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Some Particularities of Childhood in the Former European Communist Countries

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It might seem odd to interrogate a recent period of time about the meanings of childhood! Most of the people born after 1945 lived their childhood in a space – part of Europe and Asia – and a period – 1945-1989 – under communism! They are vivid sources about their lives, they can tell and write stories, suitable for the history of communism, as it was lived, not theorized; their stories oppose the official discourse, the official propaganda which legitimated the political system for over half a century!

As the readers of this special issue will have the opportunity to see, our childhoods has much in common: the kids from the Eastern Bloc lived under the same auspices, as the entire society does! All citizens work according to their capacities and abilities and they are getting everything that they need ("from everyone according to capabilities, to everyone according to their needs"). The egalitarian system was extended in all spheres, including private life: all people should have the same chances to go to school, to get a job, to live according to the same principles, to eat the same industrialized food, to raise the children according to the party rules etc. Children had to be organized, childhood had to be structured, as well as the entire society.

In the Western interpretation, the creation of children's organisations in communist societies has pursued two main goals: to inoculate as early as possible the communist ideals, through any means, from the tenderest ages, and to block the control of the parents – most of them being raised according to and familiarised with the old systems, in which the head of the family's authority was indisputable and traditions played first fiddle – over their children, so that the mission of the state of moulding the "new man" might be successful! The communist ideologists considered the child an innocent being, good by nature, damaged by the inequitable society and the imperfect social arrangements – they thus embraced illuminist ideals – on which one could intervene and who could be modelled according to the new ideals in order to become a better worker, a braver soldier and a more reliable citizen. More than in any other historical period the state substitutes itself to the parents, through

the school, children organizations and by educating the parents, using various guides and advice books written by the ideologists of the party, fully complying with the communist ideals but less with parenthood. More than belonging to their parents, children were rather seen as belonging to the state and this brought half of a century of dualism between the old habits the parents were used to and the new rules reinforced by the state. According to Peter Stearns (p. 103) "children had to be remade" and the State claimed that it knew more about the children's needs than their own parents! More than in Western societies and much more than in any other historical period, the State substitutes the parents, by means of the schooling system, by the use of the children's organisations and by educating the parents (in the USSR even through their own children) through various guides and advice books elaborated by the Party's pedagogues and ideologists in strict accord with the Party's ideals and less with parenting principles. The child is the object of state upbringing since "parents were not fully reliable for the task of raising their own children and they needed additional guidance" (Stearns, 104).

The main role of family was considered to be giving birth to children and to raising them in the new social spirit. That is, to become worthy citizens of the communist society. The politics of the communists were aimed at fighting against the Western urban family type, and for the preservation of traditional family values. This included an ideological strengthening of rural-patriarchal values, which was partially successful. In Romania, the prototype of this family was the Ceausescu family: Nicolae, Elena and their three children. He was the father, she, the mother of the nation! In a speech from 1966 Ceausescu said: "it is mandatory to fight against retrograde attitude, against improper and flyaway attitudes regarding family because the consequence of these attitudes is the increase of divorces, broken homes, neglect in rising and educating children" (Ceausescu 1966, 2).

In communism all social functions of the family are taken by the state! In order to realise that, the communism alterated the natural, traditional functions of the families, replacing them with the principles of a new man in a totally new society. The communist's ideas regarding the new role of the state in what concerns the children upbringing were made public through an article signed by Alexandra Kollontay, published in 1920 in Komunista and translated in English in *The Worker*, article which served as a programmatic, guiding document of the communist states, at least in their early ages in what concerns the regulating the family life and the care for children for the entire communist bloc:

> "The workers' state will come to **replace the family**, society will gradually take upon itself all the tasks that before the revolution fell to the individual parents. Communist society will come to the aid of the parents..... We have homes for very small babies, crèches, kindergartens, children's colonies and homes, hospitals and health resorts for sick children. restaurants, free lunches at school and free distribution of text books, warm clothing and shoes to schoolchildren. All this goes to show that the responsibility for the child is passing from the family to the collective"....." Communist society takes care of every child and guarantees both him and his mother material and moral support. **Society will feed, bring up and educate the child**. At the same time, those parents who desire to participate in the education of their children will by no means be prevented from doing so. Communist society will take upon itself all the duties involved in the education of the child, but the joys of parenthood will not be taken away from those who are capable of appreciating them. Such are the plans of communist society and they can hardly be interpreted as the forcible destruction of the family and the forcible separation of child from mother" (Kollontay 1920).

In socialism, the state, the communist state, thought that it will be better to take the responsibility of children raising since the parents were educated and formatted in the so-called "bourgeois" tradition, similar in their minds with ignorance and superstitions.

One should note that the battle for building the new man (who was, in order, a new citizen, a new husband, new wife and a new child) started in the family and in this respect is particularly interesting the dual attitude of the state regarding this institution: on one hand, the communists introduced a series of regulations that broke the traditional family living but, on another hand, they focused precisely on this traditional character in an attempt to preserve the family as the main institution of the private society. Communist society considered the social education of the rising generation to be one of the fundamental aspects of the new life. The old family, narrow and petty, where the parents quarrel and are only interested in their own offspring, is not capable of educating the "new person".

School as an institution was the first link in the training system of staff needed to build socialism. Youth needed to be educated in the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism (Falls 2011). In 1918 Soviet communists decided that "we must make the younger generation a generation of Communists. We have to transform children into true communists. We must learn to influence significantly the family. We have to take control and, to say clearly, nationalize them. Since the first days they [the children] will be under the influence of Communist kindergartens and schools" (Heller 1985,

180). In this ideological climate, there was no popularized information about child development in general and emotional development in particular, on how to deal with disturbing events; the value of personal feelings was disregarded in favour of what one should feel (decided by officials); families had to adapt by ignoring their feelings and, as a consequence, the children learned to not pay attention or explore their emotional states.

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In 2012, in a national competition for research funding, I proposed a project aiming to reconstruct the history of Romanian childhood, by merging the official history with the lived one, assigned to individuals. The project was going to round my own researches on Romanian communism – I had just finalized a postdoctoral research dedicated to the Romanian family under communism – and on childhood. One of the project outputs was to gather, in a composite volume, stories about childhood coming from the former European communist countries. I intended to involve scholars focused on childhood or communism in the German Democratic Republic (Deutsche Demokratische Republik), the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Socijalistička Federativna Republika Jugoslavija), the People's Republic of Bulgaria (Narodna Republika Bălgariia), the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (Československá Socialistická Republika), the Polish People's Republic (Polska Rzeczpospolita Ludowa) the Hungarian People's Republic (Magyar Népköztársaság),the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, (Republíka Popullóre Socialiste e Shqipërisë), theRussian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (Soiuz Sovetskih Soțialisticeskih Respublik) and, of course, the Socialist Republic of Romania (Republica Socialista Romania). I succeeded only partially! Colleagues who positively and enthusiastically answered when I launched the call found themselves later in the situation of not being able to meet the deadline because of unforeseeable events which occurred in their private or scientific life. Still, I am grateful for their feedback, for their involvement in the project and I express my hope that we would find a proper time and way to publish a collective work about childhood in communism! I express my deepest belief that we, the scholars who were born here, under communism, we, the former pioneers and falcons, we have to do it, we have to interrogate our parents, relatives, friends, neighbours about their recent past, we have to write our own history!

I would like to warmly thank my invited guests, the authors who sent their papers about childhood in communism to be published in this special

issue of the Romanian Journal of Population Studies. My thanks are going to Galina Makarevich, Vitaly Bezrogov and Ivan Bulatov, who addressed subjects related to the soviet childhood, to Agnieszka Doda-Wyszyńska and Monika Obrębska from Poland, to Jana Kopelentova Rehak and Marek Tesar, colleagues who are living and teaching far away from the borders of the former Czechoslovakia but who kindly answered my invitation to draw the image of the Czechoslovak childhood, to Petya Bankova, from Bulgaria, whose interviews with people who lived their tender ages in that dark period of time took us to the "real life" of childhood in communism and, of course, to my Romanian colleague, Codruța Pohrib, curently a PhD candidate at the University of Maastricht, whose paper about the remembered tactics about the educational strategies of the '70s and '80s completed my own research focused on the impact of children's organizations on the formation of what was called "the new man".

My entire gratitude goes to all of them and also to my colleagues from the Centre for Population Studies!

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Scouts Go, Pioneers Come: Russian Youth Movements during the Civil War and the First Years after It

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Abstract: The Russian Revolution and the civil war that followed, fractured the Russian society, and the nascent Scout movement in Russia was not spared by these events. Scouts fell apart into three factions: those supporting the Whites or the Reds, and those who remained neutral.

The "neutral" scouts, who remained faithful to the non-political character of the Scouting model, continued their work, until having been finally eliminated by the OGPU (Joint State Political Directorate). Red scouts in this time helped Bolsheviks to create communistic youth movements: YuKi, ROUR, pioneers, etc.

This study is focused on the process by which ideology influenced a children's movements under the extreme conditions of a civil war, and later under the no-less stressful confrontation with the power of the state.

Keywords: scout movement, pioneers, Civil War, young communists, Komsomol, repressions.

Short historiography

This history of the Russian Scout Movement can be conventionally divided into four parts. The first period is associated with the advent of scouting in the Russian Empire and with its development and outcome after the Civil War.

A chronological framework of this phase can be placed between 1908 and 1922. The second phase is associated with the appearance of Communist children's movements based on scouts and also with the underground work of scouts under the new government. Time frames for this period partially overlap with the first and are placed in the interval 1918-1926. The third period stretches from 1922 to 1991. During this time Russian scouts continued their activities in exile. Spread throughout the world, they didn't give up hope of returned to Russia, which happened in 1990 when the Scouts Revival Congress took place.

From this moment the fourth period in the history of the Russian Scout Movement started, continuing to this day. These periods receive various amounts of research attention. The first and fourth stages are studied the most, and the second and third stages fall behind them substantially. Unfortunately to this day there's still no significant work devoted to the intricate period of children's movements in Russia during the Civil War and the first years after it.

In 1998 an article was published by A. Slezin "Red Scouts" (Slezin 1998). In it, briefly described is the fate of YuK-scouts and of the ROUR organization. Materials in this article were primarily taken from a book by G. Ditrih "Beginning and End," which will be repeatedly referenced in the text. For its time, this work was interesting, although not without drawbacks, which include narrowness of topic and a small source base.

The history of the Russian scouts in the Civil War and soon after it and also the establishment of the first Communist children's movements are considered in the fundamental work of U. Kudryashov "The Russian Scout Movement" (Kudriashov 2005). At the moment this is the most complete work on the history of Russian scouting, done with a high level of professionalism and with a wide range of sources.

A large amount of information on this topic is contained in the collection of memoirs and historical articles "Scouts of Russia 1909 - 2001" (Kuchin 2008). The author-compiler of this collection Vladimir Kuchin himself was a victim of repression against scouts by the Soviet government - his mother was repeatedly arrested and exiled for "scout activities." It's probably for these reasons that attention in this work is devoted to the underground work of scouts, red scouts and exiled scouts. The main advantage of this book is the wide range of cited sources; in each of those selected by the author-compiler, there are several points of view that compliment each other. From the memoirs devoted to the topic of Russian children in the Civil War and soon after it, particularly informative are: G. Ditrih "Beginning and End" (Ditrih 1929), the collection "Flame of the First Fires" (Nikolaev 1972) and B. Solonevich "The Youth and GPU" (Solonevich 1938).

In 2012 the book "Oleg Pantukhov - The Chief Scout of Russia" (Bulatov 2012) was published, where questions regarding the Civil War and Soviet children's movements are considered from the position of the leader of Russian Scouts at that time, Oleg Pantukhov.

From English language literature devoted to the appearance of the pioneer organization "V. I. Lenin[1] All-Union Pioneer Organization" and the relationship of pioneers and scouts in the 20s, there are several quite

[1] Till 1924 the organization adopted the name Spartak, but was changed after the death of Lenin.

interesting works. Above all there's Piet Kroonenberg's "The Undaunted" (Kroonenberg 1998) and "The Undaunted II" (Kroonenberg 2003). Despite the large number of factual errors and excessive political bias, today these are the best works devoted to this topic and they're available in English.

Also interesting is the article by Jones D. R. "Forerunners of the Komsomol" (Jones 2004), published in 2004. The author covers in detail the history of Russian children's movements in imperial Russia, and briefly touches on their relationship with the new government.

A short historiographical reference on this topic is provided in the work by Dorena Caroli: "New Trends in the History of Childhood, Education and School Institutions in Post-Communist Russia (1986-2012)" (Dorena 2014). In this work the latest trends for studying childhood and education in Russia and the Soviet Union are well covered, although unfortunately the paragraph devoted to the scouts and to the beginning of the pioneer movement does not purport to be complete.

History of Russian scouting before the Revolution

At the end of the 19th century, social and economic changes in European countries resulted in city youths spontaneously starting organizations. Various were formed, dedicated to filling the leisure time of the upcoming generation and nurturing them into good citizens. In Belgium, the "Young Guard" (association of proletarian youths); in Czechoslovakia "Sokoly" (pan-Slav school society); in Germany "Migratory birds" (tourist organization), (Sokolov 1996: 4) in Britain, "Boys Brigades" (Peterson 2007) and a little later, scouts, in the United States, Seton Thompson's "Woodcraft Indians"; in Russia, the "Poteshny", and so on. The most successful idea ended up being the scout movement, on account of which, scout movements spread across the entire globe, recruiting to its ranks tens and hundreds of thousands of youngsters.

In 1907, the English general, Robert Stephenson Smith Baden-Powell, ran the first scout camp, and already by 1909, the Russian Tsar Nikolas II, inspired by Baden-Powell's book "Scouting for boys", created the organization "Poteshny", which was a not very successful imitation of the scouts. In 1909, the first actual scout brigade appeared. By 1917, according to various sources, Russia had between 30,000 (Kudriashov 2005: 49) and 50,000 (Polchaninov 1979: 30) boy and girl scouts in over 200 locations (Procenko 1918: 4). Such a rapid growth in the popularity of the fledgling organization was characteristic not only of the Russian Empire: in England in 1909, a mere two years after the first scout camp was held, over 11,000 children and their parents gathered at an event in London (Be prepared 1937), while the total number of scouts in

Britain that year rose to 100,000 (History of Scouting 2006: 44). Four more years later, in 1913, the number of scouts in the British Empire passed the 200,000 mark (Zotov 1998: 79). At that time, scouting existed in a total of 20 countries: Russia, England, USA, Argentina, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, India, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Romania, South Africa, Spain, Switzerland and Turkey (Pantukhov 1914: 8).

Let us focus on the children's movements in the Russian Empire in a little more detail. As mentioned earlier, the scouts were called Poteshny and there was also the Sokol movement from Czechoslovakia. The Sokoly was a pan-Slav school association started in Prague in 1862. The first equivalent group in Russia was founded by Czechs in Mirogoschi in 1870. Russia's first Sokoly group of its own came about in Saint Petersburg in 1879 (Polchaninov 2009: 10). The group did not spread massively in Russia, unlike two other organizations.

On 8 January 1908, Tsar Nikolas II made a note in his notebook: "Organize low-pay teaching of discipline and physical training for children in village schools by reserve and retired non-commissioned officers"(Cited by Kudriashov 2005: 26). What the Tsar was thinking when he made that note we cannot say exactly, but we can presuppose two basic reasons. Mainly, it was because of the Russo-Japanese War. The military campaign had revealed many weaknesses in the army, including that the young men conscripted were sickly and unprepared. The second, and no less important, reason was the patriotic and loyal spirit of Baden-Powell's system; his book had inspired the Tsar to start teaching the young. The old general introduced principles which he had assimilated in the army into the new organization – no political affiliation and unconditional loyalty to one's crown and country. With the first Russian revolution fresh in the mind, a movement founded on those principles was hardly going to fail to please the Tsar.

The first person to respond to the Tsar's appeal was A.A. Lutskevich, the national schools inspector, who, at Bakhmutovo public school in Spring 1908 set up a squadron of children of between 8 and 14 years of age, who were learning military discipline and physical training. The name of this organization was distinctive and directly linked to Russian history: "Poteshny", in memory of the companions of the children's games of the first Russian Emperor, Peter the Great. Despite the fact that Baden-Powell's work had given the momentum for the founding of this movement, it was more similar to William Smith's Youth Brigade. Both of these organizations had in common an emphasis on the military preparedness of the children, which was more often than not

reduced to marching drills, exercises with wooden rifles, and borrowing army ranks.

At first, the Poteshny, the darlings of state power, increased rapidly in number. By 1912, the total membership of the movement exceeded 70,000 (Pedagogical leaf 1912: 141).

Despite government support, the Poteshny did not last long. The short and succinct reason for the decline of the Poteshny was described by O.I. Pantukhov: "There were other people around wishing to teach children only military discipline and physical training. We separated and I took some of the many who wanted to go with me to the young razvedchik[2] camp - scouts. The remainder stayed in the hands of the people who called them Poteshny, gave them raspberry-coloured shirts, and played with them until the time that they became soldiers, until everybody was tired of it" (Pantukhov 1947).

The official date on which the scout movement was founded in Russia is thought to be 30 April 1909[3], when Pantukhov, who was at that time lieutenant of the 1st infantry His Sovereign Majesty Life-Guards battalion, (RGVIA: op. 12, d. 26518, l. 319; General list 1909: 142) took children from Tsarskoye Selo on the first scout patrol, and the patrol came to be known as "beavers". This event is celebrated to this day by all Russian scouts as the First Campfire celebration.

The Russian scout movement grew and grew and even the First World War could not hinder that forward progress. The 1917 October Revolution could, although at first only slightly.

