Revista Română
de
Studii Baltice și Nordice

The Romanian Journal
for
Baltic and Nordic Studies

Vol. 11, Issue 1 (2019)
Subscription information:

Revista Română pentru Studii Baltice și Nordice [The Romanian Journal for Baltic and Nordic Studies] (RRSBN) is a biannual multidisciplinary peer-reviewed journal dedicated to publishing the results of research in all fields which are intertwined with the aims of The Romanian Association for Baltic and Nordic Studies (https://balticnordic.hypotheses.org & www.arsbn.ro).

Annual subscription:
Institution  Lei 80  € 20  £ 17  $ 28
Individual  Lei 60  € 15  £ 13  $ 21
Online: free download (www.arsbn.ro/RRSBN.htm)

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ISSN 2067-1725
E-ISSN: 2067-225X
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Editorial Foreword

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The theme of the 2019 conference of the Romanian Association for Baltic and Nordic Studies was crafted with our regretted colleague and distinguished academic Leonidas Donskis. In the meanwhile, conformism seems to have pervaded larger categories of public in East-Central Europe and beyond, and new “illiberal democracies” evolved. A composite of authoritarian leader and godfather have taken the reins of power in the area. Populist parties and movements are on the rise. Resurgent nationalisms are again offered as a substitute to solutions. The refugee crisis lingers on and no common decisions have been adopted within the EU to solve it on the basis of the European values. The EU institutions are in need of reform and decisions on the course of the organization and its future enlargement process are still pending.

The conference aimed at analysing two often interrelated phenomena: dissent and conformism. In the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars nationalism and eventually modern political ideologies became the main competitors for power and control in Europe. Nationalisms unleashed the forces of destruction during the world wars while the clash of ideologies set off ahead of the French Revolution shaped the destiny of Europe during the 20th century. Dictatorships and even more so totalitarian regimes required unwavering conformism and full devotedness from their subjects, while encouraging dissent in the competing camp.

Conformism has shown many faces from the Antiquity to Contemporary Age, from pretence to obedience, and an individual person could evolve during his/her lifetime between the two extremes. Sometimes, as many dystopian novels reveal, the conformist grows into dissident and even becomes a major target of his/her former patrons. Conversely, former dissidents can return to loyalty, and often the prize to be paid is betrayal of former affined spirits. The archives of Scandinavian, Baltic and Black Sea regions preserve numerous documents of such instances. Conformism can also take the form of what Zygmunt Bauman and Leonidas Donskis called “liquid modernity”, the situation of an individual who flows from one
attitude to another, from one perspective to the other, from a set of values to an opposing one:

The liquid modern variety of adiaphorization is cut after the pattern of the consumer–commodity relation, and its effectiveness relies on the transplantation of that pattern to interhuman relations. As consumers, we do not swear interminable loyalty to the commodity we seek and purchase in order to satisfy our needs or desires, and we continue to use its services as long as but no longer than it delivers on our expectations - or until we come across another commodity that promises to gratify the same desires more thoroughly than the one we purchased before. All consumer goods, including those described as ‘durable’, are eminently exchangeable and expendable; in consumerist – that is consumption inspired and consumption servicing – culture, the time between purchase and disposal tends to shrink to the degree to which the delights derived from the objects of consumption shift from their use to their appropriation.¹

Dissidence also embraces a great spectre of attitudes from simple acts of disloyalty to open resistance as it happened in Norway or Denmark during World War II, in Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Poland and the Black Sea region during the dictatorial, totalitarian and occupational regimes, etc. Again, the boundary between these extremes is narrow and simple disloyalty can grow into acts of armed resistance. The archives in the region are filled with documents regarding dissident movements, samizdat literature and transborder cooperation of dissidents, which can offer fresh empirical, methodological and conceptual perspectives to this issue.

The first issue published in 2019 of Romanian Journal for Baltic and Nordic Studies embraces some aspects of dissent and conformist tackled during the conference from how these attitudes had manifested back in the 13th century Iceland to the issue of contemporary migrants and their interaction with their new home societies in Scandinavia, while also paying tribute to key manifestation of dissent and conformism during World War II, the Cold War and Iron Curtain. The second issue of the journal will continue to offer our readers access to new approaches on dissent and conformism in modern and contemporary Northern and Baltic regions.

Dissent versus conformism in Þórðar Saga Kakala (13th-century Iceland) ¹

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Abstract

The aim of this article is to highlight some developments in the writing of contemporary sagas in respect to their role in strengthening and perpetuating a discourse of power aimed at establishing the 13th-century incipient Icelandic aristocracy. The source we shall focus on, Þórðar Kakali Sighvatsson’s saga (Þórðar saga kakala, translated as Saga of Þórðar the Stammerer/Cackler/Chatterer), was written during the second half of the 13th century by an unknown author and includes details on the life of the protagonist from the period 1242 to 1250. It is one of the fourteen sagas in the Sturlunga collection, probably assembled around the year 1300 by Þórðr Narfason.

Rezumat

Scopul acestui articol este de a evidenția anumite evoluții în scrierea unor saga ale contemporanilor și a rolului lor în întărirea și perpetuarea unui discurs al puterii al cărui scop era de a fundamenta aristocrația islandeză incipientă din secolul al 13-lea. Sursa pe care o vom folosi, Saga lui Þórður Kakali Sighvatsson (bóðar saga kakala, al cărui titlu se traduce drept Saga lui Thord Bålbitul), a fost scrisă în a doua jumătate a secolului al 13-lea de către un autor necunoscut și include detalii despre viața protagonistului în perioada 1242-1250. Aceasta este una din cele paisprezece saga din colecția Sturlunga, care a fost reunită în jurul anului 1300 de către Þórðr Narfason.

Keywords: Þórður Kakali Sighvatsson; Iceland; Norway; Age of Sturlungs; King Hákon Håkonarson

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This paper was presented at the 10th International Conference on Baltic and Nordic Studies in Romania entitled Dissent versus Conformism in the Nordic, Baltic and Black Sea Areas, “Ovidius” University of Constanța, 6-8 June 2019.

The main source, Þórðar saga kakala², was preserved in two differing manuscripts: the Króksfjarðarbók (AM 122 a fol.) and the

¹ An earlier version of this work has been published as a subchapter of Costel Coroban, Ideology and Power in Norway and Iceland 1150-1250, Cambridge Scholars Publishers, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 2018.

Reykjafjarðarbók (AM 122 b fol.), with some notable differences between them, and in 17th-century copies of these manuscripts that are also somewhat different. It is suspected that most of the information in the saga (chapters 164-211 of Sturlunga saga\(^3\)) is owed to Svarthöfdi Dufgusson, one of the retainers of the protagonist, or that Dufgusson himself was the author\(^4\).

There are a few reasons why this source stands out as different in comparison to other Icelandic family sagas. First, while the action of Egils saga and Laxdæla saga took place a couple of centuries before their writing, Þórðar saga kakala is a contemporary saga which narrates events that had taken place only a few decades prior to its writing. This helps in achieving our purpose of providing an overview of the ideology of power during the period from the middle of the 12\(^{th}\) century to the middle of the 13\(^{th}\) century. The action in Þórðar saga kakala concentrates on the last decade of this period, during the conflicts fought in Iceland during the Age of the Sturlungs.

Second, while the earlier sources concentrate on family history beginning with the first known ancestors of their protagonists, in the current saga only the engagements of the protagonist, Þórður Kakali Sighvatsson, are presented over a comparatively very brief period of time. Þórður (d. 1256) was an Icelandic chieftain, son of Sighvatr Sturluson, the brother of Snorri Sturluson. What is related in the saga is that Þórður was travelling around Norway when his brother was killed in the Battle of Örlygsstaðir in 1238. Following this event, the protagonist started looking for ways of returning home, arriving in Iceland around 1242 and beginning

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to look for ways to secure his estate and at the same time to retaliate against the murder of his brother in order to maintain the honour of the family.5

Two years after his supposed arrival in the Westfjords during which Þórður built a small fleet, the chieftain actively began to pursue the reconquest of his family’s lands in the north in Eyjafjörður. His boats clashed with those of Kolbeinn ungi Arnórsson (1208 – 22 July 1245) in what became the single most notable medieval naval battle of Iceland (and an inconclusive one) at Flói on 25 June 1244.6 A new battle took place after two years’ time, this time between Þórður and Brandur Kolbeinsson at Haugsnes (on 19 April 1246), where over 110 men fell, including Brandur, which ended the power of Þórður’s enemies and propelled the protagonist to the position of highest power throughout Iceland. Þórður did not enjoy his power for long, as he was recalled to Norway by King Hákon Hákonarson in 1250 (it seem that the bishop of Hólar had written letter complaining that Þórður hadn’t been furthering Norway’s interests), where he passed away after six years’ time, not long after having just received permission to return to his lands by the King.7

Jón Viðar Sigurdsson draws attention to a fundamental change of paradigm when comparing contemporary sagas (samtíðarsögur) from the 13th century to earlier sagas that describe events in the distant past (fortíðarsögur), which lies in the way they treat conflicts between different Icelandic chieftains.8 While in the case of the first types of sagas conflict is personal, much like the manifestation of power was, being reflected in different feuds between families with women often stepping in to incite the men into restoring the honour of their families, in the case of contemporary sagas conflict becomes impersonal, battles involve thousands of people, and protagonists such as Þórður kakali are fighting for possessions and

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6 Magnus Magnusson, *Iceland Saga* (Tempus: 2005), s.v. „The end of the Commonwealth“.
7 Pulsiano 316.
territory\textsuperscript{9}. The similarities between the two types of sagas are a consequence of the fact that all of them were written around the same period in the evolution of the Icelandic Commonwealth, when most families are supposed to have kept the memory of their forebears live through oral dissemination within each region\textsuperscript{10}; in other words, the families living in Iceland in the 12\textsuperscript{th} and 13\textsuperscript{th} century shared a similar culture, which is evident from certain political-cultural patterns that are repeated in various sagas: that rulers were expected to be generous, the importance of gift-giving, and of their speech and eloquence\textsuperscript{11}. We should also not lose from sight the political agenda embedded in many sagas, that of legitimizing various chieftains’ claims to their territories. To offer an example here, Axel Kristinsson opinionates that Þórður kakali may have commissioned the writing of Gísla saga in order to promote the claim of his family, the Sturlungs, over Seldælir, which they had taken from the hero Gísli Súrsson, whose sister was married to Þórður’s ancestors\textsuperscript{12}.

One important difference between Þórður and the other Icelandic chieftains mentioned is that in Norway he was directly delegated with bringing Iceland in servitude of the Norwegian throne, while he himself was striving to maintain the independence of his homeland, at least in ecclesiastical matters\textsuperscript{13}. While the event of Þórður’s recall to Norway in 1250 passes as unimportant in many sagas, this attempted unification of the country was of real importance. The King almost kept Þórður as a hostage until the end of the forceful guest’s death\textsuperscript{14}. Hákon saga Hákonarsonar also mentions this episode\textsuperscript{15}.

Historians have presented different hypotheses why this fragment was left out of the saga in the first version\textsuperscript{16}. Given the proposal of some

\textsuperscript{9} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{10} Ibid., 100.
\textsuperscript{11} Ibid., 100-101.
\textsuperscript{14} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{15} Hákon saga Hákonarsonar, chapter 195, 246.
\textsuperscript{16} See the discussion in Jónsson 51.
exegetes that it had been written by someone who fought on the side of the people of the Westfjords, it is surprising that the saga is not heavily biased in Þórður’s favour, or that at least that his enemies are presented in a positive light. When it is said that Kolbeinn ungi could not participate in the naval battle at Flóabardagi, the audience is reminded that everyone knew he was a valorous man but did not participate due to sickness. Similarly, Brandur Kolbeinsson is praised for his qualities\textsuperscript{17}. The writer had difficulties in taking a side in the conflict between Þórður and his enemies. The great number of casualties in the conflict may have made it very difficult even for the hero to revel in his victory which had brought the extermination of so many notable Icelanders\textsuperscript{18}.

Where the author of Þórðar saga kakala takes the side of the hero is when his violent actions against his enemies are excused by pointing out different wrongs that were committed against the family of the Sturlungs in order to legitimize the hero’s violent acts or taking over of his enemies’ property. These examples of casus belli do not appear in the rest of the sagas of the Icelanders and, in fact, some of them are even contradicted by other sources\textsuperscript{19}. For instance, when Þórður occupies the farm of the rich and powerful Ormur Bjarnason and loots it, the author of the saga reminds us that “he was head of a goðorð and had played a large part in the slaying of Snorri Sturluson”\textsuperscript{20}, while in Islendinga saga the same goði is said to have left the group of attackers after he had found out of their intention of slaying Snorri\textsuperscript{21}.

Furthermore, in order to justify such actions of looting and pillaging on behalf of Þórður, the author mentions that he himself was dissatisfied by this bad reputation given by one of his “captains”, Ásbjörn Gudmundarson, who had rather gone pirate, so the author used this character as a scapegoat for Þórður’s raiding\textsuperscript{22}. Ásbjörn is described as being crueller to his enemies than usual, for example killing a vagabond,

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., 52.
\textsuperscript{18} Strayer vol. 11, 500.
\textsuperscript{19} Jónsson 50.
\textsuperscript{20} Þórðar saga kakala, chapter 8.
\textsuperscript{21} Jónsson 51; Sturlunga saga, chapter 151.
\textsuperscript{22} Jónsson 51.
Þórodd of Horn, for not giving up his weapon, or attempting to cut off an enemy spy’s hand who then “bore his wounds very bravely” but shortly, maybe as “reward” for his heartless behaviour, Ásbjörn died by drowning in a river.

On the one hand, Þórður is depicted as a merciful war leader, who instructs his men to spare women and those who had taken sanctuary in the holy ground of churches. This is similar to Sverris saga, where the King often spared peasants who had fought against him and instructed his men to take care not to set fire to churches, even having them use wet sails to protect the church in a fire. On the other hand, his enemy in the first part of the saga, Kolbeinn ungi, appears as a man who fights very cruelly (an anecdote is even presented how the antagonist set fire to beached whales so Þórður’s men could not feed off them), he does not spare his enemies, devastates the countryside in order to prevent his enemies from taking shelter and seems to rejoice in taking lives. Another parallel may be drawn here with how King Magnús and the Baglar were depicted in Sverris saga.

It is also interesting to note how Þórður captures the attention of the yeomen (bœndr) with his speech and manages to persuade the public opinion that he was not so violent and was actually fighting a righteous war against Kolbeinn ungi. On occasions, he holds speeches in front of his men before battle, makes promises to God and raises the troops’ morale. The use of feuds as reasons for murdering his opponents became a habit of Þórður. Also, the way the narrative was constructed suggests that the hero was predestined for a great purpose. In the saga, Kolbeinn ungi confesses before the naval battle that he feels the tide may be turned in the conflict, yet this would take place only after Kolbeinn’s death due to illness. While, for example, the great destiny prophesized for King Sverrir back in his

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23 Þórðar saga kakala, chapter 21.
24 Jónsson 51;
25 Ibid.
26 Þórðar saga kakala, chapter 15.
27 Jónsson 52.
childhood was fulfilled, this did not occur in the case of Þórður, who died a hostage at the Norwegian court\textsuperscript{28}.

Einar Már Jónsson proposes that Þórðar saga kakala was written down in the period when the hero was at the apogee of his power in Iceland and that it was a work of propaganda that had the role of promoting an ideal image of him and of justifying the ruthless war he waged against his enemies\textsuperscript{29}. The same author believes that Þórður kakali succeeded in this as many people think of him in a positive way in Iceland even today, and that this campaign of earning a good reputation for himself began after he and Gissur were asked to present the story of the feud between the Sturlungar and the Haukdælir in front of King Hákon Hákonarson. Gissur, the chieftain of the latter family, presented the story in a speech, while Þórður ordered that a roll (rolla) be written and handed to the King. As the King appreciated the two stories to be similar, it is likely that the version of events in the rolla was not the same as in the saga, but it could represent a starting point\textsuperscript{30}.

Overall, the portrait of Þórður kakali in the eponymous sagas scores greater similarity to those of the Norwegian monarchs in the kings’ sagas than earlier portraits of chieftains in Egils saga or Laxdœla saga. Þórður is depicted as harsh and decisive but just in his actions, every man he kills he does so in response to some misdeed of that man (invented or not) that is mentioned in the saga. Similarly, King Hákon Hákonarson is depicted in the saga that bears his name as:

“…an exemplary king: a guardian of the Church, a defender of the faith, and the keeper of the peace. All crimes and every disturbance is a personal affront to him. He is clement and generous, noble in conduct and skilled in strategy and council. Last but not least, he is well educated, literate, and a great patron of the arts”\textsuperscript{31}.

\textsuperscript{28} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{29} Ibid., 53.
\textsuperscript{30} Ibid.
Though Þórður does not match the King in all his qualities, he certainly strived to go so and equals him in regards to being a protector of the church and in being a skilled military commander. Yet fate did not allow Þórður to return to his homeland and act according to the power he earned. Nevertheless, according to the actions in the sagas, there are arguments to support the view that Þórður may be considered a King in nuce, i.e. a chieftain with the potential to become an independent King, had he been gifted with sufficient luck.

The saga scholar Ármann Jakobsson identified three general attitudes to kingship existent in the Icelandic sagas before 1262:

- hostility towards kings may only be found to some extent in Egils saga but there is little in the way of describing kings negatively, with some exceptions that seem to confirm the rule;
- the sagas tend to focus on the fate of the Icelandic hero at the Norwegian court who generally is received and treasured as a friend, such as in the case of Morkinskinna or Laxdœla saga;
- third, “a tendency to depict notable Icelandic nobles as kings in embryo, discernible mainly in Laxdœla saga and Hungrvaka, and in the portrayal of Jón Loftsson in Sturlunga [saga]”.


34 Jakobsson 1999, 60.
The third finding of the Icelandic saga scholar is the most important for our thesis that Þórður kakali was also depicted as a King *in nuce*. Ármann Jakobsson did not focus his analysis on Þórðar saga kakala but we hope to have contributed towards demonstrated that this source qualifies for such a perspective. If the saga was written by one of Þórdur’s followers, as it is suspected by scholars, then it should not be surprising that the image of the protagonist is so positive. The fact that this tendency of attributing royal features to Icelandic aristocrats is evident in other sources as well is indicative of a historiographical trend towards autonomy and centralization. It is believed that Iceland had a strong desire for independence in the Early Middle Ages\(^ {35} \), which I have tried to highlight by bringing in discussion different facets of Icelandic identity in the sagas, most especially the idea that in the sagas describing the distant past (*fortíðarsögur*) the Kings of Norway appear as Outsiders/Strangers, featuring either angelic or demonic role. A very interesting idea that is worth mentioning in connection with these descriptions of Icelandic magnates from the 13\(^{th}\) century is that such Icelandic sagas as Þórðar saga kakala may have been written as a reaction to the translation of chivalric sagas in Norway during the early and middle 13\(^{th}\) century under the guidance of King Hákon Hákonarson.

