

3rd International Conference



**Constructing  
the Other through  
the prism of war:  
Contested images  
in Eastern Europe  
(1930s to 1950s)**

**Book of Abstracts**

May 7-9, 2014  
Estonian Literary Museum  
Tartu, Estonia

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3<sup>rd</sup> International Conference “Constructing the Other through the prism of war: Contested images in Eastern Europe (1930s to 1950s)”

May 7–9, 2014

Estonian Literary Museum, Tartu, Estonia

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Welcome to the 3<sup>rd</sup> conference

**Constructing the Other through the  
prism of war: Contested images in  
Eastern Europe (1930s to 1950s)**

Dear participants,

On the behalf of the Estonian Literary Museum and all the partner institutions that have made this conference possible, I warmly welcome you to Tartu. This is a moment we have been preparing for since last summer, and I know it was worth the wait.

We are very glad that so many of you have decided to take this trip to Estonia to take part in the third conference in the series that deals with visual encounters with the Other. The conference series initiated by Professor Dagnosław Demski has grown in size and scope, and I am sure it will continue to grow – especially so because we have, over the years, formed such a great community of researches who are not only colleagues but also good friends.

This conference is very special to us not only because we now have the chance to host many distinguished scholars studying visual representations in history in Estonia. We have also taken the opportunity to fill you in on the rich Estonian culture. Keeping this in mind, we have planned a rich social agenda, including opportunities for informal discussions over the dinner table and also a concert at the opening reception, a tour with the river boat on the river Emajõgi, and a post-conference trip to Saaremaa, which will offer you further insight on the Estonian history and culture. I hope the encounters with the Estonian culture, from folklore to food to nature, will catch your interest and you will come back for more.

With regards to the conference programme, our aim was, as always, to cover as much of the research on visual encounters with the Other done in Eastern and Central Europe as possible, in order to give a

comparative account of the strategies and ways the Other has been depicted. We have a special exhibition set up for the occasion, “On the visual frontline”, compiled by one of the participants at the conference, Margus Lääne, from the Estonian National Archive.

We hope that your stay in Tartu will be a success, in both academic and social sense, and that you will take away many fresh ideas and colourful memories.

Tere tulemast!

#### **Conference convenors**

Liisi Laineste

Dagnosław Demski

Kamila Baraniecka-Olszewska

## Programme for the conference

### WEDNESDAY, MAY 7

9:00 Registration

9:30 **Opening words and keynote lecture:**

Dagnosław Demski

“The Other as an iconoclastic figure”

10:30 – 11:00 Coffee break

11:00 – 12:30 **Session 1: Visualisations of the East I.** Chaired by Dagnosław Demski

Tuija Saarinen

“Meeting the other. Finnish soldiers war memoirs visualising Soviet soldiers”

Dominika Czarnecka

“The contested image of the Red Army soldier in Polish monumental art (1940s–1950s)”

Magdalena Żakowska

“Males’ war, females’ war: The image of Russians and the Soviet Union in Nazi Propaganda from 1941–1945”

12:30 – 14:30 Lunch break

14:30 – 16:00 **Session 2: Baltic viewpoint.** Chaired by Stanisława Trebunia-Staszal

Ilze Boldāne

“The Others in the perception of Latvians during the Second World War”

Margus Lääne

“Archive as a source for caricatures and other humorous images”

Liisi Laineste

“Images from two sides of the front: Estonian caricatures from WWII”

16:00 – 16:30 Coffee break

16:30 – 18:00 **Session 3: Images of the enemy.** Chaired by Dominika Czarnecka

Ágnes Tamás

“The faces of enemy in the World Wars: A comparison of German and Hungarian caricatures”

Zuzana Panczová

“Images of the Traitor and the Enemy in humour and political caricatures in the war-time Slovakia: Analysis of the magazine *Kocúr*”

19:00 Opening ceremony

### **THURSDAY, MAY 8**

9:30 **Keynote lecture:**

Christie Davies

“Cartoons, caricatures and conflicts: The British tradition and its East European rivals”

10:30 – 11:00 Coffee break

11:00 – 12:30 **Session 4: Ideology and war.** Chaired by Liisi Laineste

Alexander Kozintsev

“War propaganda and humour”

Anna Rosner (online presentation)

“German Jewish immigrants to Great Britain 1933–1939. Was the cultural otherness noticeable and perplexing?”

12:30 – 14:30 Lunch break

14:30 – 16:00 **Session 5: Construcing the Other as a stranger / not stranger.** Chaired by Alexander Kozintsev

Anssi Halmesvirta

“The Image of the Ruskie (*ryssä*) during the Winter War (1939–1940)”

Kamila Baraniecka-Olszewska

“Constructing the new enemy: Post-war order and the beginning of the Cold War in the official press of communist Poland (1947–1953)”

Ewa Baniowska-Kopacz

“Silesia. Stranger – not stranger”

16:00 – 16:30 Coffee break

16:30 – 18:00 **Session 6: Contested photography.** Chaired by Kamila Baraniecka-Olszewska

Olli Kleemola

“Soviet prisoners of war in Finnish and German propaganda photography 1941–1944”

Stanisława Trebunia-Staszel

“Portraits of conquered Others. Visual representations of Polish Highlanders in the light of the Nazi photographic documents”

Anelia Kassabova (online presentation)

“Photography – modernity – the disciplined body. Changes and continuities in visualising the “Others””

19:30 Trip on the river boat Jömmu

(alternatively, a star-gazing trip at 22:30 on the same river boat with a lecture by an astronomer)

## **FRIDAY, MAY 9**

9:30 **Keynote lecture:**

Eda Kalmre

“The meaning of photos in the context of post-war rumours in Tartu”

10:30 – 11:00 Coffee break

11:00-12:30 **Session 7: Visualisations of the East II.** Chaired by Anssi Halmesvirta

Liudmila Limanskaya

“Psychoanalytical aspects of grotesque and caricature in Russian soc-art”

Ewa Manikowska

“Survey photography, *Ostforschung* and the visualisation of the multi-ethnic lands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at the time of WWI and WWII”

12:30 – 14:30 Lunch break

14:30 – 16:00 **Session 8: Women: New image.** Chaired by Ewa Manikowska

Magdalena Sztandara

““Woman from the newspapers.” The new face of ideologies and old habits”