Russian Scouts during the Civil War

The country at that time had divided into two big parts: the Reds and the Whites. Most people tried simply to endure the war and remain neutral. That was typically the case for Russian scouts too. They could literally be divided into: whites, reds and neutrals.

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[2] Scouts in Russia call "razvedniki". In this article these two names are used depending on a source. Another synonyms in this text are "scouting" and "scoutizm". Scoutizm mean's scouting in Russian style. This word doesn't use nowadays but was very popular at the first part of 20th century.

[3] The provided date is official and generally accepted, however not quite accurate. In the 20s in correspondence between O.I. Pantukhov and his friends and family, we see that he can't determine which year for the beginning of Russian scoutism: 1909 or 1910. This only gets more confusing with time. Today many scout historians hold the point of view that in 1909 Oleg Pantukhov started work with children in the "poteshny" system, and in 1910 gathered the first scout unit. For more info: Bulatov 2010, 2012: 59-65.

Those scoutmasters and chief scouts who were close to monarchist ideas; those who absolutely could not come to terms with communism's bellicose atheism; or those who were simply disgusted by the idea of forcefully submitting to the Bolsheviks who had snatched power, joined the Whites. Some took part in the warfare, others did everything in their power on the home front, but to a greater or lesser extent, everyone tried to continue working with children in territories occupied by anti-Bolsheviks. Scoutmasters who were Whites found particular success working in the south.

Towards the south, scout organizations were involved in the regions of the Don, Kuban, the North Caucasus and Crimea. During the Civil War a unique picture emerged as, on the one hand, the political and military leaders recognized the importance of children's upbringing and intended to support it in every way possible, and on the other hand, by the vicissitudes of fortune, many of the most prominent figures of Russian scouting were sent to the south, with none more prominent than O.I. Pantukhov and the chief scout of the Don, Aleksandr Petrovich Dekhterev.

In the south, Oleg Pantukhov got his scout activities underway while he was still being treated in Yalta for the aftereffects of a concussion he had suffered during the First World War. After the October Revolution, he was forced to flee from Moscow, where he had been director at a school for young officers in the depths of Yalta, where he once again began working with children. Nevertheless, the capture of Yalta by the Bolsheviks caused the scout movement complications. Even in books that were about to be published, the foreword had to be signed ”approaching these times of change” (Pantukhov 1969: 263).

After moving to Anapa, Colonel Pantukhov formed a brigade even there. In the squadron was notably Vladimir Appolonovich Temnomerov, a future scoutmaster and one of Oleg Pantukhov's most devoted scouting assistants. Pantukhov kept contact with scouts in other cities too. When he paid a visit to his comrade-in-arms, V.V. Fokhta in Novorossiysk, scouts in the area held a parade in his honour under the leadership of Sevastyanov and, after Pantukhov had shared thoughts about moving to the city, they even helped him to find an apartment (Pantukhov 1969: 267-269).

A good friend of Colonel Pantukhov, Aleksandr Petrovich Dekhterev, was in charge of the scout activities in the Don region. He was primarily specializing in work with cubs, that is, younger scouts, but in the circumstances became the middle man between the White headquarters and the scouts in the south, after which he assumed overall leadership of the young razvedchiky. One of Aleksandr Dekhterev's most important achievements was the

establishment in June 1918 of the Novocherkassk association, Russian Scout, where he invited public figures interested in how to bring up the next generation. Professor Andreev became the president of the association, and Professor Pakshishevsky, the vice-president. Dekhterev himself was confirmed as head of the Novocherkassk brigade of boy and girl scouts. The brigade contained squadrons from various cities, including Rostov, possibly because on 25 July, Aleksandr Petrovich was appointed Director of the boy and girl scout brigades in the area of the Don Republic, and later the chief scout of the Don region. (GARF: l. 5, 10)

A.P. Dekhterev's major achievement was to settle relations with the authorities. He managed firstly to recruit Ataman Krasnov to the scout movement, and then replaced him with Ataman Bogayevsky, who then appointed his son, Boris, to the scouts (GARF: l. 19, 38). It is interesting that the nephew of Bogayevsky, the Cossack Ataman for Pyatigorsk, as a boy was himself a scout (Kudriashov 2005: 81). Both Krasnov and Bogayevsky hoped for Russia's future revival and grasped that it would not be possible if they missed out on the generation whose childhood was spent in the civil war, and therefore they were unstinting in theirs efforts and expenses in support of the scout movement. Bogayevsky supplied the scouts with tents, spades and material for uniforms and exempted the scoutmasters and instructors from mobilization (Kudriashov 2005: 82). There was a surge in the number of scouts at that time. Scout historian, Yuri Kudryashov, estimates that in Autumn 1921 there were some 10,000 scouts in southern Russian (Kudriashov 2005: 84).

With the support of the authorities, the main scout event of this time was arranged - the First Congress of Scouting Instructors and Figures of Southern Russia, which took place between 29 September and 10 October 1919 in Novocherkassk (GARF: l. 46). At the Congress, Oleg Pantukhov was elected the Chief Scout of Russia. At almost the same time as this election, he was elected to a similar post by the Chelyabinsk Congress of Scouts (officially Russia's third scouts' congress). He find about that election by chance much later, when in 1921 the magazine, Vladivostok Scout, came into his hands (Kudriashov 2000: 5). As he described the events himself to his friend and comrade-in-arms, Vasily Fokht. "I have been elected 'chieftain' in Siberia and Chief Scout in Novocherkassk" (RGALI: op. 1., d. 259, l. 1). Before that moment, Oleg Pantukhov had been in no way different from the other scoutmasters. He had a reputation as the founding father of the scout movement, which gave him special status in the eyes of other scouts, but no power. As Yuri Kudriashov writes: "Before the 1919 congresses, Pantukhov was not seen as a leader. The whole time while the management bodies were

being set up as ”aid associations”, he had been in the army and yet considered largely as the father of the Russian scouts and a ´mythical, godlike figure” (Kudriashov 2005: 132).

It cannot be said that the election at the Novocherkassk Congress was a surprise for Pantukhov. Later he remembered that he had seen it coming (Pantukhov 1969: 276). It would perhaps be closer to the truth to say that he somewhat had a hand in his own election. On the day before the Congress, he sent A.P. Dekhterev a letter listing the most urgent problems confronting the young razvedchiky movement, and one of the issues was the need ”to place a figure of authority in charge and invest them with powers” (GARF: l. 2, 3). Apparently, Dekhterev liked the idea and put it before the congress representatives. Judging by the decision taken by the Chelyabinsk Congress, there was really no question as to whom to vote in as Chief Scout of Russia.

After the Congress, Pantukhov, who now had greater powers, assumed the leadership of the Southern Russia Scouts, although only for a short while since he had to go to Turkey on official business and then remain there as an emigrant. Before his departure, Pantukhov entrusted the leadership of the scouts in Crimea to Lieutenant General Ivan Borisovich Smolyaninov. Unfortunately, General Smolyaninov did not manage to carry out his responsibilities for long. In 1920, the Bolsheviks captured Simferopol and shot him. The official news about the shootings was published in ”Beacon of the Revolution”. Smolyaninov was number 43 on the list: ”General I.B. Smolyaninov, famous counter-revolutionary, appointed Chief Scout of Crimea” (Solonevich 1938: 36). Credit should be given to the children under his care, who hid him in their homes for as long as they could and then brought him parcels in jail.

Besides their work with children, the scouts helped the White armies as much as they could. An eminent figure in scouting for the Reds, and a later pioneer, Georgy Stanislavovich Ditrikh, said about his White compatriots: ”Scouts are going to the front to fight 'the dragon of Bolshevism'. Scouts are working at the back lines in hard-working brigades, organizing concerts and donating money to the White army. Scouts are working in the Denikin information agency, on the reporting front at Kolchak and repairing roads. The scouts are helped in these services by the aid association for partisans.” (Ditrih 1929: 49) He was absolutely right. For example, following his concussion, Oleg Pantukhov was deemed unfit for service by a medical commission and from December 1918 he worked in the information and canvassing office. V.G. Yanchevetsky (famous writer called Yan), a former commander of the

Petrograd[4] Legion of Young Razvedchiky, was also serving in the reporting field, working in the Kolchak printing press carriage (Kuchin 2008: 210).

On 23 April 1918, Novocherkassk was liberated from the Bolsheviks by the Cossacks. As there were not enough hospital and field nurses for those wounded during the clashes, Field Ataman Popov commanded the scouts to attend to bandages and help the injured. On that day, the scouts of Novocherkassk - including young boys and girls - also distinguished themselves in putting out fires (Klimenko 2005: 72). One of those present at the events, V.A. Klimenko, would later go to the front and form a regiment of scouts (Kudriashov 2005: 83).

Klimenko was not the only scout to go to the front. As Dekhterev remembers: "Many children lost their lives... In January 1920, almost all the scouts between 14 and 15 were recruited to the army" (Dekhterev 1930: 5). Another scout leader from the Don region, Boris Solonevich, wrote about scoutmaster Volodya Tumanov (surname changed by the author) who fought with the Whites. He managed to survive the war but had trouble at the end of it when the commissar almost denounced him. During the military action, the same commissar had been taken prisoner and was delivered to the White headquarters for interrogation. To avoid the Cheka (secret police) uncovering his involvement in the war with the forces at Vrangel, Tumanov was forced to enter into fictitious marriage to change his name. " (Solonevich 1938: 43-49)

Scouts in other regions of Russia were no better off than in the south. In Yekaterinburg during the Kolchakov administration, the White scouts brigade was established, and its members helped White soldiers as much as possible and later actually went to the front as volunteers. Scoutmaster V. Sabinin from Chelyabinsk went as a volunteer to the front, as did Scoutmaster M. Borodin from Yekaterinburg(Kudriashov 2005: 87). Another scoutmaster, Konstantin Pertsov, studied in Omsk Artillery School and was at the same time in charge of a scout brigade which came to have some 500 scouts. On the completion of his studies, he was commander of an armoured train in the Kolchak army (Nafanail 1983: 2-3). The list of Russian scouts who collaborated with the White army forces goes on and on.

The fate of the scouts after the war was somewhat different. Some emigrated abroad and joined the National Organization of Russian Scouts, which had been created by Pantukhov, the Chief Scout of Russia, and which was active in practically all the diaspora countries. Others remained in Soviet

[4] During first quarter of 20-th century St. Petersburg changes the name twice. In 1914 the name of the city was changed from Saint Petersburg to Petrograd (Peter's City), in 1924 to Leningrad (Lenin's City).

Russia and joined the ranks of "neutral" scouts. The connection between them gradually faded, although at the beginning of the 1920s those who had left and those who had stayed still managed to keep up correspondence.

The White scouts acted with more resolve than the neutral ones and the Reds, who rarely went to the front to fight in the civil war but concentrated on working with children and coming up with the correct political position. Later, people spoke about neutral and Red scouts since in the territories occupied by the communists it was hard to distinguish them. Red scouts tried in earnest to create a children's proletarian organization, but neutrals joined the organizations, outwardly gained more power and then attempted to continue the scout system's work.

At first, it should be said, that although there were far less Red scouts and the White ones, they came in all types. The Schneiders brothers are good examples, as they were involved in the November 1918 combat for Moscow on the Bolshevik side (Schneiderov 2008: 156-157). It is interesting that Pantukhov, the Chief Scout of Russia, was fighting on the opposite side at that time. The Schneider brothers, Vladimir and Viktor, were ousted from the scout brigade for their acts, but that did not greatly distress them. They banded together with young people with similar concerns and organized their own brigade. Not ones to dawdle, the young men signed up to the Red Army as volunteers, along with the entire collective of 50 men. That is how the Red Scouts came to be in the ranks of the Red Army. Boris Kloss from the First Kursk brigade of scouts since 1918 till 1920 fought against Denikin's army on the South Front (Loginov 2009).

A Search for New Forms of a Children's Movement

From the very start of the revolution, the Red scouts spoke about love for the proletariat and the need to transform the bourgeois ideas of scouting into proletarian ones. It looked something like this: "The understanding of one's homeland must develop in a new way. A scout is a brother of any other scout from the proletarian masses, and the homeland of any scout can therefore not be restricted to one's land, but must be understood as: 'my homeland is wherever my brothers are, that is, the children of the workers" (Moriak 1919: 8).

The famous sculptor, I.N. Zhukov stood out most in this area, proudly saying about himself in 1923 that: "Pioneers across the Republic call me Uncle Kesha" (Cited by Kudriashov 2000: 103). It could not be said that all Red scouts were cynical careerists. It is possible that some of them were, but the majority were idealists who considered that the new authorities would help them to form a new kind of population. Indicative of this is a letter by Zhukov

to Pantukhov, who by that time had already emigrated. I will select a few excerpts: ”We are organizing the Soviet school and pioneer movement not at a remove from life but stemming directly from it. We shall introduce our schoolchildren to the joy and sorrow of our republic, with its social and political ideals and its enemies, just as we shall introduce them to the life of flowers, animals and their harmful enemies. We shall bring our children up with love for our neighbour, in peace, in this country of workers and peasants. The old intelligentsia is leaving the scene and in its place a new energetic communist intelligentsia has emerged of workers and peasants through the worker faculties, and a completely new student psychology has emerged in the universities. At the soviet (council) elections this winter, all the successful candidates were communists, just like everywhere and in the factories too. The freedom of trade and small industry has established a solid connection between the proletariat and the peasantry. The proletariat dictatorship has turned out to be the most vigorous and creative part of the country. In its combat against hooliganism and in order to allow children to be raised in the interests of a worker-peasant republic, the Communist Youth Union (RKSM) has taken the scouting system to create a broad children's movement nationwide. Besides myself, scoutmasters have joined from all the cities of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR), but not all scoutmasters: some are reactionaries and do not understand the full significance of our step and have left their work. My great and eternal friend V.A. Popov also remained among them” (Cited by Kudriashov 2000: 100-103).

In the scouting magazine ”Kostor” (campfire) in 1922, he also completely honestly refutes the old scouting: ”Down with the ideological ignorance in which the scoutmasters of the old school were stagnating” (Zhukov 1922: 1). I get the impression that Zhukov genuinely believed what he was writing... In 1922-23, he could still afford to believe this. The truth is that his belief did not hold much sway. Even Red scouts could not consider this teacher's ideas and projects without irony. G. Ditrikh, who actively worked towards reforming scouts as pioneers said this about the correspondence with ”Uncle Kesha”: ”I received three letters from him in all, but they were always brimming with optimism. The letters at that time would give us much entertainment... Letters from Zhukov always started with: ”International, chivalrous and proletariat brother of scouts. Old friend of scouts of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic and the Far East Republic, I.P. Zhukov.” (Ditrih 1929: 49) Further on, he tells about a project by Zhukov to create a ”Permanent Position of Robinson Crusoe and his friend Man Friday at Narkompros (the People's Commissariat for Enlightenment)”. The third letter

truly astounded the scoutmasters. It outlined a genuine plan "to organize a massive scout mission to Africa in 1937". Obviously, the plans of "uncle Kesha" fell on deaf ears both among communists and scouts.

In the early post-Revolution days, there were various attempts to establish a children's proletarian organization. The Young Communists (YuKi)[5] organization, for example, looked fairly promising. It was created under the protection of party functionary Vera Bonch-Bruyevich and with the active participation of the scoutmaster N.I. Fatyanov and approved at the Second Congress of Vsevobuch (Universal Military Training)[6] in December 1918 (Slezin 1998: 139). One of the founders of the Leningrad pioneers organization, who found time to be a scout and a part of the Young Communists too, described them in this way: "Reviewing the material about the Young Communists, we found there to be good foundations. The foundations are the scouting system, rid of the bourgeois crust of patriotism and religiosity (Ditrih 1929: 17)".

The first brigades of YuKi-scouts formed in Moscow and Saint Petersburg and then spread to other cities. The stylized sheaf of crops, similar to the scout lily, became the sign of the new organization, and the flower and tie were made red (Zotov 1998: 166). The relationship of the White scouts to the Young Communists was one of slight prejudice. The Chief Scout of Russia said unambiguously in correspondence with the scoutmaster A.L. Kozlovsky: "... I don't know any worker scouts. ... If they are "YuKi", then they are not scouts" (Cited by Kudriashov 2000: 32).

For the finishing touch in the description of this organization, I will provide a colourful quotation from the book by Boris Solonevich "Youth and the GPU": "And so the Komsomol[7] member was given the task of conceiving this brainchild. As the Communist Youth Union could not consider itself prepared to carry out such "delicate" duties due to its manly nature, its leaders, with no small part of patent rationality said "come on! Why give birth yourself? Let's grab some upstart somewhere!"

The child in question was the scout organization, widely spread across the entire face of Russia and with tens of thousands of children and young adults in its ranks. Well, what a find for the Komsomol as it feared the pains of parturition! With a flourish of the pen, they were changed into young

[5] The Young Communists. In Russian: Yunie Kommunisti or YuKi.

[6] Department responsible for universal military training.

[7] Komsomol – The All-Union Leninist Young Communist League. Komsomol was the youth division of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

communists in next to no time, like at the swish of a magic wand. The transformation was complete" (Solonevich 1938: 112).

After the death of its protector and the disappointment of the Komsomol, the days of the Young Communists were numbered. N.K. Krupskaya also drew attention to the Young Communists. Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya, Lenin's wife, was an influential party functionary and involved in organizing the proletarian youth movement. She was more than a little critical of the Young Communists. "It was an attempt by the Health Commissariat to inculcate the boy scout movement under the banner of YuKi. But YuKi was a slavish imitation of the boy scout movement. "Be modest, sparing, honest and truthful, conscientious, polite and obedient, a loyal son of the working people, a Young Communist is true to his thoughts", and so on. All this verbiage was arch-bourgeois and was designed to raise obedient and virtuous soldiers. There was nothing communist about the Young Communist agenda. The actual agenda for Youth Communism had far too militaristic overtones" (Krupskaya 1959: 13). And so it should come as no surprise that with enemies like the Komsomol and Krupskaya, the Young Communist scouts did not last long.