Would this idea of the protagonists’ representation with some royal features in an attempt to promote his own image as an independent magnate of Iceland match his political intentions? Þórdur kakali is known to have disregarded the mission given to him and to Bishop Heinrekur of Hólar by King Hákon Hákonarson in Iceland, that of bringing it under the Kings’ fiscal and judicial sovereignty. In Hákon saga Hákonarsonar bishop Heinrekur of Hólar is the one that brings to the ears of the King the news that “what Þórdur had done was useless” (*kallade þat onytt, er þódr hafði [syslat]*)\(^ {36} \) because “in all his dealings he had furthered his own cause but

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\(^ {36} \) Quoted in Hans Jacob Orning, *Unpredictability and Presence: Norwegian Kingship in the High Middle Ages* (Brill: Leiden, Boston, 2008), 233.
not the King’s honour”\(^{37}\) and “took little pains for the King’s cause (\(\text{lagdi litla stund aa kongs mal}\))”\(^{38}\).

A weak point for our hypothesis would be the \textit{de facto} political situation of Iceland, where by 1250 almost all the chieftaincies in the Northern, Western and Southern were actually under the control of the King of Norway and could be bestowed upon or taken back according to the will of the King\(^{39}\). In such conditions, it would have made little sense for Þórhúr to set in motion such a propaganda campaign aimed at consolidating his image as a just and brave chieftain, a propaganda campaign fit for a King. A refutation of this counterargument would lie in the unpredictability of the political situation of the times and the well-known self-governing ethos of the Icelanders. For example, the protagonist in \textit{Hrafnkels saga}\(^{40}\), chieftain Hrafnkell - who murdered one of his shepherds who had not made himself guilty of any crime and, furthermore, was unarmed – insisted on his right as chieftain on the life or death of his subjects, a right which belonged only to Kings.

\begin{flushright}
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\(^{37}\) Ibid., 234.

\(^{38}\) Ibid.


Dissent vs. conformism in bóðar Saga Kakala (13th-century Iceland)


Dissenting narratives of identity in Saami, Meänkieli and Kven literatures

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Abstract
In this study, I analyse the interconnections between language and identity in the literatures written in minority languages in Fennoscandia (Meänkieli, Saami and Kven). I concentrate on authors who write in their native languages (as well), and who can move between minority and majority language both as ordinary people and as writers. These literatures are small bodies, because there is a small number of people who can still read and write these languages. Minority literatures often deal with the relationship between minority and majority (dominant) cultures describing them by means of power relations. In the minority literatures I am going to deal with past, reconstructed on the horizon of the present, visualised in a narrative frame, representing an integral part of the minority writers’ great narratives, whose aim is to write their own minority histories, as opposed to the official ones. When examining the works of Fennoscandian minority writers, we can notice many a time that they build their own life-stories into the past recalled for the sake of community. In my study, I analyse some important elements of the writers’ narrative-building. I will be looking for answers for the following questions: What kind of power relations determine the life of the given minorities? How do they relate to different borders in their everyday life? How firm the virtual borders created by minority and majority populations are and what kind of consequences crossing

Rezumat
În acest studiu, voi analiza interconexiunile între limbă și identitate, așa cum apar în literatura fennoscandiană (din Finlanda și Scandinavia), scrisă în limbi minoritare (meänkieli, saami și kvenă). Voi focusa în special asupra acelor autori care scriu (și) în limba lor maternă și posedă dextertitatea de a se mișca liber între limba majoritară și cea minoritară, atât în viața de zi cu zi, cât și în calitatea lor de scriitor. Aceste literaturi prezintă corpuri mici, deoarece sunt relații puțin cele care mai scriu și citesc în limbi date. Literaturile minoritare se ocupă deseori de relațiile dintre culturile minoritare și cele majoritare (dominante), oglindindu-le prin relațiile de autoritate. Critica postcolonială este un punct de plecare provocator și captivant în același timp, în ceea ce privește autoritatea și supunerea. În literaturile minoritare mă voi ocupa de trecutul reconstruit pe orizontul prezentului, vizualizat sub formă narrativă, reprezentând parte integrantă a narativei mari ce aparțin scriitorilor minoritari al căror țel este să-și scrie propria lor istorie minoritară, în contrast cu cele oficiale. Examinând scriitorii minoritari din Fennoscandia, se poate observa că, în numeroase cazuri, ei încorporează întâmpări personale în trecutul comun, redeșteptându-le de dragul comunității. Voi analiza în studiul meu elemente importante de construire a narativei, folosite de acești scriitori. De asemenea, voi căuta răspuns la următoarele întrebări: ce fel de relații de autoritate determină minoritățile date; în ce fel se raporteză la diferitele granițe, limite în viața de zi cu zi; cât sunt de solide granițele virtuale create de minoritate și majoritate și ce fel de consecvențe
borders has. As the theoretical basis of the lecture is concerned, I analyse the topic from the perspective of microhistorical research and the psychological study of identity and stigma.

Keywords: language minority; language majority; identity; social stigma; narrative

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This paper was presented at the 10th International Conference on Baltic and Nordic Studies in Romania entitled Dissent versus Conformism in the Nordic, Baltic and Black Sea Areas, “Ovidius” University of Constanța, 6-8 June 2019.

The United Nations declared 2019 the year of indigenous languages. In 2016 the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues stated that “40% of the estimated 6700 languages spoken around the world were in danger of disappearing”\(^1\). As languages represent complex systems of knowledge and cultures, their disappearance involve the impoverishment of the global cultural diversity.

In 2018, Johanna Domokos published a book on endangered literatures\(^2\). It draws attention upon the fact that if a language is endangered, its literary creation is endangered, as well. She notices that the linguistic diversity of the literary field is highly influenced by the real or potential extinction of these languages.

My intention is to dedicate my study to some of those languages and literatures in Scandinavia and Finland, which belong to the endangered group.

1. Identity as Process

When attempting to reconcile the multiple definitions of identity, there are at least three typologies calling for consideration. Definitions can be ordered along a dimension between outer and inner polarities. First, at one end, there are those definitions according to which the person’s interior


(or idiosyncratic inner core) is the source of sameness over time. Secondly, at the other end, there are conceptions of identity which focus on the cultural and social influences determining who we seem to be to ourselves and to others. Between these two ends, there are the multidimensional conceptions which focus on ongoing dialectical processes between the psychological and the socio-cultural. I would consider the third of most utility for my own research.

There is no consensus about what the term identity refers to, although it is widely used across different disciplines. For the aims of this study, I focus on certain general aspects of identity. First, the term suggests sameness (idem in Latin) – having characteristics that permit recognition. Second, it implies constancy in the midst of transformation. I will shortly explain how the experience of constancy is created by means of narrativity. It is important to emphasise that identity is not a static endpoint, but rather a lifelong process of identification. It is dynamic, situational and negotiated. As developmental psychologist Harold D. Grotevant has noted: “one of the most attractive things about the notion of identity is that it looks at the individual in context”. The context he is referring to can be of various kinds – historical, political, family (context) and so on.

In describing identity-building processes, we should keep in mind Assmann’s ascertainment that identity presumes the existence of further identities. This implies that whenever we examine identity, we may take into consideration identity-components like ethnic-, linguistic-, religious

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6 Jan Assmann, A kulturális emlékezet. Írás, emlékezés és politikai identitás a korai magaskultúrákban (Budapest: Atlantísz, 1999),134.
affiliations, political views, sex and age. They may have different intensities in each case and sometimes, depending on the given case, also their meaning can differ. Some of them are acquired at an early age, have deep roots in us and awake strong emotional feelings. Others change much easier since they are more superficial. Personal ego is based on narration. This means that we feel as if we had an organic identity from our birth to our death. On the other hand, this is due to the fact that we build the „narrative of the ego” around ourselves. Csepeli speaks about “autobiographic narrative” and draws attention upon the fact that this narrative meets – in several places – the socio-historic narratives which show the space and time of a life-story. Psycho-social identity is born out of the interaction between these two phenomena.

We should consider identity one of the most important premises of social life. According to this, personal ego is socially constructed from the very beginning, it is formed along continuous social interactions and the individual has to re-determine itself again and again all along its life and together with its own self, also that of others’.

I am going to examine the identity of ethnical and language minorities in my study that is why I consider it important to determine the operative term of ethnic group. By this, I mean such a group which lives together with a (numerical) majority, as well as with other minority groups and which lives with the awareness of belonging together and with the knowledge of common origin, having a common culture and common traditions and their ancestors were speaking the same language.

The term identity, whether individual or collective, inevitably implies a comparative distinction: me versus someone else or us versus them. This comparison involves a process of interpretation regarding the borders between self and other. The essential question for the researcher is thus what makes the individual or group recognizably different.

Difference also means power resource, since being conscious of the given group particularities gives a good basis for building both identity

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8 György Csepeli, Szocialpszichológia (Budapest: Osiris. 2006), 521.
and formulate the aims of the community, as well as determine the actions leading to their fulfillment. On the other hand, there is danger in the fact that we may easily misjudge or discredit those people who are different from “us”. Csepeli words this in the following way: “Minority, as part of the majority society, is actually at the mercy of those stereotypes and categories and preconceptions which are cultivated by mass communication and which they have then to reflect upon themselves.”

We tend to determine a minority or a person belonging to that minority by one component of their identity, namely that they belong to the minority. At the same time, we characterise them in stereotypes, that is we homogenise the group. We presume that they have certain features which cannot be seen, but we think they can be deduced. And to all these also those intergroup prejudices are associated which also include the possibility of people unequally being discriminated according to their category affiliation.

According to Barth, an important characteristic of an ethnical group is the border and its maintainance. The group, with its inner determining process signals – both for those belonging to the group and those outside it – who are those they accept and those they do not accept as members of the inner group. “If a group maintains its identity when members interact with others, this entails criteria for determining membership and ways of signalling membership and exclusion.”

Ethnic identity can be a social stigma. In the following chapter I will analyse shortly what stigma means.

2. Stigma

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10 Csepeli 2006, 510.

11 Ibid. 491.

For the ancient Greeks, the term *stigma* referred to “bodily signs designed to expose something unusual and bad about the moral status of the signifier”\(^{13}\). In Christian times, besides this meaning, there were added two more references: first, bodily signs of holy grace, manifesting themselves as eruptions on the skin, second, bodily signs of physical disorder. Today the term is applied more to the disgrace than to its bodily evidence.

According to Goffman, there are three sharply different types of stigmas: physical deformities, blemishes of individual character (like weak will, domineering passions, rigid beliefs, dishonesty), and the tribal stigma of race, nation, and religion.\(^ {14}\) All the three are generated in social space and are activated along the interactions. They have the same sociological characteristics, namely: “an individual who might have been received easily in ordinary social intercourse possesses a trait that can obtrude itself upon attention and turn those of us whom he meets away from him, breaking the claim that his other attributes have on us. He possesses a stigma, an undesired differentness from what we had anticipated”.\(^ {15}\)

As we believe that the person with a stigma is a freak, we construct a stigma-ideology to explain his inferiority, and consider him a danger for the society. Such a stigma can be the minority mother tongue of the individual. This exclusionist contempt caused by the mother tongue basically determines the relationship minority – majority, fact which I am going to examine upon real examples in the following chapters of this study.

When a stigmatised person reacts defensively in their interaction with the one who stigmatises them, we tend to consider their behaviour a sign of their imperfection.

“Further, we may perceive his defensive response to his situation as a direct expression of his defect, and then see both defect and response as

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\(^{14}\) Ibid. 3.

\(^{15}\) Ibid.
just retribution for something he or his parents or his tribe did, and hence a justification of the way we treat him.”\textsuperscript{16}

In fact, it is understandable that when interacting with people who discredit the person, (s)he is likely to feel that her/his privacy has been violated, and (s)he may react defensively or even with hostility.

The stigmatised person can respond to situations of contact with stigmatizers in many ways. (S)he might, for example, make an attempt to correct her/his “default” or can see the trials (s)he has suffered as a blessing, because suffering can teach one about life. In case that someone manages to correct the original “fault” (for instance the person belonging to minority learns the majority language), they will look at her/him as at someone who got rid of the stigma and not as at one who had never had it.\textsuperscript{17}

In my study, I am going to exemplify the way stigmatised persons relate to those who stigmatise them.

\textbf{3. Microhistorical approach}

A microhistorical research is a well demarcated smaller unit – let us say an event or the community of a village or a family or an individual – meaning its intensive history examination which, at the same time, from the point of view of its aims means much more than a simple case study.\textsuperscript{18} Referring to Schlumbohm, Szijártó states that microhistorical research “rebuilds the life of everyday people on the bases of ordinary resources by telling and analysing them at the same time.”\textsuperscript{19} First of all it is by being able to visualise the acting individuals having their own aims and strategies that it gives a new dimension to the historical flow.

Microhistory as a practical researching method is in connection with historical anthropology and it proved to be suitable for intensively

\textsuperscript{16} Ibid. 4.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid. 6–7.
\textsuperscript{19} Ibid.
studying a well determined smaller topic which takes literary or narrative form. It is suitable, for instance, for researching a topic like the relationship among language, border and identity in minority literatures. Microhistory generally emphasises the acting individual and its intentionality, its possibilities and its space of movement. At the same time, the examination of the individual’s microworld is suitable to provide information about its surrounding world and from many points of view, can give important information about the determining society.

Society, as an imagined community, is formed of real individuals. As we have already spoken about it in the chapter dealing with identity these individuals are organised into different groups. Both smaller and bigger communities can be imaginary and can unite people even without expecting them to live in the vicinity of one another or to be personally acquainted with one another or to be in direct connection with one another. In order to be able to describe social groups, it is important to examine their relationships and their network system. We cannot take for granted that people belong to a certain group, neither that the borders between groups are impermeable, exactly the way identity is a dynamic process depending on a situation. It is worth examining the way they create relationships and networks of relationship, as well as those factors that stand at the basis of their solidarity. *The Smuggler King’s Son*, novel written by Bengt Pohjanen, Meänkieli writer, is especially suitable for such an examination.

4. The Writers

I use part of the work of five literary writers for analysing the topics of my research.

**Bengt Pohjanen** (born in 1944) is a multilateral and prolific writer of the Torne Valley and dedicated representative of the Meänkieli literature. He is a Swedish citizen who writes in Meänkieli, Swedish and Finnish. His works include different genres: novels, poems, lyrics, essays, dramas, feuilletons, texts for musicals, short stories. He is the author of the first

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novel (1985) and the first drama (1987) ever written in Meänkieli.\textsuperscript{21} He is also a translator for nine languages: Swedish, Meänkieli, Finnish, English, German, French, Russian, Livonian and Karelian.

The Norwegian \textbf{Agnes Eriksen} (born in 1951) was working as a teacher in the primary school of Lakselv (Lemmijoki in Norwegian). She has published in Kven books for children, rhymes and rules, and textbooks. She and Eira Söderholm (the author of the first Kven grammar book) won the first Kven language prize in 2017.\textsuperscript{22}

\textbf{Alf Nilsen-Børsskog} (1928–2014) was a trilingual (Kven, Norwegian and North Saami) author who lived in Norway and created the first literary works ever written in the Kven language. He published a series of 4 novels (\textit{Life goes on}) and five volumes of poems. His novels have had a great ethnopolitical significance for the Kvens.\textsuperscript{23}

\textbf{Rita-Magga Kumpulainen} (born in 1953), a Saami writer in Finland, worked as a journalist. She had studied in Finnish at school, and re-learned her mother tongue as an adult. She has started her career at the beginning of our century as a writer after graduating a writers’ school.\textsuperscript{24}

\textbf{Kirste Paltto} (born in 1947) is a teacher and a Saami writer from Finland. She was the first woman writer who published her works in Saami. She has been writing lyrical poems, prose, radio plays ever since 1975. She has published more than twenty volumes, and the Finnish state awarded her a lifelong scholarship in 2010.\textsuperscript{25}


\textsuperscript{22} Agnes Eriksen, \url{https://nordligefolk.no/kvenene/agnes-eriksen/}, accessed at 22.6.2019.


5. Mother tongue at home and a foreign language at school

Language control was also part of the 19th century process of the formation of national states. It was inherent part of the national states legal system. According to language control the language of the sovereign ethnic group was declared language of prestige, then it became a legally sanctioned official language. And one of the aims of the school education, though not admitted still definitely followed, was to strengthen the awareness that certain languages and cultures are more important than others.26

School education has probably always been the most efficient political means of language assimilation. In one of her works, Skutnabb-Kangas makes a thought provoking parallel between the missionary activity of the age of the European colonisation and the more exquisite forms of striving for linguistic assimilation. Still, the missionaries were trying to achieve their goal with the help of Bible translated into the languages of the peoples they wanted to convert while the manuals prepared for the minority groups which were to be “converted” were – or still are – not written in their mother tongues.27

As I have earlier noted, minority language is falling under the type of tribal stigma, which may stigmatize its “wearer” even for a whole life. As far as those who speak Meänkieli are concerned, the stereotype is the Swedish majority’s notion that the speakers of this Finno-Ugric language are sharply different from the prototype of the Swedish national character28, and that they are even ignorant, primitive and uncultured. Around the stigma – a different language in our case – they constructed an

ideology that explains what an inferior creature the stigmatised person is. This exclusionist disdain has basically determined the relationship between majority and minority not only in Sweden, but also in Norway and Finland.

In the Meänkieli, Saami and Kven literatures, it is when they first go to school to start their studies that children cross the border between the microcommunity of home and family to the macrocommunity of the larger society. In the works of Fennoscandian minority writers who graduated schools in the majority languages, the reader can many a time meet with the language and culture changing role of school. The writers whose works have I analysed used special and – more or less – identical metaphors to picture the feelings of those who were deprived of their mother tongues by the school education. In the next part of my study I will concentrate on the following metaphors *faceless*, *tongueless*, *stepchild*, and *dumbness*.

5.1. Faceless

In her poem \(^{29}\) entitled *Kasvottoman kansan lapsi* (The child of a faceless people), Agnes Eriksen Kven poet expresses the different faces of identity with the help of the mirror, as a symbol. Here you have the poem in Kven and English.