Oleg Riabov

“American femininity in Soviet films during the early Cold War (1946–1955)”

Marta Frączkiewicz

“The image of Polish women between the years 1939 and 1953”

16:00 – 16:30 Coffee break

16:30 – 18:00 **Session 9: Pointing the West.** Chaired by Oleg Riabov

Tomasz Kalniuk

“Symbolic migrations to super-West in Polish Pomeranian press from 1930s and 1940s”

Maria Godyń

““Pictures at an exhibition.” About traveling from the chair”

Eero Medijainen

“Allies on the Estonian cartoons, 1941–44”

19:00 Closing reception in a restaurant



## **Social programme**

### **WEDNESDAY, MAY 7**

The opening reception will take place in the lecture hall of the Estonian Literary Museum (Vanemuise 42, Tartu 51003) on the 7th of May at 19:00

Opening words by the head of the Estonian Literary Museum, Janika Kronberg, and the Ambassador of Poland in Estonia, HE Grzegorz M. Poznański

Champagne , buffet and musical entertainment by *Ülemakstud rentslihärrad*  
**Free for all registered participants**

### **THURSDAY, MAY 8**

19:30 Trip on the river boat Jõmmu

**Free for registered participants, details will be confirmed later**

### **FRIDAY, MAY 9**

Closing reception

19:00 – 22:00

Kotka Kelder (Pepleri 14; the same place where we have lunch)

**Free for registered participants**



**Wednesday, May 7**

**Keynote lecture:**

**9:30**

Dagnoław Demski

Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw

### **The Other as an iconoclastic figure**

In the past, image performed various functions, both social and narrative: apart from typical commemoration of an event, image was an element of playing out a collective identity; created a means of expression, emphasised the symbolic position of the portrayed person, or presented a specific landscape. A separate issue was the representation of otherness. Objects of interest were the representatives of various nationalities, neighbors, distant others, savages. The degree of their “otherness” was decided not only by their affiliation to a different ethnos, culture or religion. “Otherness” was also indicated by the manner of looking at the object and the ways of its rendering, which were characteristic for a given epoch and place.

In the photographs, we may trace the remains of past, authentic incidents and experiences of bygone reality. The 1930s, 1940s and 1950s signify a breaking point in the history of Eastern Europe, and thus, both new motifs and objects of presentation as well as new manners of presenting them appear. Drawing from discussions of W. J. T. Mitchell, Dario Gamboni, and Elizabeth Edwards, I analyse the visual representations of Others during that period of time (in the press, photography, and prints). The most visible process is the polarisation of images of Others as seen in several ways (in several dimensions): a) new objects (territories previously unknown), b) new functions of the image, apart from commemoration, just war, or depreciating the enemy, c) diversified behaviors and their visual representation understood as iconoclastic gestures, generally presenting the Other as blinded by images.

**Wednesday, May 7**

**Session 1: Visualisations of the East I**

**11:00**

Tuija Saarinen

University of Eastern Finland, Karelian institute

**Meeting the other. Finnish soldiers war memoirs visualising Soviet soldiers**

This paper analyses written narratives and photographs published in two Finnish popular magazines: *Hymy* ('Smile') and a magazine *Kansa taisteli* ('Nation fought' – Men telling: describing the events of war). Both magazines were very popular during the Cold War decades in Finland. *Kansa taisteli* concentrated on presenting its readers stories and was issued from 1958 to 1986. *Hymy* started in 1959 and is still issuing. *Hymy* published also other kind of texts and was characterised as a popular magazine.

In this presentation I analyse how the writers and photographers described the enemy they had met in the heat of the game; usually the Soviet part of the meeting was taken as a prisoner of war. Both, the narration and photographs, described the other by using symbolic expressions. Many of them were crystallised in Finnish culture and functioned as metaphoric expressions of the Soviets during and after the Second World War. Another aim of my presentation is to describe how the political context of Cold War affected the publishing policy of the magazines and how it set up frames of what could not be crossed. The presentation also investigates the non-communication in Finnish magazines; what were the themes the recent history research has presented but what were not narrated in *Hymy* and *Kansa taisteli*?

**Wednesday, May 7**

**Session 1: Visualisations of the East I**

**11:30**

Dominika Czarnecka

Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń

**The contested image of the Red Army soldier in Polish monumental art (1940s–1950s)**

In this paper I examine how the image of the Red Army soldier was represented in the second half of the 1940s and 1950s in Polish monumental art, using the methods of visual anthropology, especially these introduced by Rudolf Wittkower. I try to show that not only was the Red Army soldier a liberator, a warrior full of glory and self-sacrifice; he was also the Other. First, I will give an overview of how the Red Army soldiers were depicted in Polish history from 1918 (the official date of establishing the Red Army) till the end of World War II, including their representation in monumental art, and then I move on to analysing the image of the Soviet soldier (the Other) in monumental art after the Second World War. I also try to take into consideration the general post-war atmosphere in Poland in the context of liberation by Soviets and the communist power. Additionally, I recount some aspects connected with spatial solutions regarding monuments that directly deepened the sense of Otherness.

**Wednesday, May 7**

**Session 1: Visualisations of the East I**

**12:00**

Magdalena Żakowska

University of Łódź

**Males' war, females' war: The image of Russians and the Soviet Union in Nazi propaganda from 1941-1945**

The aim of my paper is to analyse the variety of images of Russians and the Soviet Union used by Nazi propagandists from the outbreak of the war with USSR to the end of the Second World War. Particularly, discourses containing dehumanising, racial, obscene, anti-Semitic motifs on the one hand, and the semi-compassionate motifs on the other will be analysed.

I will take under consideration the cartoons, mostly caricatures, from the following German journals: (1) *Simplicissimus* and *Kladderadatsch* – before 1933, these were among the most popular, liberally oriented, politic-satirical German weekly magazines, (2) *Der Stürmer* – the weekly tabloid-format newspaper (published by Julius Streicher, the prominent NSDAP official), which became a central element of the Nazi propaganda machine, (3) *NS-Frauen-Warte* – biweekly illustrated German magazine, having the status of the only party approved magazine for women, and being a unique journal for women published in the Third Reich, which contained some information on foreign affairs.