In the fullness of time, decades later, the Youth Communists were rehabilitated and received a place in pioneer lore as a forerunner organization. To take a quotation from the pioneer magazine, Iskorka (Sparkle). "When invaders and White Guardists attacked the young Soviet Republic in 1919, a parade was held in Red Square, Moscow, to commemorate the Day of Universal Military Training. It was 25 May. At the celebrations, the young Muscovites present called themselves "the Young Communists brigade" (Pioneer memorial dates 1957: 14). The commemorative book "Flame of the First Fires" focuses on the 50th anniversary of the pioneer organization, and talks about YuKs in a condescending and even apologetic manner. "The Congress of Vsevobuch, which took place in 1918, decided to create an organization of young Communists (YuKi). However, in making such an important decision, the leaders of Vsevobuch made a serious mistake: entrusting the creation of YuKi units and their leadership to local scout workers: at that time, for the most part, they did not share the position of the Soviet government. In the creation of this organization of scoutmasters, the Party and Komsomol waged a bitter fight on the fronts of the Civil War and with its class enemy inside the country. The main forces were sent where the fate of the Revolution would be decided. The majority of scout masters didn't understand their assignments and only changed the names of their old scout units to YuKi, not changing their social composition and work. However one

shouldn't completely ignore the activities of YuKi units. Created under Vsevobuch, they helped Narkomzdrav a great deal, and true Bolsheviks were at the head of Vsevobuch and Narkomzdrav" (Nikolaev 1972: 7-8). Later in the text it's described how "true Bolsheviks" dispatched the children, but they didn't successfully change the essence of the organization and Komsomol was forced to dissolve YuKi.

Another attempt to create a class-acceptable organization was ROUR (the Russian Organization of Young Razvedchiky - it was renamed the Young Guard in Autumn 1921). The history of their adventures is worthy of the pen of Jules Verne. In the summer of 1918, a group of schoolchildren from Petrograd went to a spa resort in the Ural mountains to improve their health. The age range was between 3 and 16, and teachers and medical personnel also went with them (Dolgosheva 2007: 3-5). The summer went by like a breeze, the children ate to their hearts content, grew fitter and when they were ready to go back, a mutiny broke out in the Czech building, the road to the capital was cut off and the kids found themselves at the back lines of the Kolchak army. Later, they managed to get further along towards Vladivostok, where they were put under the protection of the Red Cross and the American invaders. To organize leisure for the children, a scout group was established under the leadership of the White commander Novitsky, and some 400 residents of the colony enrolled (Kuchin 2008: 213). Some of the children (around 30) decided to declare their solidarity with the new communist power and refused to defer to Novitsky. They called themselves the Red scouts. Their leader was Valentin Tsaune, who was 13 years old at the time, but was helped by his mother and instructor (she managed the girl scouts) and her two older sisters. In May 1920, the Red scouts launched an appeal: "Remembering that the true aim of scouting is to cultivate independent activities in the future citizens of a free Russia, we, the scouts of the second stream, understand the banner of the new scout movement, whose primary law is: a scout obeys his conscience. Long live the Red scouts!" They hastily drew up a programme, which in particular said: "We take it as our basis to inspire future generations of Soviet Russia to love their homeland and all the oppressed in the world and to hate the oppressors". While the Soviets occupied their days with the question of how to organize themselves, the American command of the camp thought about how to return them home. Sending 1,000 adolescents over the front line did not seem an option. And so. the decision was taken to send them on a circuitous route: aboard a Japanese ship through the Panama Canal in America, across the Atlantic Ocean to France in Europe, and then onwards to the Nord-Ostee Kanal in Finland and that was already within touching distance of Petrograd.

Political debates raged among the scouts throughout the entire journey. A small group of children loyal to the Soviet cause had a conflict with a large section of the other travellers but would not renounce their views. Secret meetings gathered. On arrival in America, the children from Petrograd stayed in San Francisco, as Red scouts, in New York, where they were able dazzle the local public with their communist views. They even managed to go to the Soviet Bureau in America and register their organization's affiliation to the RSFSR. On passing via France to Finland, the children got held up at the spa resort in Hallila. At that time, the 17 Red scouts remaining, headed by Tsaune, decided to adopt a new name: the Russian Organization of Young Razvedchiky. In October 1920, the adolescents even returned home to Soviet Russia with that name.[8]

Despite their loyalty to the new regime, the ROUR worked practically the entire time semi-legally, although they tried to become legal through various Soviet bodies. They managed to do this briefly in autumn and summer 1922. Ditrikh got in direct contact with ROUR members and said this about the organization: "The ROUR never found its place in its environs. The ROUR locked itself away as a small group in Tsaune's apartment. On their way to Russia, they thought about many things, but the thoughts went no further, as they were unable to turn thoughts into action. The ROUR was born in the Whites' back lines, returned to Soviet Russia, began working underground and was a branch of the Petrograd underground scouts.... The ROUR looked to reinvent itself, but only changed their uniform. The scout broad rimmed hat bends up on the right, and there is a red star and a dark blue ribbon attached...there was a decision to change the sign of the ROUR organization - an old scout lily, and instead, a red five-flamed red campfire was introduced as a symbol of revolution"(Ditrih 1929: 42). As a result, on 3 December 1922, the decision was made to celebrate the renaming of the ROUR as the Petrograd Young Pioneers Organization (Ditrih 1929: 74).

It should be said that apart from the Young Communists and the ROUR, during the universal military training, many short-lived organizations came about and consisted of only a few brigades: The "Russian Scout" national association, the Brotherhood of Campfire Friends, The Free Scouts Union, the Zamoskvyrechye Scouts Association, the White Fang tribe, etc. Even less successful was the practice of appointing members of the Komsomol to the scouts, with the aim of political instruction, as happened in Sevastopol.

[8] One can consult books and many articles (in Russian and English), and also see photographs devoted to the round-the-world voyage of the Petrograd children at the website: http://www.colonia.spb.ru

Scoutmaster Boris Solonevich left a description of one such conversation between a Komsomol member and the scouts: the attempted dialog brought nothing but mutual scorn" (Solonevich 1938: 40).

After the Young Communists broke up, communist youths were left with no organizations with consistent ideas in which to trust. The Red scoutmasters and Krupskaya started to think again about what to do. They did not think about this in the Komsomol at that time: communist youths had enough concerns of their own without thinking about children's organizations. Krupskaya even came to write the famous pamphlet "the Communist Youth Union and Boy Scout movements", with an aim to: "on the one hand underscore all the negative aspects of the boy scout movement, and on the other hand, to recommend the boy scout methods" (Krupskaya 1959: 25-26). In the foreword to the book, amongst other things, she signed a verdict on scouting in all its manifestations, and even in the form advocated by Uncle Kesha: "Attempts are always made again and again in to create a boy scout organization here in Russia in one guise or another. However, the bourgeois essence of the boy scout movement was so deeply ingrained and pervaded the entire movement so completely - such was its international nature - that you could not ignore, nor distil a form of it into other content (the Youth Communists) - Innocenty Zhukov, for example, the Far-East Russian Republic activist who was an ardent believer in the boy scout movement tried to ignore this bourgeois essence). The days of the scout movement are numbered" (Krupskaya 1959: 26). On the other hand, she did not object to copying the way you work with children in scouting, the external form of the uniform for children and leaders, the organizational structure and even the slogan.

Another vivid example of the relation between the Red scoutmasters and the party is the resolution of Comrade Nevsky proposed at the Narkompros (the People's Commissariat for Enlightenment) conference of 13 May 1921. Several places in the resolution reveal the main differences between the scouts and the pioneers:

"1. Scouting must be used for instructional purposes and included in the general system of social education with the scout organization subordinate to the national social education organization and its local offices. Remark: the name scout had to be changed to "work razvedchik".

4. To harmonize the scout organization with the contemporary principles of social education, it was necessary to accept that scouting needed: 1) Changes in the social status of its members. 2) Greater emphasis on the cultural and political work in its brigades. 3) Uncoupling from the remnants of a militaristic and petty bourgeois morality (authoritarian pharisee). 4) Establishing a specific

link with industrial work. 5) Work organizing the scout brigades had to be closely linked to that of the Communist Youth Union, and ideally include all the youth movements into a single communist sector" (RGASPI: d. 2, l. 1).

The postscript below was typical for these events: "At first Popov and Fatyanov took part in this commission, but now Popov has left, finding that disfiguring worked perfectly well without the scout movement."

The Red scouts monitored everything that the party representatives said and had a very responsible reaction to it, and so uncoupling the organization from its bourgeois remnants became hardly their main priority. In the Moscow Scoutmasters' Declaration, signed on 17 May 1922, this was expressed as follows: "1. The scouting system, free of its bourgeois crust and suffuse with new content about society and labour should be based on the organization of children's groups, ... 5. The name "scout", as a synonym of the movement with the former content, could be replaced with something new and better, which reflects the essence of the "young pioneers" movement better (RGASPI: d. 29, l. 1).

Soon after the Muscovites, scout workers from Petrograd made a very similar declaration, with only a few words different (Zotov 1998: 187). The ROUR members mentioned earlier, headed by V. Tsaune and the Ditrih brothers, were the initiators of this declaration.

After all the changes in scouting, the Komsomol applied for and approved the establishment on 19 May 1922 of the pioneer organization. The external changes were minimal. Zhukov in particular wrote about the uniform: "For young pioneer brigades, we kept the general scouts uniform (red kerchief). A depiction of a campfire is the only sign of the pioneers" (Cited by Kudriashov 2000: 102). The slogan and organizational structure also remained the same. Small changes to the salute. For example, regarding the salute, it's interesting to note that contributions to the outward appearance of the new organization were made not only in the capitals of Moscow and Petrograd, but also in provincial cities. Here is an excerpt from correspondence between Komsomol organizations in Saratov and Samara: "The scout salute was discarded by us from the start. The salute adopted by you [in Samara, - author's note] was offered, but was challenged, which we support, specifically that: your salute obstructs the field of vision, and this is very important. We have adopted the following salute: raising the right hand above the level of the head, bent at a right angle at the elbow, the palm forward. The meaning of our salute is almost the same as yours, and the five fingers to us represent the five parts of the world. The slogan "workers of the world unite" wasn't included by us, but it was successful. The outward expression of our salute signifies determination,

preparedness. "Always ready," "Give your voice," etc. (GANISO: f. 28, op. 1, d. 143, l. 5).

Although the laws were rewritten, they were also not a product of the original work. The songs, camps, banners were all inherited by the pioneers as a package along with the management structure and the former scoutmasters. As time went by, Komsomol members went on special courses and became pioneer leaders, and the former scouts were gradually replaced until they had been entirely got rid of. Thereafter, it was not that complicated to eradicate all memory of the scout origins of the pioneer organization. A clear example of such forgetfulness appears in the novel "Kortik" by Rybakov, where Genka, a future pioneer, says angrily about the scouts: "Give over to scouts? Those bourgeois spongers? They stand up for some English general. I'll show them an English general!", forgetting that without the English general, there would have been no pioneers.

The word "pioneer", incidentally, was first introduced by Red scoutleaders. At first, they were "scouting pioneers", "culture pioneers" and then they preferred to forget entirely about the additional words. For example, to take a quotation by I. Zhukov in 1918: "Not military razvedchiky, as is sometimes understood by the less enlightened among us, but "razvedchiky" in the sense of culture pioneers..." (Zhukov 1992).

The End of the Scouting

Summer 1922 was the last in which scouts could openly wear a uniform and hold camps. In 1922, on the day of St. George the Victorious, the heavenly protector of scouts, Primoriye[9] scouts were allowed off school work and the parade in Vladivostok gathered some 300 people (Kudriashov 2000: 76). In June 1922, Oleg Pantukhov had already come to the conclusion that "the Komsomol has become condescending to "the scout groups"" (cited by Kudriashov 2000: 82).

Nevertheless, at that time the demarcation between pioneers and scouts was happening all over the country. The Komsomol was convinced that the pioneer organization was fully viable and, no longer needing the "bourgeois" scouts, went about eliminating them. Although there were no orders or bans on scouts, their persecution started throughout the country. There even appeared an "official for the struggle against scouts". In the Autumn of 1922, the sad news passed from the provinces to Saint Petersburg: "Yekaterinburg: the scout organization has been completely dissolved. Simferopol: the scout organization has been dissolved. Odessa: given an

[9] Primoriye is a region in the Russian far east.

ultimatum either to reorganize itself as young pioneers or broken up. Vologda: scout organization broken up (Ditrih 1929: 70). Boris Solonevich, "the White scoutmaster", who decided to stay in Russia, sketched out the situation in Kiev: "It's the same as everywhere: the brigades have been shut down, the headquarters routed, the inventory confiscated, vandalism, arrests - in other words, the Komsomol movement is in full swing" (Solonevich 1938: 151). On 23 April 1923, in Moscow, a parade was being planned on the day of St. George the Victorious, the heavenly protector of scouts. Three brigades took part in it. No sooner had the brigades lined up in the square and solemnly taken out their banners, than GPU agents showed up in front of the ranks in leather jackets. The next day, they released the leaders who had been detained but the warning was more than serious enough. After that parade, the ranks of scouts in the capital became thinner and thinner (Kudriashov 2005: 105).

There was an active battle with scouts in Saratov, such that in February 1923 at a report conference of the Komsomol Saratov Provincial Committee, noted were "significant achievements in work among children regarding the decisive liquidation of the bourgeois organization YuK-Scouts and the creation of a strong Communist movement of proletariat children" (GANISO: f. 28, op. 1, d. 139, l. 2).

It should be noted though, that everywhere, the process of terminating the scout movement and beginning the pioneer one went ahead on different tracks. M Reykhord, the writer who did the foreword to the book of G. Ditrikh that was mentioned earlier, put it rather beautifully: "It seems relevant to us that the sun is setting on the scout movement in Russia just as the Petrograd organization experienced it. It rules out any chance - even for our enemies - to talk about the scout movement simply being buried alive after the October Revolution. We have no intention of regretting that, wherever it appeared necessary, we simply wrung the neck of the scout organizations. But by coincidence, in Petrograd, not only did they fail to wring the neck of the scout movement, but even artificially supported it somewhat". And we really know from Ditrikh's work that in Autumn 1922, there were no repressions against scouts. Simply two decisions were accepted based on principles: to take up children into the pioneer organization "exclusively from care homes, apprenticeship schools and workers' children and pass all teachers before a filtering commission. Of course, those who did not pass the filter were banned from working with children. Although Ditrikh and his colleagues were not over the moon with those that were left. "Yes, the scout movement has left quite some legacy. But people have to work with this system, until they become new leaders of the Komsomol" (Ditrih 1929: 4). We can clearly see

from this declaration that nobody intended to allow former scouts the chance to work with children.

In Moscow in 1922, they gathered together scouts in a school gym that they used for assemblies and announced about the dissolution of the organization This is how A.I. Ballod, witness to those events, described it: "...Some young guy stood up before us. He made a whole speech telling us how the scout organization was bourgeois and that a new youth organization was being created, the pioneers, while the scouts were being dissolved and we had to become pioneers" (Ditrih 1929: 79).

In Odessa, the situation was akin to Moscow. We read in the memoirs of R.I. Dub, a member of the Jewish scout organization, Maccabi: "Young kids took our equipment and banners. One kid said: "Whoever wants to join the Young Communists, sign up and we will decide who to take. Whoever doesn't want to join, go home." The kids cleared everything out, shut it up, and we went away. They explained to us that it was a petty bourgeois organization, apolitical, and therefore harmful" (Ballod 2008: 218).

Such brutal pressure on the children's youth movement began only after 1922; before this Komsomol tried to be more careful. Regarding this, it's interesting to know the instructions for the Jewish section of Komsomol in the city of Saratov. In 1920 in this city there were three Jewish youth organizations: the Jewish work club "Jugend," "The Zionist Organization of Beney Tsmen" and the "Borokhov Club Section." Initially they decided at the regional level that it was necessary to strengthen their influence in the "Jugend" club, and that Zionists as "nationalists" should "be broken from the inside," and to do everything possible to take property from the "Borokhov" club (GANISO: f. 28, op. 1, d. 44, l. 13). From Moscow soon came more detailed instructions: "regarding the "Jugend" club, you must adopt the following policy: given that there are petty bourgeois elements there, you must start an organized fight with them. For this it's necessary to strengthen the influence of the cell [meaning the Komsomol cell, - author's note] and its activity. When you confirm that you've created a majority you can join it with our organization. As for the "Jugend-Bundists" that are there, you should make every effort to fight them (ideologically of course)." It's interesting to note that the methods recommended to the Saratov Jewish Komsomol by Moscow authorities resemble the actions of the Dietrich brothers in Petrograd among the scouts: the gradual occupation of leadership positions, increasing their proponents and purging disloyal ones from the organization.

You can find out about the process of training the Komsomol leaders again from the memoirs of Ditrih. Three-day courses with an emphasis on

marching and then the young pioneer leaders were ready (Dub 2008: 245). In January 1923, in Moscow, there was this kind of training of pioneer leaders from the Communist Youth Union in four areas (Kudriashov 2000: 102). The scouts, pointing to the level of quality of the leadership training, could not compete with the new organization which had immediately sacrificed quality over quantity. The scoutmasters' days in the pioneers were numbered.

