitalist West. In the first post-war years, the old idea of extending the city to the plains, between the Sava and the Danube, was revived. The new area, called New Belgrade, was planned, and two competitions were announced in 1946. In the area of future New Belgrade, stretching from the Old Sava Bridge, as a link with the old town, a broad boulevard was built with the Yugoslav Presidency building (1947-1954) and the Communist Party Central Committee building (1964). These buildings symbolically mark the creation of a new political state centre and the new capital city, outside the old town. The very architecture of the buildings was supposed to reflect the new progressive social and aesthetic trends - the so-called *Socialist Realism*.

The 1960s Belgrade architecture was more liberate and rich. Different Yugoslav versions of the Western International Style and poetical interpretations of the Western mainstream Modernism were expressed on

major public buildings. These buildings symbolised the final cultural and artistic turn to the West, and from that time progressive architectural ideas from the developed European countries started to be adopted.

Kirsi Ahonen

Town Twinning between the East and the West: A Tool of the Cultural Cold War or Interaction that Bridged Divides?

Town twinning refers to a practice of creating bonds between pairs of towns located in different countries in order to enable interactions between municipalities and townspeople in the fields of culture, education and local development. This kind of transnational co-operation, taking place under the level of high politics, has sometimes been characterized as municipal diplomacy or citizen diplomacy. As an extensive and organized activity, town twinning started in the aftermath of the Second World War to promote friendship and mutual understanding between former enemies and to provide material aid to those who had suffered from the war.

In spite of these idealistic aims, town twinning became to be used as a tool of the cultural Cold War. East – West twinning relations were established for extending the cultural influence of each bloc on the other side of the Iron Curtain. Moreover, twinning between western towns was encouraged in order to reinforce the western cultural legacy against communism. However, even though international politics often contributed to the establishment of twinning relations, this municipal

diplomacy during the Cold War era should not merely be considered from the viewpoint of competition for cultural and political influence. In accordance with its original idea, town twinning also enabled encounters between people on the opposite sides of divides – this time the Iron Curtain - and, therefore, the dimension of transnational interaction should not be neglected in this context.

Timo Vilén

Russian and East European Studies in Western Europe during the Cold War – Patterns, Problems, and Prospects

Apart from natural sciences, the Cold War had a profound impact on the development of social sciences in the post-war U.S., perhaps most notably on Russian and East European studies, a branch of area studies often conceived as a creature of the Cold War. There were, to be sure, a handful of American scholars dealing with Russian history and language before the World War II, but it was not until American's entry to the war that the need for a careful analysis of Russian society, economy and culture became apparent.

The first “centre of Russian studies” was housed in the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), the wartime predecessor to the CIA. In 1946 the OSS's Soviet section was relocated to Columbia university to form the basis for its Russian Institute, followed by the establishment of Harvard's Russian Research Center in 1948. Towards the late 1940s the field was already booming, and in the

mid 1960s more than two dozen American universities hosted Soviet/East European area centres.

While the history of Russian and East European studies in the United States has attracted increased scholarly interest, the historiography of Russian studies in Europe has remained largely unexplored. Drawing on recent American and European debates and literature, my paper traces the origins and developments of Russian and East European studies within the Western European context. In addition to providing a general overview to the subject matter, the paper highlights some key trends in the field and proposes an approach for broadening the intellectual context of the Cold War historiography of Russian studies in Europe.

Maja Vasiljević

Intercultural relations between Tito's Yugoslavia and Kekkonen's Finland

The author explores the connections between Yugoslavia and Finland in the time of bloc division of the World into East and West, followed by the corresponding cultural policies in the context of East-West relations. In the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRJ) and the Republic of Finland, whose cultural policies were both based on the Western-European model, the role of cultural cooperation in strong compliance with political events is highlighted and assessed. In fact, cultural cooperation between the two countries is viewed as a result of a related political approach, namely, the principle of pacifism they both supported, opposing the "arms race" and nuclear

experiments. Inspired by the ideas presented during a series of visits of the two government high officials, Urho Kekkonen and Josip Broz Tito, cultural ideologues of SFRJ Education Ministry Secretariat for Foreign Affairs and of Finish Education Ministry's International Cooperation Department have focused on the bilateral dialogue mainly in the field of visual arts, and only than in literature and music. The cultural initiatives and exchange between SFRJ and Finland was achieved on the level of high artistic practice. However, as in case of some other European countries, the popular culture, and *music*, as its very important element, remained out of reach and interest of state`s foreign cultural policy. In this regard, the author discusses a very intense development of popular music practice in SFRJ and its evident relations with the West. By mapping some exciting games which SFRJ political institutions conducted with "non-aligned" and "neutral" states, the paper reveals powerlessness of European cultural policies to cope with strong impact of American or Western popular culture (from jeans and Coca-Cola to jazz and rock and roll) that linked young people/citizens from countries around the world strongly than state institutional support did.

Haris Dajč

Yugoslavia and Western World from Stalin to Kennedy

Despite economic and military help that Yugoslavia received from the Western block in the 1950s, Yugoslav-western relations at that time were under the shadow of

Stalin's presence in addition to a cold war which existed between Tito and Stalin.

The death of Stalin was a crucial moment for the international position of Yugoslavia: Tito tried to stay ideologically neutral from the USSR and economically from the Western world. One of the ways he was trying to achieve that was by linking with emerging African and Asian nations. Whilst his policy gave Yugoslavia more recognition as an independent socialist state one could question whether it gave more Yugoslavia economic independence - was the Third world a partner that could replace the West?

