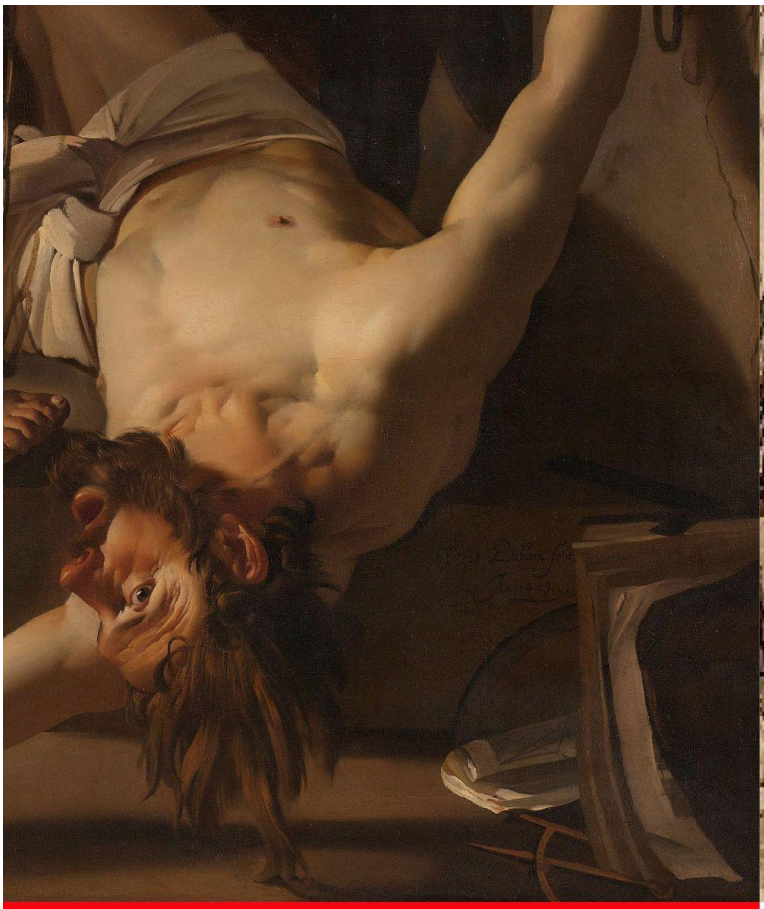

TENTH INTERNATIONAL
CONFERENCE ON NORDIC AND
BALTIC STUDIES

DISSENT VERSUS CONFORMISM IN THE NORDIC, BALTIC AND BLACK SEA AREAS

Tribute to Prof. Leonidas Donskis

NIRO
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BALANCING BETWEEN DISSENT AND CONFORM: ESTONIAN SELF-ADMINISTRATION UNDER GERMAN OCCUPATION, 1941–1944

Prof. Dr. Kari Alenius,
University of Oulu

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) Estnischen Selbstverwaltung, or Estonian Self-Administration, was established in Estonia. Similar administrative bodies were established in Latvia, Lithuania and Belarus as well.

Based on previous studies, it is known that Estonian Self-Administration worked closely with the German occupation administration. Thus, it shared the responsibility for crimes committed in the name of 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 the previous studies, little attention has been paid to the way in which Estonians tried to balance between the interests of Germany and Estonia. On the basis of 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 presentation is mainly based on the materials of the German Security Police and other German and Estonian archival material. In addition, the presentation analyses how the Estonians who worked in the organization later described their war-time activities in their memoirs.

THE COMMUNISM AS A WAY OF LIFE. EVERYDAY RESISTANCE DURING THE CEAUSESCU'S REGIME

Senior Researcher Dr. Mioara Anton,
"Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History of the Romanian Academy

My paper starts from the analysis of a special category of sources, letters to the authorities, which allow us to formulate responses concerning the various reactions of Romanian society to Communist power, especially during Ceaușescu regime.

During the Ceausescu regime, the society oscillated between acceptance and repellence. On the one hand, it expressed its adherence to the projects of the regime while, on the other hand, criticized the measures that have invaded and ordered its existence. Duplicity was just as much a form of consensus and escape and under this shelter citizens built their everyday existence. There are attitudes that coexist and changes depending on the decisions of the party. The consensus lasted as long as the political power fulfilled the promises made to the population (access to consumer goods, food supply, improving payments and pensions,

access to information, etc.). With the deteriorating living conditions, the loss of popular support was replaced by a repressive apparatus which served to maintain the state of fear and to control the disappointments of the population.

Based on the concept of „everyday resistance" proposed by S. Fitzpatrick for the Soviet society, the paper aims to illustrate the „everyday resistance" in the case of Romania (the spreading of political jokes, of rumours concerning the presidential family, comments regarding the economic situation of the country, living standards, sending anonymous letters and denunciations critical towards the ruling circles). People had escaped party control, forming their own informal networks based on affinity, sympathy, and friends. What united them was hostility towards the state and party institutions. Privacy found expression in the art of concealment, as adaptive response, resulting from the desire to limit as much as possible the intrusion of the regime in their everyday life.

OVERCROWDED PRISONS IN THE REPUBLIC OF LATVIA DURING WAR OF INDEPENDENCE (1919-1921): WHO WERE THE INMATES?

Mg hist. Aiga Berzina,
University of Latvia

An important part of internal security during Latvian War of Independence and State building process was The Prison network, which started to function in the summer of 1919, when Latvian government took over incarceration places on the territory of Latvia. After taking over imprisonment places State officials faced overloaded prison cells (mainly raised as a result of high level of prison exploitation by German occupation forces and the commonly named White Terror) and poor imprisonment conditions. As the State security services (police, courts, Armed Forces, etc.) started their work the need to place suspects and criminals into prisons increased, raising the question of how to deal with overpopulation and to organize poorly financed prisons. It also raised the question of who the inmates were and for what crimes were they accused or convicted. The aim of the paper is to characterize different groups of incarcerated persons during Latvian War of Independence and at the same time based on it to assess the different political views competing in the State.

DISSENT VS. CONFORMISM IN ÞÓRÐAR SAGA KAKALA (13TH-CENTURY ICELAND)

Assist. Dr. Costel Coroban
"Ovidius" University of Constanta &
The Romanian Association for Baltic and Nordic Studies

In this paper the aim 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 will focus on, Þórður Kakali Sighvatsson's saga (Þórðar saga kakala, translated as Saga of Þórðar the Stammerer/Cackler/Chatterer), was written during the half of the 13th century by an unknown author and includes details on the life of the protagonist from the period 1242 to 1250. One important difference between Þórður and other Icelandic chieftains of the family sagas is that while 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. By studying Þórður's actions we are offered a unique glimpse of the struggle between dissentism versus conformism to royal authority of a 13th-century Icelandic chieftain.