Nevertheless, all the persecutions in 1922-23 were not a shade on the measures undertaken in 1926 when the scouts were taken over by the OGPU. The V-Ch-K[10], which preceded the OGPU, showed an interest in the scouts even before that. There were even attempts to recruit agents from among scouts" (Solonevich 1938: 58-60). But the real mass persecutions began later than that. On 23 April 1926, in Moscow alone, 26 scouts were arrested, some of which received 3 years in Solovetsky concentration camp, others - 3 years of exile on the north or south edges of Russia (Zotov 1998: 202-203). Even Boris Solonevich, familiar to the reader, was caught in the round-up. He wrote about his arrest in his autobiography, "Youth and the GPU" "Gradually and barely noticeably, the hand of the OGPU was raising above our heads about strike. Not getting the better of the scouts through pressure, fear, threats, bribery and humiliation, the GPU decided to deal the death blow to the insubordinate youths. ... I remember one of the evenings after I arrived from the south. ...The heartfelt joy and earnest conversations were suddenly interrupted by somebody opening the door without knocking. In the threshold of my room there stood the shadowy figure of a silent Cheka agent in full uniform with a piece of paper in his hand. ...As morning was breaking his car sped me along the streets in the grey haze to Lubyanka, the OGPU headquarters" (Solonevich 1938: 193).

They came not only for current scouts, but also for former ones. On 27 April 1926, 11 former scouts were detained in Nizhny Novgorod. When, after 10 days, it emerged that they were not part of a scout organization, they were released. In 1927, again a few former scouts were detained. In 1928, once more three former scouts were detained, who this time were sent to Lubyanka, Moscow. The last arrest ended up as a relatively mild sentence for them: "3 years in the Urals for affiliation with an illegal organization" (Sokolov 2008: 253-256).

Arrests were not the only form of repressions that the new power used against scouts. During and in the immediate aftermath of the Civil War, the death sentence was on one occasion applied to a member of the scout

[10] RSFSR V-Ch-k SNK RSFSR - National Emergency Committee to combat counter-revolutionaries and sabotage attached to the People's Commissars Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR). Since 1922 - GPU or OGPU- short for "State Political Directorate under the NKVD of the RSFSR".

movement. In the emigrant organization of the Organization of Russian Youth Scouts (ORUR) there is a tradition known as Remembrance Day. A solemn event is held in the camp in memory of the scouts and scoutmasters of those who died fighting for Russia or died in the line of duty in emigration. Most of the list is of those who died in the line of duty, but almost half of the list of the dead is filled with those who fell to the hands of the communists (the other half of the deceased were victims of the Nazis). The list contains the following names: Prince Aleksey, official member of the scouts; doctor A.K. Anokhin, founder of the Kiev scout circle; General Smolyaninov (already mentioned); Grigory Pavlov, assistant scoutmaster; Konstantin Prokhorov, scoutmaster; Erast Tsytovich, commander of the Tsarskoye Selo circle; and Mikhail Bogoslovsky, scoutmaster assistant. Later, children who had undergone scout training joined White emigrant military organizations and the Soviet Union. A further two scouts died there, Yury Peters and Mikhail Solsky. Their names are remembered on Memorial Day.

Conclusions

It has to be said that the revolution had an enormous bearing on the Russian scout movement. The effect could be compared to that of a nuclear war in Hollywood movies: many died, others ran away and were forced to change to survive; others still remained and mutated beyond recognition. That was how it was in Russia. Some of the scouts died on the front line in the Civil war or in the torture chambers of the Cheka; some were forced to emigrate and support the tradition of the Russian scout movement in a new homeland; and the rest were forced to change under the influence of their environment, and even to forget their roots.

An "elder friend of scouts", Innocenty Zhukov, was wrong when he wrote in 1922 that "Narkompros (the People's Commissariat for Enlightenment) and its institutions do not acknowledge the scout movement: they are deaf and dumb to it"(Cited by Ditrih 1929: 68). Nadezhda Krupskaya, on the other hand, responsible among the Bolsheviks for working with children and young adults, had great respect for the scout methods: "The boy scout practices shed light on the methods which should broadly be applied to raise children. These methods had to be practiced by the Youth Unions and the Communist Youth Unions, to think them over and apply them to communist aims" (Krupskaya 1959: 25-26). Another issue was that Zhukov and other "emancipated scouts" were simply temporary travellers, a necessary stage at first for creating a new organization, and harmful at later stages. That is why, after 1922, the Soviet authorities started to get rid of former

scoutmasters, filtering them out bit by bit. In 1926, they finally did away with the scout movement through mass repressions against those who in their hearts harboured belief in the scout way.

In closing, I simply want to add that on 21 June 2014 at Big Solovetsky Island in the Arkhangelsk region (where there's the Solovetsky concentration camp) there was a solemn ceremony to open the memorial in memory of scouts who unjustly suffered in the years of repression.

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Soviet Childhood Evolution in the 1940s Primers

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Abstract: The authors investigate specific features and stages through which the "image of the Soviet child" construct was shaped. By analyzing three 1946-1948 *Primers* they demonstrate the emergence of the social iconography of children's images, and show how different ideologically-charged constructs were selected. Research is based on the historical and cultural methodology founded on recording a wide range of semantic visual and verbalized meanings. By elucidating the principal block of meanings, one can arrive at when and how the "image of the Soviet child" was coded and re-coded. The authors define three such blocks: existential, culture-producing, ideological and political. The tenet of the article is that each of these blocks would be foregrounded depending both on the overall ideological situation and on the socioeconomic tasks of a particular post-war year.

Keywords: primer; elementary school; childhood; Soviet history; Stalin and education**.**

Images and patterns of "a Soviet child" inherent, constructed, promoted, retained and changed by the Soviet political and pedagogical ideology and culture, are now widely studied in works on the history and culture of the Russian education and childhood and in the works on the history of the Soviet culture as a whole (Holmes 1999, Kirschenbaum 2001, Kelly 2007, Ewing 2002, Caroli 2004, 2006a and 2006b, Balina and Rudova 2008, Knight 2009, Olich 2009 etc). All these authors demonstrate the same cultural load, the same repertoire of ideas and images, the same tools that were at the disposal of the authors and consumers of Soviet school books. Such research usually affords priority to large ideological constructs such as "Soviet culture," "Soviet childhood," "Soviet school book." These works analyze the development of the "Soviet childhood" concept used in pedagogical politics as a nice

ideological basis which, in turn, was a literary and cultural project essentially globalist in its totalitarian intention. This project helped construct the life and education in a closed society (Кондаков 2010, 17-20).

Despite such active research activity, the questions of what childhood was in the Soviet culture, when and how ordinary kids grew into Soviet schoolchildren, are still largely unanswered. Particularly little attention was paid to the second half of the 1940s as a special time in the history of education and childhood, the time when the joy of victory required that the Soviet regime channel special efforts into preventing the ideology from "blurring" and the country from opening up to international contacts (Fürst 2010, Kucherenko 2012, 421-436). Books on how to teach reading and writing reflected the equivocal processes in the post-war USSR development: texts and illustrations provided both adults and children with the images of an ideal child's temperament and behavioral strategy, both permissible and recommended by the Soviet educational system. Studying the images of children introduced into the social space we can see what kind of a child the Soviet school was expected and planned to produce in the first post-war years.

This article posits the following questions. Firstly, we intend to trace the means used in Nikifor Kostin's so-called "Leningrad primers" (Костин 1946, 1947, 1948) of the second half of the 1940s for social construction of images of the "Soviet child".[1] Secondly, we intend to provide an answer to the question of the degree to which the compiler and the illustrators took into account gender differences. Thirdly, we intend to partially analyze the images of those adults who interact with children or are in close proximity with them.

In the second half of the 1940s, pedagogical quest of the authors of Soviet *Primers* was so intense that school books became transformed at every level. In the primers published in 1946, 1947, 1948, the cover, the book format, the title page, the texts, and the illustrations were gradually changed. Fig. 1 shows the evolution of the Soviet child image on *Primer*'s cover.

[1] N. Kostin received his education before 1917 and started his teaching career in the South of Russia in the early 1910s. He became popular only in the late 1920s, when the Soviet authorities needed him as a methodology specialist to teach writing and spelling. The new authorities were creating a new written culture, and the importance of enlisting the services of a professional these authorities had promoted played a significant part in involving Kostin in authoring such school books as *Means and Methods of Teaching Spelling*, *Lessons in Writing*, etc. In the 1930s, Kostin takes part in producing primers and books for elementary reading. He is entrusted with primers and Russian language text books for Finno-Ugric peoples (the Aesti, the Mari). Kostin publishes the first *Primer* for the Russian-language population along with *Our Homeland* reading anthology immediately after the war, in 1946. On the 1920s written culture see Bezrogov 2010, 1451-1478.

Figure 1. Covers of N.A. Kostin's* Primer *published in 1946, 1947, 1948

In the 1946 edition, *Primer*'s cover depicted probably preschool children. They choose books to read on their own, thereby preparing for becoming schoolchildren. Their appearance and their surroundings give no indications as to the social reality outside their cozy room. Against the background of implicit negation of the war-time tragedy, the children, ensconced in the safe space of their home, are represented from the point of view of their existential essence, and therefore, they look precisely like children. This is the only time when the cover of a Soviet primer shows a private home space, and not a school or children working productively for the greater glory of their homeland. Afterwards, the authorities considered this "breakthrough into the personal" to be superfluous; after the war, it was clearly intended as therapeutic, and that was why it was allowed once.[2]

The older boy leans on the chair and looks either at the reading girl or in the book in her lap. His posture reflects both masculine strength and his interest in the plot (or facts) of the book. The boy appears to have taken the girls under his wing: from afar, he participates in what they are doing and controls their behavior. Since the boy is taller than the sitting girl and her younger sister, he can be assumed to be older and wiser.

The older girl is sitting on a chair reading. On the one hand, she is still small, the chair is too big for her, her feet dangle in the air, on the other hand, she is old enough to know how to read. Of the three children pictured, only she, the reader, is allowed to assume a relaxed posture, she is sitting with her

[2] Unlike Soviet publications, post-war primers in other WWII countries used this device frequently.

legs crossed. A reading person is, therefore, represented[3] by the artist as an adult, someone who understand the "cipher" of books and is capable of conveying to her audience the message of the book.

The younger girl is browsing large fat books on the shelf. She is also interested in what the older girl is reading, she's peeking into the open book. She wants to be "like everyone else," but so far, she can only imitate the behaviour of her "elders," mastering the initial stages of contacts with books.

Thus, the 1946 *Primer* presents a book read at home as an ideological center of the picture. A conclusion can be drawn that the authors of this school book determine the role and place of a child in society on the basis of the child's ability to read well. This ability is a "pass" into adulthood. This pass is acquired at home, during the restoration after World War II, probably when the streets were far less friendly to a post-war Leningrad child than they would be later. Let's once again note that this cover has no links to the social reality of the world at large, and the peaceful life in a cozy home is the social space where the child is growing up.

In the 1947 book, things change drastically. *Primer*'s cover presents elementary school students who, in the second year after the war, have now stepped into the city space. They are going to school, which is emphasized by their movement from right to left. Their school uniform declares and openly demonstrates the new social status of the children depicted; they are no longer preschoolers, they are "real schoolchildren." Social reality is already regulated: although there are no little Octobrist stars on their uniforms, the uniforms themselves already "construct" the children's body, behavior, and mind.[4]

The girl and boy on the cover are purposefully walking to school. This purposefulness is shown by their firm tread and stern faces. There is no physical or eye contact between the children. There is an empty space between them, a sort of a "wall" which separates them. The wall motif is repeated in the facades of the Leningrad buildings around the children.[5] We could suppose that the knowledge received in school is presented as helping young

[3] The cover was designed by Vladimir Konashevich, who was awarded the title of the Honored Artist of the RSFSR in 1945. (In the USSR, this title was given to famous actors, composers, singers, writers, directors, artists, and other cultural figures for the sum total of their work.) 1940s elementary school students knew Konashevich's style very well since he illustrated popular children's books.

[4] Covers for 1947 and 1948 primers were designed by Vera Firsova (1906 – 1986). She was younger than Konashevich (1888 – 1963) and less well-known.

[5] One of the buildings is M.E. Saltykov-Shchedrin Public Library located at 36 Fontanka River Embankment. The library was founded in 1795. It is one of the first public libraries in Eastern Europe. Mikhail Saltykov-Shchedrin is a famous 19th century Russian writer.

schoolchildren overcome all kinds of visible and "invisible" walls and become part of the world of the great ideology and great spiritual culture. This culture is symbolized by severe silent buildings and a beautiful wrought-iron lattice on the bridge the children are crossing.

The very act of crossing a bridge is, as we remember from V. Propp's (Пропп 1987) historical poetics of a fairy tale, an act of crossing a certain sacred boundary between knowledge and lack of knowledge, between an old life and a new one, between present and future. Soviet ideologues, whether consciously or unconsciously, took such interpretations into account. It's no coincidence that both building bridges, roads, and highways and renaming them were an important part of the political discourse. New bridges and roads always help make a shorter way to the desired goal.

Firm tread on the way toward a great goal formed the ideological core of children's images on the cover in question (it's particularly relevant for the boy). Of course, people looking at the cover don't know how the children will arrive at those goals, but they are both assured of the right way chosen and of the attainability of the result, and they are also called upon to make sure the "quest for knowledge" is successful throughout the country and beneficial for diligent schoolchildren. In the 1947 cover, this quest is presented as a quest for culture, and an ideal child is first and foremost a "cultured person." Back in the 1920s, the Russian words for "cultured" and "literate" came to be viewed as synonymous. In the 1947 cover we see elementary school students turning into carriers of this ideology. Reading texts from *Primer*, they will learn to read and understand culture and subsequently, their civic duty.

The 1948 book somewhat alleviates the sternness of the children's images, but the cover is even more politicized. It depicts schoolchildren coming back from school. It is noteworthy that two girls, walking hand in hand, chatter happily, while the boy solemnly walks by their side. As in the 1947 cover, the children are crossing a bridge, but the location is drastically different. It no longer depicts the city of Lenin (i.e. Leningrad, now St. Petersburg) "the cradle of the revolution," it now depicts Moscow, the capital of the USSR where Stalin works for the greater good of the entire country. The schoolchildren are pictured against the background of the Moscow Kremlin, the Grand Kremlin Palace as the heart of the Soviet power. The children walk away from the Kremlin's walls and into the world at large. In school, together with the basics of literacy, they learned faith in socialism and they can further spread the knowledge received from "the heart of our Motherland."[6] The

[6] "The heart of our Motherland" was the expression used to denote both Moscow, the capital of the USSR, and the Moscow Kremlin, the workplace of the Secretary General of the Central

children's quiet assurance and firm conviction show those who look on that this knowledge is politically true and ideologically correct. Semantic emphasis in the interpretation of the children's images gradually moves from the noun "preschooler" (1946) to "student" (1947) to the adjective "Soviet" the Kremlin used as a noun (1948).

So, happy children are walking through the streets of Moscow, behind them are the towering Kremlin walls, turrets with bright stars, and the building of the Council of Ministers of the USSR topped with the red banner. In this particular context, the Kremlin is represented as the country's principal temple. No ordinary children could exist in such an ideologically charged space: at that time, only politically well-educated schoolchildren had the right to be in close proximity to the "heart of our Motherland," those schoolchildren who understood the elevated meaning of their "serving the Motherland." The 1948 cover doesn't just depict schoolchildren, it depicts SOVIET schoolchildren, politically educated members of a large social world actively engaged in building communism for the entire humankind.

This world is founded on a solid political basis. Schoolchildren don't need some fervent purposefulness in order to construct this basis and overcome some sorts of obstacles. They already know the basics of political education, and now they can carry their knowledge beyond the new social world and they can do it with unperturbed assurance. Their task is to broaden and strengthen the frontiers of the world delineated by the Kremlin, and to do it in a simple and easy manner. Again, the artist introduces the motif of bridge crossing. Now, however, its iconographic interpretation is different. Endowed with the power of political knowledge, the schoolchildren are called upon to be, first and foremost, citizens of their country. The word "literate" now means "politically loyal," "striving for the right future."

Let's summarize our first conclusions. In the second half of the 1940s, the strictest requirements were set for children's images on *Primer*'s cover. Neither "tender domesticity" of the 1946 children, nor the "loyalist culturedness" of the 1947 children were shown to the public at large. The total printing run of the 1946-47 *Primers* was 120,000 copies (60,000 annually). These books were only distributed in Leningrad. The 1948 *Primer* with children represented as "loyal citizens" was presented to the mass reader of the entire "Soviet Motherland," its printing run was 700,000 copies. The "Kremlin image" created in the Leningrad laboratory was finally deemed appropriate for use throughout the country.

Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks).

For visual anthropologists and for historians of the literary and didactic canon, the post-war period is interesting, in particular, due to the fact that over a short period of time, it shaped the iconography of three different images of childhood. Soviet children on *Primer* covers were depicted first in the private space of a peaceful time, then against the background of cityscapes of Leningrad as a cultural center[7] and finally against the background of the cityscapes of Moscow as the ideological and political center.[8] The child on the cover was represented either as a highly cultured intellectual, or as a political tribune, a cog in the machine of the new Soviet era and the totalitarian Soviet world which had succeeded in staying afloat.

Let's look inside the primer itself, at the many illustrations and first texts for reading. A large number of children's images in educational illustration allow to see in even greater detail the shaping and the rapid transformation of the image of an ideal Soviet child, the childhood in general, and the school years in particular.

A special place here is afforded to the military topics. In the 1946 *Primer*, there are still oblique reminders of the hard war years (for instance, on p. 11 the illustration depicts boys entering a classroom like a military group: there is concentration on their faces, their bodies are rigid, and they virtually march into the room), but the 1947 and 1948 *Primers* don't have illustrations of this kind. Leningrad publishers opt for the peaceful reconstruction as the principal aim for teachers in the country that emerges from the war-time desolation.[9]

[7] The 1947 *Primer* cover where the children are depicted against the background of the Leningrad Public Library, now the Russian National Library, one of Russia's main book depositories.