**Agnes Eriksen:**  *Kasvottoman kansan lapsi*

Lapsena minula oli peili.  
Ko kattoin peilhiin näin  
mitä kansa puohais.  
Oma kuva näkyi ja perheenki,  
ämii ja äijii näkyi.  
Raamina oli koko kansan juuret.

**Agnes Eriksen:**  *The child of a faceless people*

As a child I had a mirror.  
When I looked in it, I saw  
my people working.  
I saw my own picture in it and my  
family’s,  
my grandmas’ and grandpas’ as well.

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Peilin eessä opettelin puhuhmaan ommaa kieltä,
laulahmaan oman kansan äänelä,
opettelin ajattelehmaan,
olehmaan ihminen.
Seittemän vuotta elin kansan sylissä.

Uusi päivä koitti:
sunnuntai,
pyhäpäivä.
Aamula puhuin vielä meän kieltä,
illala ei ennää.
Olin joutunu intternaathiin.
Olin joutunu koulhuun.

Peilin särjethiin,
näön sammutethiin,
ryöstethiin kansan sylistä.

Sain uuen peilin.

Outo kansa siitä katstoi.
Outo laulu siitä kuului.

Kasvoton ja äänetön
haen vieläki.

Its frame was my people’s roots.

In front of the mirror I learned to speak
my own language,
to sing on my people’s voice,
I learned to think,
and to be a human.
Seven years I lived in my people’s lap.

A new day was breaking:
a Sunday,
a holiday.
In the morning I still spoke our language,
in the evening not any longer.
I got to a boarding school.
I got to school.

The mirror was broken,
the light was switched off,
I was kidnapped from my people’s lap.

I got a new mirror.

There was a strange people looking out of it. There was a strange song sounding from it.

Faceless and voiceless,
I am still searching.
The poem describes the heart-breaking experience of losing one’s mother tongue and native culture.

The lyrical ego speaks about two phases of life and school is the demarcating line between them. The first phase is childhood experienced in a mother tongue surrounding, closely connected to the time when she was in a naturally close relation to her family and through it to the past and the culture of her own group. She describes changing with expressions like “new mirror” or the several times repeated “strange” or “the light was switched off”, “I was kidnapped”. The quick transition between the two life phases is shown in a laconic style increasing the dramatic feeling of the situation: one day she was still speaking her mother tongue and on the following day she was not any more.

5.2. Tongueless

Bengt Pohjanen’s works prove that literature gives the individual a possibility to share in their own people’s or ethnic group’s culture and collective memory. One of Pohjanen’s main aims is to present the relation of the Meänkieli culture to the majority (Swedish and Finnish) cultures. He presents also the individual’s experience in sharing the same fate of being different, as well as minority strategies in an exclusionary society.

The trauma of the Swedish assimilation and loss of identity is the central theme of one of Pohjanen’s early poems, originally written in Swedish and published in 1973, entitled Jag är född utan språk (Born Tongueless). Then he himself translated it into Meänkieli and Finnish. Here you have the poem in Meänkieli and English.

Bengt Pohjanen: Kielettömänä

Olen kielettömänä syntyny

Tongueless I was born,

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mykkänä
dumb.
kieletön paarmuska
A midwife – tongueless herself –
katkasi naparihman
cut my funiculus.

Kasusin rajala
I grew up on a frontier;
kahen kielen traakissa
the crossfire of two languages
jonka viimassa
kept cutting, dumbing
olematon kieleni
my tongue.
mykisty

Minut kasuatethiin
As I was brought up
olheen ihmisiksi
into a human being,
oppimhaan ruottin
they warned me
ja tunnusthaan kansalisuuen
to learn Swedish
and form my national identity.

Minua piiskathiin koulussa
At school I was rammed
oppimhaan ruottin,
language,
olheen ihmisiksi
and brought into a good citizen
kunnon alamaisena
and subjection.
Minua piiskathiin häpeämhään
They rammed in: what’s mine –
sitä mikä oli minun ommaa:
my being tongueless and
kielettömyys
my border-existence
ja raja
– are shameful.

Minut rakennethiin
I have been created
ulkoa päin suunatulla
with external violence
väkivallalla
internal constraint
da sisäsellä pakola
deprivations and
lyhenyksilä
misunderstandings.
ja väärinkäsityksillä

Multa otethiin oma lekitimasuuni
I was deprived of my identity
Card.
The poem tells about being excluded and deprived of identity. The lyrical ego is born “tongueless” because the only accepted language in the given cultural- and social environment is Swedish. Being continuously stigmatised, excluded and humiliated because of his mother tongue, he finishes his poem with the line “I was deprived of my identity/ Card”. It logically follows that the one who does not master the “language” does not even exist.

The discourse of the poem is characterised by lack, alienation, and fragmentation. The reader can easily notice the poem’s gloomy tension at rhythm level, as well as the diverging dynamics of poetic and everyday expressions, which perfectly fit the message.

Pohjanen assignes a special significance to this poem. He had it published many a time in different places, translated it, and had it translated into several languages. It can be found right on the opening page of his website in many languages, like Swedish, Finnish, Meänkieli, Norwegian, Russian, English, Hungarian, Estonian, Greek, and Czech.

In this poem, like in almost all of his works, Pohjanen revolts against accepted norms in the majority language society. He fights for his mother tongue and deconstructs the authority discourse.

### 5.3. Stepchild

In his autobiographical novel *The Smuggler King’s Son* he also writes about the consequences of school education upon the development of a minority child’s personality. In Sweden, Selma Lagerlöf’s book *Nils Holgerson’s Wonderful Travels* (published in 1906–1907) was used as Geography manual. Its aim was to also strengthen the positive image of the country, increasing by this the children’s Swedish identity. According to Pohjanen, Lagerlöf gave exclusively a Swedish identity model, in which the Swedish language and its speakers represent all the inhabitants of the country.

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“Everybody has read Selma Lagerlöf’s book, »Nils Holgersson’s wonderful travels«, at school. Selma received the task of painting the children a comprehensive picture of Sweden from the Swedish school inspectorate, one that mirrors reality. And Selma managed to paint a picture of Swedish reality as it has never existed before, as it doesn’t exist today and it never will either. God has always seen us, Nils Holgersson hasn’t. And what exactly would he have said to the Swedish about us if he had noticed us? It’s probably better he hasn’t. He might have called us fools like the other Ummikko32 did whenever they talked about us.”33

In his novel, Pohjanen consciously deconstructs the image offered by the Swedish literature about North-Sweden and those speaking Meänkieli. In reality, they were considered second-rate citizens.

In her work Saamis (1973) Kirste Paltto writes about the injustice against the Saami, about contempt and about the Finnish methods of assimilation into the majority culture.34 She starts with her personal experiences in school which determined her future way of thinking about herself and her Saami ethnic group. “As soon as I went to school, I quickly understood that in my beloved Finland, as a Saami girl I can only be a stepchild. Telling the truth, I must admit that the problems I had by then, as a little child, seem to be trifles compared to the ones I lived through later in life. Still, the alienation I experienced as a grown-up started then and there, in that school in Lappland and its Finnish national spirit. […] I went there to learn – that was my aim. But not even one day had passed and I had to be listening to allusions to the Saamis incivility and backwardness.”35 In the system of majority language education, she had to learn to be ashamed of her own origin, her own mother tongue and her own nation’s special culture. To belong to the Saami ethnical group had meant to be a second-rate citizen in all the three countries – Finland, Sweden and Norway – right until the near past. The new generations are

32 A person who speaks only Swedish.
33 Bengt Pohjanen, Jopparikutuninkhaan poika (Överkalix: Barents, 2009), 46. All English translations by Betty Léb.
also wearing the stigma of this situation, even if they did not experience what their parents and grandparents did. Suppression of the Saamis is not as direct nowadays as it used to be earlier. It is still going on indirectly as we can find it out from the following quotation, as well: “Many a time I heard that the Saamis have not been oppressed neither in the past nor are they nowadays. Actually, this is true. The Saamis are not flogged and are not taken to prison the way they used to do with the blacks in the United States. Somewhere in the past, they used to be flogged and even killed. Here, in our area, race suppression is done in a much civilised way. For instance, they hush up even the existence of a whole ethnic group.”

5.4. Dumbness and Otherness

Bitterness and dissappointment and many a time resignation are characteristic for Rita Magga-Kumpulainen’s tonality. In the following quotation, she expresses that extrinsic point of view which had also been adopted by her own intrinsic group; namely that one only can succeed in society speaking the language of the majority and that is why it is not worth to transmit the minority language to the children:

“The Saami were made to believe that their language was dying, that there is no need of it and that their mother tongue is not worth anything to be done for it. Their children should better speak Finnish. They may succeed with it and find better jobs. They should become like all the others: they should become Finnish.”

She remembers her schooldays as the period when she lost her tongue. The little child, together with many other Saami mates of hers preferred to keep silent instead of being shamed for not speaking the majority language. In Magga-Kumpulainen’s writings one can find the tools of a fighting rhetoric (expressions like her words had been “weeded out” of her and thrown into the trash bin; “tear her own tongue out of her mouth”; “violate”; “slave”) and lyricism, at the same time.

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36 Ibid. 15.
“My words, my beloved words which were weeded already in my childhood and thrown into the trash bin right at the beginning of school. I hid you whenever I had to. When in visit somewhere, we don’t speak the wrong language. It’s not allowed. One should preach for everybody to understand it, especially the Finns. When we don’t know the proper words, we have to remain silent. If the proper words don’t come, we become completely silent. When we are dumb, we cannot harm anyone.

Only an obedient girl remains. So obedient that she agrees to sell what is dearest for her, to tear her own tongue out of her mouth, to violate her only one. Her mother tongue turns into ashes on the oceans of the world, dust in the rush of life. I was turned into a slave.”

Because of her stigmatised mother tongue, already as a little pupil she develops an eagerness to get rid of the stigma, to identify with the majority and to be accepted by them so that they consider her one of them. The special Saami culture which differs from the one of the majority, as well as their traditional way of dressing only deepens excommunication. In the following quotation, Magga-Kumpulainen describes the feeling from the point of view of the child.

“They did not notice the little Saami girl. Starting with her first school-year she was mostly living in Finnish surrounding. She had learned the new language and forgotten her own traditions; she wanted foreign clothes. She became like the others, like the Finns.”

A majority language school is a world completely different from home: the minority tongued children become dumb and are rammed in the awareness of being less valuable. Because of their mother tongue being considered useless by society, children first perceive their own surrounding world as being extruding and alien, later they themselves feel alien and extruded. Nobody wants to be different from the others and children especially long for an accepting safety. And when they cannot find it in a majority language school, their own personality development is affected.

“I was forced to silence. During the first term of my first school-year I was living like in a foreign country, somewhere afar, in the room of

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38 Ibid. 132.
39 Ibid. 133–134.
mystery-words. I was an alien in the unknown room of traditions. I was scared. I was ashamed. But mostly I was longing. I was missing the well-known room and the loving talk. I was missing the words warmly coming out of my mother’s and my father’s mouth, the everyday questions of my little brother, in my own tongue, so that I could understand them and so that everybody could.

I was shy and silent at school. I used to retire into my snail shell better than saying anything. Many a time they laughed at me when my words had a strange sound and were not as correct as those of the others. Then shame came and finally I decided that I did not want to live it through again. If I keep silent I don’t do anything wrong and when I speak I have to try it in Finnish."

5.5. Fear and Blemish

Pohjanen’s protagonist, partly autobiographical and partly fictitious, Pänktti, has similar experiences as a Meänkieli child in a Swedish school. In the first morning of his schooldays his mother warns him that he should speak Swedish. Ammi, their schoolmate with whom they go to school together, keeps telling the same thing to him and to Gunnar (called Kynnari in Meänkieli).

“Ammi gestures to us to stay quiet and forbids us to say anything at school on the first day. She mustn’t be called Ammi. It’s not Swedish and one must speak Swedish at school. I ask her if Pänktti and Kynnari are Swedish, but Ammi only says that we’ll see. Alas! I’m so scared.”

School as a macroworld compared to the family microworld feels scary to the child, first of all because it functions in another language than he had been used to and because he did not know that language. Soon, in Pänktti’s life also comes the period which the Saami Rita also lived through, when he wants to identify himself with his classmates, only that he does this not by forgetting his own mother tongue but by trying to parallelly become a citizen of the majority language world. Learning to write Swedish is a huge

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40 Ibid. 134.
41 Pohjanen 2009: 126.
effort for him but he knows that this is the price he has to pay for stepping into the world of majority.

“We’re having a writing class. The Swedish words are so long and ugly that I need to spell them with my eyes closed and my hands on my ears. I do want to write, but my being doesn’t dare. What if I get it wrong! My exercise book is full of red corrections; it’s as awful to me as the tup-wool. I mustn’t write wrong! Then I’m wrong myself and bad, and mea culpa, mea maxima culpa, that’s what they say when repenting. I feel a monster, a bastard howling because it lost its way in the forest of emotions and just wants to cry out in the desert of its heart: to hell with it all!”

Referring to Goffman’s theory, generally, a stigmatised person can react in two ways to her or his own situation. According to one of the strategies, they try to directly mend what stands at the root of their “disability”. In case this is possible at all, the result is not necessarily the regaining of a full value, normal status. The ego turns, in fact, from a person wearing a special stigma into a person who is considered to successfully had managed to erase a stigma. The other possible strategy is when the given person is trying to indirectly correct his or her status, making huge efforts, as a private person, to develop the skills in the field questioned. I mean the field generally considered to be closed in front of those who belong to the given disability group.

Those minority Fennoscandian writers who write in the majority languages have chosen this second modality.

Alf Nilsen-Børsskog, remembering his school days, recalls the way his mother tongue had been chased out of there. In his poem, *Cantata For a Small People*, the poet uses several metaphors to illustrate the way they cast the “dung-words” of his mother tongue upon “frosty bridges” and left them there, completely dissociating themselves from the question whether they survive or not. He expresses with verbs in the passive voice what had happened to his mother tongue and in the following part of the poem he explicitly words that it was the majority language that wanted to “sterilise” the minority one, to deprive it from its fertility. The following verse begins

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42 Ibid. 188–89.
laconically: “No.” The picture changes as if after a cutting in a film: the language sentenced to death has survived and it has been spoken over the borders, as well. (This is a reference to the fact that similar dialects are spoken at the nordic borders of Finland. Actually, there is a converse interrelationship here since there was not the Kven language that spread over the borders; there were the speakers of Finnish who brought their language over to Norway.) The poet also personalises the language which seeds itself in people’s hearts.44

5.6. Deprived of One’s Own Name

Arbitrarily changing those pupils names who belong to the minority is part of the alien world of the school. This is actually a drastic encroachment of personal rights since one’s own name is a determining part of her or his identity. In one of his studies, Jernudd draws attention upon the importance of one’s first name in determining one’s uniqueness and belonging to a certain group. That is exactly why one of the frequently used strategies of the language- and ethnic assimilation policy was to coerce minority members to use majority names. This may be done even under a refined form, for instance by offering them the use of a majority name, as visible form of belonging to a modern, civilised nation. By this, they can achieve that the marginalised minority does not consider their name change as violation of their human rights but as a right to a unique name.45

Magga-Kumpulainen describes the way she became Rita from Aino. Since the little girl has a first- and a middle name the teacher arbitrarily decides that she must use at school that name she had never been called in the microworld of her home. The explanation could even seem acceptable: there are too many children in the class whose name is Aino.

“In the class, teacher Saara repeats the pupils’ names. She stops at my name and takes a piece of chalk in her hand.

'Since there are many Ainos in the class, teacher Siiri has decided that from now on we will call Aino Magga – Rita Magga.’

The teacher writes the names RITA then AINO on the blackboard then takes the sponge and erases Aino. Only Rita remains.

‘Now, all of you can see that Aino Magga does not exist any more. You too, Aino, know now that we have erased Aino. From now on you are Rita. You cannot be both. Are you sure that you have noted it now?’

What does the teacher want? How could I be Rita? I am Aino. How should I remember that I am somebody else? How can anyone be somebody else the moment they leave home? How could I remember that I am different? Do I completely change if I have a new name, as if I was given the name of the well known evening tale protagonist?"46

It is also on his first schoolday that Pohjanen’s novel-hero has to face the fact that his name does not exist outside the borders of his microworld at home. It is the teacher who first calls him Bengt. Later, he identifies himself with the name so much that he would use it in public communication and he only uses Pännktti in informal medium. He describes things laconically:

‘The teacher reads the prayer of Our Father in Swedish and then we sit down. Then she calls the register and, for the first time in my life, I can hear my name in Swedish. It’s Bengt and not Pännktti."47

School years kind of initiate minority children into that macro-world whose borders they must cross in order to be able to succeed in life and to which the only passport is to learn the majority language.

6. Between Languages and Cultures

The culture of the peoples examined here is marginalised from two points of view. The cultures of the peoples living in North-Finland, North-Sweden and North-Norway count as minority cultures in themselves compared to the dominating Finnish, Swedish and Norwagian ones. They have different symbols and myths, their version of the language is different, they have different ways of life and even their humour differs

from those representing the national culture. At the same time, the culture of the Saami, Meänkieli and Kven inhabitants in the given areas is marginalised compared to the ones of North-Finland, North-Sweden and North-Norway.

**6.1. The Borders of the Minority’s Microworld**

Intellectuals in general, and artists in particular, may undertake a double mission of uncovering the historical roots of an ethnic group’s collective identity, on the one hand, as well as its innermost meaning of ethnic uniqueness in the modern world on the other.

An important part of Pohjanen’s activity has been the creation of literature in Meänkieli, which is a genuine representation of Meänmaa. For him Meänmaa (meaning ‘Our Land’), populated by Finno-Ugric people is more than a geographical area. At the same time, it means a virtual cultural space constructing an imagined Tornedalian community with a common identity and a shared Meänkieli cultural heritage.

On the one hand, Meänmaa is a closed world with old traditions and strong religious beliefs, as well as a place of transition, characterised by duality in its values, on the other. I will come back to this topic in subchapter 6.4.

In the poems of the Kven poet Nilsen-Børsskog there is no effective throughfare between the minority and majority languages and cultures. Those belonging to the majority do not even want to cross the line and a minority member who does cross it would get alienated from her or his own mother tongue world and the majority would accept them only if they identify themselves with it. There exist too much trauma in the minority collective consciousness in order for them to be able to properly value the possibility of crossing the border.