DISSENT AND CONFORMISM: INDIVIDUAL POSTURE AND SEARCH FOR UNIVERSAL CRITERIA - POSSIBILITIES OF CHOICE

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Kaunas Regional State Archives, Lithuania

The aim of the paper is to introduce my perspective with regard to the dilemma of dissent and conformism based on Lithuanian investigations and archival documents. Prevailing chronological frames – fifth decade of the twentieth century – second decade of the twenty first century. It means that prevailing materials concerning dissent and conformism are first of all directly related to the occupational Soviet regime though some examples are taken from the recent decades of Lithuanian history. The approach does not pretend to give a comprehensive analysis of „Lithuanian case", yet it seeks to answer the following questions:

1) is it possible to define universal criteria for studying dissent and conformism? Is it possible to draw a clear line between such converging meanings as resistance and dissent, dissent and conformism, conformism and obedience, conformism and surrender, conformism and betrayal, conformism and self-sacrifice? Do such dividing lines exist at all?

2) what kind of categories dissent and conformism are – legal or moral? In case their nature is legal – then first of all we should talk about (dis)obedience to certain legislative norms and qualify certain activities or stand in the light of the law. In case their nature is moral – then we have the case of individual or collective choice between human values.

Only when we agree on the conceptual frame of these questions/answers acceptable for all we will be ready for a comprehensive analysis of this problem.

Though in Lithuania, like in a number of other occupied countries, dissent and conformism are directly related both to individual freedom as well to nation and state independence aspirations, the nature of these phenomena lies in the person and its personal grasp of the values. Facing a certain reality each of us is making its personal choice between dissent and conformism based on our individual outlook and depending on our personal commitment to certain values. Such a choice should be treated like an inevitable existential exam by every human generation and by each of us.

THE EMERGENCE OF IBSEN ON THE STAGE OF THE NATIONAL THEATRE OF IAȘI: STATE DRAGOMIR (1870-1920)

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The aim of this paper is to discuss the contribution of State Dragomir (1870-1920) to the modernization of the Romanian theatre in light of his initiatives to promote Henrik Ibsen's plays on the stage of the National Theatre of Iași at the turn of the 20th century. In order to investigate the actor's multifaceted perspective on the theatre and the integration of Ibsen in his activity, this research employs a theatre historiographical approach framed by a Digital Humanities approach as demonstrated in the use of the IbsenStage Performance Database. In this respect, the archival material, memoirs, sparse press releases and statistics based on IbsenStage have revealed so far that State Dragomir showed an uninterrupted interest in Ibsen's plays already from 1895 onwards and at least until 1910. *An Enemy of the People*, *Ghosts*, *A Doll's House* and *Pillars of Society* were the plays he actively promoted both on and off the stage, during his acting and teaching careers, respectively. Moreover, these plays were also part of his endeavour to change the acting style at the National Theatre of Iași by introducing a new perspective based on a strong philosophical insight into the roles. His engagement with the development of the local acting tradition also promoted Iași as a city as influential as Bucharest in the realm of theatre. Finally, State Dragomir's efforts to modernize the local stage practice ensured the survival of Henrik Ibsen's dramatic work as a strong pillar of the modernization of the Romanian theatre.

NORDIC DOG WHISTLES

Dr. Luiza-Maria Filimon,
Independent Researcher

The Nordic states had an active radical right presence long before it become fashionable. The economic and refugee crises that swept the shores of the European Union (EU) left in their wake a reinvigorated right-wing contingent. While not all the Member States (MSs) were affected by this phenomenon across the board, not the same thing can be said about the regions of the EU. Where the regions are concerned, the issue becomes about ascertaining in what MSs are we more likely to find these parties and to what degree are they present in the political life. Moreover, when analyzing the resurgence of the Radical Right, it is important to distinguish between the extremist parties that seek to overthrow the democratic order and which are cast away to the outer edges of the political spectrum and their radical counterparts that want to disrupt the system from within so that they can reform it in accordance with their vision. The radical right parties are the ones which have not only registered various degrees of electoral success, but which have also made inroads into the political mainstream. Furthermore, these parties themselves need to be placed on a radical right sub-spectrum

operating within the wider center-right – far-right axis. The Nordic experience (including Norway even though it is not a EU MS) provides an example of this spectrum in action. The three defining characteristics that set these parties apart from the more traditional far-right ones are: 1) the repudiation of hardcore extremism; 2) the search for political viability; and 3) the acquisition of mainstream recognition. The present article argues that as these parties compete for legitimacy, they are forced to alter their discriminatory rhetoric by switching tonal registers. One of the political strategies that enables them to put the outright "overt" in the "covert" is the recourse to dog whistle politics. Dog whistles are a form of racialized coded messaging that are designed to sound unassuming to the general electorate, but that intrinsically signal something more specific to a particular subgroup. While mainstream parties are also known to employ dog whistles (see the case of the Republican Party in the United States), radical right parties appeal to this rhetoric in order to sway to their side voters who might otherwise not resonate with them. How well can they overcome the stigma associated with their more extreme reflexes depends on a case by case basis. The present articles examines whether the four most prominent examples of Nordic radicalism (the Danish People's Party, Finns Party, Sweden Democrats, and Norway's Progress Party) have integrated dog whistles in their political messaging and tracks how these coded appeals change from one country to another. In order to assess where the openly racist rhetoric ends and the dog whistles begins (or vice-versa respectively), the articles analyzes a series of statements issued by the representatives of these parties prior, during, and in the aftermath of the 2015-2016 refugee crisis.

SVIO-ESTONICA; MÄGISTE AND ARISTE: PARALLELS AND DIVERGENCES IN THE ESTONIAN ACADEMIC LIFE IN SOVIET-ESTONIA AND IN THE DIASPORA IN SWEDEN

Researcher Dr. Sándor Földvári,
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Hungarian Academy of Sciences

The journal "Svio-Estonica" was founded in Tartu, Estonia in 1934 and had been running until 1940 when it stopped with the beginning of war and the Soviet occupation. It was devoted to the study of Swedish-Estonian relations in the realm of history, minorities, language contacts and cultural influences. The keynote person was young scholar Julius Mägiste (1900-1978), who eventually moved to Sweden and organized the Estonian cultural and science life in Lund where he continued his research activity up to his passing away. Thus, since 1943 the journal ran until 1971 in Lund, and changed its profile slightly: the life and culture of Estonians in the emigration became a topic of the articles as well. The Swedish minority was deported from the Estonian islands to Sweden by the Soviet regime, thus the studies of historical and recent cultural contacts turned into studies of "sovietology", too. All these statements are to be demonstrated by the statistics of content of the journal. The author came over all the issues and a brief content-analysis is to be given in the paper. However, this

paper is to be focused on the life stories of a Dissident living abroad and his match who had decided to remain at home: Paul Ariste. Indeed, while Mägiste immigrated to Sweden, another very talented linguist, Ariste stayed in Soviet-Estonia and later became the chair of the Department of Finno-Ugristics. He spoke more than forty languages, and made researches on language contacts and cultural ties. His solid book entitled "Keelekontaktid" (Language contacts, in Estonian) made a great impact for the linguistics at that time. What was Ariste able to achieve in his country, disconnected from contacts with foreign colleagues; and what could Mägiste do in Sweden, living in the free western world but separated from the homeland? The paper gives a comparison of these two outstandingly gifted Estonian scholars.