Firstly, two comparative content and discourse analyses will be provided: (1) pinpointing the differences between the messages/discourses directed to the German general public on the one hand, and explicitly to the German women on the other; (2) focusing on the differences between the content of the “traditional” German politic-satirical magazines and of *Der Stürmer*. Secondly, I will try to explain how the fact of the existence of (mostly gender-determi-

ned) different types of recipients of Nazi propaganda did influence the various ways of presenting the anti-Soviet images in apparently homogenous Third Reich society.

**Wednesday, May 7**

**Session 2: Baltic viewpoint**

**14:30**

Ilze Boldāne

University of Latvia

## **The Others in the perception of Latvians during the Second World War 1930–1950**

Years is the frequent change of political powers and different ideologies turn period in the Latvian history – democracy was replaced by authoritarianism, the last in turn – by two totalitarian regimes. Every power builds on a certain ideology – socio-political myth; one of functions of which is to define the own nation and the others. In the inter-war period of Latvian independence, public rhetoric focuses on the increasing the role of Latvians (masters in their own country) and on the mitigation of the effects of other cultures on Latvians values, but the ideology of totalitarian regimes clearly marks the image of the “other = enemy” in the public space. A prominent role in Latvian self-identification is allotted to the history, based on the view “victims and abusers”. Latvians are always depicted as the victims (orphans’ nation); abusers are changing. The occupying powers very skilfully used this scheme in making their worldviews recognisable in the Latvian society. For a very long time, including the interwar period, the role of the enemy was attributed to Germans (700 years of slavery, etc.). Short period (1940–1941) of the first Soviet occupation (so-called “horrible year” – the label given in time of Nazi occupation) was enough to radically change this perception. A respondent, who was a pupil at the beginning of the war, remembers the following: “And here our worldview was turned upside down. Germans were greeted as liberators. We were taught at school that the Germans were no good...”. Nazi propaganda activities followed: 1) “Germans = liberators,” 2) anti-Semitism and anti-Bolshevism (“Jewish com-

munists = Latvian abusers”). As shown in the results of field works done by the author, the Latvians perceived others in the inter-war period as part of the Latvian multi-ethnic society; as more or less familiar. Since 1940, Latvians were faced with diverse, frightening others – soldiers of an alien army in the public space (newspapers, the radio, cinema, visual advertising – posters, etc.), including the image of demonised Jews.

The author will deal with image of the others in perceptions of Latvians during Nazi occupation period, 1941–1944/45. In interviews, the dominating narratives were: 1) the Nazi army soldiers and their comparison with the Red Army soldiers, 2) the Jews who suddenly “had become” abusers from being neighbours and economic partners. Describing this time, respondents identified a number of sources – the newspaper *Tēvija* (‘Fatherland’), the publication entitled *Baigais gads* (‘Horrible year’) and visual advertising – posters, which provides both: 1) a portrait of an imaginary other (cartoons, drawings, descriptions) and 2) the visualisation of their offences. The sources indicated by respondents, as well field works data will be used to prepare a report to the Conference. Main methods include content analysis, as well as synchronic and diachronic comparison.



**Wednesday, May 7**

**Session 2: Baltic viewpoint**

**15:00**

Margus Lääne

Estonian State Archives

## **Archive as a source for caricatures and other humorous images**

The presentation provides an introduction to some of the funds located in Estonian National Archive in Tallinn, Estonia. Besides textual material, the archive holds numerous visual items from history – photos, films and drawings, and this includes the period during and after the Second World War. A considerable part of the material has been digitised and is available for researchers globally, e.g. through the photo search engine Fotis (<http://www.ra.ee/fotis/>). Others are more difficult to discover. In this paper, I will give an overview of caricatures, cartoons and other humorous material that can be found in the Estonian National Archives.

**Wednesday, May 7**

**Session 2: Baltic viewpoint**

**15:30**

Liisi Laineste

Estonian Literary Museum

**Images from two sides of the front:  
Estonian caricatures from WWII**

The presentation will address the portrayal of the political and ethnic Other, considering a case when these two categories were closely intertwined, as was the case in totalitarian Estonia during the Second World War. The selected time frame includes a historically very inconstant period, both politically and economically, which makes it a hotbed for all kinds of stereotypes of the Other to arise. I am interested in how the two sides of the war front, active in the minds and everyday lives of people in Estonia during that period, are visualised in the caricatures that were published during 1942–1944.

WWII carries a significant and controversial meaning to Estonians, reflected also in the life histories. Although Estonian was at that time occupied by the Germans, and local papers were filled with (mostly verbal) anti-Russian propaganda, there were Estonian-language regular publications published by the Russians for the soldiers serving in the army (and large collection of leaflets is held in our archives, also from the Russian side, that also reached the “rear” as the result of dissident activity). It is also necessary to take into account war-time folklore to better grasp the opinions and mind set of the ordinary people who were the target of this propaganda (e.g. the human meat sausage factory rumours during WWII).

**Wednesday, May 7**

**Session 3: Images of the enemy**

**16:30**

Ágnes Tamás

University of Szeged

**The faces of enemy in the World Wars: A comparison of German and Hungarian caricatures**

In this presentation I examine the depiction of the enemy in the period of the World Wars, in the caricatures of comic papers and newspapers (during World War II newspapers regularly published political caricatures in Hungary): the German *Kladderadatsch* was a national-liberal comic paper during World War I and turned right wing in the period of World War II; the Hungarian liberal *Borsszem Jankó* ceased to be published after 1938, thus I analyse the period of World War II also through a right wing newspaper, *Magyarság*.

I aim to analyse the differences and similarity between the methods of mocking the enemy (the use of new vs. old symbols) and self-stereotypes (stereotypical depictions of the in-group and the allies). I also discuss the issue of anti-Semitism. The historical comparison follows Kaelble's methods.

In the inter-war period the prevalent opinion both in Germany and Hungary was that these countries did not lose the Great War at the battlefields but as a result of ineffective propaganda and press. Adolf Hitler criticised the comic papers and also blamed them for losing the war. Therefore, it is insightful to analyse the changes in the methods of propaganda through caricatures (not only because of the centenary of the World War I), knowing that Germany and its ally, Hungary, subsequently lost World War II as well.