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48 The Andersonian definition of nation as an *imagined community* is also applicable to the case of the ethnic minority, in the sense that the members of these groups, while likely never coming to know most of their fellow-members, never meeting or even hearing about them, yet imagine that there is a defined and finite community to which they belong. (Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. London. 1983: 15)
In his poem *The Old-Time Village* he describes his birthplace as a mysterious see-shore village, rich in historical and fairytale-like memories. Still, it had been mercilessly torn by a language- and geographical border being drawn between families and relatives. This is such an isle of culture which has its own language and which had been decorated with the “pearls of love” by its inhabitants.  

6.2. Being a Stranger in One’s Own Culture and Giving Birth to One’s Own Language

The material I have examined also proves that not only the way out of the microworld and into the macroworld is difficult, but the way back to the culture of their own ethnic group is at least as big a problem. Those who do not use their mother tongue for a long time come to forget their tongue, its usage becomes passive even unwillingly. Even if they understand what others say they cannot communicate. If they go back to their own ethnic group, they feel strangers there and that’s how their surrounding consider them. Since they have become unfaithful they are not easily accepted again. Magga-Kumpulainen describes her return as a painful experience:

“When I was talking with relatives, they too seemed to have been smiling at my backward words. They asked me why I did not say things correctly. Did I really not know my so called own mother tongue? Or, perhaps, did I want to be someone else than my own self.”

Pohjanen’s hero relates to the language, into which he had been forced as a pupil, to the majority language, with the attitude of an active resistant. He does not want to be a tolerated person, to identify himself – according to others’ expectations – with a culture alien to him. The aged narrator’s retrospective reflections can be found in the quotation here under. He uses the metaphor “deliverer of my own mother tongue” to express that he wants to create his own tongue and to be reborn in it and to build a home in their own mother tongue for others, as well.

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50 Magga-Kumpulainen 2013: 135.
“I don’t want to be a foreign visitor in other people’s reality. I must learn Finnish. Yes: the Finnish we’re speaking and which doesn’t exist yet, but I’m carrying it in my heart, as if it were an embryo which had been expecting to be born for a long time. But my mind doesn’t even grasp that I want to give birth to my mother tongue. Even if I was premature born, I want to be the deliverer of my own mother tongue.”

6.3. Mother Tongue, Religion and Subculture

It is their own religion beside their own language that appears in Nilsen-Børsskog’s poems as symbols of permanence. No doubt – preserving mother tongue is also supported by the minority religion being different from that of the majority and its language is the one of the community. Both Kven and Meänkieli languages have survived also due to the Lestadian religion being practically used by them. Still, today, because of the intense language-assimilation the majority language needs to be also used in church.

This is what Nilsen-Børsskog writes in his poem Cantata For a Small People:

”Two gifts we were left
faith and our dear mother tongue.”

The World War years had a malefic effect upon the culture of the village, including language and religion. Beside financial losses, it also caused losses that could not be made up for ever since: namely linguistic decline.

Mother tongue and faith are also the two dimensions of Pohajnen’s sacrality. In order to illustrate the parallelity I am going to cite a short sequence where the reader can also notice his irony (opposed to the Kven poet’s tense gloomyness): “We, who were born without a voice, are only

51 Pohjanen 2009: 190.
52 Laestadianism came into being in the middle of the 1800s, as a wakening movement inside the Lutheran Church. Nowadays, it still has a lot of followers in North-Europe. Its founder Lars Levi Laestadius (1800–61), was born in Sweden, his father having Swedish, and is mother Saami mother tongue.
53 Nilsen-Børsskog 2010: 40.
54 Nilsen-Børsskog 2008: 33.
richer than the one-language-speaking Ummikkos when approaching God’s Realm. Meänkieli is unbelievably rich and accurate when it comes to these things. It fills us with dignity, that’s how we become much richer than the Swedish, who have to believe without knowing the language of God’s Realm.”

Pohjanen gives a positive meaning to the expressions used by the majority discourse to denigrate the Meänkieli language and culture, for instance tongueless (or without voice) and subculture. By using these words in an unusual way, the poet intends to strengthen – inside his own community – the consciousness that they should proudly accept and assume their own differentness compared to the majority. “Well, yes, through the centuries, subculture has created the back-doors of resistance. Puns and jokes are quite useful weapons of resistance. And joking is tax-free too.”

Coming back to Nilsen-Børsskog’s poetry, for a Kven, the village is the place of peace and continuity up to the point when those who speak a foreign language break the harmony. Mother tongue and birthplace are inseparable in Nilsen-Børsskog’s poems. The words of the language spoken at home, bearing a strong emotional charge, always resound in his ears wherever he is in the world and remind him of his parents, his grandparents and his siblings. It is his mother tongue that re-creates for him the warmth of home and all the other values he has brought along from the family: love, benignity, quietude – everything he had felt in summer evenings in his surroundings at home.

Domestic shore and bank is the place of recreation and peace both for Nilsen-Børsskog and Pohjanen. Coming home does not only mean a movement in space but also the return of one’s thoughts to a well defined place that means home. Let us see an example from both of them:

It is a

Forever you’ll stay with me,

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56 Ibid. 94.
man’s heart home
Where soul can get rest,
Coming home journeys,
I closed you all into my heart, My river and my mount and my lawn,
You’ll be with me on my My dear bank, my own home.\(^6^0\)
journey
With unrest in his soul.\(^5^9\)

6.4. Group-solidarity, leaving and coming back

As I have already indicated in chapter 3 that Pohjanen’s novel, The Smuggler King’s Son, is specially appropriate to examine how individuals and social groups build relations and relation systems and what factors are at the bases of their solidarity.

The work includes at the same time the everyday life of a family speaking a minority language and a slice of the social history during the years following World War II, as well as the effect of the cold war upon the thinking of the north-European people.

Basic group facts are the common language and common culture. That is why crossing borders between different language-groups proves to be the most problematic. According to Pohjanen, the majority language speaking world and the minority language speaking world are basically parallel ones: “Those with the Swedish mother tongue have a Swedish


\(^6^0\) Pohjanen Mailmale lähtö. Manuscript.
world; those who speak Meänkieli have a Meänkieli world. And these worlds can never meet each other.”

The common religious values also mean a powerful group-cohesive strength. Those who are members of a religious community other than the majority one take much more seriously the relationship between the spouses, for instance: “In our corner of the world, people still question the possibility of getting divorced just like that, and leaving family behind, the way a cow leaves her pie behind. The old perception of right and wrong still prevails.” In subchapter 6.3. I have already mentioned what an important cohesive power religion has inside a given group and a separating function from other religious groups, at the same time.

Groups are consolidated along other criteria, as well. One of them is financial interest which creates the everyday community of customs officers and smugglers. In the Torne Valley border area smugglers were highly esteemed. They were the ones who – besides the prohibited products – also convey forbidden language and culture between those speaking the same language but living in two different countries. At the bases of Pohjanen’s world lies the smuggler philosophy, according to which the political borders are artificially created and urges to be crossed by those who it devides. The representatives of the local authorities are also partners in this: “The smuggler’s thoughts never go along borders only over them; the frontier neither means a line nor the czar’s pen stroke (because as you know, this border was drawn by chance). It’s much more a kind of back-room to him, for people to meet and make deals. They don’t sign contracts there, they only shake hands. And where one hand meets another, you can find the frontier’s third room, also called the small room of deals. Stamps and pens are nothing but contraband here. And the deal is always personal. It doesn’t matter what the deal is, it only matters who it’s with. Quite a lot of thought was born here, the border-philosophy…”

An analogous interest-group is created by the smuggler and the believer since the later one benefits from the activity of the former one. That

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61 Pohjanen 2009: 134.
62 Ibid. 53.
63 Ibid. 6.
is why the believer is willing to indulgently approach certains forms of sin: “And what do the pious say about smuggling? They accept smuggling in the family; the preacher Janne Martiini said that it had no trace of sin. You can get absolution for smuggling for the benefit of your friends; you need to embellish it a little bit, saying that you were too preoccupied with others’ sins instead of your own, even shed some tears about how contagious sin could be and how it makes the path to redemption so difficult.”

In the pohjanenian world, a lot of things depend on the point of view. This means that it depends on who talks to whom or deals about the given question. The way the author uses personal names also shows whether the community considers someone a member of the inner- or the external circle. The same character, for instance the customs officer is called by Meänkieli speakers on his official name when they see him the representative of the officialities and on his nickname when they share a joke.

The parents of the novel protagonist represent two completely different worlds, still they peacefully live together: “Once you were asking around about me, about my father, the Smugglers’ King, about my Christian mother, and about their relationship. I’m not sure I can answer your question, but to be honest, in their case they were two completely different people who stuck together, two antithetical perceptions and both of them had their favourite sayings. One of them used to say that you shouldn’t be always travelling, looking for trouble right where it dwells; the other one used to say that if you stay at home all the time, trouble will know where to find you. The ideas of travelling and staying at home needed to be harmonised in one way or another.”

In the presented area, living together still having completely different values and views is not only characteristic for the families’ microlevel but also for the level of the macrosociety: “He must have been wondering who could have invented this place where there are so many religious and political sects working, and which otherwise seems to be exactly like a travel agency, where people are coming and going all the

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64 Ibid. 68–69.
65 Ibid. 56.
time. Each sect has its own political counter-party and each political idea knees a religious ascetic in this windswept wilderness of ours. Against each pilgrim, and there are quite a lot of them around here, stands a hermit who, in his turn, gets drowned into its own ideas of saving the world even if only out of self-esteem. Against each repentant stands one claiming sexual licentiousness, and there stands a convinced atheist against each and every believer. Each story-teller has his own counterfeiter and whenever God builds a church, Satan immediately raises a chapel next to it.”

This is a context where – beside the use of metaphors – repetition has an emphatic role again: it creates an organised form and, on the other hand, it helps the reader to better recognize the language signs that bear added meanings.

Literature researcher Viinikka-Kallinen makes an important statement when she ascertains that in the Fennoscandian literatures leaving home and returning is quite a frequent theme. The characters (or the lyrical ego in the case of poems) leave home, the circle of their beloved ones, usually in hope of a better life or possibilities of jobs. Later they return home and try to rebuild their broken relations and find their roots. As I have already mentioned it when speaking about crossing borders between minority and majority cultures, neither direction is easy. Reasons and identity formations may differ, but it is general for the individual to commute between the micro- and macroworld in order to find home for their own soul where they can be full personalities. The dialectics of search is many a time related to real places. The former scene of the protagonist is his birthplace which is far from power centres. The space of his new life is mostly a town which is modern, anonymous and alien. And the way between the two is always long, both geographically and spiritually.

7. Closing thoughts: multilocality of the minority writer

In my study, I was looking for an answer to the following questions:

What kind of power relations determine the life of the given minorities?

66 Ibid. 148–149.

How do they relate to different borders in their everyday life? How firm the virtual borders created by minority and majority populations are and what kind of consequences crossing borders has? At the same time, following the questions, I was trying to unfold the complicated network of the correlation among border, language and identity on the basis of literary texts written in Finno-Ugric languages.

One of the main conclusions of the research is that the minorities living in the Fennoscandian area have been stigmatised because of their mother tongues by those speaking majority languages. There are plenty of examples to this in the examined literary works, as well as to how those belonging to minorities react to the mortifications they have suffered. A certain duality can be noticed: they are loyal to their own language and ethnic group on the one hand and they want to assimilate with the majority, on the other. That is why they interiorise majority language and cultural hierarchy.

On the basis of the text-body examined by me, it is also obvious that preserving and developing minority literary culture in Fennoscandia is in the hands of a few writers. The writer because of the political status of her or his mother tongue, lives in two worlds, speaks the language of two cultures and is generally assimilated into two directions. Their commuting between the two worlds and their looking for a balance is a non-ending process, a form of life and this is what they write again and again covertly or more openly. As stated by Viinikka-Kallinen, illustrating the connection between the two worlds from the point of view of a minority representative is such a challenge that many a time it takes the writer a life-long time to fulfil the task.68

Minority writers have to prove themselves into two directions. On the one hand, they have to be believable for those who determine minority rules, and they have to prove to their own communities that they really belong to that given community, on the other. Kirste Paltto, for instance, names as target group both the majority ethnicity and his own minority group: “I have chosen this road to show how difficult it is to be Saami in

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68 Ibid. 172–173.
this society. On the other hand, I want to show to the Saamis that we are not to be blamed for our economic and cultural and legal humiliation.”

A minority writer becomes part of the Fennoscandian literary institution when she or he manages to get into the circulation of the majority literature. But the majority society generally labels them, mostly as a voice of their own ethnic group, as if their work would only cover one single topic. From this point of view as well, they have to wear the stigma of their origin, as well as the fact that the official literary discourse accept them only under certain circumstances.

The works examined in this study prove that minorities also need their own narratives in which they can discover themselves, helping by this the cohesion power of their own inner group. From the point of view of the majority which have the political power these seem to obviously be defector narratives. Those belonging to the minority may be helped by literature to find their place in their own history, to laugh at their own humour and to identify their own symbols, while they also can try to pass the borders between the majority and minority groups.

I consider that Pohjanen’s philosophy is very interesting. He says that the political border, with its official bodies is the “demarcation devil”, but the human factor, the custom’s officer is malleable, “has three eyes: keeps watching with two and turns a blind eye with the third”. That is the border protects and at the same time it tempts to be passed. He considers borders between groups of people quite flexible, except if they are language borders. As I have already shown it, the border between those speaking a minority language and those speaking the majority one can only be crossed in one sense: from the minority towards the majority and its condition is assimilation with majority.

69 Paltto 2014: 19.
70 Viinikka-Kallinen 2010: 149–150.
Inger-Mari Aikio-Arianaick, a Saami poet and film director, writes about her experiences concerning the infinity of the effects the different languages and interconnected cultures have upon one another: “From the very beginning, I have been living in a multicultural community. Our home was on the Finnish side of the border between Finland and Norway but all our relatives were living on the other side. There was no border on my mental map. Everything here was part of the Saamiland. Here in the North, Finns and Norwegians and other ethnicities have been living together for long. We were having cultural impact upon one another.”\(^{73}\)

Still, the mutual impact of cultures and the interoperability among them does not also mean the dialogue of the languages. And until the borders between languages are rigid, a minority writer measures herself or himself in two ways. With one gauge from the point of view of majority and another one from that of the minority. Unavoidably, her or his picture about themselves is affected by the social status of their own language. Aikio-Arianaick for instance feels that she is wearing a mask when belonging to the majority writer community:

“Undeniably, I also underestimate myself when evaluating myself from the position of a Finnish writer, since this is what I have experienced at the level of Finnish society. It affects the picture of myself even unknowingly. It is difficult to feel myself a »real« writer. On the other hand, when I am among Saami writers I do not feel this frustration. Back in a Finnish writer community I notice that I am asseverating again my being a real writer. And others can feel this, as well. So that the mask of a writer I put on can really be felt.”\(^{74}\)

Thus being stigmatised because of their mother tongue is a common and recurring theme with all the authors. As exclusion and identity crisis caused by it are as well. The only way they can find out of all these is ultimately the return to their own mother tongue and culture, even if it means undertaking a conflict with the majority language and culture.

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\(^{74}\) Ibid 365.
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Dissenting narratives of identity in Saami, Meänkieli and Kven literatures


Balancing between dissent and conformity: Estonian self-administration under German occupation, 1941-1944

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Abstract
When Germany attacked the Soviet Union in the summer of 1941, it also conquered the territory of Estonia by the end of the year. The German occupation administration of the new territories ruled by the Germans needed the help of local residents everywhere. For this purpose, a semi-autonomous (or quasi-autonomous) Estonian Self-Administration was established. Similar administrative bodies were established in Latvia, Lithuania and Belarus as well. Based on previous studies, it is known that the Estonian Self-Administration worked closely with the German occupation administration. Thus, it is partially responsible for crimes committed in the name of the national socialist ideology in Estonia. It is clear that the Estonian members of the organization were German-minded and at least accepted the German rule for the time being. Otherwise, they would not have been able to join the Self-Administration. However, in previous studies, little attention has been paid to how Estonians tried to balance the interests of Germany and Estonia. Based on the preserved archival material, it seems that the Estonian actors also tried to promote the national interests of the Estonians while cooperating with the Germans and working for them. The article is mainly based on the materials of the German Security Police and other German and Estonian archival material. In addition, the presentation analyzes how the

Rezumat
Când Germania a atacat Uniunea Sovietică în vara anului 1941 aceasta a cucerit și teritoriul Estoniei până la sfârșitul anului. Administrația de ocupație a noilor entități guvernate de germani a avut nevoie de ajutorul rezidenților locali oriunde s-a instalat. În acest scop, a fost creată o autoadministrare estoniană semiautonomă (sau cvasi-autonomă). Organe administrative similare au fost înființate și în Letonia, Lituania și Belarus. Din studiile anterioare se știe că autoadministrarea estoniană a lucrat îndeaproape cu administrația germană de ocupație. Astfel, aceasta este parțial responsabilă pentru infracțiunile comise în numele ideologiei național-socialiste în Estonia. Este clar că membrii estonieni ai organizației nutreau simpatii pro-germane sau, cel puțin, au acceptat pentru moment conducerea germană. În caz contrar, nu ar fi putut să se alăture Autoadministrării. Cu toate acestea, în studiile anterioare s-a acordat puțină atenție modului în care estonienii au încercat să echilibreze interesele Germaniei și Estoniei. Pe baza materialului de arhivă păstrat se poate afirma că reprezentanții estonieni au încercat să promoveze interesele naționale ale compatrioților lor în vreme ce cooperau cu germanii și lucrau pentru ei. Articolul se bazează în principal pe materialele Poliției de securitate germană și pe alte materiale de arhivă germane și estoniene. În
Estonians who worked in the organization later described their wartime activities in their memoirs.

**Keywords**: Estonia; Germany; World War II; collaboration; dissidence

This paper was presented at the 10th International Conference on Baltic and Nordic Studies in Romania entitled Dissent versus Conformism in the Nordic, Baltic and Black Sea Areas, “Ovidius” University of Constanța, 6-8 June 2019.

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**Introduction**

German troops conquered the Estonian continental area in July–August 1941 during Operation Barbarossa. The last Soviet troops were forced to withdraw from the Estonian coastal islands by the beginning of December. The German armed forces defined the whole of Estonia as an operational area under military rule throughout the autumn, and the civil administration was officially adopted on 5 December 1941. Estonia was then administratively attached to Reichskommissariat Ostland. Ostland had four main commissariats: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Belarus. Another similar administrative unit was established in the Ukraine, and the rest of the occupied territories in the Soviet Union were under direct military control.¹

When German troops moved into Estonia in the summer of 1941, self-proclaimed Estonian guerrilla units around the country supported them. The units were formed by Estonians who had fled to the forests to avoid recruitment into the Soviet army and others who were willing to engage in armed struggle against Soviet occupiers. In some places, the Estonian “forest brothers” forced the Soviet troops to retreat before the arrival of the Germans. The struggle against a common enemy on Estonian soil created expectations, on the part of the Estonians, that Germany would recognize the merits of the Estonians and would start negotiating on a roughly equal basis. Under the leadership of Jüri Uluots, the last Prime

Minister of independent Estonia, the Estonians proposed that a “domestic administrative center” be established alongside the German administration. However, Germany rejected the proposal because it already had a different plan, as well as people who would be more favorable to Germany to implement it.