THE EUROPEAN WHO CAME BACK: KURDISH REFUGEES IN FINLAND

Researcher Adél Furu,
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This article examines the extent to which cultural continuity is manifesting among 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, do they try to conform the Finnish values? I will examine whether, at least pertaining to some aspects of the Kurdish tradition, we can speak about the death of the tradition or it is premature to conclude it.

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 whether the members of the Kurdish community living in Finland have learned 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 conduct themselves. 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.

THE MEMORY OF A FORGOTTEN EXILE: EUGEN LOZOVAN AND THE INTELLECTUAL DISSENT

Researcher Dr. Mircea-Cristian Ghenghea,
"Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University of Iaşi

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

had remained practically unknown to the general public, in spite of the fact that a good part of them had 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 on the Romanian intellectual dissent.

COSMOGONY AND ESCHATOLOGY – AN ATTEMPT OF COMPARATIVE MYTHOLOGY

Dr. Alexandra Gruian,
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The world, in the Romanian mythology, is an immersion in the pre-cosmogonical space, followed by the integration into a paradisiacal dimension. From the "primogenial magma of Chaos", as Romulus Vulcănescu would say, the Cosmos, which will endure as an enclave, is built. Tales reflect that perception of the world. The boroughs or the villages are always surrounded by untraveled spaces, by the desert of primordial matter, by the forest that cannot be crossed or by bridges over waters. They delimit the built space from another world to which the heroes are attracted in order to conquer it; in fact, their actions can be explained by the desire to expand the Cosmos within the Chaos. The place of original creators, Fârtatul (God) and Nefârtatul (Devil), who are antagonistic, extra-cosmic beings, is taken by "civilizing heroes". Much like the cosmocrator brothers, tale characters start from a centre of the known world, an axis mundi, and gradually discover the secrets of the non-cosmic world they enter. While deciphering that space, they find explanations for their own universe. The accidental, the unforeseen, the mistakes and the fear are part of the scenario of that discovery. Therefore, one may say that "in the beginning there was the Chaos", synonymous with the singularity before the Big Bang that created the Universe. This point where everything originated, infinite in density and infinitesimal in volume, is sought after by the tale characters, who are trying to find an explanation of the world as it is, and of everything that exists in the world.

In Norse mythology, the world is a battlefield between the gods and the giants, with unequal power. Mankind is trapped in the middle, between the holiness, order, and goodness on the one hand, and profaneness, chaos, and wickedness on the other. This tension is endless because it's been an attribute of the world itself since its very beginning. The dispute will only be diminished by Ragnarok, when the world will vanish, and nothing will remain but the stillness and darkness of a new Ginnungagap.

BROKEN CALCULATIONS: THE FAILURE OF THE PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION METHOD IN `20S EUROPE

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"Ovidius" University of Constanta

After the World War I, many European parliaments or governments almost enthusiastically adopted new electoral systems, with PR method attached; Romania, Italy, Austria, Czechoslovakia, the Baltic States, Finland, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Poland, the Weimar Republic or Norway are such examples. It was a large-scale political phenomenon, an idealistic leftist juridical trend. In most cases, the effects of this apparently generous reform have not been calculated or intuited by the local political elites; the party systems blew up, new political and social crises emerged, the radical parties became influential voices and the government instability became a serious threat. In some of those countries the negative consequences of the political acute fragmentation were irreversible and without democratic solutions and the electoral systems were soon altered by unusual and unprecedented legal adjustments. The aim of my paper is to analyze, in a comparative approach, some of those strange post-war juridical scenarios and their results.

FROM INDEPENDENT TO INSTITUTIONAL STAGES. THE DIALECTICS OF A THEATRE MAKER'S CAREER

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In this paper I propose to investigate the dialectics of an exceptionally colourful authorial career. Kristian Smeds is one of the most appreciated contemporary theatre artists in Finland, whose past twenty-five years of theatre-making may be describe as alternating cycles of independent (or half-independent) experimentation and institutionalization. Smeds belongs to a generation of Finnish theatre artists who may be correlated with an old-new phenomenon: the reinterpretation of the notion of theatre auteur, a notion which has been associated with the strong 'director's theatre' for over a century in the European context. Canonized both as a playwright and a director, experimenting sometimes even with acting or on-stage presence, Smeds has been in a constant search for new forms, modes of expression and theatrical methods, for new authorial roles and combinations thereof from the very beginning of his career up to the present day.

The cycles of non-conformism and canonization, defiance of norms until becoming the norm have characterized his adventures in the world of Finnish and European theatre making. In the light of the performances bearing his authorial "signature", ranging from half-amateur independent site-specific performances in non-conventional venues to grandiose professional

productions on the main stage of the Helsinki National Theatre, his career may be viewed as an inventive performance of becoming, as a conceptual art process of authorial metamorphosis.
In my presentation I will focus on the dynamics of this adventurous dissenter's cycles of creation, in the hope of generating a constructive discussion at the upcoming conference.

STUDIES AND RESEARCH AND THE 'CULTURE OF SECRECY'. THE 'FIRST DEPARTMENT' OF PETERIS STUCKA STATE UNIVERSITY OF LATVIA

Dr. Kristīne Jarinovska,
Public Memory Center, Latvia

The 'culture of secrecy' starts from the assumption that a person has a right to know only as much as it is allowed by the government. Although General Assembly resolution no 59 (I) of 14 December 1946 acknowledged that 'freedom of information is a fundamental human right and is the touchstone of all the freedoms to which the United Nations is consecrated', yet even the German Federal Republic which has served as a model for transforming the legal systems in its way to democracy adopted federal law on freedom of information only in 2005. However, the Council of Europe has failed for almost ten years to gather ten ratifications on the Convention on Access to Official Documents on Human rights opened for signatures on 18 June 2009 in Tromsø. Thus, the 'culture of secrecy' has deep roots in Europe and the world at large.