**Wednesday, May 7**

**Session 3: Images of the enemy**

**17:00**

Zuzana Panczová

Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava

**Images of the Traitor and the Enemy  
in humour and political caricatures  
in war-time Slovakia: Analysis of  
the magazine *Kocúr***

The topic of the paper is a continuation of the previous analysis of images of “others” and “enemies” in the Slovak humour magazine *Černokňazník* (1864–1910). In this paper, I focus on its follower – humour magazine *Kocúr* (‘Tomcat’) (1919–1945), published in period of the democratic First Czechoslovak Republic (1918–1939) as well as during the war-time Slovak Republic (1939–1945), a satellite state of the Nazi Germany. Political jokes and caricatures in this magazine are rich source of the images of inner and outer enemies, naturally, presented from the publisher’s and editors’ point of views. Although the emphasis of this contribution is on the war-time period, it can be useful to take into consideration also the previous ideological profile of the magazine.

During the First Czechoslovak Republic, the magazine *Kocúr* represented mainly the worldview of the conservative Slovak National Party, critical both towards the centralisation and autonomistic tendencies in the inner state politics (which rivalry expressed and escalated problematic co-existence of the state-forming nations, Czechs and Slovaks). The magazine took a very critical stand towards the authoritarian regimes in 1930s Germany and Italy. This was, of course, changed after the Munich crisis and then during establishing of the pro-Nazi regime in 1939.

The main questions and problems of the paper will be: 1) What kind of inner and outer enemies were typical for the democratic

and for the authoritarian period of the magazine? 2) What kind of discursive and visual strategies were used in jokes and caricatures for the purpose of legitimisation of the inter-group tensions and war propaganda? 3) In what manner did the publisher and caricaturists influence the ideological profile of the magazine?

The paper is inspired mainly by the Social Identity Theory, and the central concepts are representations of Others as Enemies, Rivals or Aliens, containing also the special category of Traitors.

**Wednesday, May 7**

**Session 3: Images of the enemy**

**17:30**

Alexander Golubev

Institute of the Russian history of the Russian Academy of Sciences

**Neighbour, ally or enemy? Poland in the Soviet caricature of the 1930s**

In pre-military years Poland was the country with which, actually, for many Soviet citizens the West began. Constantly arising comparisons not always appeared in the favour of the USSR. However, propaganda gave its share, and for many Soviet people “pansky Poland” was an embodiment of all of the worst that was (or could be) in the West. As a whole, on the eve of World War II by the majority politically and socially active population Poland was rather perceived as the potential opponent than the ally, the former part of the Russian Empire or next, close on the historical and cultural roots, a Slavic state. The image of Poland in the Soviet satire, in caricature first of all, has lately become a frequent subject of researches. However there are no works which would show the evolution of this image during the thirties, or its components. What images of Poland were formed in the consciousness of the Soviet reader? In the 1920s, certainly, the image of the Polish “pan” was aggressive and haughty. As for an internal situation in Poland prevails, it was settled generally by two subjects – poverty of the Polish population and the repressions directed both on the population of east areas of Poland, and on all Polish workers (communists including). But the Polish threat of the USSR was the main plot of the caricatures relating to Poland. After Hitler came to power, the situation changed. The subject of the German aggression becomes the leader, and in this situation the part of the younger partner of Germany is assigned to Poland. In process of increase of the international crisis of 1938–1939 of political caricatures in *Krokodil* (‘Crocodile’) became fewer; in particular, no images depicted Poland for the first 8 months the year 1939. Only after the

beginning of world war – to be exact, after the entry of the Soviet armies to the Western Ukraine and Belarus – a set of caricatures connected with these events was published. The paper is based on the materials of the leading satirical magazine *Krokodil*, and also the albums of prominent caricaturists of those years.

Thursday, May 8

Keynote lecture

9:30

Christie Davies

University of Reading

**Cartoons, caricatures and conflicts:  
The British tradition and its East  
European rivals**

The 'Other' is always present in our minds as someone different from what we see ourselves as being. But there are many different kinds of other, whether nations, ethnic groups or social classes and in consequence many different kinds of images. There is the foolish other, the other who seems to be a distorted version of ourselves, often represented as a monkey, an ape, *der Inselaffe – Simia insulae anglicae*. And there is the feared and hated other shown as a snake or some other feared and powerful alien creature such as a giant octopus, a lurking spider or a vampire bat. The monkey is ridiculous and inferior but not altogether alien or malign. In times of conflict the monkey image can be used in a hostile way as with nineteenth century British caricatures of the Irish but when the conflict fades the image reverts to being comically benign and implies familiarity. In war-time the snake and vampire are used about the enemy for the duration but are rarely survive in peacetime. Images of amiable or comic snakes or vampires are not common. However, ideological hatred leads to the constant irrational and paranoid use of the images of the insinuating, poisonous or crushing snake, the encircling tentacles of the octopus, the spider who captures the unwary in its web, the biting blood-sucking vampire of the night about an ideologically constructed permanent enemy – an utterly other Other. This is consistently to be found in the cartoons and caricatures of Jews produced by anti-semites and also in Soviet portrayals of 'class-enemies' to be crushed and eliminated.



**Thursday, May 8**

**Session 4: Ideology and war**

**11:00**

Alexander Kozintsev

Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, Saint Petersburg, and Saint Petersburg State University

## **War propaganda and humour**

My paper will deal with the transformations humour undergoes in the context of war. This context is especially relevant to the general theory of humour because it maximises the contrast between humour, on the one hand, and satire, sarcasm, scorn, and hostility, on the other. As the debates around the Muhammad cartoons affair demonstrate, the community of humour scholars is deeply divided on that issue. Can humour survive in the atmosphere of hate? If it can, does it remain humour or does it degrade beyond recognition and evaporate? What purposes can caricature serve in this atmosphere? Why do people ridicule the enemy they seek to destroy? Is it more important to bestialise the adversary, picturing him as powerful, cruel and dangerous so as to instigate hate? Or, on the contrary, to make him small, helpless and contemptible so as to banish fear and to strengthen in-group bonds by joint laughter? How is the balance between these two opposite tendencies maintained? And, in any case, how does the unambiguously hateful message agree with the intrinsically peaceful essence of humour? These questions will be addressed using the example of Soviet, British, and German War-Time caricatures published in humour magazines (*Krokodil*, *Punch*, and *Kladderadatsch*, respectively).

**Thursday, May 8**

**Session 4: Ideology and war**

**11:30**

Andrea Hübner (online presentation)

Eötvös Loránd University

### **'Profound pride' and 'conviction'**

My paper wishes to investigate visual representations of the youth in ideologies of superior races in relation to the 'other'. Chivalric poses, missionary attitude and cultural conversion found its forms in special style and iconography similar to imperialist Britain and Nazi Germany.