[8] See the *Primer* cover where the children are depicted against the background of the Moscow Kremlin.

[9] Further on, this aim was again replaced with militarist subjects. Баранникова 2011, 296-302.

Figure 2. 1946 and 1947 Primers (p. 3) and (p. 8).

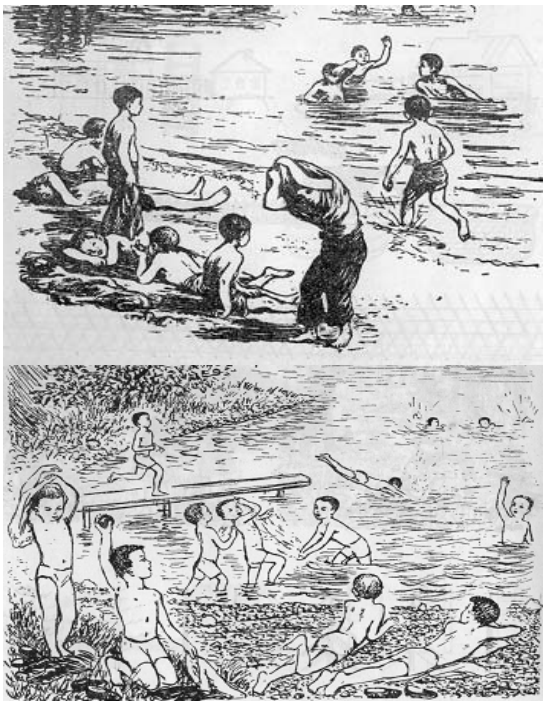
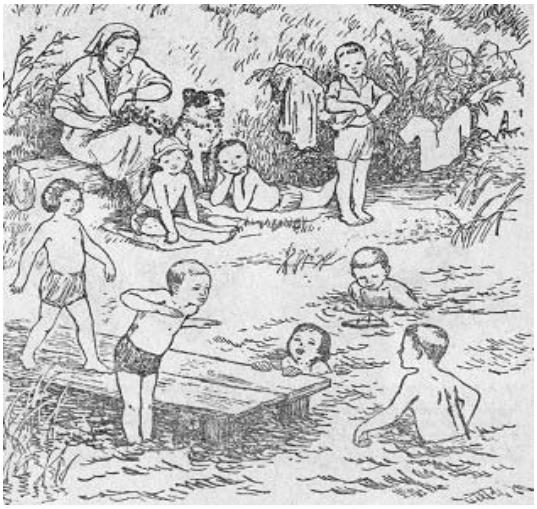


Figure 3. 1948 Primer, p. 5



The artist's "lens" is often aimed at intergenerational relations. In the mid-1940, children in elementary school book pictures were mostly independent and of different ages (see fig. 2, "Children at the riverside" picture), and by the end of the decade, they are mostly depicted with adults who supervise them.

In the 1948 *Primer*, "Children at the riverside" picture differs from the previous editions (see fig. 3). Boys and girls depicted there are approximately of the same age. They look more like kindergarteners on a field trip than schoolchildren on vacation. The teacher who is sitting next to them looks at her wrist watch. The time allocated for games and swimming is now becoming strictly regulated. Henceforth children must obey strict rules both at school and outside it: the unlimited power of the mentoring law is now proclaimed as a foundation for their "natural" existence.

This enslavement of a child's body is gradual and it begins at the ever earlier ages. Let's analyze the change in children's social motivation framework as represented in different editions in pictures illustrating the same subject. The 1947-48 editions have a text titled "Pioneers and We." The 1946 primer has the same text without a title:

Pioneers were walking.
We walking, too.
Kira and Vera were walking.
Misha and Roma were walking.[10]
Everyone was walking carrying balloons.
The pioneers were singing.
We were singing, too.
Kira and Vera were singing.
Misha and Roma were singing.
Everyone was walking singing songs.

[10] In the 1947 and 1948 editions, the list of children walking and singing is changed: "Kira was walking/singing. Vera was walking/singing. Lena and Tima were walking/singing." Now there is one boy to three girls.

Figure 4, 1946 Primer, p. 41.

The illustration for the text (see fig. 4) depicts children in ordinary clothes. They are carrying slogans "We will study well!," "Be ready!," "Always ready!" and they behave as if attending a rally, they are somewhat disorganized and relaxed. Young Little Octobrists, Kira, Vera, Misha and Roma, are happily walking in the front of the column of happy children, followed by pioneers with their slogans. Therefore, children are arranged by age in the social hierarchy.[11] The smallest one (the Little Octobrists) come first, followed by older children, and logically, they should be followed by Komsomol members and Communists. They are not pictured, but the iconography of the three Little Octobrists has traits of adult ideological integrity. If one of the girls looks like a beautiful well-dressed doll in an unbuttoned coat (we don't even see her Little Octobrist star), the other three children are dressed impeccably or nearly impeccably. The Little Octobrist stars are clearly visible on their tightly buttoned coats and on their sweaters. The sternness of the image is

[11] The political and social hierarchy in the USSR was strictly stratified by age. The first stage was represented by Little Octobrists, children of 7-9 years of age, political heirs of the "Great October," i.e. the so cold 'Great October Socialist Revolution' (1917). The second stage was represented by Young Pioneers, children of 9-13 years of age, members of the All-Union Pioneer Organization. The third stage was Komsomol members, teenagers, members of the Lenin All-Union Communist Youth Union. The fourth stage was communists, members of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks).

broken only by the upturned quarters of the second girl's coat and by her short skirt showing beneath.

The impression is of the boys even on the children's fest looking already ideologically and politically well-educated. Therefore, they are essentially represented as adults, while the girls still are in the state of a certain "political childhood," since their feminine charm is of primary importance to them.[12] This impression doesn't in the least spoil the overall atmosphere of joy and festivity. The principal characters are easily identifiable: Kira is coquettish and beaming with happiness, Vera is a bit shy, but also smiling, Misha looks like an adult Communist party member, and Roma looks like a "dedicated Putilov Plant worker."[13] The children understand they are in the front of a huge rally. Their children's ecstasy and boundless personal enthusiasm make the adult political affair human.

The 1947 edition is as different in this aspect as it is in its cover (see fig. 5). Pioneers (not Little Octobrists!)[14] wearing uniforms march on carrying gonfalons. Each gonfalon bears a letter, and together, these letters form the slogan "We hail Stalin!" The principal easily recognizable character in this picture is "the leader of peoples."[15] Children's faces are far less differentiated, although the girls still can be told from the boys by their haircuts, sweet smiles, and skirts. Yet in this illustration, we have no chance of distinguishing individually named children (Kira, Vera, Lena, Tima): all the children depicted are pioneers, and these four are designated with the collective pronoun "we." Let's not forget that the word "we" is part of the title of the text "Pioneers and We," the title that first appeared precisely in the 1947 edition.

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[12] From a psychological point of view, things are exactly the other way round: at the elementary school stage, 7-8- year-old boys are harder to motivate to act responsibly. This ideological flip-flop could be viewed as reinforcing the typical traditionalism of the Soviet culture oriented toward a strict masculine authority (head of state, family's bread-winner, leader of the pioneers' detachment, ideal head of the Little Octobrists' subgroup (*zvezdochka*), etc: these were all masculine roles).

[13] In 1917, the Putilov Plant in Petrograd (later Leningrad) was the largest artillery works in the Russian Empire. It employed 36,000 workers. The workers' mass strike that started on February 18, 1917 grew into rallies under such slogans as "Down with monarchy!," "We want bread!" Their clashes with the police sparked the February revolution which led to the overthrow of Russian Emperor Nicholas II.

[14] Since elementary school children are the primer's target audience, the Little Octobrists in the picture from the 1946 *Primer* are almost peers and friends of those who are mastering the basics of literacy.

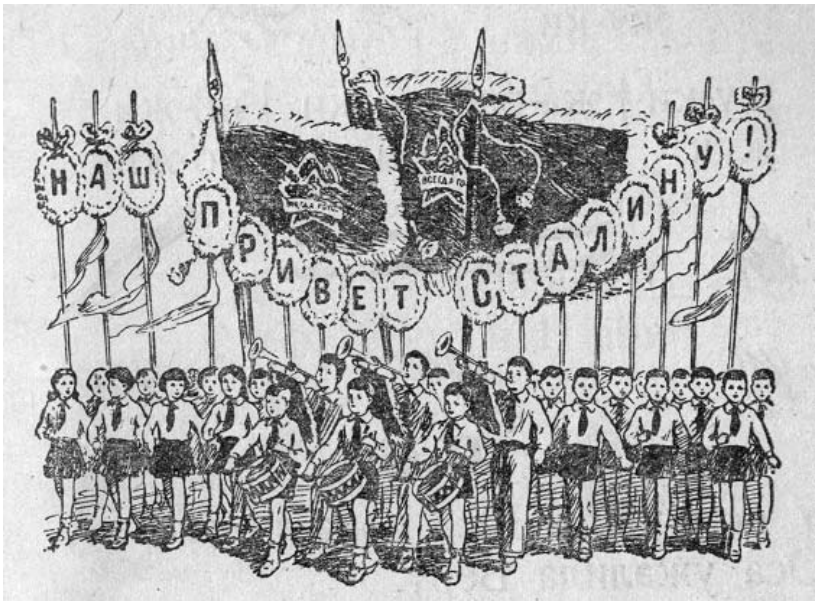
[15] In the USSR, Stalin was called "the Leader/Fürer/Capo of peoples."

Figure 5. 1947 Primer, p. 55.

With individually named characters gone from the picture, the educational text and its new title are now compromised. What are Kira, Vera, Lena and Tima now? Are they Little Octobrists, Komsomol members, or non-Party street kids? They have turned into a "figure of absence" that can be endowed with contradictory meanings. The iconography of the pioneers in the picture, on the other hand, begins to betray the features of the image of the Soviet child as a cog in the machine of the socialist world. In this image, the public, the state, the political aspects again begin to dominate the personal, the family, the friendly aspects. In the post-war life, attention shifts sharply from the newly regained ordinary personal connections to the non-human binds of the totalitarian regime.

In this context, the visual "death" of Little Octobrists from the 1946 Primer is quite logical and symbolic. Those little children of war victors, memorable and brimming with happiness, can no longer have a place on the historical center stage. Their place was taken by smartly turned out drummers and buglers, they stiffly regulate the social order and set the pace of life for the children on the march, thereby depersonalizing anyone who joins their ranks. There is no inkling of a possibility to exist outside these closed ranks.

Figure 6. 1948 Primer, p. 41.



In the 1948 edition, the changes in the iconography are small, but essential (see fig. 6). Pioneers in uniform are still marching carrying gonfalons where letters make up the slogan "We hail Stalin" (p. 41). But instead of Stalin's portraits, we have pioneer banners. Children look more grown-up, severe, and their gender is almost impossible to tell (only haircuts are still suggestive of gender; facial expressions, movements and clothes are cognitively identical for both boys and girls). Their faces don't express any stark emotions, they are concentrated on solving tasks set for them.

An interesting optical effect emerges: the children depicted here are older than their predecessors in the 1946 and 1947 edition, but marching under those huge banners, they seem to be smaller, and less significant. The party order, law, call, and authority become for such well-trained "builders of the new world"[16] the only guide they look to in their actions. The collective emotion, the joint action of those pioneers betray complete subjugation of their personal interests to those of the state. For each of them, their social motivation is determined "from above": the state demand turns into a moral imperative. The last recognizable character, comrade Stalin, disappears from the picture. The characters are entirely depersonalized, they have been turned

[16] In the USSR, Little Octobrists, pioneers, Komsomol member and communists were called "builders of the new world."

into wind-up dolls. Now the harshest version of the Soviet child iconography has taken shape; the child now is just a cog in the machine of the socialist world. It is this version that childhood history scholars usually refer to when describing various aspects of the political engaged "Soviet childhood" (Геллер 2000).

Let us summarize. The late 1940s saw the strengthening of the party and state educational system. While average workers enthusiastically worked toward rebuilding the cultural property destroyed or lost during WWII, educational ideologues developed sociopedagogical education concepts aimed at suppressing personal initiative and at promoting complete subjugation to the totalitarian authorities.

Constructing the image of the "Soviet child" thus became a crucial pedagogical task. From the broad range of linguistic and visual means available, the ideologues chose those which allowed to shape and control a child's social motivation, raising "politically loyal society member," a builder of the new social world. However, their specific pedagogical strategy wasn't chosen overnight, it was arrived at through trial and error.

Authors of elementary school books initially proceeded from the premise of an "inspired childhood" whereby children, through games and festive atmosphere, would partake of the basics of common human values. They were creating the image of a child as a child first and foremost, i.e. a being that is elemental, feisty, and full of joy. Therefore, the 1946 *Primer* in its 96 pages had only 6 ideologically engaged texts and 5 corresponding illustrations (the topics were: Little Octobrists, pioneers, Boris the drummer, Lenin, Stalin).

Then school book authors developed the concept of "introducing students to culture." The school was viewed as the engine of this introduction. At the same time, the topic of briskly organized work at different social levels was introduced, too. "Cultured children" acquired a large set of duties at home, in school, in their family's smallholdings. Yet the total number of specifically childhood texts still significantly outweighed everything else. The literary didactic canon of the 1947 *Primer* included 7 politicized texts (new topics: the Soviet city, Soviet weavers), and the visuals now included 6 illustration.

Preparing the schoolbook for the state-wide edition, its authors chose the strictest pedagogical position possible and developed the image of a "politically educated child" subjugated to "the Party's dispensations." 11 texts and 8 illustrations in the 1948 *Primer* are related to politically relevant subjects (new topics: the Soviet cavalry, Moscow, the Soviet Union).

The three images of the "Soviet child" we analyzed as constructed in the 1940s primers continued to exist in the depths of the Soviet educational

praxis. They attracted a huge number of other texts and illustrations and served as an ideological springboard for developing other versions of the image of the "Soviet child": in the 1960s-1970s, it was romanticized due to the desire to come back to "the sources of the revolutionary fervor" and due to the quest for "Socialism with a human face"; in the mid- and late 1980s, it was monumentalized on the basis of the striving to immortalize the achievements of Socialism which was in death throes at the time.

In every individual case, it is necessary to research carefully the shaping of the core meaning of the social construct called "the Soviet child," to see where the emphasis is (on the adjective or on the noun) and what "Soviet" means. As we could see in the three *Primers* from the late 1940s, every year, the image of the "Soviet child" was endowed with new cultural, personally significant, and politically motivated meanings. The resulting social constructs were based on symbolic values of different orders: existential, culture-producing, ideological and political. Shocked by the wartime hardships, the regime veered toward certain humanity in the ideology of the primers, but then it quickly "checked" itself and stepped on "ideological education" in regard to teachers, parents, and children. The same trend popularly known as "tightening the screws" was also evident in the harsh end put to the emergent post-war movement of making schools more independent from the local youth communist bodies, in increasing ideological control over teachers, in the last wave of Stalinist repressions of 1947-1952 (Майофис 2014). Studying primers provides interesting material concerning one of the development versions for education and culture, concerning the attitude toward the young generation in the totalitarian society which experienced victory in a hard war with another totalitarian society and which was striving to restrain the inevitable processes of the atotalitarian evolution within itself.

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The Picture of Polish Generations on the Basis of the Analysis of Childhood Specific Media Heroes and Values Attributed to Them

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Abstract: The aim of the article is to compare the system of values constituting the foundation of the social identity of generations born in Poland in the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s and 1990s through the analysis of "childhood media heroes" who, according to Geert and Gert Jan Hofstede (2007), are a personified link between cultural symbols and rituals. The authors of this article assume that "heroes" personify important generational features and values, particularly appreciated in a given culture and therefore they constitute a type of role models guiding life choices of particular generations of Poles.

Keywords: culture, values, childhood heroes

Introduction

The goal of this work is to describe and compare the system of values constituting the foundation of the social identity of generations of Poles born in the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s and 1990s during the times of violent changes and complex transformations. According to Małgorzata Lisowska-Magdziarz (2008: 14), these changes were influenced by two processes: "one of them is the transformation of the system, a political and economic change also having some crucial cultural consequences. The other is connected with new media technologies entering our lives and the experience of intense presence of media in the lives of individuals and collective life".

Today, the effect of media on the formation of attitudes and values is unquestionable: "experiencing media leads to permanent anthropological effects and affects epistemology" (Lisowska-Magdziarz 2008: 14). Since the publication of the results of a classic experiment by Albert Bandura and his associates (Bandura, Ross and Ross 1963) on the mechanisms of social learning, the modeling influence of media is still a subject of research and analysis.

The research studies on the effect of mass media on shaping aggressive attitudes (Eron 2001), the perception of one's own body and self-esteem are particularly popular (Grabe, Ward and Hyde 2008). At the same time, as highlighted in the phenomenological theory of media by David G. Mick and Claus Buhl (1992), the relation between mass media and their recipients is always two-sided and interactive. Media, on one hand, shape the attitudes of their recipients, on the other hand, they clearly reflect a given social moment and the values which are characteristic of this moment. Mick and Buhl introduce into their theory the notion of "life themes" and "life projects". Main life themes determine the present time of an individual: the matters they are engrossed in, the roles they assume. Life projects are, on the other hand, their plans and dreams for the future. Very frequently media affect life themes and projects of individuals, but simultaneously they are affected by individuals and change under their influence.