Turning away from practices and norms whose source is the 'culture of secrecy' is a necessary condition for insuring human rights generally recognized by international documents such as the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, in particular 'the right of everyone to education' (Article 13) and the right of everyone 'to enjoy the benefits of scientific progress and its applications' (Article 15, para. 1 b). The most notorious example of the impact of the 'culture of secrecy' on studies and research is the U.S.S.R. The 'first departments' set in the higher educational institutions of the U.S.S.R. not only ensured secrecy within the educational institutions, but also served as a string with the Committee for State Security (the KGB). The 'culture of secrecy' created parallel realities and the necessity to choose and to struggle between those realities. The 'first department' of Peteris Stucka State University of Latvia is a bright example of a system which had been set up for ensuring secrecy and manipulation of knowledge on progress and its application and with regard to the impact of this system on those who were part of it. On 20 December 2018, Latvia has published part of documents uncovering persons collaborating with the KGB. The published documents analysed in conjunction with those of the 'first

department' illustrate the choices and price for being able to study or to be involved in research.

SCANDINAVIAN STATES AND THE MARTIAL LAW IN POLAND (1981-1983)

Prof. Dr. Paweł Jaworski,
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The introduction of the Martial law in Poland was a shock for a public opinion in West European countries. In the first weeks after December, 13 reports from Poland (and about Poland) were a priority topic in the Western media. The public was extremely interested. Sweden, Norway and Denmark were especially concerned with the development of the internal situation in Poland. Everyone wanted to know what was going on in Poland, the fate of the "Solidarity" people, which had been the main topic of the news for several months. When it turned out that there was no such dramatic repression as it had been presented in the initial press and television commentaries, the wave of interest dropped somehow. However, at the same time, the state elites no longer showed restraint in commenting the situation in Poland. The declaration of martial law was condemned completely. It concerned government, diplomacy, political parties and social organisations.

The dilemma faced by diplomats before 13th December had faded away: the silence on the Polish issue was a denial of the principles of human rights protection, while critique of the Polish authorities could be regarded as a disservice in the event of a severe reaction by the Kremlin. First, there were spontaneous protests in the form of more or less mass demonstrations. Later focus was shifted on informing about the steps taken by the Polish authorities, the everyday life in Poland under martial law and the fate of "Solidarity" movement activists. Swedish, Norwegian and Danish organisations and associations appealed to the Polish authorities to release the detainees and protest letters were sent in connection with Jaruzelski's brutal policy. The granting of political asylum to Polish refugees was an important decision of the Swedish government several weeks after the introduction of martial law. The most spectacular reaction to these events in Poland was the humanitarian aid.

A great disappointment for the authorities of the Polish People's Republic was especially the protracted attitude of the authorities in Sweden. The negative attitude towards the conduct of the Polish government, manifesting itself after the return to power of the Social Democrats led by Olof Palme in September 1982, endured only slightly longer than in other Western countries, but the main point was Sweden's prestige in the international arena. As a state without alliances, trying to keep distance from both the Eastern Bloc and the United States, criticising American imperialism and human rights violations in communist countries, Sweden would be a valuable ally in normalizing relations with the rest of the Western world. Meanwhile, it turned out to be a rough critic of General Jaruzelski's policy.

"ZUKUNFTSSTAAT: PRODUKTION UND KONSUM IM SOZIALSTAAT" OF KĀRLIS BALODIS - IS IT AN UTOPIA?

Researcher Inga Kapeniece,
University of Latvia

Utopias as ideal, not realized, but well-developed models of state are signs of maturity of culture. As a part of social ideas, utopias effect social reality and leave traces on it. In Latvian culture it is possible to find a description of ideal state which can be rightly called utopia. Its author is Latvian philosopher Kārlis Balodis. Balodis was also a scientist, economist, politician, and his ideal model of state is very well exemplified by specific economically rigorous calculations. The aim of my paper is to explain the place and role in the fields of history of social theories of *Future State* written by Balodis and assess its main influences. The main issue under discussion – is *Future State* of Kārlis Balodis a utopia? What are the main characteristics of it? As an ideal, not realized model of state - utopia - it displays influences from Plato "Republic", Johann G. Fichte "The Closed Commercial State", F. Bacon "New Atlantis", etc.

DISSIDENT FOR LEFTS AND RIGHTS: SOCIAL IDEAS AND POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF LATVIAN ECONOMIST KĀRLIS BALODIS IN 1920S AND 1930S

Dr. hist. Krišs Kapenieks,
Latvian War Museum

Economist Kārlis Balodis (Karl Ballod, Atlanticus) takes a specific place in the world of ideas and their promoting at the turn of 19th and 20th century, as also the first decades of 20th century. Born in Russian Empire, nowadays Latvia, being of Latvian origin, he studied economy in Germany, defended his doctoral theses in Jena and became a prominent associate professor and an official in German Empire. Promoting his social ideas, he published his work "The Future State: Production and Consumption in the Socialist State" anonymously in 1898. After the November revolution in Germany he took part in promoting the social reforms in the country, but despite his prominent position in Germany, he decided to return to his native land, Latvia, that had become an independent republic then, and take part in the build up of the country as a social state, implementing his ideas in this respect. Being a professor in new-established University of Latvia in Riga, he also took part in the political life of Latvia and was elected to the Parliament (Saeima) in 1928. Being a leader of a small own party, Labour's Union of Latvia, he was a leftist and socialist for representatives of right-wing parties and a rightist and reactionary for politicians of left-wing parties. His political program contained ideas on how the state should organize the economy, promoting social wealth in Latvia, and was based on his scientific and practical knowledge, advocating state-led and regulated economy. He criticized his opponents for not having enough theoretical basis in economy and finances, if not wanting just to fulfill their egoistic interests. Based on historical sources, the paper analyses

the political activities of Kārlis Balodis and tries to get answers on why Kārlis Balodis was misunderstood by both sides of political spectrum of Latvia.

FINNISH LANGUAGE TEACHING THROUGH IMPROVISATION - CONFORMING AND RESENTING THE EDUCATION VALUES WITHIN AN IMPROVISATIONAL FRAME

Lect. Anja Elisabeth Keränen,
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The Finnish education system is often praised as one of the best in the world (e.g. Kupiainen, Hautamäki, Karjalainen 2009). Within the Finnish education reform in the 1970s the PISA results of Finnish students have improved continually. The success has been attributed mainly to the excellent teachers and high-quality teacher education alongside with some social cultural and historical factors (Simola 2007).

In my Ph.D. project, I am researching the impact of using different improvisational exercises and techniques (e.g. Johnstone 1996; 1999) when teaching Finnish as a second language. My pedagogical aim is to improve Finnish students' communicational skills in different kind of improvised settings. My research focuses on teaching Finnish at the Babeș-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca using improvisation practices, drama methods and kinesics alongside with language teaching.