To reveal how chivalric virtues became associated with racism and anti-semitism is especially acute in the framework of the theory considering medieval crusades the first form of colonisation (e.g. the Magnus Verlag series *Expansion. Interaction. Akkulturation*).

The enemy as the domesticated 'Other' will be interpreted in terms of exotic appearance whereas metaphors of health and illness will circumscribe the location of centres and margins in the dichotomy of 'us' and 'them'.

Visual phenomena are to be analysed in relation to at times controversial operation of pictorial and textual tradition in terms of topoi and stereotypes of culture clash in synchronic and diachronic dimensions of the examined period.

With some regard to visual representation of young people in the communist propaganda, parallels with the Boys Scouting Movement, the Hitler Jugend and the Pioneer movement will be drawn.

**Thursday, May 8**

**Session 4: Ideology and war**

**12:00**

Anna Rosner (online presentation)

**German Jewish immigrants to  
Great Britain 1933–1939. Was the  
cultural otherness noticeable and  
perplexing?**

My paper aims at showing two British immigration programmes carried out between 1933 and 1939 concerning the German Jews. The first one, known as *Kindertransport*, focused on the children, while the second one dealt with adults representing chosen professions. Both were supported by the British government and various Jewish organisations.

I aim at basing my research on printed sources – such as letters and memoirs – together with non-published sources (written and audio archive collections). Secondary sources will be used to explain the reasons and effects of the programmes in question. Chosen photographs of the immigrants will complement the paper.

The main topic of my research focuses on the question of the otherness of the immigrants – both visual and non-visual. I will try to show if the otherness of the Jewish immigrants of the pre-war period was noticeable and which aspects of it were most perplexing. I will show both migrations separately and then compare them.

The otherness of under-age immigrants was more noticeable than that of adults; still it did not expose them to organised acts of anti-Jewish violence. The adults, who had been safe before the war and were often more capable of dealing with being an immigrant, were exposed to greater dangers in 1939–1945. British security authorities recognised them both as “possible victims of the Nazi regime” and, due to their German origin, as the “enemies of the state”. That often led to arrests and internments of the people who had been forced to flee from their homeland and seek for shelter.

**Thursday, May 8**

**Session 5: Constructing the Other as a  
stranger / not stranger**

**14:30**

Anssi Halmesvirta

University of Jyväskylä

**The Image of the Ruskie (ryssä)  
during the Winter War (1939–1940)**

I examine by the methods of intellectual history how the image of the citizen/soldier of the Red Army was represented in Finland during the Winter War (30th of November, 1939 – 15th of March, 1940), not only as a textual ‘devil’ in editorial and other articles but also as a ‘humorous figure’ in (partly censored) caricatures in selected but representative Finnish journals (e.g. The Finnish Soldier, The Finnish Sports Review). First, in lieu of introduction, I give an overview of how the ‘Russian’ had been experienced and/or imagined in Finnish history before the Winter War (‘an arch-enemy’) since the end of the 19th century, and secondly, I proceed to analysing both the textual and visual image and its variations of the Soviet soldier (the ‘Other’ or ‘Alterity’) during the War. I also recount the general wartime atmosphere and attitudes in Finland in the context of the ‘final solution’ between the ‘civilised’ West and ‘barbarian’ East in the struggle for existence. Comparisons to experiences in other Eastern European countries (e.g. Poland, Estonia) are also tried in the paper. The paper also gives a synopsis of the research literature.

**Thursday, May 8**

**Session 5: Constructing the Other as a  
stranger / not stranger**

**15:00**

Kamila Baraniecka-Olszewska

Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw

**Constructing the new enemy: Post-war order and the beginning of the Cold War in official press of communist Poland (1947–1953)**

In the paper I would like to discuss cartoons published in the Polish communist newspaper *Trybuna Robotnicza* representing the Cold War and the new enemy who appeared in political imagery after the end of the WWII. The cartoons use language and symbols already present in war propaganda: communist, American or Nazi. They combine them in order to create a vision of the new enemy of communist world. Depicting the stereotyped image of good communists versus bad Americans and their comrades, they refer directly to the fresh memories of the war and its violence. The analysed cartoons, although partially humoristic, create a threat of a possible new war between imagined morally heightened communists and barbaric Americans. In my opinion this particular dynamics between reused symbols and memory of recent war, communist propaganda and the threat of a new world war depicted in humoristic cartoons is a particularly interesting way of construing and confirming the existence of the new enemy, especially in the context of waging the Korean War (1950–1953).

**Thursday, May 8**

**Session 5: Constructing the Other as a  
stranger / not stranger**

**15:30**

Ewa Baniowska-Kopacz

Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw

### **Silesia. Stranger – not stranger**

The paper presents results of analysis of the illustrative material published in the magazine *Śląsk. Miesięcznik Ilustrowany*. The title was issued from March 1946 till October 1948. The analysed sources have been collected during library studies on regional periodicals from the time period following end of WWII. In this magazine we can find a wide range of information on the Silesian “regained territories”, especially on their sightseeing, recreational and healthcare values. Underlined are the elements of the Polish tradition – historical, cultural, linguistic, ethnographic, etc. The magazine presents also outstanding personalities of Polish nationality linked with the region of our interest, Silesia.

Silesia – more specifically the territories incorporated into the Polish state after WWII – was in the magazine shown as unknown land. Describing the situation in terms related to people, the region in question could be described as “other” or rather as “a distant and forgotten relative”. The Editor’s Credo in the first volume clearly indicates that such a perception, prevailing not only in Poland but also in other European countries, is incorrect and that Silesia should be brought back from the obscurity and reintroduced to people from other parts of Poland. In my paper an attempt is made to demonstrate means chosen by the Editorial Staff of the magazine to achieve this objective. The analysis is based mainly on published photographs. Questions presented in the discussion are focused on the issue of identity that is perceived in categories of memory and space.

**Thursday, May 8**

**Session 6: Contested photography**

**16:30**

Olli Kleemola

University of Turku

**Soviet prisoners of war in Finnish  
and German propaganda photography  
1941–1944**

When the Second World War broke out in the autumn 1939, National Socialist Germany had already planned how to produce and spread propaganda in war. The *Wehrmacht* was the first armed forces in the world to set up special propaganda troops, which were in charge of propaganda in war. No correspondents or photographers of any German magazine or newspaper were let to the front and the press got war photo material only from these *Propagandakompanien*.