Germany did not want to compromise with those who represented the previous holders of power in independent Estonia, but from the outset, it wanted to ensure that the leadership of the Estonian collaborators consisted of people who were already familiar with and loyal to Germany; these included Hjalmar Mäe, Oskar Angelus, Alfred Wendt and Juhan Libe. Hjalmar Mäe had served as the propaganda manager of the Union of Participants in the Estonian War of Independence and had been sentenced to 20 years in prison for a coup attempt in 1935. However, Mäe was pardoned after three years, and he moved to Germany in 1940 when the Baltic German minority group was transferred from Estonia and Latvia to Germany. There, he cooperated with the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Military Intelligence and the Ministry of the Eastern Areas (Ostministerium). In the summer of 1941, he rose to a key position when Germany designed its own collaboration organization in Estonia. Mäe and his assistant, Libe, arrived in Estonia for the first time in August 1941 and were soon followed by Angelus and Wendt. In August–September, under the guidance of the German Armed Forces, this group formed a cooperative body, which was officially named Estnische Selbstverwaltung / Eesti Omavalitsus, or the Estonian Self-Administration (ESA).

From 15 September 1941, the Estonian Self-Administration consisted of five directorates, which, in practice, corresponded to ministries. In the first few months of operation, the ESA did not have a formal leader, but in March 1942, Mäe was named Erster Landesdirektor, or

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“First Director,” e.g. Prime Minister. Mäe was also responsible for the propaganda work of the ESA until the beginning of 1945. The Estonian Self-Administration was not appointed as a government, and Germany avoided any rhetoric or action that would have led to the conclusion that Estonia’s independence had been restored. In the German interpretation, Estonia, along with the other Baltic countries, had ceased to exist in the autumn of 1940, when the Soviet Union had annexed the Baltic countries. Despite their self-administrations, directorates and “leaders”, Estonia and the other Baltic countries were only part of the Reichskommissariat Ostland throughout the war. Germany did not let the Republic of Estonia’s holders of power return to key positions; at most, Germany needed them to demonstrate from time to time that the leadership of the former state of Estonia approved the supremacy of Germany and the position she had given it.\footnote{Paavle 2006, pp. 542-545; Raun 2001, pp. 160-163.}

So far, scientific research on the Estonian Self-Administration has been rather limited. The closest thematic one to this article is Alvin Isberg’s study of the activities of the Estonian Self-Administration, published in 1992. Isberg’s work focuses on the political activities of the ESA. On this basis, Isberg suggests that the Self-Administration was primarily a collaborator, but it also tried to promote Estonian national interests to some extent.\footnote{Isberg 1992, pp. 46-47, 146-153.} The framework set by the German occupation administration for the ESA is discussed in a work published by Seppo Myllyniemi in 1973, the main theme of which is the German occupation administration in the Baltic States in general.\footnote{Myllyniemi 1973, pp. 103-120 (here in particular).}

The doctoral dissertation published in 2012 by Meelis Maripuu discusses Estonian administrative history during the German occupation period.\footnote{Meelis Maripuu, Omavalitsuseta omavalitsused. Halduskorraldus Eestis Saksa okupatsiooni ajal 1941–1944 (Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, 2012).} The M.A. theses of Kristo Nurmis (2011) and Triin Tark (2013) have dealt with the propaganda work of the German occupation administration and the ESA, and at the same time, the authors have made observations of how the national interests of Germany and Estonia were reflected in...
propaganda directed at Estonians. In addition, several works have focused on the German occupation administration in various parts of Europe. They make it possible to compare the situation in Estonia to that of other countries. However, in previous studies, little attention has been paid to how Estonians tried to balance between German and Estonian interests.

This article focuses exactly on the given issue, i.e. the balancing between German and Estonian interests. A particular point of view is how the German occupation administration saw the role of the Estonian Self-Administration and the willingness of the Estonians to cooperate, and how the same things appeared to the Estonian public. The approach is complemented by an analysis of how the supreme leaders of the ESA later (after the Second World War) assessed their own activities and explained why they acted in a certain way during the war.

The most important archives for this research are those of the German Security Police and the Main Commissariat of Estonia. There are big gaps in the archives of all actors, but even in that form, they are reasonably useful. Based on the archival material, it is possible to reconstruct the main lines of organizational issues and the relationship between the ESA and the German occupation administration. Between 1942 and 1943, numerous reports on the development of Estonian public moods have been preserved, but only a few remain from 1941 and 1944. Most of the reports have also been published as a printed source collection.

Most of the other preserved archival material (other than reports on public mood) is typically descriptive and simplified, highlighting the outcomes of decision-making above all else. As a rule, discussions between

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10 The original documents have been published in the following source collection: Tiit Noormets, ed., *Eesti Julgeolekupolitsei aruanded [Reports of the Security Police in Estonia] 1941–1944* (hereafter cited as EJA), (Tallinn: Riigiarhiiv, 2002).
people involved in decision-making were never documented, nor were the goals or motives of the actors. One might note, however, that making explanations and conclusions is always based on the analyses of the researchers themselves, so the situation here is not exceptional in that sense. It is also common that only a few of the people involved in the events later pondered their work in memoirs. The most important literary works for this study are the memoirs of Hjalmar Mäe, Director of the ESA, Oskar Angelus, Director of Internal Affairs, and Oskar Öpik, Director of Legal Affairs, which have been published as independent works from the 1950s through the 1990s. Typical source-critical viewpoints must be taken into account with the use of these memoirs: the authors’ tendencies toward aftertaste and the desire to interpret events and actions in the best possible way from one’s own viewpoint are quite evident.

The view of the Germans on the Estonian Collaborators

The German occupation administration’s estimates of the abilities and willingness of the Estonians to cooperate varied. Roughly speaking, confidence in the Estonians was greatest at the beginning of the war, but the attitude changed later, especially in 1943–1944. Secondly, it can be said that the Germans had the most positive perception of the Estonians at the highest levels of the Self-Administration. Respectively, the perception of middle-level and lower-level Estonian collaborators was less positive.

The German Security Police assessed the people in leadership positions in the Estonian Self-Administration in a large report, which was drafted in July 1942 and before that in several shorter reports during the spring of 1941, when the attack on the Soviet Union was being planned. Primarily, their attention was focused on Hjalmar Mäe, the Erster Landesdirektor. As mentioned above, Mäe had fled from Estonia to Germany in the spring of 1940 and had immediately sought cooperation with the German Security Service there. A good foundation for cooperation was that

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Mäe had already gathered information for the Germans in Estonia in the late 1930s. In May 1941, Mäe moved to Finland and founded a five-member Estonian Liberation Committee with the support of a few other Estonian politicians and military personnel, most of whom later participated in the work of the ESA. *Abwehr*, the military intelligence of Germany, backed the committee.\(^\text{12}\)

In the German Security Police records, Hjalmar Mäe was rated as very German-friendly and completely reliable. He was said to have a strong positive attitude toward the German political system (National Socialism), and he fully accepted that Estonia would be part of the German Empire. Thus, Mäe did not claim independence or a semi-independent status, as Slovakia and Croatia had, as a reward for cooperation. He was satisfied that Estonia would be a kind of protectorate for the time being. In the future, Mäe saw that the “racially valid” part of the Estonians would inevitably be Germanized and that Estonia would become an integral part of Greater Germany.\(^\text{13}\)

There were four other directors, or ministers, in the Estonian Self-Administration. Alongside Mäe, another director who received a very positive assessment from the Germans was Alfred Wendt, who was responsible for economics and transport issues. Wendt was described as politically very reliable, and he was also considered a great organizer and leader. In the eyes of the Germans, his ability to act as director was even better than Mäe’s. However, Wendt was unknown in Estonia, which is why Mäe, who was known to the Estonian public because of his earlier political activity, was the better leading figure of the Self-Administration.\(^\text{14}\)

The third very positively evaluated director was Otto Leesment, who was responsible for social issues and health care. Leesment was found to be thoroughly German-friendly and energetic. Two other directors, Oskar Angelus (internal affairs, police force and building issues) and Hans Saar (agriculture), were only judged to be of medium skill, but their political credibility was not directly questioned in 1941 when the ESA was


\(^{13}\) Annual report of the head of Sipo and SD, July 1941 – June 1942, EJA, pp. 52. See also Myllynиеми 1973, pp. 109-110; Isberg 1992, pp. 46-47.

\(^{14}\) Annual report of the head of Sipo and SD, July 1941 – June 1942, EJA, pp. 22, 52, 58.
established. However, in the summer of 1942, the Germans already had some doubts about the general suitability and ability of Angelus and Saar to perform their duties. Saar was transferred to a lower-level post at the end of 1942, after which Wendt was responsible for agricultural matters as well. At the end of 1942, the directorate was completed by the appointment of Oskar Öpik as Director of Legal Issues.¹⁵ No assessments on Öpik have been preserved in the archives of the German Security Police.

Yet another change at the same time was that Otto Leesment began to lead the Estonian Relief Committee (Eesti Rahva Ühisabi), which was responsible for a wide range of social welfare issues and collections to support the German army. The organization was inspired by the Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfart (NSV) in Germany. Arnold Raadik, who received rather positive comments in German evaluations, was elected as a director in place of Leesment. No other changes were made to the composition of the Directorate until the Estonian Self-Administration ceased its activities in early 1945.¹⁶

The Security Police report from the summer of 1942 stated that the mid- and lower-level officials of the Estonian Self-Administration were generally less politically reliable. While the directors were judged to be sincerely German-minded, the same did not apply to those who served in mid- and lower-level positions. The Germans had the impression that people in these positions were mostly pretending to be German-friendly and were cooperating only for tactical reasons. Actually, they had strong sympathies for Finland and Great Britain, and they wanted Estonia’s independence to be restored. Only a common enemy—the Soviet Union and Bolshevism—united them with the Germans, and they hoped that Germany would defeat the Soviet Union in the war. As a result of the war, however, they hoped for the victory of the Western powers, as had happened in World War I. Alternatively, if (the rest of) the Baltic region

¹⁵ Annual report of the head of Sipo and SD, July 1941 – June 1942, EJA, pp. 52-53. See also Paavle 2006, pp. 543-545.
¹⁶ Annual report of the head of Sipo and SD, July 1941 – June 1942, EJA, p. 53. See also Paavle 2006, p. 548.
were to be part of Germany, they wanted Estonia to nevertheless be united with Finland.17

Among the mid-level officials, there were few positive exceptions from the German perspective. One of these was Gustav Kalkun, who was appointed to form a youth organization in Estonia. The organization, *Eesti Noored*, or Estonian Youth, was essentially based on the model provided by *Hitler-Jugend*. An example in the other direction was Karl Grau, a lawyer who was originally chosen to deal with the legal affairs of the Self-Administration and was considered the corresponding director. However, in the autumn of 1941, the Germans discovered that Grau’s political past was suspicious. He was dismissed from his duties, and the legal affairs of the Self-Administration were first transferred to Hjalmar Mäe and later to Oskar Öpik.18

During 1943–1944, the interest of the Germans in the Estonian Self-Administration decreased. It was probably because Germany’s attention was increasingly focused on actual warfare when Germany’s strategic situation deteriorated. Compared to that, any other administrative issues in the occupied territories were secondary. From 1943 on, the German occupation authorities were mainly content to deal with the Head of the ESA alone. He was then supposed to forward the commands he had received to the other directors. As a result, for instance, the German Security Police no longer spent much time evaluating other directors, but from their point of view, the only really important person was Hjalmar Mäe.

German attitudes toward Mäe changed somewhat between 1943 and 1944. Governor-General Karl-Siegmund Litzmann, Head of the German Occupation Administration in Estonia and a convinced national socialist, felt that co-operation with Mäe continued to work well. He even considered Mäe to be his friend. Instead, Hinrich Lohse, the *Reichskommissar* of Ostland, was very critical of Mäe. He was of the opinion that Mäe had too much influence over Litzmann, and Lohse was also

17 Annual report of the head of Sipo and SD, July 1941 – June 1942, EJA, pp. 40, 53-54.
18 Annual report of the head of Sipo and SD, July 1941 – June 1942, EJA, pp. 37, 53. See also Paavle 2006, pp. 543-544.
irritated by the fact that, in some cases, Mäe dared to question the measures of the German occupation administration.\(^\text{19}\)

The German Security Police had the same view. In the summer of 1944, the Security Police estimated that Mäe’s views and activities were partly in conflict with German interests. In addition, Mäe’s ability to act as a leader and to encourage Estonians to continue fighting alongside Germany had weakened, mainly because Mäe had experienced a religious revival\(^\text{20}\), and therefore, his public appearances had become “soft,” as the Germans put it.\(^\text{21}\) From a national socialist point of view, Christianity was a dangerous competitor, and its effect was to be reduced in both Germany and the occupied territories.\(^\text{22}\)

A similar dichotomy can also be seen in many other countries occupied by Germany during World War II. The Germans were well aware that some collaborators were opportunists who could not be trusted. Nonetheless, Germany needed them, and as long as the opportunists did not turn against Germany, their work input was welcomed. In any case, it was the duty of the Security Police to monitor them and, if necessary, to intervene. It could also be realistically expected that when the course of the war and the strategic situation turned negative for Germany, opportunists were the first to change sides. After that, the faith of the more sincere collaborators also began to decline.\(^\text{23}\)

**The public’s view of Estonian collaborators**

Ordinary people in Estonia initially expected that the Self-Administration would become a real wielder of power and would operate as a near equal in cooperation with Germany. In February 1942 and in 1943,


\(^{20}\) Mäe 1993, pp. 42-43, 319-325.


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before Estonia’s Independence Day (24 February), there were even rumors of a return of Estonian independence or at least autonomy under a German protectorship, but here, as in several other similar previous hopes, the Estonians were disappointed. Behind the scenes, the Estonian Self-Administration only had the role of enforcing the regulations of the German Occupation Administration. However, the Estonian larger public were not aware of these realities in the beginning.24

Governance executed by the ESA, in practice, meant that the Self-Administration seemed to have an independent role. As commonly experienced by ordinary Estonians, it was exactly their “own” national administrative body that gave the orders and guidelines concerning everyday life. Consequently, Eesti Omavalitsus inevitably had to bear the responsibility for the successes and failures of governance in the eyes of the Estonians. At least until the fall of 1942, Estonians had the notion that the Estonian Self-Administration had quite a lot of power and possibility to influence economic and other issues related to the maintenance of the population. According to reports on the public mood, ordinary Estonians were of the opinion that Estonia’s Self-Administration had done its work poorly for the most part and had indeed borne the main responsibility for the shortcomings observed in everyday life.25

There were exceptions, though. In particular, the work of Alfred Wendt seems to have been effective from the point of view of the Estonian public. In 1942, he received a lot of praise for his work, and occasionally, other directors and lower-level officials received positive comments as well.26 However, the main line was critical. Hjalmar Mäe, the First Director, personalized the Estonian Self-Administration. The overwhelming majority of ordinary Estonians wanted to restore Estonia’s independence, and here, Mäe’s public appearances and other activities did not meet expectations.

24 Bi-monthly and monthly reports of the Political Police (from different regions of Estonia), EJA, pp. 267-268. See also Argo Kuusik, “Public Sentiments”, in Hiio 2006, p. 614.
25 Annual report of the head of Sipo and SD, July 1941 – June 1942, EJA, p. 22, 27; Bi-monthly and monthly reports of the Political Police (from different regions of Estonia), EJA, pp. 97, 201, 274, 281. See also Isberg 1992, 43-45; Maripuu 2012, p. 268; Nurmis 2011, p. 27.
26 Bi-monthly and monthly reports of the Political Police (from different regions of Estonia), EJA, pp. 114, 126, 160, 233.
The Head of the ESA was considered far too German-minded and was criticized for not being more vigorous in promoting Estonia’s national interests. His radio speeches and public appearances were rarely praised, but it can be stated that there are also some examples of such successes. Thus, the “judgment of the people” was not unanimous, but all too often, Mäe was seen in the role that the accompanying photo reflects.

**Picture 1: Hjalmar Mäe, Karl-Siegmund Litzmann**

In the picture, Mäe (far left) makes a Hitler salute alongside Governor-General Litzmann (second from the left). It is noteworthy that, in

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27 Bi-monthly and monthly reports of the Political Police (from different regions of Estonia), EJA, pp. 97, 114, 135, 169, 199, 205-206, 222, 233-234, 247, 254, 261-262. See also Maripuu 2012, p. 268; Tark 2013, p. 89.
28 Bi-monthly and monthly reports of the Political Police (from different regions of Estonia), EJA, pp. 120, 134, 146, 159-160, 211-213, 266.
29 http://www.estonica.org/en/The_German_occupation_power_in_Estonia,_1941-44/Leading_figures_of_the_German_occupying_powers/?max (authorized by Estonian State Archives; e-mail to author (Kari Alenius) on 14 June 2019).
the same situation, high-ranking German officers who only make a normal military salute appear on the front row. In other words, nobody was forced to emphasize their sympathy for National Socialism, but Mäe chose that option. In the eyes of ordinary Estonians, it did not increase respect for him but made him look like an embarrassing loyal servant of the German occupation administration.

In reports on the public mood throughout 1943–1944, the same grievances remained apparent; only the degree of criticism increased. The German governance was now seen as bearing the main responsibility for the poor situation of Estonia. The role of the Estonian Self-Administration as a mere underling was already well publicized, which certainly did not reduce the disappointment felt by the people. The image of the Self-Administration as an apparent user of power then was just as poor as the image of the German Occupation Administration as the real user of power.  

Earlier studies have found that Estonians were initially very positive about the Germans, who were perceived as liberators of the brutal occupation of the Soviet Union. This was especially true in 1941 and early 1942. During that period in particular, various successful collections were organized in Estonia to support the German army. Considering also how many Estonians were volunteers in the German armed forces, the proportion of Estonians was highest in Eastern Europe compared to the population. It is therefore easy to understand that the attitude of ordinary people toward Estonian collaborators was initially quite positive. There were great hopes for cooperation with the Germans, and besides, Estonians also appreciate efficiency and good order. This was clearly reflected in the attitude toward Alfred Wendt.