In my presentation I'm opening some values of Finnish education system, such as the equity, flexibility, creativity, teacher professionalism and trust (Sahlberg 2007). I'm comparing how these values are conformed and resented within an improvisational frame in a second language classroom. Within my presentation I'm presenting recorded examples from our drama course in UBB. I'm showing through these examples how students contemplate with delicate, shameful and radical moments or pauses within their improvisational interaction in classroom. My aim is to show how the values seen in Finnish education system collide with the creative values of improvisation, whereas an error and creative rebellion against education system are seen as merits (Peters 2009; Johnstone 1996; 1999).

FARMER IDYLL, UTOPIA AND CIVILISATION IN SCANDINAVIA LITERATURE: DISSENTS AND CONCORDS BETWEEN KNUT HAMSUN AND HALLDÓR LAXNESS

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The novel "Sjálfstætt fólk" (Independent People) by Halldór Kiljan Laxness was published in 1934 and is now considered as one of the best Icelandic novels. Actually this work was a response to Hamsun's novel "Markens grøde" (Growth of the Soil), where an ideal of

farmer patriarchal life was established. Both of these novels provided a remarkable portrait of a man who lived as an islander, isolated, cut off even from civilization by stubborn pride. Both of them are national architypes – Norwegian and Icelandic, Bjartur is Icelander, Isak is Norwegian but each of them is also Everyman, alone with his own humanity and with the power to act for good or ill. Hamsun gives an ideal model of life, his hero is a winner in the struggle with civilization, but Laxness gives the depiction of a crucial facet of the Icelandic national character in the shape of its hero, Bjartur, who is stark, precise, studied, even infuriating, but above all powerfully moving. His ideas and aspirations are very similar to Isak's aims, but they are just Utopia. He brings only sorrow and death to all he loves and who love him.

Hamsun and Laxness both criticized the capitalist civilization and went into the same question: what are the great values in this life, yet they found very different answers. Hamsun tried to search for his ideal in the farmer past, and Laxness was enthusiastic about communist dreams. It was an ideological opposition, but Laxness by denying Hamsun's ideology made it possible for forces on the left to step in a credible way over the threshold of democracy. Actually, Laxness as an author took a lot from Hamsun's writing manner and his novel under certain conditions could be considered as reflection of Hamsun's novel.

KNUT HAMSUN AND HIS ADMIRATION FOR GERMANY

Diana Lățug,
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The Romanian Association for Baltic and Nordic Studies

This article discusses a much debated theme related to Knut Hamsun's life and authorship: how he related to Germany and why? More precisely, this paper intends to bring together several points of view about his admiration for Germany, in order to shed some light on the enigmatic field of Knut Hamsun's Nazi sympathies. The Norwegian author had embarked on a successful literary path due to the warm reception of his initial works on German soil, so this is a fundamental reason for admiring Germany as a nation. Ideologically, he shared the pan-Germanist beliefs of the turn of the century, influenced by his mentor, Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson. Moreover, Hamsun's scepticism to Englishmen went hand in hand with his enthusiasm for Germany. Also, the cultural ties between the two nations have, most likely, contributed to this appreciative attitude. Last but not least, from a socio-political perspective, Hamsun perceived the Nazi regime as able to change a social order he was unsatisfied with. Throughout the article, these points of view are merged in an attempt to offer an objective and a comprehensive picture of this endless Hamsun debate.

NONCONFORMIST VIEWS IN HENRIK IBSEN'S "ROSMERSHOLM"

Lect. Dr. Crina Leon,
"Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University of Iasi &
The Romanian Association for Baltic and Nordic Studies

The second half of the 19th century in which Henrik Ibsen wrote, brought along the emancipation and modernization of the Norwegian society and a re-evaluation of the moral system of values from various points of view. The present paper aims at an analysis of the play "Rosmersholm" (1886) so as to identify the main characters' nonconformist views regarding Ibsen's contemporary Norway, in a period characterized by the conflict between the conservatory and liberal sides. The main male character gives up his clerical position and fights for an "individualistic dream of freedom", while the main female character has radical views, but is finally defeated by the old vision of life. However, Ibsen preferred only to raise questions, without giving straight answers to them, as he himself asserted: "I prefer to ask; my call is not to answer".

AWAKENING TO REALITY. POPE JOHN PAUL II'S VISIT TO POLAND (1979) AND THE FAILURE OF COMMUNIST ATHEISM

Assist. Dr. Gabriel Stelian Manea,
"Ovidius" University of Constanta

After 35 years of ruling in Poland, Communism had to accept a humiliating reality, that all its efforts to mould the soul of man and then to instrumentalize it according to the political needs of the moment were a total failure. Marxism, Leninism, Stalinism had not been able to create a religionless person living only temporally and in history, whose nostalgia for transcendent to be annihilated, and the supra-institutional structure of the Communist state had failed to isolate it from the church.

All this became apparent at the time of Pope John Paul II's visit to Poland in June 1979. More than the visits that followed, this pilgrimage, as it was called by the Pontiff Sovereign himself, being the first visit of a pope in the communist space and the first return of Karol Wojtyła to his native country, abounded in risks, fears, interpretations and, especially in spiritual, institutional and political implications for the future.

The present study therefore deals with the preparatory steps of the 1979 visit, its deployment, but, above all, addresses the consequences that would intimately mould Polish realities and not only in the next ten years. For the first time in the Soviet empire, which wanted to be both a territorial-political and a spiritual one, a regime inspired by Moscow had to wonder whether it still represents an alternative to Christianity and the Church.

APPROACHING CONFORMISM AND DISSENT IN LEONIDAS DONSKIS'S CREATION

Prof. Dr. Hab. Silviu Miloiu,
”Valahia” University of Târgoviște &
The Romanian Association for Baltic and Nordic Studies

One of the most prominent researchers of Totalitarianism and post-Totalitarianism and their derivates regarded from the perspective of philosophy, literary studies, history and political science, Leonidas Donskis approached conformism and dissent in several of his *magna opera* at different stages of his activity. This paper starts from the premises that Donskis's approaches were influenced neither solely nor mainly by the advancement of his conceptual proficiency in this area, but rather by the "terror of history", as Mircea Eliade would have put it, by the changes in the historical environment, especially in the last decade of his life. Therefore, this paper will investigate from a thematic, conceptual and diachronical perspective Donskis's analyses of conformism and dissent and will try to establish the crafting of ideas, stages and turning points in his meditations on these subjects.

DISSENTING NARRATIVES OF IDENTITY IN SAMI, MEÄNKIELI AND KVEN LITERATURES

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Enikő Molnár Bodrogi
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In this study I analyse the interconnections between language and identity in the literatures written in minority languages in Fennoscandia (Meänkieli, Sami and Kven). I concentrate on authors who (also) write in their native languages, 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 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. The post-colonial criticism is a challenging and exciting starting point in analysing authority and subjection.

In the minority literatures I am going to deal with, past, reconstructed on the horizon of the present, is visualized 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 lecture 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 borders has?