In the summer 1941, as Finland – side by side with Germany – went to war against the Soviet Union, the Finnish military forces set up their own propaganda troops. Unlike their German counterparts, Finnish propaganda troops were given practically no training whatsoever in producing propaganda, whereas the German troops had to attend special courses before they were let to the front.

In my presentation I study the propaganda photo material that the German and Finnish propaganda units produced in the Second World War. By comparing Finnish and German material to one another, I analyse the images of the enemy in propaganda photos and the different ways in which these images were created and/or reinforced. Both countries were waging war against the Soviet Union but from different starting points. Finland, for example, did not have such racial objectives as Germany did; that is why Finnish propaganda photos portray captured Soviet soldiers in a much more human and positive way than the German photos.

My paper falls into the field of research visual history that uses pictorial sources as primary sources for historical research.

**Thursday, May 8**

**Session 6: Contested photography**

**17:00**

Stanisława Trebunia-Staszel

Jagiellonian University, Kraków

**Portraits of conquered Others.  
Visual representations of Polish  
Highlanders in the light of the  
Nazi photographic documents**

The theme of the proposed paper refers to visual aspects of anthropological and racial research conducted among Polish Highlanders (called *Górale*) during WWII by the Nazi *Institute für Deutsche Ostarbeit* (IDO), which was established in 1940 in occupied Kraków. One of IDO's main tasks was to collect the scientific evidence that would justify Hitler's plan for German domination, including racial policy. Thousands of sociological and anthropological materials were gathered, among them a significant collection of photographs.

The main question addressed in the paper is to what extent the racial ideology and political involvement of IDO's researchers influenced the way of picturing *Górale*, and on the other hand to what extent the collection of IDO's photographs may reflect ideological backgrounds of Nazi anthropologists, revealing their ways of constructing the image of *Górale*.

I will focus on photos taken by the IDO's staff in the village of Kościelisko, trying to compare and analyse various ways of representing *Górale*. Among IDO's pictures one could find images of poor, disabled people, as well as photographs of smart children with blond hair dressed in festive folk costumes.

Another issue of the paper is related to my contemporary field-work research among *Górale* who were registered by the IDO's anthropologists and who are still alive. I share my experiences from the meetings with these people, describing their reactions to photos taken 70 years ago, their emotions and memories from that time.



**Thursday, May 8**

**Session 6: Contested photography**

**17:30**

Anelia Kassabova (online presentation)

Institute for Ethnology and Folklore Studies at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences

**Photography - modernity - the disciplined body. Changes and continuities in visualising the "Others"**

Taking the developments in Bulgaria as an example, I will highlight the crucial role of photography in the complex and radical changes in the decades from 1930 to 1950. It was a time when rapid modernisation went in parallel with militarisation; the Second World War was followed by the enforcement of the communist political regime. The focus will be on the impact of photographic practices on the body. Two main developments could be identified on the basis of studio-photographs and illustrated newspapers:

1. Nationalisation, militarisation, and the disciplining of the body. Photographs were understood as bearing coherent meaning and having pedagogical authority to transmit values, so photography was required to increase the potential utility of individuals, to train the bodies and to bind them together in such a way as to multiply and use them. Through pose, lighting and a set of typologies, the "hero", the "fighter for the liberty/for the nation/self-sacrificing for a worthy cause" was typified and idealised as a "core of the national body". The deep political changes transformed "heros" into "enemies" and vice-versa, but the pictorial code of heroism remained almost unchanged: military continuance main remnant of manhood-making rituals, the soldier-image was valued as achieved manhood. The concepts and ideologies of masculinity and femininity changed

rapidly, but photographic materials show also important continuities in visualisations and demarcations of gendered features.

2. A second accent is on photographic practices towards “abnormal” “others” – on the regulation of populations that separated the deviant, the pathological, and the unfit from the normal, the willing, and the productive. My intent is to point at the concepts through which people were subjected to vision or made invisible. By representing the “exterior” body, photography tended to effect the disciplining of the “interior” body and assisted in producing “normative bodies”.

**Friday, May 9**

**Keynote lecture**

**9:30**

Eda Kalmre

Estonian Literary Museum

**The meaning of photos in the  
context of post-war rumours in  
Tartu**

In 2002 I started to study a rumour that was very widespread after WW II. According to this rumour there was a human sausage factory in the ruins that covered most of the centre of Tartu at that time. The sausage factory rumour emerged under totalitarian government in response to historical, political and social forces (migration, food shortage, political hegemony, violence etc.).

After the war, Estonia was torn between two different cultures and ideologies. One of these had the clear political, economic and social advantages of being in the position of power. Since physical conflict was out of the question, the other group had only linguistic and cognitive arsenal at their disposal.

Spreading this rumour gave Estonians an opportunity to safely release their discontent and distrust towards the foreigners that had come to power. For this reason, the rumour was eagerly spread and believed in. Today, the rumour is still significant for the pre-war generation, and many believe it to be true as it pertains to their personal fate and empiric experience from that time. In the course of my research I interviewed more than 30 persons who had been children or youngsters during that time.

The rumour started in the open-air market on the riverside of Emajõgi in the centre of Tartu. That was why the post-war city with its buildings, streets and bridges became part of the rumour and the memories of my interviewees. When memories are published, photos carry the role of visualising the memories of those places,

people and time period. In fact, as I also understood that the photos, memory, remembering on the one hand, and the relationship of these to the social reality and truth-creation, can be very complicated and multilayered.

In 2007, a monograph based on the research (and later the English version entitled “The Human Sausage Factory. A Study of Post-War Rumour in Tartu” (Rodopi, 2013)) was published.

In my paper I am going to discuss what has been the role of photos of Tartu today and in Soviet times in retaining and distorting memories, truth and reality, mediating the discourse of power and “the other”.