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30 Bi-monthly and monthly reports of the Political Police (from different regions of Estonia), EJA, pp. 267-269, 274, 281-286.


32 Bi-monthly and monthly reports of the Political Police (from different regions of Estonia), EJA, pp. 114, 126, 160, 233. See also Nurmis 2011, 30-31.
On the other hand, efficiency could not compensate for the fact that, in their eyes, ESA leaders did not act effectively enough to restore Estonia’s independence. According to reports from the Security Police, only about 3–5% of Estonians supported National Socialism and accepted the idea that Estonia would remain a part of Greater Germany after the war.

Exact information is not available in any of the European countries, but the figures seem to have been at about the same level. Thus, it was almost impossible for the collaborators to get the majority of the people to directly support them in any country occupied by Germany. Everywhere, ordinary people found the collaborators’ political line to be wrong. The struggle against Bolshevism did motivate people to support the German armed forces, especially in the Baltic countries, which had been occupied by the Soviet Union in 1939–1941. However, people had an almost unanimous hope that independence should be restored after the war at the latest. When the collaborators could not promise it, their image inevitably became negative among ordinary people, both in Estonia and elsewhere.

**The view of Estonian Collaborators on their own activities**

After the war, three directors of the Estonian Self-Administration—Oskar Angelus, Oskar Öpik and Hjalmar Mäe—published a memoir or an autobiography describing their own activities in 1941–1944. There are similar features but also differences concerning how they present their wartime activities and thinking. The most important similarity is that, after the war, everyone still retained their stark anti-communist attitude. This was logical, of course, because Estonia was now under the Soviet occupation. The only way to try to restore Estonia’s independence was to side with the West in the Cold War. The collaborators’ own activities during the Second

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33 Annual report of the head of Sipo and SD, July 1941 – June 1942, EJA, p. 25; Bi-monthly and monthly reports of the Political Police (from different regions of Estonia), EJA, pp. 94.
35 Annual report of the head of Sipo and SD, July 1941 – June 1942, EJA, p. 23; Bi-monthly and monthly reports of the Political Police (from different regions of Estonia), EJA, pp. 94.
36 Mäe 1993, pp. 11-14; Angelus 1956, pp. 5-6, 288-295, 313; Mamers [Öpik] 1958, pp. 9-10, 14, 118-121, 264.
World War could then be presented as a precursor to the political struggle against Communism in the 1950s and 1960s.

The biggest differences can be found in how the authors seek to present their national motives. Through psychological research, it is clear that all people have a strong need to see themselves in a positive light. One’s own thinking and actions will then be interpreted as legally and morally right. When remembering and describing one’s own past, our choices are usually explained as sensible and appropriate to the situation. If there are uncomfortable things or mistakes in the past, the reason for them is sought from other people or from overwhelming circumstances.\(^{37}\) Therefore, an autobiography can easily become a straightforward heroic report in which one’s own activities are fully correct.

Oskar Angelus’ memoirs of the war are a good example of a straightforward heroic report. If his memoirs are considered as a whole, it seems that Angelus had applied to the German occupation administration only to defend the interests of Estonia and Estonians. From the outset, he had opposed National Socialism and realized very early on, perhaps earlier than anyone else, that Germany was going to lose the war. He continued his work as a director of the ESA only because he tried to work for the restoration of Estonia’s independence.\(^ {38}\) It is hard to estimate how much of this report is true and how much is aftertaste.

Oskar Öpik’s autobiography covers his entire career, the earlier parts of which the Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs employed him. Considering the whole, it is remarkable how briefly and superficially Öpik describes wartime and his own activities as a director of the ESA. Öpik clearly wanted to leave the impression that acting as a director was only a minor side note in his career, hardly worth remembering. Based on Öpik’s story, it seems as if he had been a trivial low-level officer or an outsider whose task was mainly to observe what was happening in Estonia. Öpik

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suggests that he made no decisions, and the responsibility for what happened during the war was with other ESA officials and the Germans. Of course, Öpik has never been in favor of National Socialism or Germany, but he says he has always been a strong supporter of democracy.39

Both Angelus and Öpik are of the opinion that Mäe was the main culprit for everything.40 Maybe it is their sincere opinion, but Mäe can at least act as a suitable scapegoat. Here, it is also necessary to note that, in all organizations, people expect a lot from the leaders. The leader is often praised for successes, but he is always accused of failures, no matter what his actual influence has been. This is emphasized in challenging circumstances, meaning that the more difficult or dangerous the situation, the more people tend to rely on their leaders.41

In his memoirs, Hjalmar Mäe gives a relatively versatile and honest impression of his own actions. Mäe remains silent about the most embarrassing things associated with the early stages of war. As mentioned before, Mäe had accepted Estonia’s accession to Germany and the Germanization of the country, but these things are not dealt with in the book. An honest impression is created by the fact that Mäe can also look at his own activities in a critical light. He admits that he has made mistakes and has failed. At the same time, for example, he dares to acknowledge Governor-General Litzmann,42 even though positive comments about the Head of the German occupation administration were certainly not fashionable or politically wise after the war was lost and after the fall of National Socialism.

Mäe’s report that he sought to promote the national interests of the Estonians is supported by German and American archival material. It seems that Mäe was really trying to get Germany to support Estonia’s independence and Estonian defense battles in their own country in the


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summer of 1944. Immediately after the war (1945), Mäe contacted General George S. Patton, military governor of Bavaria, and took over the forceful recruitment of Estonians into the German army. During the Nuremberg Process, he did the same. By doing so, he risked being convicted as a war criminal himself, but at the same time, he protected Estonian soldiers who had surrendered to Western Powers from being handed over to the Soviet Union. In his memoir, Mäe generally does not leave the responsibility to others. Mäe’s strong religious belief is a possible explanatory factor in the desire and willingness to “confess one’s sins.”

Conclusions

If the question is to what extent the Estonian Self-Administration balanced between Estonian and German interests, the answer depends on the respondent. From a German perspective, Estonian high-level actors were “honest” conformists, and lower-level actors engaged just for tactical reasons. From the point of view of the Estonian public, the leaders of the Self-Administration were pure conformists who agreed to almost everything Germany required. Employees in the ESA saw their own activities as having been the opposite. Some of the highest officials claimed that, in reality, they were dissidents and freedom fighters. Thus, one can say that there were three competing or “alternative” truths.

In history, there are rarely completely black-and-white situations. It is also difficult to find “the ultimate truth” because no source material directly reflects the “truth,” but the conclusions also contain the interpretations of the researcher. When comparing Estonia to other German-occupied countries during World War II, nothing can be found that would separate Estonia significantly from other countries. Of course, there are small local differences and shades, but the main lines are the same everywhere.

As far as conformism and dissidence are concerned, the most similar points of comparison are Latvia and Lithuania, which shared exactly the same features during 1939–1941, before the arrival of the

German armed forces. The fate of Poland was slightly different, and in Western Europe, the situation was clear in that the attacker was Germany, not the Soviet Union. However, from the point of view of collaboration, the situation was partly the same in that the collaborators, for instance in France, Belgium and Scandinavia, viewed the situation from a broad ideological perspective. They believed that Bolshevism was Europe’s greatest threat and that Germany was the only country capable of protecting Europe. Similarly, for all of them, parliamentary democracy had failed, and National Socialism or Fascism seemed to be more promising solutions as they planned how societies should be developed in the future. Quite probably because of these calculations, they were willing to abandon the independence of their home countries in a traditional sense and to accept German domination.

44 Maripuu 2012, pp. 185-186, 263-266.
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The memory of a forgotten exile: Eugen Lozovan and the intellectual dissent

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Abstract
Thirty years after the dissolution of the totalitarian regime in Romania, due to various reasons, most of the names of those who were forced to leave the country and choose the exile remained practically unknown to the general public, in spite of the fact that a good part of them contributed to the maintenance of a certain Romanian anti-communist resistance worldwide. One of these names is Eugen Lozovan, a distinguished scholar and a voice of the Romanian intellectual dissent from the end of the 1950s until the 1980s. Since the importance of his work as a linguist, historian, and philologist began to be widely acknowledged in his native country within the last decades, it seems of equal importance to consider his opposition towards the communist regime which controlled Romania from 1947 until 1989. He permanently took a stance and expressed his opinions through various texts published in Romanian periodicals from Western Europe, which necessarily add to the memory of the general intellectual anti-communist resistance. This is one of the reasons why in the present text we try to underline his figure and his contributions published in exile in order to better understand the significance and the impact they had for the Romanian intellectual dissent.

Keywords: Eugen Lozovan; Romania; Denmark; anti-communism; exile; intellectual dissent

Rezumat
La treizeci de ani de la disoluția regimului totalitar din România din diferite motive majoritatea numelor celor care au fost obligați să părăsească țara și să alegă exilul au rămas practic necunoscute publicului larg, în ciuda faptului că o bună parte a acestora au contribuit la menținerea unei anumite rezistențe anticomuniste românești pe plan internațional. Unul dintre aceste nume este cel al lui Eugen Lozovan, savant distins și o voce a disidenței intelectuale românești de la sfârșitul anilor ’50 până în anii ’80. Deoarece importanța activității sale ca lingvist, istoric și filolog a început să fie recunoscută pe scară largă în țara sa natală în ultimele decenii, pare să fie la fel de importantă abordarea opoziției sale față de regimul comunist care a controlat România din 1947 până în 1989. Acesta a fost permanent conectat la realitățile din țara pe care a părăsit-o și a exprimat păreri prin diferite texte apărute în publicații periodice românești din Europa de Vest, care se adaugă cu necesitate memoriei rezistenței intelectuale anticomuniste. Acesta este unul dintre motivele pentru care în textul de față încercăm să scoatem în evidența figura acestuia și să ne raportăm la materialele sale publicate în exil pentru a înțelege mai bine semnificația și impactul pe care l-au avut asupra disidenței intelectuale românești.

Keywords: Eugen Lozovan; Romania; Denmark; anti-communism; exile; intellectual dissent

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Three decades after the events in December 1989, the Romanian society as a whole still has to find a way to properly understand and reconcile with its communist past. The process proves to be more than difficult as an important part of this past is still alive – people, habits, mentality. One of the consequences of this fact is that the segment represented by the Romanian anti-communist exile is far from being accurately acknowledged and appreciated for its role in fighting the totalitarian regime from Bucharest. Within this exile, a key role naturally belonged to the intellectuals who managed to flee Romania in late ’40s and in the following decades.

Among these people who chose the exile instead of bearing the communist rule was also Eugen Lozovan. Regarded as “the most authentic modern follower of the example of Hasdeu”\(^1\), Lozovan was an outstanding representative of the Romanian intellectual generation of the second half of the 20\(^{th}\) century. His work in the fields of philology, linguistics, history show a thorough and daring scientist, who never forgot his origins and continuously discussed and criticized the communist regime back home.

Eugen Lozovan was born on May 2\(^{nd}\), 1929, in Bucharest, in a family with ancient Bessarabian traditions and connections\(^2\). In 1947, after high school graduation as valedictorian he became a student at the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy of the University of Bucharest. A few years before, in 1942, he had made his literary debut with a translation from Italian\(^3\). As a student at the university he had the chance of meeting great professors and specialists, like Iorgu Iordan, Umberto Cianciolo, Valeriu Papahagi. During the holidays he had to work, like thousands of other young men, as a brigadier on the Bumbeşti-Livezeni construction site. In 1950, helped by

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\(^1\) The Romanian quote is: “cel mai autentic continuator modern al exemplului hasdeian” – see Aurel Sasu, *Dictionarul biografic al literaturii române*, vol. I – A-L (Pitești, 2006), 861. See also Victor Spinei, *Reprezentanți de seamă ai istoriografiei și filologiei românești și mondiale* (Brăila, 1996), 365. Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu (1838-1907) is generally seen as the most important representative of the encyclopaedic spirit within the Romanian culture.


\(^3\) Faur, Harhătă and Mocanu.
Marcel Fontaine, the head of the French Institute in Bucharest, he became a secretary of this institution. Towards the end of that year, on November 22nd, he left for Austria as a translator of a students’ delegation for the Council of the World Federation of the Democratic Youth. From Vienna, with French and Romanian help, he escaped the delegation and fled to Paris. The ’50s were dedicated to the successful completion of his studies – between 1950 and 1953 he studied at Sorbonne and Strasbourg as a scholarship student of the “Carol I” University Royal Foundation in Paris and the Free Europe College. As he confessed years later, he had the chance of meeting, studying, and working with great names of the Romanian exile and great Western professors, who influenced his intellectual formation and his personality: Sever Pop, Nicolae I. Herescu, Grigore Nandriș, Dumitru Gâzdaru, Basil Munteanu, Petru Iroaie, Neagu Djuvara, Rosa del Conte, Raymond Bloch, Albert Dauzat, Jérôme Carcopino, Georges Dumézil, Franz Altheim, and others. It was also the time when he began his prodigious activity not only as a scholar, but also as a commentator and publisher. In 1957 he started his didactic career in Denmark, at the University of Copenhagen. For 40 years, until his retirement in 1997, he represented a constant and valuable presence for the Romanian scientific life of the exile and not only. His intellectual and cultural profile reveals a complex personality, an erudite scholar of encyclopaedic formation and structure. He passed away on December 3rd, 1997, after seeing again his native country twice, in 1996 and 1997.

Conceptually and methodologically wise, in the case of Eugen Lozovan, just like most of those intellectuals who fled Romania at the end of ’40s, and then in the ’50s and ’60s, one might apply the ideas expressed by Leonidas Donskis when approaching the attitude manifested by the totalitarian regimes vis-à-vis the role of the intellectual within the new order institutionalized by these regimes: “Under totalitarianism, intellectuals can only survive either as marginalized mavericks or as underground dissenters. Yet, in both cases, they lose a broad public, and the public domain, essential things for making sense of their self-expression and self-fulfilment. Small wonder, then, that all great dystopias of the twentieth century – Yevgeny Zamyatin’s We, Aldous Huxley’s Brave New

4 Oprişan, 248. As Eugen Lozovan confessed years later, he was helped by Marcel Fontaine and I.V. Emilian.
5 Ibid., 249.
World, George Orwell’s 1984, and Anthony Burgess’s A Clockwork Orange – have depicted an intellectual-free world of the imagined future. Advanced totalitarian technocracy allows no room for intellectuals who are replaced by mental technicians, narrow-minded experts, single-minded fanatics, functionaries, and specialists in brain-washing (all those qualities are almost perfectly embodied and combined in the character O’Brien from Orwell’s 1984). Neither social critics/public dissenters nor the classical type of scholar survive in the dystopian world”7. These assertions of the Lithuanian scholar reflect to the similarity the situation in Romania after 1947, when the communist regime began to brutally get rid of all inconvenient intellectuals (meaning all those who did not accept to conform and come to terms with the new realities). The concept of the “new man” and the predicted vision of the egalitarian society had no place for the intellectuals used to think freely and to understand the realities through a critical approach, and who were not falling easily for everything that the communist regime was trying to inoculate the peoples’ minds with8. No wonder that, in a very plastic manner, certain authors speak about the contribution of the intellectuals at creating another Romania, a spiritual one, besides the geographical one9.

Next to the considerations expressed by Leonidas Donskis one should also consider the useful clarifications made by Dennis Deletant when approaching the general issue of the dissent – the dissident is represented by “a person who operates outside the system, who poses a challenge to it” and whose degree of opposition to a regime is necessarily greater than in a nonconformist10. With these specifications in mind one can

8 Even in nowadays Romania the most widespread definition of the intellectual is highly influenced by the Marxist perceptions according to which an intellectual is represented by a “person who holds a diploma which sanctions or covers a certain intellectual capacity or ability acquired at the university”; yet, the main attribute of the intellectual is “the measure in which the critic use of the ration decants the social opinions. So the intellectual is the one who intervenes in the public debate in a critical way” – for further explanations and perspectives see Cristian Preda, Introducere în știința politică (Iași, 2013), 31-32.
9 Au ales libertatea! Eds. Dumitru Dobre and Veronica Nanu (Târgoviște, 2015), 5: “Exodul, pe care destinul l-a impus poporului român a făcut ca, alături de o Românie geografică, să ia naștere o Românie spirituală omniprezentă” / “The exodus which destiny imposed on the Romanian people gave birth to an omnipresent spiritual Romania besides a geographical one”.
10 Dennis Deletant, Romania, 1945-89: Resistance, Protest and Dissent, in Revolution and Resistance in Eastern Europe. Challenges to Communist Rule, Edited by Kevin McDermott and
easily affirm that Eugen Lozovan generally fits the very idea of an intellectual dissident in exile, actively promoting his anti-communist ideas and opinions and permanently showing a critical approach of the Romanian realities.

His contributions in the fields of linguistics, classical philology, ancient and medieval history, lexicology, Romance and Germanic studies, etc. have been already underlined and integrated within the Romanian intellectual life of the last three decades. To a certain extent, these were tacitly recognized and used even in the Socialist Romania, within the years previous to the events in December 1989. Several books and articles regarding his biography and scientific achievements have also been published after this date and played their part in finding his place in the Romanian cultural and academic life. However, beyond his scientific and literary accomplishments Eugen Lozovan represents a still little known reference point for the Romanian intellectual dissent from the beginning of the ’50s until the middle of the ’80s. His activity as a columnist, his texts referring to various persons and situations from the Socialist Republic of Romania prove not only a correct and clear understanding of the realities back home, but also a real talent as a journalist and pamphleteer. He was also one of the collaborators of the Romanian broadcasts of the French

Matthew Stibbe (Oxford – New York, 2006), 90-91: “Before discussing ‘dissent’ in the Romanian context, some clarification of the meaning of the term is advisable. Several Romanian observers confuse dissent with nonconformism on the one hand, and with what they have called ‘resistance through culture’ on the other. I take a dissident to be a person who operates outside the system, who poses a challenge to it, whereas a nonconformist operates from within. Both express opposition to a regime, but the degree of opposition is greater in a dissident than in a nonconformist. Moreover, dissidence involves a public act, such as a protest, whereas nonconformism is a discreet stance. Nonconformist attitudes manifested by writers in the Ceaușescu period have been presented since 1989 as ‘resistance through culture’. If we take ‘resistance’ to imply a public act, the term ‘resistance through culture’ is an inappropriate term for those who sought through their literary work to extend the boundaries of official tolerance, either by adopting a line considered by the authorities as ideologically suspect, or by highlighting certain contemporary social problems, or both”.

11 Spinei, 354-388. These pages can also be seen as recognition of the importance of Eugen Lozovan’s work for the Romanian historiography and philology.