As the theoretical basis of the lecture is concerned, I analyse the topic from the perspective of post-colonial studies, microhistorical research and the psychological study of identity and stigma.

RADIO FREE EUROPE / RADIO LIBERTY AND THE ROMANIAN EXILE

Prof. Dr. Hab. Sergiu Musteață,
"Ion Creangă" Pedagogical University of Chișinău &
"Valahia" University of Târgoviște

This paper approaches the Romanian exile from the perspective of its contribution to the content of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty broadcasts with a special emphasis on the role of several important figures of Romanian dissidence. It seeks to figure out how the Romanian exiled dissidence expressed their grievances in the content of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty and who were the main figures active in this respect, with special attention being paid to the Moldavian dissident Nicolae Lupan.

WHO'S TO BLAME? SEARCHING THE CULPRIT FOR THE EMIGRATION OF THE MUSLIMS FROM ROMANIA TO TURKEY (1923-1940)

Dr. Metin Omer,
"Ovidius" University of Constanta

In the interwar period, about 115,000 Turks and Tatars emigrated from Romania to Turkey. Until 1936 when a Convention on emigration was signed between the two states, the phenomenon was a reason for disagreement in the Romanian-Turkish bilateral relations. The main reason was to identify the cause of emigration. Romanian officials have tried to show that the policies of the Republic of Turkey to attract the Turks from the Balkans are the main reason why Turks and Tartars of Dobruja choose to go to Anatolia, while the leaders of Ankara accused Bucharest of continuous abuses to which the Muslim population was subjected to which left them with no choice but to emigrate.

Actually, the reasons were complex. The two countries' politicians which accused one another had their own reasons to exculpate themselves. In the case of Romania, it was an image problem. In South Dobruja, Romania was facing accuses from the Bulgarian population which was complaining about not respecting their rights. To argue for their complaints, Bulgarians were using the emigration of Muslims, in their perspective the Romanian nationalist policies being the cause of this phenomenon. Therefore, officials from Bucharest, in their defence, tried to show that the emigration of Muslims had nothing to do with the Romanian state but was a

consequence of policies guided by Ankara. On the other hand, Turkish officials, facing the obvious emigration tried to reach an agreement with Bucharest as favourable as possible.

In our presentation, we will try to see to what extent the accuses of both sides were real, what were the effects on bilateral relations, what was the consensus the Romanian and Turkish officials finally reached and find out the reasons that actually determined the emigration of Turks and Tatars from Romania to Turkey. For this purpose, we will use unpublished documents from Romanian and Turkish archives, the press from the two countries and of the Tatar and Turkish community from Romania.

CONFORMISM AND DISSENT IN POST-NUCLEAR SWEDEN: AN ANALYSIS OF AFTER THE FLOOD BY P. C. JERSILD

Dariana Plăeșu,
University of Bucharest

Literature has always reflected historical events and the authors' reactions to how political decisions can influence people and their daily lives.

In 1979, in the context of the Soviet-Afghan War, NATO decided to deploy middle-range nuclear weapons in Europe, which led to protests in Sweden. As a member of the 'Swedish Physicians against Nuclear Arms' Union, Per Christian Jersild (b. 1935) became familiar with the subject of possible nuclear wars and wrote *After the Flood*, a dystopian novel set in the aftermath of a Sweden affected by nuclear war, where resources are scarce and people even scarcer.

Reflecting on how Jersild built his world, this paper aims to analyse the dissent-conformism dichotomy in regard to the social order proposed, through the characters of Edvin, the protagonist, and Petsamo. The two are both survivors of the nuclear war and find themselves on the same island, but they have different social statuses and react differently to the established social order. Edvin is an outcast, abandoned on the island by his former crew, extremely obedient and complacent, showing no resistance in the face of other people and ideologies. He is saved on several occasions by Petsamo, a curious character who appears to receive special treatment on the island among the other survivors, but who is stark on his own principles and bows to no one. These two characters react differently to the regime that the men from the Prison-Tower live under: while Edvin agrees to it, Petsamo succeeds in eventually overthrowing it.

DISSENT, CONFORMITY OR NORMALITY? THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY FROM DOBRUDJA IN THE COMMUNIST PERIOD

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Emanuel Plopeanu,
"Ovidius" University of Constanța

The Muslim Community defines, of course, the Turks and Tatars from Dobrudja, two historical communities. The traces of its activity during the totalitarian regime can be found in the archives of the Romanian Securitate, the omnipotent institution of political repression, since 1948 until the fall of Communism.

Both communities were investigated by Securitate and members of them endured years of prison. Motives: Tatars were accused for their support of their brothers from Crimea, in the context of Stalin's deportations. Turks were accused of espionage in favour of Republic of Turkey, an enemy state. Until the middle of the '60's, the teaching of Turkish and Tatars languages was allowed in primary schools and religious ones. However, after their disappearance from the educational curricula, both communities had refrained to enter into a hostile relation with the State. Their religious authority continued to exist and Turks and Tatars lived the same live as that of others Dobrudjan communities, including the Romanian majority, as this paper seeks to demonstrate. When, in the '80's, the Turkish community from Bulgaria suffered public assimilation policies, nothing of this kind happened with Turks and Tatars from Romania, especially from Dobrudja.

This paper seeks to identity the main traits of the history of Muslim Community and how it understood and reacted to the main changes that had an effect on their situation and status.

CONTRASTIVE PERSPECTIVES IN JAN ERIK VOLD'S AND ROLF JACOBSEN'S NORWEGIAN URBAN POETRY

Lect. Dr. Raluca-Daniela Răduț,
"Babeș-Bolyai" University, Cluj-Napoca

The aim of this paper is to examine, from a cultural and social perspective, two different approaches of the Norwegian urban landscapes, in Jan Erik Vold's (b. 1939) and Rolf Jacobsen's (1907-1994) poems. Our close-reading technique reveals two main directions. Firstly, the one represented by Jan Erik Vold's different considerations on the reconstruction of Norwegian cultural identity as it is reflected in the expansive urban poems from *Mor Godhjertas glade versjon. Ja* (*Mother Goodhearted's Happy Version. Yes, 1968*), followed by the poet's past and present wanderings in the city of Oslo in *En som het Abel Ek* (*One Named Abel Ek*, 1988), and concluding with his bitter social criticism in *Elg* (*Moose*, 1989) and *IKKE. Skillingstrykk fra nittitallet* (*Not: Broadsides from the Nineties*, 1993). Secondly, the contrastive poetic view of Rolf Jacobsens's poems built upon opposing elements, nature and technology, reflected in his volumes *Jord og jern* (*Earth and Iron*, 1933) and *Hemmelig liv* (*Secret Life*, 1954).