The group which is most susceptible to the influence of media is obviously children who often uncritically take in the presented content. It carries certain developmental dangers. Predominantly, the accusations are raised that watching e.g. advertisements by children creates consumerist attitudes, leads to family conflicts, retards moral development and even stifles creative thinking (Obrębska 1998). Although with age they learn not to trust media and question the credibility of the presented information, this information lingers in their memory shaping the system of values and their attitudes to life, their family and friends.

Therefore, the authors in this study try to reach the childhood memories connected with media which were important for generations of Poles: books, the television, the radio and the computer, assuming that the selected "media childhood heroes" personify the values truly building the social identity of the generations of today's 50- , 40-, 30- and 20-year-old people.

The notion of value in philosophy: ideas and virtues

Before the notion of value started to be associated with with the objects and convictions determining experiences and actions of individuals, Plato talked about ideas - values, with an emphasis on three most important ones: the good, truth and beauty. They constitute a hierarchy and, on the other hand, are an inseparable unity. And although among the ideas the idea of good is the supreme idea (Plato 1991), one cannot separate the highest values. They are protected against the separation by a proper relation, that is the proportion of soul (idea) to body (matter) (Plato 1999). The carnal man brings values into life, i.e. he performs a certain action, and acts by three ways: he uses, makes

and imitates (Plato 1991). The most valuable is making, which Plato very distinctly distinguishes from imitation (e.g., considering arts in today's understanding of the word as the imitation of reality, excluding music and sometimes poetry).

Thus, the values are interrelated and always constitute a hierarchy. One cannot imagine the human life without values. Departure from values is always a manipulation within the hierarchy or proportion of values.

The equivalent of philosophical values are the Theological Virtues: Charity, Hope, Faith. According to Thomas Aquinas (2003), the direct object to whom the Theological Virtues guide the man is God. For God charity is equivalent to the act of will; there is no question of the separation of values. The man loves because of something or despite something, God loves everything (by nature) as good (Thomas Aquinas 2003). The separation from an appropriate hierarchy of virtues is made through sin, which is an illusion that people can free themselves from their limitations (i.e. to become equal with God). For example, conducting a good mission, by assumption, one can commit a sin of vanity and greed if they define themselves through doing good (Scquizzato 2013). Only God is good and we can get closer to this perfectness only if we learn in the light of God about our limitations and talents. The talents and limitations are so closely related to each other that for a pious man, they seem to be the same. Therefore, "power is made perfect in weakness" (Bible, 2 Cor, 12). If something comes to someone easily, probably they will abandon it.

This illusion of access through the held values to "the whole reality"can be expressed with a category of myth. This category transgresses the frameworks of philosophy and science. "The transgression of the rigours of philosophy becomes faith; philosophy, however, as thinking about culture, attends to examining the meaning of each faith" (Kołakowski 1994: 22). Leszek Kołakowski notes that the myth is an expression of existential need of human relation to the world in a comprehensive and purposeful way. However, it is different from the way an individual comprehends the reality from the perspective of empirically confirmed perception and rational interpretation. Kołakowski does not agree with Friedrich Nietzsche's view on a possibility of full determination of values by an individual. Values are to be believed in, not to be created or justified (Kołakowski 1994).

The notion of value in psychology: beliefs and attitudes

According to psychologists (Brzozowski 2002), values belong to the category of beliefs or ideas. They are also defined as attitudes of a special meaning to an individual, guiding their choices and judgments. Values set the standards of what is desired when judging behavior, events and people (including self), when formulating and expressing attitudes and,, finally when choosing and justifying actions (Schwartz 2001). Therefore, they fulfill the function of criteria used for selecting and evaluating events and people; they have a supra-situational character and form a hierarchical structure, ordered in accordance with their relative values for individuals. It means that certain values are placed above others or are more preferred to others.

According to Milton Rokeach (1973), the systems of values are separated structures and are situated centrally in the system of beliefs. Most frequently, they refer to the most important goals of human existence (terminal values) or to general modes of behaviour (instrumental values). Their number is finite and their character is universal.

The most popular tools for measuring values are scales developed by Rokeach (1973) and Schwartz (1992). In both cases respondents evaluate the importance of general values as the rules which guide their lives. The survey has a declarative character and values are measured with the use of verbal statements. It carries the risk of choices which are socially approved, not necessarily reflecting the real values of the surveyed people.

Because, similarly to attitudes, values can have overt and implicit character (Aronson, Wilson and Akert 2012, Wojciszke 2013). The overt values are the values which are consciously declared and which can be easily determined. They can be tested by Rokeach's or Schwartz's surveys. Much more important and authentic are the implicit values: unintentional, uncontrollable, and sometimes even subconscious. Laurie Rudman, Julie Phelan and Jessica Heppen (2007) proved that these values have their sources mainly in experiences from childhood, whereas overt attitudes are more related to present experiences.

Therefore, the authors of this article decided to examine childhood memories connected with media heroes important for the surveyed people. Heroes, as already pointed out by Geert and Gert Jan Hofstede (2007), embody fundamental values which later affect life goals and choices. Asking about heroes, the authors of this paper do not directly ask about values. This way they avoid the trap of socially approved choices. It enables getting to authentic values hidden under the costume of a cult hero.

It seems to be important because knowing the system of values of given people one can assume from which perspective these people perceive various aspects of reality, how they interpret them, and what motives guide them when they choose their path of life. Comparing the childhood heroes of people belonging to different generational groups and the values which the heroes carry, it is easier to understand their social identity and life credo.

Heroes and values: programming the mind

The authors of a famous book "Cultures and Organisations" define culture as mental programming and mention four layers of this programming, from the most outer and clearest to the most hidden one: symbols, heroes, rituals and values (Hofstede 2007). The layers are interrelated but can be read also separately. For example, mass culture creates "universal" heroes, understood in various cultures. However, one could often be surprised by the differences of the hierarchies of values within which the heroes are placed in different cultures.

According to Hofstede, people learn values in early childhood. "Unlike most animals, people at the moment of birth are very badly prepared for life. Luckily, we have the first 10-12 years to, thanks to our developed perception, absorb all indispensable information from our surroundings very fast and to a large extent unconsciously. We learn symbols, such as language; we meet heroes, for example our parents; we subject ourselves to rituals, such as hygienic habits; and most of all we learn basic values. At the end of this period, learning starts to acquire a different, more conscious form in which our attention starts to focus on practices" (Hofstede and Hofstede 2007: 21).

Therefore, in this research the authors activate childhood memories of the surveyed people, particularly the memories concerning media heroes, and try to look at them in the context of the question about the specificity of the liberation period from the end of 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s. That turning point was not connected only with political changes but also with economic and technological ones. In a material dimension, as stressed by Lisowska-Magdziarz (2008: 14), it manifested itself "in the intense, multidimensional presence of mass media in almost every field of everyday life". On the other hand, in a mental dimension it consisted in "the new ways of perception and description of human experience, […] in the revaluation and change of axiological hierarchies".

Heroes are a personified link between symbols and rituals which affects our personality and the system of values. A hero may have specific looks and image created from a literary or film truth or fiction or be an abstract character of a master in a given field. A hero embodies certain features particularly

valued in a given culture and thus is a type of role model. According to Hofstede, cultural heroes of the USA include Barbie, Batman or, his opposite, Snoopy; in France it is Asterix and in Holland Ollie B. Bommel.

Do Poles also have their "national" childhood heroes? Or is Poland dominated with international characters? Is it related to the proliferation of the idea of unification of nations and later to a more concrete idea of the European community? The questions are even more difficult to answer because of the fact that united Europe, becoming a kind of macro-structure, "does not have to constitute, like other social macro-structures, a full unity in the cultural sphere, and in the organizational sphere as well. Its creation and continuation will depend on unifying actions, the pursuit of cooperation and coexistence, despite differentiating factors and antagonisms" (Suchocka 1998: 333). In every national community there are decentralist tendencies, such as "the pursuit of expression of one's own cultural heritage and ethnic identity" (Suchocka 1998: 337). Therefore, the basis of socialization is always the family environment in which cultural heritage and ethnic identity in a popular sense of the word are explained as affiliation with a small social group. The family, due to the age criterion, is a heterogeneous group consisting of at least two generations. On the other hand, the whole system of education "assumes homogeneity of age at almost all stages of education" (Misztal 1974: 47). This way the biggest impact on the crystallisation of the system of values is exerted by peer groups. "The peer group teaches independence, helps to find out about one's own values, allows >testing oneself< (…) Moreover, group activity is also conducive to the crystallisation of the system of values"(Misztal 1974: 119).

Detachment of values and being bound by concrete things

The effect of that crystallisation of the system of values is often a personified hero representing a certain hierarchy of values one can identify with. A German philosopher, Peter Sloterdijk, puts forward a thesis that the basic and increasingly popular figure of a hero or master since the second half of the 19th century has been an acrobat and the most important feature of their mastery (in a chosen field) is "keeping constant attention" (Sloterdijk 2014: 87). "Real acrobatics" does not have any other goals apart from itself. A 20th century hero as a figure of acrobat could not be incorporated in the cultural hierarchy of layers distinguished by Hofstedes, the father and the son. Perhaps these layers should be examined in their mutual relationships, i.e. distinguishing: a hero-symbol, a hero-figure, a hero in action (rituals) and a hero denoting something external to them. An acrobat would belong to the

realm of rituals. Therefore, at this point it would be difficult to talk about a hero *sensu stricto,* connecting symbols and rituals and a general aim. The social game, according to Sloterdijk, is supplemented with a Nietzschean speciality, i.e. "the sensitivity to the issue of verticality in human relationships concerning values, ranks and achievements" (Sloterdijk 2014: 157). And these achievements are less and less connected with the whole or the meaning of individual, human life. "But a certain degree of mismatch between individual competencies and social requirements is a factor that stimulates further development of personality. If individual competencies and requirements for actions have not collided for a long time; and if, in addition, this situation takes place in a part of personality which is important for the totality of developmental tasks, there emerges a system which exerts pressure on an individual endangering a possibility of forming >healthy< identity" (Hurrelmann 1994: 144).

Kazimierz Obuchowski (1993) refers to the research from a non-published report conducted in the Department of Psychology of Personality, the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Poznan in 1978. Because of the obtained results the report was not accepted by the sponsor, the Province Board of the Union of Socialist Youth in Poznań. Probably the research was supposed to show the relation between the held values and life practices. However, it showed something opposite. The individuals who displayed high self-evaluation proved to be least effective in realising life plans, especially professional ones. The individuals of moderate self-evaluation or lower proved to be more effective. The people declaring a personal connection with very highly rated social values did not formulate any tasks which were transmission of these values into their life practices. It seemed as if the social evaluation of the values of these tasks itself was sufficient to build a sense of significance. Those people (Obuchowski called them later pseudo-effective) were youth activists and were honoured in secondary schools and at universities (Obuchowski 1993: 100).

Obuchowski formulated "the theory of a neurotic symptom as a reason bound in concretes" (Obuchowski 1993: 175). The activation of emotions blocks cognition as a skill of associating cultural codes with subjective assessment, i.e. using the categories of Geert Hofstede and Gert Jan Hofstede: symbols, heroes, rituals and values.

A public hero (for example a film hero) becomes detached from values, subjected to fashion which more stresses "the symbols accessible visually than symbols carrying a meaning, more highlights the actors than the characters they play"(Kwaśniewski 1977: 122).

Krzysztof Kwaśniewski notes that in the case of literary heroes, the fact that they are underspecified activates imagination and may "drive imitation towards the represented values". In the case of the visual message, especially when it serves mainly as entertainment, the exposure of the personality of an artist becomes more important (e.g. the actor playing a hero) than the figure of a hero (Kwaśniewski 1977: 122).

Childhood media heroes and the generational bond

Is it possible to distinguish a characteristic generational bond represented by the Polish heroes of our childhood? "The generational bond is a factor co-creating the social identity of a generation. Adapting for the purposes of our considerations the definition of Janusz Ziółkowski (1964), we assume that the generational bond is a set of mental attitudes, >common< among people of approximately the same age. These attitudes constitute one of the foundations of >connecting people as a whole< (a generational group) or forming their generational social identity (a generation as a broader community and a generation as a group). The attitudes mainly include: "a) a strong sense of identification; b) a relatively similar sense of common goals and c) a sense of solidarity occurring in confrontation with other generations, recently quite weak," (Wrzesień 2003: 59).

Do Polish media heroes enable distinguishing, but also linking, the four spheres important for individuals to find themselves in the world, i.e. symbols, heroes, rituals and values, which shape opinions, attitudes and actions? Do they create a sense of "generational bond"?

Witold Wrzesień shows through his research that identifying factors of a generation become arguments for comparison, especially in relationships between parents and children: "raised without the television, computer, car, etc". (Wrzesień 2003: 258).

A sense of generational bond could be stronger or weaker. Wrzesień notices a clear sense of generational bond in the Generation '89 (people born mainly in the 1960s and 1970s): "They are people who thought that the contemporary youth creates another link in the process of generational change and in a significant way *marks* their presence in the culture. In the period of conducting this stage of research (1993) the awareness of creating >a new< generational community was predominantly connected with the feeling of participation in important historical events: the process of change (the transformation of the political regime) which enabled planning and assessing their own life paths, completely different than a few years ago" (Wrzesień 2003: 252).

The parents of the Generation '89, i.e. people born in the 1930s-50s, most often evoke their bond with the Generation '68.

"The Children of the Transformation", i.e. mainly people born in the late 1970s and in the 1980s in the surveys displayed a weakened sense of "similar interpretation of experiences, which did not lead to clear unification of the evaluation of >common< interests, norms and values" (Wrzesień 2003: 253). It is connected with "a very strong sense of >originality< of the chosen modes of behaviour, which they have in common with the Generation of the End of Century"(Wrzesień 2003: 253).

The so-called "End of Century Stragglers" (from the perspective of the authors' of this paper people born in the late 1980s and in the 1990s) are marked by "the weakest sense of >originality< of modes of behaviour of all the three close generations of the End of Century"(Wrzesień 2003: 254).

In their own research, the authors of this paper decided to check what values could be attributed to childhood media heroes and whether, in accordance with Witold Wrzesień's suggestion, they form a coherent system which builds the social identity of a particular generation.

Research procedure

200 people participated in this survey: 134 women and 66 men whose task was to fill in a specially prepared survey on childhood media heroes. It consisted of seven open questions (e.g. "Describe a characteristic memory from your childhood inspired by media.") and closed questions (e.g. "What influenced the development of your imagination most? Books, newspapers, radio, TV, etc."). The examined people represented different generational groups:

1 people born in the 1960s: 30 people – 13 women and 17 men
2 people born in the 1970s: 56 people – 42 women and 14 men
3 people born in the 1980s: 46 people – 24 women and 22 men
4 people born in the 1990s: 68 people – 55 women and 13 men.

People with higher education, the most aware and opinion-making, prevailed. Next, on the basis of the completed surveys the authors selected the heroes who were indicated most often, choosing three heroes for each generational group. In another stage, both authors independently attributed 10 terminal and 10 instrumental values from the Miton Rokeach Value Survey (1973) to the most popular heroes. In Poland, this scale is widely known and used for the assessment of values; in 1996 a Polish adaptation was made. For further research the authors selected the most important, in the authors' opinion, 5 terminal and 5 instrumental values for each of the heroes for whom the authors' choices were the same.

Next, the authors presented the list to 7 competent judges having higher technical, psychological and culture-related education (3 men and 4 women, aged 30 to 50), asking them to rank the values from the most important (ranked 1 of the scale) to the least important (5 of the scale). For the theoretical analysis the authors chose from 1 to 3 both terminal and instrumental values, for each of the heroes for whom the index of judges' agreement was the highest (i.e. reached the lowest values, was not greater than 20 points).

Results

In Poland in the 1960s, the most important heroes, known from a popular war film (TV series) *Czterej pancerni i pies* [*Four tank-men and a dog*], were Polish soldiers. But the second in terms of popularity were book heroes from Sweden: *The Six Bullerby Children*. In the third place again there appear a Polish literary and film hero: Pan Samochodzik – a man in an extraordinary car, helping children to find a treasure.

The 1970s are characteristic because of distinctly different choices of women and men. The women mostly indicated *Ann of Green Gables* (a heroine from a Canadian novel) and *The Six Bullerby Children.* The men pointed to Janosik, Polish Robin Hood, known mostly as a character played by Marek Perepeczko in a TV series *Janosik* and to Bruce Lee from the film *Enter the Dragon* (1973).

The heroes from the 1980s and 1990s are again unisex. In the 1980s the winners are: *The Six Bullerby Children ,* magical Pan Kleks (a wizard, a fictional hero from a story by Jan Brzechwa about an unusual academy for boys run by Ambroży Kleks) and Staś and Nel, the heroes from a novel by Henryk Sienkiewicz *W pustyni i w puszczy* [*In Desert and Wilderness*] and later from a film based on the book. The 1990s are again the time of popularity of *The Six Bullerby Children,* a hero from a computer game *Super Mario* and Disney's *The Lion King*. The list of all heroes is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Childhood media heroes

Heroes of the 1960s	**Heroes of the 1970s**	**Heroes of the 1980s**	**Heroes of the 1990s**
Czterej pancerni i pies	*Ann of Green Gables*	*The Six Bullerby Children*	*The Six Bullerby Children*
The Six Bullerby Children	*The Six Bullerby Children*	Pan Kleks	Super Mario
Pan Samochodzik	Janosik	Staś and Nel from *W pustyni i w puszczy*	*The Lion King*
	Bruce Lee		

The examined people also pointed to a changing role of media. For the generation of the 1960s the most important media were books and newspapers; for the 1970s generation books, comics and cinema films; for the 1980s generation books, computer and comics; and for the 1990s generation books and (a surprising choice) fairy tales.