Radio. Here we can bring into attention the case of a text which should have been aired in May 1956 on Radio Paris to mark the passing of Ion Bianu, a respected philologist, academic, and former president of the Romanian Academy. For unknown reasons, but which can be easily guessed if we consider the context created after the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that took place in February same year, one of the editors of the Romanian program decided that the text should not be aired. It was rediscovered several years after the death of Eugen Lozovan and published in Romania, in 2006.

The core of his journalistic and pamphleteer activity can be found in the pages of the publication “Stindardul”, which appeared in Munich, West Germany, in 1953, thanks to Ion Valeriu Emilian. From 1953 until 1984 Lozovan was the main contributor of this gazette where he wrote more than 200 articles, notes, pamphlets, or simple annotations. One should mention here that within the last years evidence was found that from the mid ’70s, Ion Valeriu Emilian switched sides – from being a collaborator of the Western intelligence agencies he became a collaborator of the Romanian intelligence service. At this point one cannot tell if this aspect was known to Eugen Lozovan and/or influenced in any way his articles dating from the last years of his collaboration with “Stindardul” (namely 1976-1984).

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13 Eugen Lozovan, „Comemorarea lui Ion Bianu”, Jurnalul literar. New series XVII, no. 7-12 (April – May – June 2006): 7. The text was sent by Lozovan to the Romanian Library in Freiburg, Germany, and this is why it was preserved and rediscovered.

14 Ion Valeriu Emilian (1906-1985) was a sympathizer of the Romanian far-right movement and a member of the National-Christian Defense League (LANC – Liga Apărării Național Creștine) led by A.C. Cuza. As a military he fought on the Eastern front and in January 1945 chose to join the German army. After the occupation of Romania by the Red Army he decided to remain in exile and make an opposition to the communist regime in Romania. He is one of the persons who helped Eugen Lozovan to escape from Vienna in November 1950.

15 Probably one of the main reasons that led to the end of his collaboration was the death of I.V. Emilian in 1985. The periodical continued to appear under the guidance of Ion Pantazi, son of Constantin Pantazi, minister for war during the Antonescu regime – William Totok and Elena-Irina Macovei, Între mit și bagatelizare. Despre reconsiderarea critică a trecutului, Ion Gavrilă Ogoranu și rezistența armată anticomunistă din România (Iaşi, 2016), 56.

16 A list of all these texts can be found in Faur, Harhătă, Mocanu, 153-169. Besides his own name, he also used several pseudonyms to sign his texts: O.I. Mirea, Scutelnicul Adam, N. Chilianu, pamir, Ion Roşioru, Ținecal (p. 152).

A strong and vivacious personality, Eugen Lozovan found himself in the middle of some polemics with other outstanding representatives of the Romanian intellectual exile (Vintilă Horia\(^{18}\), Paul Miron\(^{19}\), Eugen Ionescu\(^{20}\), Mircea Eliade\(^{21}\), Virgil Ierunca\(^{22}\)) or with intellectuals from the Socialist Romania (Mihail Sadoveanu\(^{23}\)). The situation as such is not surprising and should not provoke any wonder. Historically wise, one might even talk about a tradition of division and disagreement specific to

\(^{18}\) Vintilă Horia (1915-1991) was a writer and diplomat; in 1946 he was sentenced to life in prison by the communist authorities in Romania. He won the Goncourt Prize in 1960 for his novel *God was born in exile* (*Dieu est né en exil*).

\(^{19}\) Paul Miron (1926-2008) was a linguist and philologist, the first professor of Romanian language and literature in West Germany (University of Freiburg). At least in the ’50s, Miron and Lozovan were good friends as Paul Miron himself showed in one of his later books published in Romania – see Paul Miron, *Măsura urmelor* (Timişoara, 2000), *passim*.

\(^{20}\) Eugen Ionescu (1909-1994) was a famous Romanian-French playwright, member of the French Academy (1970); in 1964 he was nominated for the Nobel Prize in Literature.

\(^{21}\) Mircea Eliade (1907-1986) was a writer, philosopher, journalist, and the most famous Romanian historian of religion.

\(^{22}\) Virgil Ierunca (1920-2006) was a writer, literary critic, poet and journalist. The one who started the polemics was Eugen Lozovan – see his article „Conu Iancu & Co.”, *Stindardul X*, no. 64/65 (August – September 1962): 2. Ierunca answered in another Romanian periodical which appeared in Munich, “Cuvântul în exil” – Virgil Ierunca, „Năpasta”, *Cuvântul în exil* 6 (November 1962): 1, 3-4. Many years later, during a phone interview on September 17, 1998, Virgil Ierunca briefly approached the subject of his polemics with Eugen Lozovan, showing that the latter was excluded from the group of the collaborators of Radio Paris because of his extreme right attitude: “după câte îmi amintesc, s-au perindat prin faţa microfonului Constantin Brăiloiu, muzicologul de faimă mondială, [profesor de limba română de la Universitatea din Copenhaga] Eugen Lozovan, protejatul lui Marcel Fontaine. După ce a fost scos la pensie Marcel Fontaine, Lozovan a fost exclus pentru că devenise un extremist de dreapta; într-un ziar din Germany care se chema Stindardul a început să atace chiar şi pe marii clasici. Eu am polemizat cu el, atacase pe Maiorescu, atacase pe I.L. Caragiale, ca să nu mai vorbesc de E. Lovinescu” / “as far as I remember, in front of the microphone came Constantin Brăiloiu, the world class musicologist, [the professor of Romanian language at the University in Copenhagen] Eugen Lozovan, the protégé of Marcel Fontaine. After the retirement of Marcel Fontaine, Lozovan was excluded as he had become a far right extremist; in a newspaper in Germany which was entitled Stindardul he even began to attack the great classics. I polemicized with him, he had attacked Maiorescu, he had attacked Caragiale, not to mention E. Lovinescu”. See *Interviu cu scriitorul Virgil Ierunca din Arhiva Grupului de Istorie Orală al Radio România*, conducted by Octavian Silvestru, accessible online at http://arhiva.rador.ro/info4.shtml?cat=1281&news=338665, accessed in June 2019.

\(^{23}\) O.I. Mirea, „Nelegiurea Sadoveanului”, in *Stindardul* 10-11 (June – July 1954): 2. Mihail Sadoveanu (1880-1961) was a famous Romanian novelist and journalist; he was one of the intellectuals who did not flee Romania and conformed to the new communist regime.
the Romanian exile from modern and contemporary periods, considering here, for instance, the situation following the revolutionary events of 1848-1849 in the Romanian space. All the more was the case during the ‘60s, ‘70s, and ‘80s, when the communist regime back home tried and often succeeded to discord the Romanian exile.

With respect to Eugen Lozovan, probably the most well known case of polemics is the one concerning the vehement contestation of Emil Cioran\textsuperscript{24}, which happened in 1973, following the publication in the previous year of a controversial book entitled Convorbiri cu Emil Cioran [Conversations with Emil Cioran], by the journalist François Bondy. Briefly, this is what the situation was all about – in the above mentioned book several interviews with the Romanian philosopher were published in which he denied any connection with the Romanian legionary movement characterized by him in a harsh and nonchalant manner: “As they say about cancer that it is more than a disease, but a complex of diseases, that was the case of the Iron Guard – a complex of movements and a demented sect rather than a party”\textsuperscript{25}.

Although he had not been a member of the Iron Guard, Eugen Lozovan never hid his sympathies towards the legionary movement\textsuperscript{26} or marshal Ion Antonescu. This is clearly another reason one should consider when we try to explain his reaction to the words of Emil Cioran. Nevertheless, in the general plan of the exile, this sort of abjuration from the convictions that dominated or influenced the youth of many of the Romanian exiles might have been easily seen as an attempt to fraternize with the communist regime in order to obtain various gains or favours. Lozovan’s reaction was prompt and trenchant. He publicly reneged Cioran and attacked him in one of his articles published in “Stindardul”, on which occasion one could also see certain accents of anti-Semitism: “I wish to Emil

\textsuperscript{24} Emil Cioran (1911-1995) was a famous Romanian philosopher and writer.
\textsuperscript{26} Marta Petreu supposes that Lozovan became a sympathizer of the movement during his years of exile – Marta Petreu, De la Junimea la Noica. Studii de cultură românească (Iaşi, 2011), 463: “Autorul, un lingvist român de o cultură consistentă, care s-a exilat în 1950 și care, prin data nașterii, 1929, nu avea cum să aparțină legionarismului interbelic, trebuie să fi devenit filolegionar în exil. Eugen Lozovan l-a atacat deci pe Cioran în numele onoarei și demnității legionare” / “The author [Eugen Lozovan – our note], a Romanian linguist of considerable culture, who exiled himself in 1950 and who, by his birth date, could not belong to the interwar legionarism, must have become a philolegionar in exile. So Eugen Lozovan attacked Cioran in the name of the legionary honour and dignity”.
Cioran, who for me has become a non-human, to be quoted with all the honours in Scânteia and at the future world congress of Judaism. The quarrel continued in the following period, as former members of the Iron Guard in exile also reacted after the publication of the book, praising Lozovan for his attitude.

Eugen Lozovan was a constant critic of the Soviet system and Russian influence in Europe and around the world, a fact that can be noticed not only in the pages of “Stindardul”. Even in 1952, during an intervention which he had with the occasion of a Round Table Conference at the Institute of World Affairs in Geneva, he warned about the danger represented by communism and by Russia, stubborn opponents of freedom and of the free world. In a time (the ‘60s) when many Western writers and intellectuals (especially in France and Italy) were playing the coquette with the left-wing ideology, he did not hesitate to take a stance contrary to this trend and blamed the gullibility and the naivety proven by persons like the French novelist and journalist Michel Droit, for example.

The unfortunate destiny of the entire generation of Romanian intellectuals who had to flee Romania at the end of ’40s and in the ’50s and ’60s was another subject that concerned Eugen Lozovan. In various texts he blamed and condemned in virulent terms the unscrupulous communist propaganda which glorified the achievements of socialism and the so-called deliberate contribution of the young Romanians to the growth of the country casting a wave of silence and forgetfulness over the Romanian elite destroyed after 1947.

28 Pelin, 7.
30 See the column entitled Scoli – E. Lozovan, „Scoli”, Stindardul XVI, no. 104 (September – November 1968): 2. Michel Droit (1923-2000) was a French novelist and journalist; he became member of the French Academy in 1980.
31 For instance, in a pugnacious and incisive text he attacked Miron Radu Paraschivescu, a well-known writer in Romania in the ’60s and ’70s, who, in the pages of the review “România literară” declared himself worried about the situation in Biafra, a self-proclaimed state in Africa. Naming him a “toad”, Lozovan shows his contempt for Paraschivescu and others like him who were more preoccupied by the age limit in Africa rather than in the Romanian prisons where great names of the country were killed by communists. „Puţin îmi pasă de Biafra”, Stindardul XVI, no. 104 (September – November 1968): 1; „Bumbeşti-
Nevertheless, in the case of Eugen Lozovan the researchers of the Romanian intellectual dissent and of the Romanian anti-communist exile should consider taking into account all nuances of the prodigious activity of this effervescent and restless spirit. One must mention here not only his sympathies towards the Romanian far right movement, marshal Ion Antonescu, or his anti-Semitic stance which can be noticed within his polemics, but also certain allegations that appeared after 1989 and which place him, conceptually wise, among those who, because of the confusion provoked by the term “dissent”, betrayed the real exile due to the fact that for many of the Romanian exiles the dissident equalled a traitor\(^{32}\).

Perhaps the most inspired and the best characterization of Eugen Lozovan belongs to the historian Georgeta Filitti, who saw him as a “passionate erudite scholar”\(^ {33}\). Without any doubt he was one of the powerful voices of the Romanian intellectual dissent in exile although nowadays this aspect of his biography is almost completely forgotten. His contributions to exposing the false realities sustained by the totalitarian regime back home presented some significance for the Romanian exile worldwide. Their importance is still to be appreciated and properly understood among the countless writings, audio and video recordings of the Romanian exile which already represent historical documents. Together with many other names of this Romanian dissent, the activity of Eugen Lozovan ensured the continuity of genuine intellectual values in almost complete opposition with the situation that existed in communist Romania.

Even the polemics which he engaged in, the broadcasts at the French Radio station, his open sympathy towards the legionary movement and marshal Ion Antonescu or his anti-Semitic accents can and should be visualized as symptoms of freedom as it was perceived and understood at that time at least by a part of the exiled Romanian intellectuals\(^{34}\) – freedom of speech, of discussion, of ideas – and also as an expression of his fight against the

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\(^{34}\) One must not forget that quite a number of these exiles were sympathizers of the far-right movement back in Romania or were even members of the Iron Guard.
The memory of a forgotten exile: Eugen Lozovan and the intellectual dissent

communist regime and ideology. This is only one of the reasons for hoping that sometime in the future it would be possible to have a complete critical edition with his texts published in “Stindardul”. Another one would be the necessity of reconnecting the Romanian society to that part of the collective memory which the totalitarian regime tried to deny and to erase. However, this is a work in progress and the nowadays situation is not necessarily optimistic. Next to other names, Eugen Lozovan represents a reference point for all those who might want to get a better grip of an intellectual exile which defied the oppression and the totalitarian propaganda.

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The Europeans who came back: Kurdish refugees in Finland

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Abstract
This article examines the extent to which cultural continuity represents the Kurdish immigrants living in Finland and concentrates on those cultural practices and traditions of the Finnish society that seem difficult to be accepted by the Kurdish immigrants. The research questions addressed in this study are as follows: To what extent the new Kurdish refugees, as members of a non-Western culture, remain static and traditional? Do they resent the Nordic values or on the contrary, they try to conform the Finnish values? We will examine whether, at least related to some aspects of the Kurdish tradition, we can speak about the death of the tradition or it is premature to declare that.

The present study wants to give an overview of the kind of Kurdish folk tradition that lives in Finland and of the nature of the Kurdish individuals’ relationship to their own cultural experience. We examine if the members of the Kurdish community living in Finland have learnt to act according to the standards of behaviour required by the Finnish society or the practices adopted by them differ from how the people of Finnish background behave. In many cases, adult Kurdish individuals bring their own culture to Finland but it is often the culture of violence that goes with them to the new country.

Methodologically I rely on cultural, migration and social life studies in this article. In addition, I attend to identity and family studies.

Rezumat
Acest articol examinează măsura în care continuitatea culturală reprezintă imigranții kurzi care trăiesc în Finlanda, și se concentrează asupra acelor practici și tradiții culturale ale societății finlandeze care par dificil de acceptat de către imigranții kurzi. Întrebările de cercetare abordate în acest studiu sunt următoarele: În ce măsură noii refugiați kurzi, ca membri ai unei culturi non-occidentale, rămân statici și tradiționali? Se opun valorilor nordice sau, dimpotrivă, încercă să se conformeze valorilor finlandeze? Vom examina dacă, cel puțin în legătură cu unele aspecte ale tradiției kurde, putem vorbi despre moartea tradiției sau este prematur să declarăm acest lucru.

Prezentul studiu dorește să ofere o imagine de ansamblu a tipului de tradiție populară kurdă care trăiește în Finlanda și a naturii relației indivizilor kurzi cu propria lor experiență culturală. Studiem dacă membrii comunității kurde care trăiesc în Finlanda au învățat să acționeze în conformitate cu standardele de comportament cerute de societatea finlandeză, sau practicele adoptate de aceștia diferă de modul în care se comportă poporul finlandez. În multe cazuri, indivizii kurzi adulți își aduc propria cultură în Finlanda, dar adesea este cultura violenței care-i însoțește în noua țară.

Din punct de vedere metodologic, mă bazez pe studiul cultural, migrațional și social în acest articol. În plus, apelez la studiile de identitate și de familie.
Key concepts related to the issue of immigration

I approach the topic through the themes of culture, ethnicity, language and religion. Young Kurdish people’s experiences are also determined by cross-border relationships. Toivanen\(^1\) identifies a transnational state that affects the immigrants’ realities and understanding and that is localized in the country of origin – Kurdistan, the current place of residence – Finland and some other Kurdish communities existing worldwide. The concept of *transnationalism* constitutes the theoretical basis for the present study as transnationalism is the factor that models the Kurdish people’s family connections. Häkkinen\(^2\) associates to transnationalism those manifold political, economical, cultural and social cooperation that bond people beyond the state borders. According to Bryceson and Vuorela’s definition, a transnational family refers to a family whose members reside at least for a while apart but maintain and create a sense of community across national borders.\(^3\)

Furthermore, it is essential to define the concept of *refugee*. A refugee is a person who “owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the

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country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable
or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.”

From a sociological view, Wahlbeck considers all those people
refugees who feel themselves to be refugees. A refugee is a person who has
a special relationship with both the country of origin and the country of
residence. He differs from another kind of immigrant in the sense that his
departure from the home country happened in practice when forced, and
he was often not free to choose his current country of residence. Kunz
contrasts the refugees and immigrants expressing that the reluctance to
leave and the lack of positive motivation to settle elsewhere is typical for
refugees and separates them from voluntary immigrants.

Another central concept in immigration research is integration that,
according to Wahlbeck, refers to the relationship between the immigrant
and the new country of residence, where the immigrant can maintain his or
her own identity and belong to an ethnic minority group and at the same
time participate in the activities of the mainstream society. Yet, integration
for Valtonen means participation in working life and education, social
interaction and organized activities in the fields of culture, politics or
religion and intercultural encounters.

**Finnish bureaucracy and lack of information**

Häkkinen depicts the Kurdish immigrants living in Finland as
traditional, as opposed to the Finns who are part of a modern culture.
Marginalized Kurds and migration are handled with skepticism by the
Finnish government. Some Kurdish immigrants even think that the Finnish
bureaucracy is probably one of the most difficult in the world. Quite often,
they come across racist and xenophobic attitudes while trying to get a job
or maintaining it. Family reunification proves to be entangled to the extent
that Kurdish immigrants expect that they will never get their families to

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5 Lehtonen 2004.
6 Ibid.
7 Häkkinen 2011.
8 Immigrants form about 5% of the Finnish population. Kurdish people form one of the
largest immigrant groups in Finland (estimated 10,000 Kurds).
Finland. Moreover, these immigrants are separated from their families who live in a war zone. In this context, it is doubtful that these migrants can become contented, dynamic and pragmatic citizens.

Some Kurdish immigrants have complained upon arriving to Finland that there was little information about their rights which showed what they could do and what not. They lacked any kind of previous knowledge about their rights in the new country and this was perceived as a negative thing during the immigration process. Information and their availability were considered significant things which could show the paths ahead. In the immigrants’ opinion, a person who moves to a new country and a new environment is like a child who needs more help, information and assistance.