Regarding Jan Erik Vold's urban poems, it is worth noting the transition from nyenkle (new simple), friendly and descriptive poems which present closely the city of Oslo on foot, to short, political and social critical poems from the '90s. Thus, it is of great importance to traverse various urban landscapes in different periods of time, beginning with the 1930s, followed by the 1960s and the mid-1990s.

IN THE SHADOWS OF VERSAILLES: BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS THE BALTIC AREA DURING THE INTER-WAR PERIOD

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Even though there are certain comparisons to the minor role that the states from the Eastern and South-Eastern Europe played in the British politics – in the hierarchy of the strategic interests and of the diplomacy in the inter-war period –, the Scandinavian and the Baltic areas had a second role, but not meaningless, because it implied some particularities not at all to be ignored in the future evolution of the power balance in the region. Furthermore, as a great naval power, Great Britain had a certain influence and prestige in Northern Europe, a unique rank at the end of the First World War. We can thus appreciate that from this position Great Britain was the main architect of the political construction during the inter-war period in the North-Eastern Europe, and the British naval presence seemed to reaffirm Britain's statute as a leader in the Baltic area during the key-moments in the history of the Baltic states and Finland's fight for independence, but also the role played in establishing the frontiers between the Baltic states and Poland in 1919-1923.

Given the context, Great Britain, as a power with legitimate interests concerning peace and stability, wanted to create and preserve a power balance in the Baltic area, but also to avoid some political and military enjambments in the region, that they might not apply in the future. From this point of view, options were obvious. Great Britain tried to determine the deletion, as much as possible, of the conflict sources at the end of the war; furthermore, it also wanted to prevent one or more powers from imposing the hegemony over the region, by upholding the little and middle countries from the Baltic and Scandinavian areas to maintain peace and to face whether alone, whether together, the power tendencies of the influential states.

We must underline that in the inter-war period there was a certain dose of skepticism in Great Britain concerning the viability of the Baltic countries. This feeling was loaded not only by the difficulties of their union in a collective construction of security, but also from the German and Russian's constant essays of imposing their domination in the region. From this point of view, we can notice a certain difference of British attitude only in Finland's case, a state which had little importance in London's eyes, but whose military and strategic potentials were recognized in case of an eventual British-Soviet conflict.

Later on, at the end of the '30s, the Finnish politicians at least, still perceived the British attitude as a key decision for any security enjambment in Northern Europe, even though the idea of collective security was almost completely discredited and compromised during the period.

Britain's attitude was totally changed once with the Soviet-German pact on the 23rd of August 1939 and with the break out of the war in Europe. The viability of the little states seemed thus compromised forever in the new context; but Great Britain, which supported their independence and their sovereign rights until the end during the tripartite negotiations in spring and summer of 1939, was now on the point of sacrificing them in order to avoid the Soviets' hostility or to transform Moscow in an enemy.

NATIONALISM AND LIBERALISM IN ANTI-SOVIET DISSIDENT MOVEMENT AND IN CONTEMPORARY LITHUANIA

Lect. Dr. Andrius Švarplys,
Kaunas College &
"Vytautas Magnus" University of Kaunas

The tradition of dissent and non-conformism has had a long historical tradition in Central and Eastern Europe, especially since Helsinki agreement has been signed in 1975. In a fight against the totalitarian rule, as Soviet Union was, dissidentism has shaped a common aspiration – freedom (religious freedom, individual freedom, national sovereignty). The goal of all-embracing freedom was the universal background which combined all dissidents and non-conformists of all spectrum of moral and political outlook. We may call them nationalists/Christians and liberals (with few of the later and majority of the former in then-time Lithuania). „The union of the Christians and all others whose striving for liberty is the most important thing; probably the single one which is able to change fundamentally and positively the fate of Eastern Europe", wrote in 1979 Tomas Venclova, a well-known Lithuanian anti-Soviet dissident.

Today, after almost 30 years of independent post-soviet and post-communist states' development, we may witness a split between liberals and nationalists on the main political tasks of the state, including European politics, social politics, or national politics (national identity, language, immigration, ethnic minorities). Once in dissidentism movement in Soviet times nationalism and liberalism walked together for freedom against the big common enemy. Now we may see a rising disagreement between them in contemporary Lithuania. Some mates from the anti-Soviet dissident movement are still alive and active in Lithuanian public life, however they differ fundamentally on almost all political issues. There is increasingly heard the voices of disappointment on the course of the state - „not for such a Lithuania had we fought for".

This paper asks what happened and how to understand this shift from unity towards a split. What is the political basis for division between nationalism and liberalism today? Does

this situation somehow reflect the wider political tendencies in Europe and America: the rising nationalism/far right and cultural wars?

GEORGIA LOOKS TO THE WEST: A DISSENT ACTOR IN THE BLAK SEA AREA

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Dr. Bogdan Alexandru Teodor,
Mihai Viteazu (Michael the Brave) National Intelligence Academy

Georgia looks West, yet the new course is a major challenge for the post-Soviet dissent country and for all Black Sea Area nations. In an unstable security environment, for the last two decades Georgia has been working harder than any other country in the post-Soviet space, with the exception of the Baltic States, to develop stable political institutions, a functioning and durable democracy, and sustainable security. The more stable and successful Georgia becomes, the more it will encourage neighboring countries to pursue meaningful democratic reforms.

In this respect, in December 2018, according to the NATO Secretary General, Jens Stoltenberg, Georgia was a "prime example of democratic development." (See more on https://www.uawire.org/stoltenberg-nato-to-expand-cooperation-with-georgia). At the end of May 2018, Georgian Prime Minister Giorgi Kvirikashvili expressed the hope that the country would join NATO in 2021. At the same time, Andrey Kelin, Director of the Department of European Cooperation of the Russian Foreign Ministry, stated that Georgia's decision to become a member of the North Atlantic Alliance is viewed by Moscow as a problem. (https://www.uawire.org/russia-prepares-for-huge-military-expenses-due-to-georgia-s-alleged-accession-to-the-nato). The step-by-step inclusion and close political association of Georgia to the EU and the broader trans-Atlantic community may act as a deterrent to future conflicts, and could stimulate democratic consolidation in Georgia. However, Georgia's Euro-Atlantic aspirations do not exclude the engagement in a constructive dialogue with Russia without sacrificing its national interests.

This article focuses on the evolution of Georgia's pro-Western course and discusses challenges in Black Sea Area stemming from the ongoing Georgian dissent declaration and democratization processes.