**Friday, May 9**

**Session 7: Visualisations of the East II**

**11:00**

Liudmila Limanskaya

Art History Department Russian State University for the Humanity, Moscow

**Psychoanalytical aspects of  
grotesque and caricature in Russian  
soc-art**

Researching the history of grotesque and caricature both in history and the current art process, E. Gombrich traced Freud's idea that jests are born when the mind seeks to express thoughts suppressed or forbidden by the society. The psychological atmosphere in the society defines the character of humour. In periods of social stability, positive superego prevails, generating light-hearted pacifying type of humour, whereas in times of social upheavals and revolutionary reforms the more stern superego gains the upper hand, producing sarcastic type of laughter or even suppressing humour altogether. Freud's theory of humour, as most of his other ideas, was based on the dynamic conflict between the unconscious "ego", and "superego", where the uppermost superego forbids ego in its search for pleasure. This method allows a deeper understanding of the genres of laughter in the art of the post-Soviet period. A clear sample of radical change in socio-cultural codes is the post-Soviet deconstruction of Lenin's image as a leading cultural symbol of that epoch. Until the early 1990s Lenin's iconography had been canonised in socialist realist art. His mask, gestures, mimic expressions and poses expressed, according to the then critics, that "for the wide people's masses Lenin embodied the ideal of wisdom, spiritual power, and moral purity". In the period of perestroika as that ideology was deconstructed, Lenin's image deteriorated to the form of grotesque and caricature. New art trends emerging in the 1990s – soc-art, conceptualism – followed the program of criticising totalitarian society.

Friday, May 9

Session 7: Visualisations of the East II

11:30

Ewa Manikowska

Institute of Art, Polish Academy of Sciences

**Survey photography, *Ostforschung* and the visualisation of the multi-ethnic lands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at the time of WWI and WWII**

This paper will present part of a research in progress conducted within a project, which explores the ways in which survey photography played an active and significant role in key moments of nation-, state-, and empire-building in the former lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth establishing authoritative competing visions of cultural heritage (buildings, art works, ethnography, landscape). This paper will juxtapose two impressive German photographic survey projects undertaken in the region during WWI and WWII, respectively. It will first present a large-scale cultural *Landeskunde* mission with a survey photo-archive as the centre of its activity that through exploration and research aimed at a complete encyclopaedic visualisation and description of the conquered lands and people of the Russian Empire. This project – presenting both scientific (produced by a the *Landeskundliche Kommission* established in Warsaw) and popular (produced by the German soldiers in the *Ober-Ost*) vision – was an essential element of German imperialists tactics. Arguably, Germany claimed that it took under its control vast undeveloped lands that were not studied and safeguarded along the Western models and practically unknown to Western science, i.e. a perfect territory to carry out a civilising mission and to prove its cultural superiority. However, its output should be also seen in the light of the conference's theme: as an encounter with the Other. I will argue that the project produced

the first large-scale photographic-vision of the complex multiethnic reality of these lands. These WWI projects will be juxtaposed with the survey activity of similar German institutions active on the Eastern front at the time of WWII: the *Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit* and the *Reichsuniversität Posen* (from the 1940s). First, I shall argue that in both cases the scientific conquest (comprising the photographic survey vision) of the East was an integral element of the territorial conquest. Secondly I will discuss how the Fascist *Ostforschung* projects was embedded in the prior understanding of cultural heritage, landscape, photography and the archive.

**Friday, May 9**

**Session 8: Women: New image**

**14:30**

Magdalena Sztandara

University of Opole

**“Woman from the newspapers.” The  
new face of ideologies and old  
habits**

For Catherine MacKinnon (researcher engaged in feminist theory), the term “woman” means “content of women’s lives”. I would like to take a closer look at this content and at the elements that create it. I am going to analyse images of women published in the daily press in the 40s and 50s of the twentieth century in Poland at the area called today the Opole Silesia. Socialism as a social order intended to eliminate the class divisions. The destruction of traditional, patriarchal models had to be one of the main goals of building a new society and a new state. It would seem that a woman reaches the prospect of independence, social and political equality. Although the attempt to integrate women in all areas of professional, social and cultural life influenced the formation of the concept of the “New Woman”, the economic and legal independence was not sufficient to fully modify the strong stereotypes in the perception of women. The moral obligations of the entity in the new system were processed into new commitments, which were clearly planned, politically and economically considered. Women and their daily lives were primarily only part of the ideological “plan” – and not the actual condition that had to change their future.

Critical analysis and deconstruction of the role and image of women can be made by use of the theories introduced by feminist researchers. In the area of communication these theories focuses on three key issues: the stereotype, pornography and ideology. In particular interest in this case are two of them, those related to



stereotypes – understood as the habits and ideology – being constructions of the situation and the position of women in society, in that particular way they are presented by patriarchy and socio-economic system as “normal”. Reconstruction and deconstruction of visual information allows also remind the part of the forgotten heritage of women in socialism and their position in society. In this case, the attention should be focused on the following points: the social context (socialism and its plans to “build” a new society); dominant roles imposed on women (a worker, a politically active and economically independent woman, etc.; a mother, housewife, nurse, teacher of children, etc.), and the dominant topics (literacy, participation in social and cultural life).

**Friday, May 9**

**Session 8: Women: New image**

**15:00**

Oleg Riabov

Ivanovo State University

**American femininity in Soviet films during the early Cold War (1946–1955)**

The paper examines the cultural technologies of gender discourse in creating images of the ‘American enemy’. The woman question featured prominently in the Cold War confrontation. The tenet of Soviet ideology – that the woman question had been solved in the USSR – was propagandised both in the country and internationally. Cinematic representations of American femininity functioned as a weapon of the Cold War. Gender discourse played an important role in othering the U.S., serving as one of the ways to prove that the victory of socialism on the world scale was inevitable.

The paper concentrates on the questions as follows: How did Soviet cinema represent American femininities? What means (picturing traits of character; physical attractiveness and correspondence to the body canons of womanhood; fashion; social roles of men and women; etc.) were exploited to represent its specific traits? How did these representations of American women vary depending on characteristics of their class and race? How did these images relate to cinematic representations of the Soviet gender order? How did picturing the external Enemy influence gendered images of the internal Them?

The research focuses on both plot of films and their audiovisual components (colour, music, montage, etc.). Materials consist of Soviet Cold War films (first of all, *The Russian Question*, *Meeting on the Elbe*, *Farewell, America!*, *The Silver Dust*, and *The Court of Honour*), as well as film criticism, and documents on politics in cinematography.