The second stage consisted in ascribing by competent judges the most important terminal and instrumental values from the Rokeach Value Survey to childhood media heroes. The list is presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Terminal and instrumental values characteristic of given generations

1960s		
Heroes	**Terminal values**	**Instrumental values**
Czterej pancerni i pies	TRUE FRIENDSHIP (close companionship)	BRAVE (defending their beliefs)
The Six Bullerbyn Children	TRUE FRIENDSHIP (close companionship)	IMAGINATIVE (bold, creative) CHEERFUL (joyful, carefree)
Pan Samochodzik	SENSE OF ACHIEVEMENT (making solid contribution) LIFE FULL OF THRILLS (exciting, active)	SELF-RELIANT (not subordinate to anyone, independent) IMAGINATIVE (bold, creative)
1970s		
Heroes	**Terminal values**	**Instrumental values**
Ann of Green Gables	TRUE FRIENDSHIP (close companionship) HAPPINESS (joy, satisfaction)	IMAGINATIVE (bold, creative) BROAD-MINDED (open-minded)
The Six Bullerbyn Children	TRUE FRIENDSHIP (close companionship)	IMAGINATIVE (bold, creative) CHEERFUL (joyful, carefree)
Janosik	EQUALITY (brotherhood, equal chances for everyone) FREEDOM (personal independence,	SELF-RELIANT (not subordinate to anyone, independent) BRAVE (defending their

Bruce Lee from *Enter the Dragon*	freedom of choice) SELF-ESTEEM (self-respect) INNER BALANCE (no internal conflicts) FREEDOM (personal independence, freedom of choice)	beliefs) HELPFUL (supportive, giving aid) BRAVE (defending their beliefs) SELF-CONTROLLED (restrained, balanced)
	1980s	
Heroes	**Terminal values**	**Instrumental values**
The Six Bullerbyn Children	TRUE FRIENDSHIP (close companionship)	IMAGINATIVE (bold, creative) CHEERFUL (joyful, carefree)
Pan Kleks	WISDOM (mature understanding of life) TRUE FRIENDSHIP (close companionship)	IMAGINATIVE (bold, creative)
Staś and Nel from *W pustyni i w puszczy*	FAMILY SAFETY (concern for the loved ones) TRUE FRIENDSHIP (close companionship)	RESPONSIBLE (reliable, honest) BRAVE (defending their beliefs)
	1990s	
Heroes	**Terminal values**	**Instrumental values**
The Six Bullerbyn Children	TRUE FRIENDSHIP (close companionship)	IMAGINATIVE (bold, creative) CHEERFUL (joyful, carefree),
Super Mario	SENSE OF ACHIEVEMENT (making solid contribution) TRUE FRIENDSHIP (close companionship)	BRAVE (defending their beliefs) HELPFUL (supportive, giving aid)
The Lion King	FAMILY SAFETY (concern for the loved ones)	RESPONSIBLE (reliable, honest) BRAVE (defending their beliefs)

Considering the most popular media heroes and terminal values attributed to them, in all generations TRUE FRIENDSHIP (close companionship) prevails. It is represented in the 1960s by *Czterej pancerni i pies* (12), *The Six Bullerbyn Children* (12); in the 1970s in women's choices by *The Six Bullerbyn Children* (12) and *Ann of Green Gables* (16); in the 1980s again by *The Six Bullerbyn Children* (12), Pan Kleks (19), Staś and Nel (16); and in the 1990s apart from *The Six Bullerbyn Children* (12) by Super Mario (16).

Other popular terminal values common among different heroes include: in the 1970s HAPPINESS (joy, satisfaction) - *The Six Bullerbyn Children* (20), *Ann of Green Gables* (19). In men's choices FREEDOM (personal independence, freedom of choice) decidedly ranks first - Janosik (17), Bruce Lee (17).

In the 1960s there are no instrumental values common to all media heroes. In the 1970s among women a hero with IMAGINATION (bold, creative) predominates: *Ann of Green Gables* (11), *The Six Bullerbyn Children* (19); and among men a BRAVE hero (defending their beliefs): Janosik (16), Bruce Lee (17).

The value shared by the most popular heroes in the 1980s is again IMAGINATION (bold, creative), i.e. Pan Kleks (12) and *The Six Bullerbyn Children* (19), and CHEERFULNESS (joyful, carefree), i.e. Pan Kleks (20) and *The Six Bullerbyn Children* (15).

In the 1990s the first comes a hero who is BRAVE (defending their beliefs), i.e. Super Mario (13) and The Lion King (14).

Discussion: heroes

A recurrent choice, however not occupying the first positions except for the 1970s, is an immortal novel by Lucy Maud Montgomery: *Ann of Green Gables* (published in 1908). The character of Ann, despite being set in her times, possesses timeless features. Above all, the novel presents "excellently balanced proportions between the world of adults and the world of children" (Krzemieniowa 1969: 119). *The Six Bullerbyn Children* changes the proportions in favour of children. The children from the novel written by a Swedish writer Astrid Lindgren in 1947 (the first Polish edition in 1957) live in a small village consisting of three farms. The main character, Lisa Erikson, is also a narrator of the book. The children spend their time mostly playing. They occupied leading positions of the remembered heroes in all the examined generations.

The phenomenon of a children's collective hero is also shown by siblings from the book by Henryk Sienkiewicz, most popular in the 1980s. The author succeeded in preserving an old literary ideal in a modern form of an adventure

and travel novel. Staś "modelled by his literary predecessors is also a loyal knight serving his lady, surrounds her with sensitive and caring protection. He does not think only about Nel, but also about the whole group for whom he feels responsible" (Krzemieniowa 1969: 203).

"National" childhood heroes in the 1960s are the Polish soldiers from a book by Janusz Przymanowski, better known from a war TV series of the same name *Czterej pancerni i pies,* and a clever detective, despite his shameful professional background (a member of ORMO, the Volunteer Reserve Militia, which was a social initiative supporting the Militia, established in 1946 and dissolved in 1989 by the Sejm), friendly to children Pan Samochodzik, known mainly from a novel for teenagers by Zbigniew Nienacki, later also screened. The author of the novel (like Przymanowski, the author of *Czterej pancerni i pies*) during the introduction of the Martial Law and delegalising the Solidarity movement supported the Martial Law and in 1982 became a member of the Provisional State Council of the PRON (Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth), in contrast to many associates who returned their communist party ID cards and started boycotting the television and new pro-government organisations. Nienacki's books reached a circulation of 2000,000. It was a reward for a proper ideological attitude (Łopuszański 2007). Many people taking part in the survey, with today's political awareness, probably refrained from mentioning the heroes of Nienacki and Przymanowski in the survey.

In the 1970s the Polish TV series hero was a highlander, Janosik the robber, taken from a Slovak prototype. It is tempting suggest that in the Generation '89 typically masculine heroes predominate, having above-average (but not supernatural) skills. They are not superheroes yet, whose model is Superman and the consumerist idea of linking power, the good (in the sense of virtue and values) and goods (Saunders 2011).

Pan Kleks (Jan Brzechwa, all adventures of Pan Kleks were published in 1968) popular (mainly due to a film version from 1983) in the 1980s, a tutor of young boys (in this sense an equivalent of Pan Samochodzik) is more of a wizard than a hero who directly influences the reality like a soldier, detective or brigand.

Staś Tarkowski from *W pustyni i w puszczy* is a younger hero and this kind of heroism could be defined as "the involuntary hero". It is consistent with the thesis of Witold Wrzesień that the Children of the Transformation (mainly the late 1970s and the 1980s) display a weakening sense of similar interpretation of common interests, norms and values. A transitional hero, introducing political and economic changes would be Janosik, out of the mentioned heroes to the largest extent stressing the visually accessible symbols (above-average musculature of the actor and the folklore outfit, agile movements in the mountainous surroundings)

not the symbols carrying a meaning. Janosik is more associated with a ritual (specific life of brigands, fighting, social hierarchy) than with values (defining him as a socialist and simultaneous fierce criticism of the ideological message of the film occurred several years after the first screening of the film in 1973).

Tadeusz Skoczek states that today the opinions of critics about Janosik changed and he wonders "to what degree the assessment softened due to the influence of the American commercial cinema which has flooded Poland since the transformation after 1989 and how much we owe to the values proposed once by the authors of the film and TV series which were not noticed before" (Skoczek 2007: 38).

The fortunes of the Slovak robber from the 17th century were literary and film inspirations all over the world. In Poland the film directed by Jerzy Passendorfer (edited from the earlier TV series) starts with the sentence: "There were as many Janosiks as the legends about him". The authors employed the rich mythology of brigandage, but moved the plot of the film to the beginning of the 19th century. These treatments were supposed to protect the authors of the film against the protests from Slovaks caused by misinterpretations of Juraj Jánošik's legend. In spite of this, there appear opinions about unjustified appropriation of this historical character. The eponymous hero is played by a young actor, Marek Perepeczko (1942-2005), having at that time outstanding physical characteristics.

Film critics found faults with the film for unclear moral assessment of the hero, for an unclear convention (it was difficult to differentiate traditionally described heroism from the comic style). On the other hand, the popularity of the film was compared to *The Godfather* with Marlon Brando (1972).

What kind of hero is presented by this character borrowed from Slovaks? It is not yet the introduction to the dangerous American phenomenon of "superheroism" changing each value into a quantitative "power" and establishing new dangerous relations between science and religion (Saunders 2011). However, it is a cinema hero (the first film about Janosik was created in the USA as early as in 1921; Skoczek 2007: 11).

Wojciech Chyła writes about the aestheticization through the screen which leads to the change of the morality of truth into the immorality of covert pretending (Chyła 1998: 42). "The outlook on life having acquired an aesthetic dimension (…) lost its utopian character which was turned to the future" (Chyła 1998: 59). According to Chyła, dispositions (connected e.g. with the held values) because of the screens were replaced with displaying. Its characteristic manifestation is, among other things, the disappearance of our bodies as converters of information and values (Chyła 1998: 69). We use

avatars, machines, mirrors. Are not the heroes chosen by the 1990s generation, coming from "other worlds", i.e. Super Mario and the Lion King, a confirmation of this pessimistic vision?

Marek Perepeczko (the actor playing Janosik) in a conversation from 2004 explained the success of the film and the TV series: "We like fairytales and legends. This character is a symbol of nobleness; it is a hero who is the embodiment of the fight for social justice. Simply, we want to watch in the cinema someone defending people who are harmed. In addition, the highland culture is what people like in films. We love the highland folklore, we have fondness for it and the Tatra mountains are a special place. This film was shot in a beautiful scenery, in the mountains. To put it simply, it is a good film to watch" (Skoczek 2007: 39 - 40).

If we looked at the characters of heroes, like we remember them from childhood, they would be more like figures, i.e. "the heroes in themselves" (brave, ingenious, helpful and cheerful) tending to assume a character of a specialist (soldier, detective, writer, robber, karate fighter), and then a superhero (the converter of power and values – in the 1990s there appears, but does not prevail, Harry Potter).

There are optimistic conclusions resulting from the surveys. The authors observed in children the resistance to ideology (excluding "the ideology of consumption", which is a certain end of ideologies, more and more prevalent in Poland after 1989). Selecting the heroes of shameful political background (*Czterej pancerni i pies,* but the heroes were indicated indirectly, not as a title of the book or TV series but as the most frequent role-playing, Pan Samochodzik) shows " a child's point of view"; it is an interesting character, in relation to everyday life, that matters.

Is not it alarming that in the 1990s a hero is no longer an adult (Bullerbyn Children), or even a real man (Super Mario) or a human (The Lion King)? But these are questions for another article.

Discussion: values

Geert and Gert Jan Hofstede (2007) at the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s conducted among the employees of IBM large-scale (more than 50 countries) research on national values. On the basis of that research they selected five basic dimensions of culture: Power Distance, Collectivism versus Individualism, Femininity versus Masculinity, Uncertainty Avoidance, Long-Term Orientation.

Power Distance expresses relationships between superiors and subordinates and between authorities and a citizen. It also determines a degree

of the acceptance for social inequalities, superiors' inclination to consult their subordinates, i.e. a degree of authoritarianism, and an expected degree of obedience towards parents, teachers and superiors.

Collectivism versus Individualism defines proportions between the importance of the good of an individual or a group. In collectivist societies the position of an individual is marked by a group membership. A group supports its members and they remain loyal in exchange. In individualist societies the position of an individual is determined by their own qualities. People are expected to be independent and self-reliant. Collectivism is often (although not always) correlated with Power Distance.

Femininity versus Masculinity shows a diversity of the roles of sexes. In each culture feminine roles include caring for the sphere of feelings and preserving harmony; masculine roles include: assertiveness and competitiveness. However, in the feminine cultures the behaviour of both sexes is similar and is close to the feminine end: both man and women are expected to be modest, sensitive and care for the quality of life, whereas in the masculine cultures there is a bigger diversity between the roles ascribed to the sexes: men are expected to be assertive, tough and success-orientated and women to be modest, sensitive and to care for the quality of life. Also the behaviour of both sexes is closer to the masculine end than in the case of the feminine cultures. Interestingly, this aspect does not affect significantly the number of women pursuing a professional career. Although in the feminine cultures there are fewer barriers to making a career by women, the women usually do not feel such a need. On the other hand, in the masculine cultures, although it is more difficult for a woman to achieve a professional success, the women display more masculine features, helpful in breaking the barriers.

Uncertainty avoidance can be defined as a degree of danger felt by members of a given culture when faced with new, unknown or uncertain situations. It determines a degree to which they are willing to accept unpredictability of social relations and uncertain future. Strong uncertainty avoidance is connected with a high level of anxiety and stress, with showing emotions in public, high consumption of alcohol and a lower sense of happiness.

Long-Term Orientation focuses on the future and such values as forethought, thrift and persistence. Short-Term Orientation concentrates on the present and the past, stressing the importance of the respect for tradition, fulfilling social obligations and a high level of consumerism.

In the research by Hofstede from 2001 Poland was described as an individualist (22/74[1]) and masculine country(14/74), of large power distance (27/74), strong uncertainty avoidance (9/74) and short-term orientation (24/39). It means that at present we are a nation orientated towards achieving personal goals, with varied social roles connected with sexes, a hierarchical power structure, a high level of anxiety and conservatism, respecting traditions and spending money on consumption.

Does a similar picture emerge also from the authors' own research? Analysing the values ascribed to childhood media heroes one can notice that two dimensions proved to be particularly significant: Collectivism versus Individualism and Femininity versus Masculinity. The values which are present among different generational groups are similar. However, the discrepancy between terminal and instrumental values is puzzling.

Among the terminal values true friendship (all generations) and family safety (the 1980s and the 1990s) recur; out of the instrumental values: brave and imaginative (all generations). True friendship and family safety are typically feminine and collectivist values, inclined towards building relations and close contact with other people. Courage in defending one's own beliefs and imagination are proactive values: masculine and individualistic. It creates a kind of paradox: the most important for all the generations of Poles life goals, which are made an object of people's pursuits (terminal values) have a collective and feminine character; but the methods of achieving them and the modes of behavior which help to attain the goals (instrumental values) are masculine and individualistic. It seems then that we are a nation to which feminine and collective ideas (socialist) are still mentally close; on the level of acting however, we are, as described by Hofstedes, inclined towards masculine activity and fulfilling our own individual needs.

The 1960s generation is also marked by short-term values (exception: a sense of achievement) such as life full of thrills, cheerfulness and lightheartedness which reflects the moral freedom and the state after the political thaw of the 1960s. In the 1970s there emerges a split into the values chosen by girls (friendship, happiness, imagination, open mind) and the values chosen by boys (equality, freedom, independence, self-esteem courage, composure), which may indicate higher awareness and later political engagement of men, who faster reacted to social changes. Also, it is worth noting that these values can be considered as stereotypical: women choose closeness and a sense of happiness, men choose activity and self-fulfillment.

[1] Position of Poland in relation to all the examined countries.

In the 1980s there also appear wisdom, responsibility and care for the loved ones; let us note that those were the times of The Solidarity and the fall of communism. The 1990s generation values relationships (friendship and family), but also responsibility, altruism and a sense of achievement.

Looking at the chosen values, one could have an impression of the maturation of the Polish society. From "the lightheartedness" of the 1960s, through the breakthrough years of the 1970s and the "responsible" 1980s to the "satisfied" 1990s. Perhaps it would be now worth asking the surveyed people about their "adulthood media heroes"and check if they remain faithful to the ideals of their childhood and the values which then seemed to be important.

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Grandpa Frost, Pioneers and Political Subjectivities: A Historical Analysis of Childhoods in Totalitarian Czechoslovakia through Children's Literature

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Abstract: This paper is an historical analysis of practices to conceptualize childhoods in Czechoslovakia during communist governance. Through the lens of the children's magazines and literature, it explores the microcosm of everyday governance against the backdrop of the political changes of the 1950s, and then the 1970s and 1980s. The production of political subjectivities occurred as early as kindergarten age, and children's literature and magazines were important carriers of these notions. This paper argues that the youngest children were productive powerful actors that shaped their own totalitarian childhoods, and not merely passive recipients of the strong, punitive, ideologically charged dogma of education. Through their use of literature, children in kindergartens are shown as agenting citizens, in totalitarian Czechoslovakia.

Keywords: childhood, Czechoslovakia, Havel, children's literature, politics

Introduction

This article is an historical analysis of two diverse periods within which childhoods were governed and formed in totalitarian Czechoslovakia. In the first part, the article explores childhoods in the 1950s, and the complexities arising with respect to the celebration of Christmas, including the production of political subjectivities when the traditional 'baby Jesus' was replaced as a gift bearer during festive times, with strong propaganda and Grandpa Frost. These notions were executed at both a political macro-level, as well as on the micro-level of everyday, mundane encounters. In the second part of the article, the everyday production of children as political subjectivities in the1970s and 1980s is examined, through being and becoming a Pioneer, an important contribution to the ideology of childhood in totalitarian Czechoslovakia.