Nenad Radić

Shield of National Liberation and Tito's Marshall Badge

The Shield of National Liberation, worked in bronze by Antun Augustinčić, was created in 1946 as a model for Josip Broz Tito's Marshall Badge. This precious jewel, a badge much like a renaissance *enseigne*, would become one of the key emblems of his "imperial" iconography. Minted in Moscow in white and yellow gold, and embellished with hundreds of diamonds and rubies, this badge would mark it's bearer as the undisputed ruler. This paper traces the genesis of Augstinčić's shield and it's transformation into a soviet styled military decoration, a paradox of totalitarian communist flamboyance.

Alexander Mirkovic

Angels and Demons: Yugoslav Resistance in the Media (1941-45)

Recently I received an archival collection of newspaper clippings related to the Yugoslav Resistance during World War II (1941-45). This meticulously organized assortment contains articles from the newspapers as diverse as New York Times and the Daily Worker. Drawing on this collection, now in the process of digitalization, I would like to offer some preliminary conclusions on the way the Yugoslav Resistance was fashioned in the media and on the way the Yugoslav resistance fashioned itself for the media.

In the early parts of the war, 1941-42, the depiction gathered from the collection paints a picture of a “poor, but proud” people determined to “rather die, than serve the enemy.” The collection is dominated by the image of the Balkan peasant warriors as “noble savage,” an idealized uncivilized man of innate goodness, not yet exposed to the corrupting influences of civilization. Allied propaganda could fashion Yugoslav resistance into a major force during the dark years of 1941-42, in particular the Chetniks. Furthermore, Yugoslavs resistance groups also played for the audience and in their reports, tailored for the press in the later part of the war 1943-45, created an image of a successful partisan army, full of beautiful and brave women, knowing full well that the Allied aid depended more on the image that the resistance groups were able to create in the media, than on the facts on the ground.

Goran Musić

The City in Self-Management: Rise and Fall of New Belgrade's Alternative Modernity

The article deals with the development of Socialist Yugoslavia's urban policies in the decades after the break with the Soviet Union. The new openness toward the influence of Western modernist architecture and the resulting changes in the urban planning are reflected in the history of New Belgrade. A special attention is given to the relation between the construction of New Belgrade and the ruling ideology of workers' self-management. Apart from the official policies, the article opens the question of the ways in which the social movements from below influenced the practice of city planning in Yugoslavia. Finally, the text briefly discusses the potency of Henri Lefebvre's concept of 'right to the city' as a potential guidance for answering the social contradictions and public denouncements, which the Yugoslav modernist architecture, faced in the 1980s.

Mervi Kaarninen

Tampere University in Cold War limbo: From Finnish 'Manchester' to University Center

By focusing on the history of education in Finland, author explore extraordinary transition of Finnish industrial centre Tampere to university center. Underlying her current research ideas that role of universities in the development of cities was very important and also analysing universities in industrial

milieu, author this time expand story about city Tampere to Cold war discourse.

In search for factors that could be used in a pertinent investigation and measurement of universities' influence to their cities and surroundings, paper will present, on the one hand, local history of Tampere university and their influence on city life. On the other, author will present complexities of living in Tampere during the Col war limbo.

Felix Jeschke

A Dialogue of Monologues: Representations of the Berlin Wall and National Identity in the Work of Peter Schneider

In the 1982 novella *Der Mauerspringer* ("The Wall Jumper"), the West German novelist Peter Schneider (*1940) relates the different representations of news stories by East and West German TV: on the same topic, either channel will invariably say exactly the opposite using different sources, causing a 'dialogue in the form of a monologue'. This image is exemplary of Schneider's approach to the Berlin Wall and German identity. He presents the Wall as both Germany's largest dividing and cohesive force, as a fissure whose existence had become necessary to picture the nation whole. Berlin and its Wall become symbolic of how the German national community is 'imagined' after World War II. Ironically, as the Wall made Berlin – with its walled-up windows and underground lines running though ghost stations – into an ever-present symbol of a divided

Germany and of the Cold War, the former capital was simultaneously confined to the periphery of West German discourse. If only through its very uniqueness, Schneider's work has thus become paradigmatic of the German cultural approach to Berlin in the 1980s. Placing "The Wall Jumper" and other texts in the context of the official West German narrative towards its eastern neighbour, I argue in this essay that they offer an alternative perspective on German culture during the Cold War in the way the Wall is conceptualized both as a concrete object in the Berlin cityscape, and as a symbolic mirror that unites and divides the people on either side.

Anna Lujza Szasz

My life as an Eastern in the West. The story of a musician of Roma origin from Hungary

Looking back on the past fifteen years, one sees in Europe a turbulence in the politics of memory: every day, a new exhibition is opened, a book is written, a national commemoration day celebrated, a memorial unveiled, a new lesson of history taught – as if we were living in the “age of memory”, as many historians and philosophers say. This boom of remembering could be dated the year 1989, the year of the political turn in Hungary that was the zenith of the nationwide visibility of the victims. All kinds of communities of victims of the twentieth century went public with their own stories and traumas based on their social memory and demanded that justice be done. For a while the victims of the 1956 revolution played the main role on the stage of the truth telling then it became discredited and the memory of

Nazism and the memory of National Socialism stood face-to-face on the battlefield of remembering. There wasn't really any "coming-out" of Roma communities with their own stories however during and after the Second World War, Roma in Hungary were also exposed to different forms of persecutions. In my paper I would analyse a narrative life story interview which I conducted with a Hungarian musician of Roma origin who escaped from the country in the end of the 1940's and went to the "West". He speaks Hungarian fluently and the interview was set in Vienna where he lives now. I am interested those strategies through which Hungary is narrated in relation to the West. I also would like to see how he interprets his nomad life as a musician and what he means by home if there is any at all. Further I would like to understand how ethnicity and the idea of communism are constructed in the interview.