**Friday, May 9**

**Session 8: Women: New image**

**15:30**

Marta Frączkiewicz

Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń

## **The image of Polish women between the years 1939 and 1953**

The main purpose of this paper is to show the situation and image of Polish women between years 1939 and 1953. I would especially like to present the changes in women's social and professional roles, which had its place in discussed period. During The Second World War, when a lot of Polish men were involved in warfare or went to captivity, the scope of women's responsibilities expanded. They have had to fulfil the men's responsibilities at farms and in factories. After war, when the men returned to their homes and professional duties, Stalinist period started. After the end of war Polish women played a great role in building the new Communist reality by working in industry, agriculture and other areas.

In my presentation I would like to underline that every change in the social, political, cultural or economical life is visible in the images from that period when they come from. The basis of my research will provide posters, brochures, magazines, newspapers, archival video footage from the era and literature, both from the period in question, as well as contemporary images. In my paper, I am going to compare and analyse the sources from the examined period and contemporary times, and show the differences between them. My main area of interest will be the ways of writing about women and showing their images in short intervals. I am going to introduce the way of change on the chosen examples.

I am fully aware that we can consider Polish women of that period as "others" because they did not and do not constitute the main subject of study and even now they are often not regarded as important in building Polish People's Republic.

**Friday, May 9**

**Session 9: Pointing the West**

**16:30**

Tomasz Kalniuk

Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń

**Symbolic migrations to super-West  
in Polish Pomeranian press from  
1930s and 1940s**

Most of the photographic material that this article is based on comes from the 1930s and 1940s. In Poland, this was the time of recently regained independence overshadowed by the fear of losing it again. The media were warning against the “communist epidemic” and the dissolution of the Polish state. Considering hostility of neighbouring states and the geo-political situation at that time, Poland can be treated as a buffer. This buffer space, that concept of “between” in anthropological and philosophical reflection, is the cultural inter-space. In this inter-space, the self very often encounters the other. Edmund Husserl said: “We depart from the other even before we reach him”. The radicalism of this statement questions the independence of the statuses of self and other. In a weaker form, it claims that the other can exist nearby as well as in the distance.

The photographic material in the article exhibits the lack of dominating subject. However, it seems possible to point at a large group of photographs that present untypical images of the Western culture. In Pomeranian press, America is described as a land of pragmatic inventions, sophisticated ideas and peculiar people. The reader is surprised, looking at the pictures of a bird-man, a waiter with skates or a wedding ceremony on the running track. High level of technical development renders the Western culture a place of symbolic migration, where the dreams of success and wealth come true. Inhabitants of the West evoke the feeling of fascination, as the Promethei of civilizational progress. In this way, the myths of the American dream and the superhero are realised.

**Friday, May 9**

**Session 9: Pointing the West**

**17:00**

Maria Godyń

Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences, Kraków  
Branch

**"Pictures at an Exhibition." About  
traveling from the chair**

The paper will focus on the analysis of visual materials (photographs, drawings, occasionally caricatures) collected during archive query. These representations were published in a magazine titled "Echo of Kraków", a daily Kraków's afternoon newspaper that appeared in the years 1946–1997.

The selection of visual material I have chosen to present encloses years 1954 to 1958. These photos and drawings were basic illustrations for two newspapers sections, published periodically and simultaneously, entitled "With the camera across the world" and "Of what laughs abroad". The selection of countries presented under those headings, their nations and their attributes as they are characterised and shown on the pictures, were not a random. They were essentially Western countries. Eastern bloc countries were not presented there.

These two sections, published every week, resemble short travel-stories that include sets of photos. They can be described as a small form to animate the reader. It provides essential and definite information and creates a general idea of every submitted country. Each "story" is served with subtle humour, sometimes with a trace of irony. These presentations use stereotype, generalisation, humour as well as irony; they leave the reader with the impression that the world (which is to the West) seems to be open for you.

In my presentation I will attempt to approach the meaning of the text in those pictures. I will try to disclose their message and put it into the context of post-war Poland as well as the political situation of the Cold War.

**Friday, May 9**

**Session 9: Pointing the West**

**17:30**

Eero Medijainen

Tartu University

## **Allies on the Estonian cartoons, 1941-44**

Soviet rule in 1940 meant huge losses for the population in Estonia. Soviet regime executed about 2000, and deported approximately 19 000. Besides, Soviets mobilised some 32 000 men in 1941, and up to 33 000 citizens were sent along with the retreating Soviet troops to the interior of the Soviet Union. They were mostly Estonian Communist Party leaders and those who in way or another were tied to the new regime, but also several Estonian artists, actors, writers, journalists, painters etc. One of the most talented young Estonian cartoonist Jaan Jensen became soon a member of the editorial board of the newspaper "Rahva Hääl" ('The Voice of People'), which remained under the strict control of CP, and was one of the main means of Soviet propaganda among Estonians in the Soviet rear.

Despite of the general sympathies of Estonians towards the Western Allies, most of the population greeted German troops as liberators from the Soviet regime. It was quite convenient for the German propaganda to let local people to continue their work in a new political situation. Under the formal supervision of German propaganda institutions a new newspaper "Eesti Sõna" ('The Estonian Word') was established in Tallinn, and the newspaper "Postimees" ('Postman') was re-established in Tartu. The most famous Estonian cartoonist from pre-Soviet era, Georg Tõnisson (Vello Agori) continued to demonstrate his talent at the editorial board of "Eesti Sõna". The main target of Estonian cartoonists were the allies of the both combating sides; Hitler, Mussolini, Finland, Italy were "heroes" for Jensen in Soviet rear, and Stalin, Churchill, Roosevelt were the most popular cartoons figures in Estonia. Relative freedom was given to

the Estonian press in treating cultural issues and the current events of Estonia, but also to depict some aspects of international relations on the cartoons.

## Alphabetical list of conference participants

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## **Practical information**

**Location:** The conference will take place at the Estonian Literary Museum (Vanemuise 42). The town hall square is in five minutes' walking distance from the conference venue.

**Catering:** Lunch is provided to all participants in Kotka Kelder (Pepleri 14).

**Getting around:** All places connected with the conference (most hotels, the conference venue, restaurants, social programme) are within walking distance. However, if you need to get around, there is a taxi stand down the Vanemuise street, towards the center from the conference venue. The taxi costs ca 1,90 EUR (starting fee) plus 0,55 – 0,70 EUR per kilometre.

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