Cultural continuity for those who are eternal foreigners

Among youth, Kurdishness is considered the key identity due to the fact that the criteria for Finnishness are regarded too tight. Häkkinen’s focus is on cultural continuity among the Kurdish individuals and on the dynamics of transnational marriages observing that Kurdish immigrants, especially women, generally do not choose to marry Finnish men but instead opt for a partner from their own society who is neither a European nor a Christian.

According to Kiuru⁹, young Kurdish immigrants in Finland find it an opportunity to be able to benefit from the strengths of both cultures but on the other hand there is a risk that mainly the weaknesses of those cultures will be embraced. As young migrants spend their lives in a particular cultural space, they point out the problematic experience that in fact, they do not belong anywhere. This is due to the fact that in Finland the Kurdish migrant is considered an eternal foreigner while in Kurdistan he is viewed as “the European who came back”¹⁰.

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¹⁰ “se eurooppalainen, joka tuli takas”. Ibid., 50. Translated by Adél Furu.
Kiuru shows that Kurdish cultural traditions (colourful national costume, fairy tales) are essential for young immigrants who live in a Finnish cultural environment. They try to understand and own the Kurdish folklore and seek to discover in it something distinctive from the cultural elements that are known in Finland. Young Kurdish migrants want to know and remember those details of their culture that differ from the Finnish tradition and are unknown and exotic. Owning and embracing something authentic and peculiar that sets them apart from the Finnish cultural heritage improves their self-esteem.

**Confrontations during the social integration**

Those Kurdish individuals who have tried to seek asylum in Finland have faced many challenges when starting a new life in Finland: they have arrived in a foreign country with an unknown language, culture and even different climate. Their lives were eased when they started participating in Finnish language courses, they acquired Finnish friends and they gathered their own courage. In the migration process they are positively surprised by the Finnish system and law, the social well-being and equality. They are willing to study more Finnish and learn more about the Finnish culture, society and working life. They want to be active members of the society and participate in various social events and gather information about the history of Finland.

Some of the Kurdish immigrants have experienced that some of the Finns have accepted their move more easily, while others opposed their move. Thus the immigrants had to learn patience and contribute actively to their adaptation. These people would need numerous trainings and events to help their social integration. It seems that the biggest challenge is when a very young immigrant is faced with the fact that he or she is the only dark-skinned person in kindergarten, at school or in working life. Above all, prejudices are not missing in these contexts and other children’s parents may be anti-immigrant. Along the years spent in Finland, these immigrants learn that they do not need to compete with the locals and prove to be suitable candidates for the Finnish residency or citizenship.
In some cases, the realities and expectations of the Kurdish and Finnish societies have clashed and immigrant children at school have had to fear bullying. Nevertheless, when children of the same background had met at school much of the fear disappeared because in their culture people from the same country were defended even though they were not close friends. Another difficulty encountered has been the lack of understanding from the Finnish teachers related to contrasting backgrounds at school which led to the inability to organize training with different groups. Kurdish pupils are witnesses even nowadays of the teachers’ inappropriate behaviour due to these issues.

A lot of identity problems have been created along the kindergarten and school years due to the scarcity of support for dealing with racism. For it was burdensome for Kurdish children to live at home as in Kurdistan while at school try to be unnoticeable not to be abused by anyone.

Kurdish children in Finland have grown up without the skills and education of a traditional village community and have not adopted its values; instead, young people have inspired from the mainstream culture; therefore, immigrants need continuous cultural interpretation and support to assess different requirements and expectations. We show how different cultures and values bring contradictory ideas to young people. Young people who are born in Finland want to live like Westerners, but their families expect them to behave in a traditional way. Children cannot combine these two different worlds because the habits and expectations are completely different from their parents’. Toivanen⁷ notes that young Kurdish people have adopted different cultural influences and traditions from Kurdistan but have become bilingual through the Finnish school system.

Huttunen asserts that the refugees’ physical appearance and otherness, namely not belonging to “the white landscape of Finland”⁸, or a different accent often constructs a barrier in the integration process.

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⁷ Toivanen 2013a.
Kurdish children may face discrimination based on their look and not their actions or lack of language knowledge.

**Culture of violence brought to Finland**

Very often, adult Kurds bring their own culture to Finland but it is often the culture of violence that goes with them. Jantunen (2017)\(^{13}\) emphasizes that the Finnish state and authorities should not simply acknowledge that violence is intertwined with culture. According to some Kurdish immigrants, Finnish authorities should not be too tolerant and concessive regarding foreign cultures and religions, but in fact, authorities should show a more critical attitude towards religions and cultures. Additionally, Jantunen points out that although Kurdish men themselves are victims of their controlling, strict and religious culture, when moving to Finland they have to be aware that they must conform the Finnish culture and values. In this sense, domestic violence should be eliminated at least in the receiving country.

Strandén\(^ {14}\) argues that even some Kurds themselves disagree with the fact that the traditional division of labour in the Kurdish families is often kept in Finland too. This means that Kurdish women are not allowed to study and work, though when these immigrants move to Finland they should accept equality, and women should also get to work and not expect that the state pays them in Finland for remaining at home.

As the quotation below suggests, domestic violence against migrant Kurdish women is not eradicated even in Finland, moreover the violent behavioural pattern is passed on to the next generations although it has many social consequences, it is a crime in Finland, a violation of human

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rights and equality, and it is extremely costly for the Finnish state. Ser quotes a migrant Kurdish woman:

“[...] Now we are in Finland. I want to dwell and live in peace and be safe. But the man’s violence is here too. I just want the violence to end. I want the authorities to use the Finnish legislation or, by some means, the domestic violence to end. I want to go to school and I want to get a profession, I want to go to work.”

Conclusions

Young Kurdish people living in Finland have been influenced by the Finnish culture and school system. In the traditional Kurdish community, they had learnt that the family’s interests lie above the individual’s interests but when moving to the modern Finnish society, they are nurtured by self-initiative and independence. The truth is that those Kurdish individuals who move to a modern Nordic country have to face a great pressure and they are not capable of adaptation in a short period of time. Therefore, Saarinen claims that Kurdish immigrants need continuous cultural interpretation and support to assess the requirements and expectations of the Finnish culture.

More experienced Kurdish immigrants who have not come recently to Finland realize that they should critically relate to old information, their attitudes, wishes and religion because Finland offers new circumstances and presents different requirements. Under these circumstances, their

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previous knowledge might be old and unfunctional in the receiving country.

Willing to adopt the rules and customs of the country where the refugee lives is part of the integration discourses and immigration debates. Most of the young Kurds defend their positions in the Finnish community by having good Finnish language skills and at the same time avoid being identified as refugees or immigrants. However, in most of the cases the distinctive physical appearance is the principal factor for not being able to identify themselves as Finns (Toivanen 2013b)\(^\text{17}\).

Young and clever refugees try to balance Kurdistan and Finland in their transnational lives. Their ambivalent position is levelled by approving the Finnish culture and by removing morally questionable Finnish practices and attitudes, for instance the utilization of alcohol and impoliteness towards their parents. The atmosphere of the Finnish capital is described by the immigrants as discriminatory and racist. Boys who had no white skin colour have been suspected of criminality in the Finnish cities and therefore, ambitious and educated Kurdish youth tried to avoid immigrant groups and get a degree in order to better comply with the ‘norms’ of the ordinary Finnish society. They also claim equal opportunities with the majority population. In contrast, very few refugees emphasize their transnational networks and plan to escape from Finland. Kurdish refugees recreate and redefine what Haikkola\(^\text{18}\) has called the kin-based transnational networks that even provide favourable circumstances for a getaway from the country of settlement.

Kurdish refugees have to decide in time whether they maintain their own culture or they become Finns to a certain extent. The development and adjustment of their actions depend on the Finnish society and integration policies. In a new life situation, they have to decide how much to absorb from the Finnish culture and how much they want to keep the Kurdish cultural values. Confident and determined refugees try to take what is good from both cultures while keeping their own identities.

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\(^{17}\) Toivanen 2013b.

In Finland, even the structure of the Kurdish family changes according to the Finnish parents–children model while extended families, which include aunts, uncles and cousins, disappear. As well, childcare in line with the Finnish model can sometimes cause disputes between the Kurdish spouses, especially if one of them disagrees with it\textsuperscript{19}.

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How is Leonidas Donskis remembered in Lithuania?

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This paper was presented at the 10th International Conference on Baltic and Nordic Studies in Romania entitled Dissent versus Conformism in the Nordic, Baltic and Black Sea Areas, “Ovidius” University of Constanța, 6-8 June 2019.

First of all, I would like to thank The Romanian Association for Baltic and Nordic Studies, and prof. Miloiu personally for organising this conference. We, as the Lithuanian Embassy in Romania, highly value the Association’s contribution to promoting the relations between the academic communities of our respective countries and deepening the knowledge of the Romanian public about the Baltic Sea region. We have been cooperating with the Association for many years now and our Embassy is always
delighted to contribute to and participate in the Association’s events. This year it is even more special, because this time we are celebrating the legacy of the late Leonidas Donskis, Lithuanian political theorist, historian of ideas, social analyst, political commentator, and professor, who also happened to be a close friend of the Romanian Association for Baltic and Nordic Studies, and one of the masterminds behind the idea for this conference.

I was asked to talk about how Leonidas Donskis is remembered in Lithuania. Being one of a few non-scholars in this event, I will not try to go deeper into ideas of prof. Donskis - I believe this will be the topic of prof. Miloiu’s presentation. Instead, I will try to paint the portrait of prof. Donskis, the way he is remembered in the Lithuanian society, and also briefly summarize the initiatives which were or will be implemented in order to pay tribute to prof. Donskis and preserve his legacy.

For those of you who are not familiar with Leonidas Donskis and his work, I would like to start with a brief introduction to his life. Mr. Donskis was born in 1962, in the Lithuanian port city Klaipėda. He graduated from the present-day Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre, majoring in philology and theatre, and continued his studies in Vilnius University, where he received his first doctorate in philosophy. He earned his second doctorate in social and moral philosophy from the University of Helsinki, Finland, and later was awarded with an honorary doctorate in the Bradford University in Great Britain and, of course, Valahia University of Târgoviște.

Mr. Donskis was a Professor at Vytautas Magnus University in Kaunas, Lithuania, where he served as the Dean of the Faculty of Political Science and Diplomacy, but he also taught students all over the world: Finland, Estonia, USA, Great Britain, Sweden, Hungary, etc. Donskis has been published widely in international refereed journals, and is the author or editor of more than 50 books, half of which are available in English. His works have been translated into 18 languages, including Romanian. Donskis also served as a member of the European Parliament from 2009 to 2015.
His unexpected death in 2016, at the age of 54, was a great shock and a profound loss to the people of Lithuania and to the academic society and intellectuals all over the world. The passing away of the most famous Lithuanian liberal theoretic was also a loss to the liberal thought in the Central and Eastern European region in general.

Mr. Donskis was not only a prominent scholar, but also an exceptional personality. He was an intellectual and a man of culture, a very versatile human being, whose interests and talents transcended the boundaries between disciplines. According to his students, he was an amazing teacher, never boring, never read from the notes, recited Shakespeare and made references to a broad range of schools of thought, authors and events during his classes. His friends remember him as a warm and calm person, extremely well educated and knowledgeable in different subjects, yet never arrogant. One of his close associates wrote, that it was actually somewhat intimidating to be next to him, such an extraordinary and well-educated personality, because it made you realize your own shortcomings – yet prof. Donskis never positioned himself above others, never considered any audience unworthy of his time, and always listened attentively to others, even if they had an opposing opinion.

Prof. Donskis was a passionate believer in the European project and a promoter of the EU’s core values. He used his term in the European Parliament to promote the universal values which transcended the national interests, such as democracy, tolerance and human rights. He was very much interested in the future of Europe, and society as a whole, in the promotion of democracy and civil responsibility, and that interest was not limited to his term in the EP. Prof. Donskis strongly believed in the crucial role of education here, thus he would gladly participate in the discussions on these topics with students, pupils and young people, and has also authored a textbook on civic education for the 10th grade school students.

In our minds Prof. Donskis remains an advocate of liberal ideas and principles - not so much the economic side of it (he was even critical of some of its elements and by-products, such as consumerism which he believed to damage the human relationships and society as a whole), but the social and cultural dimension of liberalism, such as rights and
freedoms, tolerance and a peaceful coexistence between different groups and ideas, putting an emphasis on moral sensitivity. Considering tolerance to be an essential element of a healthy society, he did not think that it comes naturally, on the contrary, for him it was a result of a constant hard work, convincing oneself to accept someone who is different from you, who has different attitudes and approaches, without any prejudices or hate. Prof. Donskis believed in the value of discussion, because only through a careful and attentive consideration of different positions the truth and reconciliation could be achieved.

Donskis was a devoted fighter for the human rights, and his efforts in this field, at least in Lithuania, were widely acknowledged. This was a the core issue during his mandate in the European Parliament: he coordinated the human rights policy in the ALDE European party, bringing to the attention of his colleagues the human rights issues not only in the EU, but also in the regions which are further away, such as Tibet and India, or are often overlooked by politicians, such as Central Asia. Mr. Donskis used his position in the EP and all the soft power available to him to protect the dissidents in Russia, Belarus, Ukraine (where the pro-Russian forces ruled at the time) and Central Asia. I believe it is no coincidence that the topic of today’s conference - „Dissent and conformism“– was conceived together with him, because he has seen the cases of dissidents in this and neighbouring regions everyday, he worked hard to raise awareness about these issues around the world, and I believe that this conference is a nice extension of his work in this field. Upon ending his term at the European Parliament Donskis wrote: „I hope that there will be someone to remember that there was a colleague from Lithuania who did not limit himself merely to the interests of his own country and his region, but instead was thinking about the human dignity, freedom and rights all over the world.“ I believe, that prof. Donskis in his own words managed to summarize not only his term in the European Parliament, but his life-long work in general. For his efforts, prof. Donskis posthumously was awarded in Lithuania with the National Equality and Diversity Lifetime Achievement award.

As you may already understand, prof. Donskis was not a distant scholar, living in the world of philosophy, and watching the world through
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The rose-coloured glasses. He was very much present in the Lithuanian public life and media, trying to bring a broader, philosophical perspective to the current events and issues: for several years Donskis had his own TV show where he discussed different phenomena and issues of the modern society, from reality TV and sports to the search of a national identity, all from the sociological, philosophical point of view. In addition, Donskis constantly published his comments on the latest topics of the political agenda, on a broad range of subjects, and also was involved in different social projects and activities of the non-governmental organisations, most importantly - those promoting human rights and tolerance, including the organisations of the Lithuanian Jewish community. One of those organisations - “The Sugihara Foundation – Diplomats for Life” in 2017 has founded the annual Leonidas Donskis Prize for the continuous efforts to promote tolerance, dialogue and human rights.

At the initiative of Mrs. Jolanta Donskienė, the widow of prof. Donskis, there was established a “Leonidas Donskis fund”, with the objective to preserve the legacy of prof. Donskis, and to continue the dissemination of his ideas. Last year the fund, at the initiative of the close associate of prof. Donskis, a philosopher, artist and politician Mr. Arūnas Gelūnas, organized a series of events called “Donskian discussions”. The idea behind this initiative was to revive the discussions in the spirit of Leonidas Donskis: calm, slow, benevolent, “without anger or hatred”. As Mr. Gelūnas pointed out, “Donskis was a man of conversation: he initiated a conversation - be it a dialogue, polylogue, discussion or happening - with his students, those like-minded, different-minded, with everyone who were willing to listed and to hear”. Up until now, six discussions have taken place, highlighting the ideas and issues which were (or would have been) close to prof. Donskis’s heart: nationalism and patriotism (and their role in creating divisions in the society), relationship between the European Union and Lithuanian identity, parallels between Machiavelli’s “effective truth” and “fake news” phenomenon, civic education in Lithuania, the perception of liberalism in Lithuania and the world, and the human rights situation in Tibet. As you can see, the range of the topics is as broad as were Donskis’s interests, yet all of these discussions share the same form with the to
uncover the complexity of the discussed subjects in an intellectually-rewarding and open environment.

The legacy of prof. Donskis has also been acknowledged by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Lithuania - in 2017 one of the halls in the ministry was renamed “European Hall”, and memorial plaque for Donskis unveiled, to remind the future generations about the pro-European values of prof. Donskis. Ministry pledged to contribute to the promotion of these values, including through events and discussions aimed to foster the ability to listen and hear, and to maintain an open dialogue - one out of many values that were cherished by the Professor. Since then, the Ministry contributed to the publishing of the Dutch translation of prof. Donskis’s book, and organisation of several discussions and conferences, including this one.

One of the most ambitious initiatives to immortalize the memory of Leonidas Donskis is a plan to erect a statue for Professor in Kaunas, next to the Vytautas Magnus University, where he used to teach. The project is currently under development, as well as an idea to open the “Office of Leonidas Donskis” in the Vytautas Magnus University which would host his personal book collection.

Since prof. Donskis has been conducting activities all over the world, it is no surprise, that the initiatives to preserve his memory and to pay homage to his legacy appeared outside the borders of Lithuania as well, the best example being the decision of the Romanian Baltic and Nordic Studies Association to name its library in Tirgoviste University after him. This gesture was greatly appreciated in Lithuania and made it to the headlines in our media, so allow me to thank you for this once again. Also I should mention, that you have a “sister” library in Lithuania - in 2017 Vytautas Magnus University has also named its new library after prof. Donskis.

To mention other initiatives, Bologna University, where prof. Donskis had been teaching, established a graduate student fellowship under his name. In Belgium, the Flanders Department of Foreign Affairs contributed to the the Dutch translation of Leonidas Donskis’ collection of
essays “The Little Europe: a Map by an Aesthete”, which was published last year.

To summarize, Leonidas Donskis is remembered as a great intellectual, one of the most important contemporary Lithuanian philosophers, who tried to bring the philosophical perspective to the present-day issues of the world, and who not only preached the universal values of democracy, tolerance and human rights, but also embodied it.

Coming back to today’s conference, I should note one more thing - prof. Donskis wanted the world to overcome what he called the culture of oblivion, when “uncomfortable”, painful, complicated events are intentionally forgotten - instead, he urged to unearth these painful pages of the history, analyze them, uncover the complex context of those issues, in order to learn from them, which would then contribute to developing a greater moral sensitivity and a healthier society. I believe that this conference will help to bring some of the important subjects out of the oblivion, and also I would like to wish for all of the participants during these couple of days to experience that open, thorough and enriching discussion in the Donskian spirit.