NICOLAE IORGA AND KING CAROL II: BACK AND FORTH BETWEEN DISSENT AND CONFORMISM

Assist. Dr. Georgiana Țăranu,
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Nicolae Iorga's episodes of changing his views on different matters, along his lifelong public service, were many times credited by his contemporaries, as well as by his biographers

and the historical literature as a sign of inconstancy. This paper argues that the paradigm of the two interrelated patterns of behaviour 'dissent versus conformism' offers a more appropriate reading of Iorga's changes of mind on some critical issues of his biography. Such is the case of his curious relationship with King Carol II. Starting from a conformist standpoint in 1930-1932, by accepting to become Carol II's first prime minister encharged of a 'beyond party government', Iorga grew into a dissident in the mid-1930s, while conforming and dissenting several times later on, turning back and forth between the two extremes until the very end of the royal dictatorship. Iorga acted at times as an extremely loyal partner of the King, even when his own principles seemed obviously at odds with the situation at hand, while being capable shortly afterwards to dissent, change his previous views and even go against his self-interest and isolate himself within the establishment just to advance his (latest) argument. Between 1938 and 1940 Iorga went to great lengths first to legitimize the royal dictatorship instituted in February 1938, even if this would have clearly allowed only marginal space for political participation (including his own), and second to express his open resistance to the new regime's censure and its demands (for instance, the wearing of required uniform). However, the literature tends to emphasize Iorga's resistance to Carol II's coercive practices and personality cult, from a teleological point of view, especially since the King's legacy is mostly negative. This paper explores Iorga's flowing from consent to dissent and tries to provide new perspectives on the contexts in which his attitudes changed so dramatically.

DISSENT AND CONFORMISM IN A DEMOCRACY

Prof. Dr. Vesa Vares,
University of Turku

The paper deals with dissent and conformism in a society in which dissent usually is tolerated and conformism considered dangerous to individual freedom. The object is Finland in the 1970s, when the support for friendship policy with the Soviet Union and the popularity of President Kekkonen reached almost totalitarian figures – 90 % or more. The period is often considered a success because Finland managed to maintain its democratic system and got international recognition for its official policy of neutrality. But it is also often referred to as ”Finlandization” – limited democracy and a ”lithurgic” consensus.

The focus is especially on the policy of the right-wing National Coalition Party – the Finnish Conservatives. As a right-wing party it had always identified itself with Western democracy and been very suspicious towards Communism, the Soviet Union and President Kekkonen. As a rule, such parties in Western and Northern Europe turned more to the right in the 1970s and 1980s, some championing the cause of Thatcherism, Reaganism and ”hawkish” foreign policy in general.

However, in the 1970s even this party took the turn to pro-Kekkonen and pro-”friendship” lines as a new generation rose to its ranks and considered that this was the only way to break the party's permanent isolation in domestic policy and to be accepted in the government. Therefore, even in this party foreign policy dissent or any critique against

President Kekkonen was not tolerated any more, and some members had to leave the party. This search for acceptance led the party to political solutions which sometimes caused astonishment in other Conservative parties in Europe. Interestingly enough, even contacts to Romania or criticism against Idi Amin of Uganda were now considered suspicious.

The paper thus deals with adaptation and unexpected conformism and dissent.

THE MAGIC AS TOOL TO FIGHT AGAINST THE DIVINE AND SECULAR AUTHORITY IN MEDIEVAL SCANDINAVIA AND ICELAND

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Carmen Vioreanu,
University of Bucharest

Our overall view of Old Norse magic rituals is primarily based on the medieval Icelandic Literature and the archaeological findings, but also on valuable works such as Saxo Grammaticus' *Gesta Danorum*, the Medieval Scandinavian and Icelandic Laws and Olaus Magnus' History of the Nordic People. The Norsemen strongly believed in an overarching ruling destiny. “Nor may any man escape that which is destined for him” tells Ásdís to her sons Illugi and Grettir (*Grettis Saga*, Chapter 69). However, the Norsemen did fight against the divine authority, often with the help of magic. The superstitions and practice of magic were an important part of everyday life, despite the laws which forbade any form of heathen manifestation. The various battles between or within families or clans, as well as the rebellion toward different leaders, are plentifully depicted in Icelandic medieval literature and *Gesta Danorum*. Using magic rituals in this purpose wasn't an isolated occurrence. The aim of my presentation is to map different cases of using seiðr against the divine or the secular authority in order to establish whether the magic practitioners can be regarded as dissents of their time.

MIHAIL PÂCLIANU – A ROMANIAN DIPLOMAT IN THE NORDIC COUNTRIES (1919-1928)

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Adrian Vițalaru,
"Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University of Iași

The presentation focuses on the activity of the longest-serving Romanian chief of mission in the Nordic countries. Mihail Pâclianu was head of Romania's legation in the Swedish capital in 1919 and 1928, but in 1922-1928 he was the only Romanian chief of mission in this part of Europe. In fact, the diplomatic mission in Stockholm was the last in his diplomatic career, as Pâclianu died shortly after, in the summer of 1928. Starting from these indications, our presentation will focus on the way in which Pâclianu mediated relations between Romania and the Nordic countries, looking to find answers to several questions: What were his connections to Romanian leaders and to what extent were his suggestions

welcomed in Bucharest? Can we add notable diplomatic initiatives to his portfolio? Did he identify real collaborative opportunities between the Romanian state and the Nordic states?

Another path taken by our approach is studying the way in which the Romanian diplomat analysed the political life in the Nordic countries and the neighboring states, bearing in mind that the diplomatic mission in Stockholm was 'an observation point' for what was happening in Soviet Russia, as well as the Baltic states. Did Mihail Pâclianu write accounts of the political life from the Nordic countries and the clashes between the Great Powers' interests in the area or did he prefer to hide behind 'quotes', rather using 'the words of others' in his diplomatic reports?

A CRISIS OF IDENTITY? THE PROBLEM OF BALTIC GERMAN LOYALTY DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR

Mg hist. Klavs Zarins,
Institute of Latvian History

In 1914, the Baltic Germans found themselves in a difficult position. Russia, to which most of the Baltic Germans were always loyal to, was at war with Germany. Although most Baltic Germans remained loyal to Russia, the country was gradually taken over by anti-German hysteria. State policies against the “inner-German” were put in place. This was a personal tragedy for the Baltic Germans, who had been loyal to the Tsar and Russia, many of whom lost their loyalty and changed their attitude towards Russia.

When the German troops gradually occupied parts of Latvia and subsequently Estonia in the following years, a large part of the Baltic German population saw this as liberation, vowing their loyalty to Heimat and Kaiser. However, the political views among the Baltic Germans were not undivided. One can even talk of a crisis of identity and a split in the Baltic German community – those, who remained loyal to Russia expressed resentment and dissent towards those, who pledged their loyalties to Germany, and vice-versa.

In the paper, based on archival and published sources, I will discuss the dissenting views among the Baltic Germans, focusing on the problem and correlation between identity and loyalty. I’ll show how these views evolved during the war, ultimately portraying the personal tragedy of a whole minority group, and how their political attitudes and loyalties were shaped by these events. This played an important role when the question of statehood in the region arose in 1918 – 1919.