One way in which childhoods were produced in totalitarian Czechoslovakia, is through direct interventions and changes made by governing agencies to the way children should, and were expected to, celebrate and experience Christmas, demonstrating the indoctrination and traditional understandings of top-down notions of power (Tesar 2013). Children are extremely governed (Rose 1999), and their childhoods regulated in any ideological context (Tesar 2014a), however, what makes this shaping and moulding of childhoods particularly interesting and important, is the juxtaposition between the ideological, political influences on the macro level and the everyday expected performance and moulding of childhoods, into what has been argued, through the lens of philosopher Havel, to be a performance of becoming, at the very same time, a victim, supporter and rebel of the educational place and space (Tesar 2014b).

Childhoods circa 1950s

Traditionally, children in Czechoslovakia found presents under the Christmas tree on the evening of the 24th of December, believing that Baby Jesus had brought them. In the days before Christmas, children wrote letters to him requesting certain presents and gifts, as well as following various other Christian traditions (Koura & Kourová 2010). However, how childhoods should be experienced in the festive Christmas season shifted, as a result of government rationalities in the 1950s. At first the Christmas theme began to disappear from children's magazines and stories, as celebrations of Stalin's birthday took over. For example, the 1951 December issue of children's magazine *Wild Thyme* has a portrait of Stalin on the cover, instead of traditional festive motives. Throughout the following year portraits of other leaders appeared on the cover. It was Stalin again, then the president of Czechoslovakia and the Minister of Education. When the Czechoslovakian president died, his black and white picture was depicted, accompanied by a poem that started with "it is like our father died" (Wild Thyme 1953c, 170). A similar issue of *Wild Thyme* was produced when Stalin died; thus political figures increasingly became the essential images that childhoods were exposed to, as the Christian tradition of Christmas did not fit with the communist ideology, and there was a move towards the importance of a political education and to developing the political subjectivities of children.

Government agencies introduced a new figure, Grandpa Frost, and simultaneously abolished the Baby Jesus. Grandpa Frost was the Soviet character that brought children presents, and he approached the children directly, unlike the Baby Jesus who never appeared in person. In the 1950s a

massive campaign took place denying the existence of the Baby Jesus. Government agencies went to great lengths to explain that parents and children, in fact, buy all presents and place them under the Christmas tree. This shift in the conception of Christmas also led to the replacement of religious figures in the Passion plays, with working class heroes such as miners, militia and farmers.

Children's literature incorporated these notions into stories and fairy tales. For example, in the children's book *Christmas Eve* a young girl, Bibinka Rozmazalova (whose last name could be translated as 'Spoilt'), from a rich family, believes in the Baby Jesus, while the children of Michalek's working class family 'know' that the Baby Jesus does not exist and that they have to buy presents for their parents themselves (Sekora 1951). However, Bibinka does not know that her parents buy the presents and decorate the Christmas tree, so she continues to write letters to the Baby Jesus. She is very excited about her wishes for her parents, and shares them with everyone. However, her parents do not find any of the presents that she had asked for under the Christmas tree, and even her own parents were upset with her for believing in Baby Jesus:

> *Mr 'Spoilt' was leaving the house and he could not run away. - "You know", he said when they asked him about the presents "Things didn't work out for Bibinka. She thought, that on Christmas Eve everything would fall from heaven. So she wrote for gifts to Baby Jesus…" - "And did Baby Jesus give you anything?" - "Of course not. So Bibinka was really upset, that she was so stupid. But next Christmas she will be smarter." - "Tell her to come and see us, that we will help her!" – said Michalek's children. - "You must help her", said the dad [Michalek] to his children, when Mr. Spoilt left, "So Bibinka also knows, that pretty things don't fall into our lap on their own. That people need to create beauty themselves!"* (p.47-48).

And so Michalek's children promise to help Bibinka and in the next year she buys presents for her parents instead of relying on Baby Jesus. Similar stories were also published in children's magazines (Wild Thyme, 1950c). In particular, children's magazines published poetry, and articles that produced children who were supposed to believe in Grandpa Frost, and not the Baby Jesus. Grandpa Frost was the subject of a poem where it was emphasised that he came from a far away land that is "close to our heart" and "from all Soviet children he gives regards" (Wild Thyme, 1953d, p. 76). In other tales, graphic stories and poems, children learnt that when Grandpa Frost visits schools or kindergartens it is not him, he is not 'real', but it is an adult dressed up as Grandpa Frost (Wild Thyme 1953a, 1953b). In the poem *Generous Jirka*, a boy, Jirka, thinks carefully about what he should give his parents for Christmas. First he contemplates a doll for mum and a scooter for dad, but then he gets a vase for his mother and

a book by Lenin for his father since he "… reads every day before he falls asleep" (Wild Thyme 1950b, 104). Childhoods were carefully moulded by these stories, and children were produced as political subjects, that were developing particular political and ideological subjectivities.

The notion of Grandpa Frost was pushed by the governing agencies, and had a direct impact on the production of childhoods, as it was also implemented into the teaching and life of the kindergartens (Kindergarten Chronicle, 1945-1991). Even the President's Christmas Eve radio speech in 1952 was devoted to this subject. Children were supposed to learn from it how childhoods used to be, and how happy childhoods are therefore supposed to look now. The President stated:

> *I would like today in my Christmas message to focus on those who are most drawn to Christmas trees on Christmas Eve – to our children and youth. You, who are growing up, may not recognize how much has been changing in our country in the last couple of years. Even the legendary festival of Christmas is not without change … The Baby Jesus, lying in the stable on the hay next to a cow and a donkey, and above it all the shiny star of Bethlehem – those are all symbols of the old Christmas. Why? They were supposed to remind the working class and poor people that they belong to the stable. ... Therefore during capitalist times, when rich people ruled and only the poor were working in our country, the working class people were indeed living in the stables and children were even born there. But times have changed. A lot has changed. Baby Jesus is grown up now and is much older; he has grown a beard and become Grandpa Frost. He is not naked and shabby anymore, he is nicely dressed in a sheepskin and a coat (Archival film, 2008b).*

The fable of the metamorphosis of the Baby Jesus into Grandpa Frost was intended to shift childhoods further away from the Church and religion. Children's magazines actively guided how the implementation of these changes were to be absorbed into childhoods, as articles guided children to make a Soviet type of Christmas tree in the schools and kindergartens, and to rehearse and perform plays about Grandpa Frost. Children were encouraged to write letters to the editors of the magazine about their experiences, about how their play went and what they had learnt. Childhoods were forcefully altered through top-down power, and children's literature acted as an indispensable way to disseminate this change, in the production of political childhood subjectivities in totalitarian Czechoslovakia.

Childhoods circa 1970s and 1980s

The Pioneer organisation was a technology of totalitarian government that shaped and organized childhoods. In Czechoslovakia the Pioneer organisation

was founded by a branch of the communist government after the change of political systems in 1948. It had a clear ideological sense, as it "aimed to educate and raise broadly educated and mindful citizens" (Wölfelová 1988, 9). The purpose of the Pioneer organisation was to ideologically guide children, to produce them as responsible citizens, and to encourage them to actively contribute towards the good of the greater society, and to become political citizens. The Pioneer organisation directed and controlled children's activities in schools and through after school programmes. In Czechoslovakia, totalitarian childhoods were therefore part of the wider economic relations that focused on outcomes, as these childhoods were purposefully produced to contribute to the development of socialism. Thus the role of the Pioneer organisation was to navigate childhoods, as

> *[o]nly the practical results and behaviour of boys and girls, in their employment and studies, together with their civic opinions, are a measure of the true and final effectiveness of the entire work of children and youth organisations … The sacrifice of working for socialism and responsible relationships through their studies, as well as of fulfilling their civic duties are the proof then, that a young person has realised his place in society, and is united with the ideas and praxis of socialism in his brain and heart, claims this society as his, and wants to be a good caretaker* (Pioneer Guidelines 1985, 21).

As a technology of government, the Pioneer organisation officially governed childhoods, and aimed to form loyal and economically productive political citizens. All children were expected to join this organization and to be governed by its rules and principles. First, as they entered school, they joined as Little Sparks, whose mission statement was that every 'Little Spark wants to be a Pioneer'. Then, upon making a public pledge, Little Sparks became Pioneers governed by laws such as that each 'Pioneer is devoted to his socialist homeland and to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia', as was written in the Pioneer identification cards.

The purpose of the Pioneer organisation was to unite all children under common ideological principles, and to produce them as socialist citizens according to the Pioneer laws. Children in totalitarian Czechoslovakia were exposed to the complex power struggles and rhetoric of the economic and political supremacy of the Eastern bloc over the Western countries through this institution (Svatoš 1978b). Thus, the Pioneer organisation governed and formed children as citizens with an unquestioning trust and belief in the system and in their role as supporters of its ideological framework. Kindergartens were spaces where children were prepared for their membership of the Pioneer organisation, and frequent visits by Little Sparks and Pioneers supported this

preparation. Pioneers shaped kindergarten children through their stories, thoughts and experiences, which complemented the texts published in the children's magazine *Little Bee*. Children were prepared to become Little Sparks and Pioneers from an early age, to contribute as early as possible, to the 'building' of their homeland and to the construction of the system, and their pictures revolved around these themes. The President of Czechoslovakia, Gustav Husak, addressed all children and Pioneers:

> *Pioneer girls and boys! You are on the right track. Learn and work according to the Pioneer law, as you promised in your pledge. Follow the example of the best sons and daughters of our nations, who devoted their lives to honourable work and to the fight for advancements and for socialism. Love your homeland and the Pioneer organization. Think about how to make the life of all Pioneer collectives even more interesting, more useful to you and more prosperous for our society. Bring into your ranks another thousand boys and girls, so they can also spend their Pioneer years in happiness. Prove every day, that you deserve to be a Pioneer* (Husák, cited in Svatoš 1978a, 9).

Each Little Spark and Pioneer pledged to be part of this organized childhood institution, as an essential step to becoming a socialist citizen. Children became bearers of certain characteristics, as they served and protected the homeland, and helped to preserve the peace and build a strong economy. Children actively participated as supporters and producers of the totalitarian system. Through their kindergarten education, every child became a supportive, productive citizen. The stories in children's magazine *Little Bee* support this as a happy and special occasion, where kindergarten childhoods were produced as a promise of this future.

Big Day for Little Sparks

Little Bee published many texts and stories about becoming Pioneers and Little Sparks. One of them was the multi-layered story 'Big Day', which followed the events leading up to the moment of a child receiving the Little Sparks' badge (*Little Bee* 1978). The text is written and illustrated in a celebratory tone and highlights a special day in the life of a child in the totalitarian society. Within the story, children learn the Little Sparks' oath by heart and they nervously try not to make a mistake. Their nervousness is juxtaposed with the excitement of meeting Pioneers and receiving the Little Sparks' badge from them. The story also emphasises certain skills that every Little Spark needs to acquire, such as getting up early, preparing special clothes a day ahead, re-visiting previously learnt knowledge, recognizing state symbols, and having the skills and willingness to help parents. In the story 'Big Day' children are excited to be

joining this childhood organisation and Pioneer Zuzka presents a child with a Little Sparks' badge.

'Big Day' was published in a format that encouraged children's participation. Kindergarten children did not yet know how to read, therefore 'Big Day' has pictures in some places instead of words. The text is written in an interactive style, with the expectation that an adult would read it to children, who then added the words represented by pictures. This joint activity between teachers and children in the kindergarten supported the enthusiasm and excitement of becoming a Little Spark. The 'Big Day' story told children about childhoods like theirs, and outlined to them how other children of their age, within the same realities think and feel about their future childhoods in the totalitarian system. The story suggests to readers that every child wants to be like their role models, the Little Sparks and Pioneers.

The kindergarten children cannot be understood as being merely subjugated by the teachers and by what may appear to be sheer propaganda. Children were active in and creators of their own childhoods, and children's literature portrayed them as wanting to be like the Pioneers, their heroes. This is where Havel's (1985) thinking, of citizens as both victims and supporters, comes into play. The Pioneers were depicted in the children's literature as having a reliable sense of the ideological truth, they were expected to have sharp values, a clear understanding of what is 'good' knowledge, and of how to apply it. Good knowledge would, as the National Pioneer Conference established in 1970, promote socialist citizenship and the ideology of Marxism-Leninism around the world, supporting the ruling class of workers in the totalitarian society (Pioneer Guidelines 1982). *Little Bee* promoted a clear and very transparent understanding of how children would become Pioneers and Little Sparks. To celebrate the 35th anniversary of the Pioneer organisation, teachers and parents were guided to explain it and to prepare children for this occasion. *Little Bee* outlined the importance of maintaining continued education for socialist citizenship (*Little Bee* 1984). The Pioneer organisation represented the future of children as soon as they enrolled in school, where children "will prepare for entry into this (Pioneer) institution" which is described as a "voluntary mass children's social organisation" (*Little Bee* 1984, 15) that functions with the support of adults and young adults. *Little Bee* further promoted the purpose of the Pioneer organisation as to

> *… create a happy childhood for children, to raise the youngest generation with the support of an organised youth group and under the leadership of the Communist Party, in the spirit of the ideas of socialism and communism, and of the rules of socialist patriotism and*

> *internationalism, and to prepare the new generation by actively involving children in constructing the new society* (p. 15).

Within the Pioneer organisation children were expected to "actively work and experience happy childhoods with thousands of boys and girls" (*Little Bee* 1984, 15). The purpose of this institution and its social, moral and political function is recognised in the statement of how "children are learning to be part of the collective and to conform with the interests of society" (p. 15). The notion of a child becoming a Little Spark as a valued part of their childhood was expected to be embedded within every child's education in the totalitarian society, as this organization "respects the harmonious development of the child within the intentions of communist care and upbringing, to maximise and use all positive aspects of a child's personality" (p. 15). To accomplish this task *Little Bee* used pictures of animals to emphasize particular characteristics and abilities. Children were supposed to learn by animal examples what essential knowledge was and how they were expected to behave as Little Sparks. By publicly acting and playing these games, and reading these stories, children thus actively supported and co-produced their own childhoods, and prepared themselves for their destiny, as depicted by children's magazines and kindergarten education, and they became supporters of the totalitarian system and its ideology in doing so.

The Hero Called Pioneer

Children were active in producing their totalitarian childhoods. The promise of becoming a Little Spark and Pioneer was regularly represented in poems, stories, and illustrations published in *Little Bee*, as powerful symbols of kindergarten childhoods. One edition of *Little Bee* was even fully devoted to celebrations of the anniversary of the Pioneer organisation (*Little Bee* 1974a). This monothematic issue targets the kindergarten audience with pictures, games, stories, songs and poems, and was presented to children through the metaphor of a long Pioneer train. The story starts on the cover with a picture of a train filled with happy, smiling Pioneers in their uniforms. Outside on the platform, looking up admiringly at their heroes, are the excited kindergarten children.

Children are presented as excited and happy. Throughout this issue, children are smiling as they look at the picture of the giant Little Sparks' badge, which accompanies the poem Little Spark. The poem claims "red, little star, is like the spark of a flame, whether I am learning or playing, it always provides warmth in my heart" (*Little Bee* 1974b, 4). And the kindergarten heroes, the Pioneers, march down the meadow, smiling, happy, reciting a poem about their

homeland, their commitment to the Party and the promise that they have taken: "Thank you our [Communist] Party, for the warmth, for the light, and we a make a decisive promise, that you will always find support in us" (*Little Bee* 1974c, 9). Similarly, in another poem, the kindergarten children make a promise to be devoted and faithful future citizens, stating "my dear homeland, in this celebration I pledge to you, that I will give you whatever is in my power. Strenuous, strong in work and play, my homeland will always be beautiful and I will be your Pioneer" (*Little Bee* 1974d, 8). Kindergarten children also admire the Pioneer in uniform, as he salutes to them, and a poem explains to children that Pioneers will take them to school, support them, help them at work and provide them with guidance and understanding. Pioneers are presented to children as their "true friends, and only these kind of children can wear a Pioneers' [red] scarf" (*Little Bee* 1974e, 9). This special issue concludes with the story of a child who had a Pioneer role model, his older sibling Daniel. The boy admires everything that Daniel could do, demonstrating the formation of ideal images of being a Pioneer for kindergarten children. Through this children's literature, Pioneers were presented as heroes.

This special issue of *Little Bee* exemplifies how Pioneers and Little Sparks played an essential role in the production of childhoods through their active relationship with kindergartens. *Little Bee* reported on how Pioneers and Little Sparks come to kindergarten not only to play with children, but also to support and teach them the knowledge that Pioneers considered to be significant (*Little Bee* 1974f). The Pioneers told children about their future and formed their sense of duty. *Little Bee* informed children that Pioneers and Little Sparks would "talk about what they have done in the past, and what current Pioneers will do for our dear socialist country. We can be proud of their deeds!" (*Little Bee* 1979, 2). A different story describes how a little boy, Martin, is told by his older sister, Olinka, that it is her celebration today. He did not know what celebration; so he raises this question in the kindergarten. The teacher understands, and explains to children that all Pioneers and Little Sparks have a celebration today, and that all kindergarten children support this celebration and together create presents for Pioneers. Martin is very happy, when his Pioneer sister Olinka tells him: "When you grow up, you will also become a Little Spark and then you will have a celebration as all Little Sparks and Pioneers in our country do" (*Little Bee* 1980, 9). Children are portrayed as supporting each other in the production of their own childhoods.

Kindergarten childhoods were governed through notions of heroes, like those underpinning Little Sparks and Pioneers, and the children portrayed in *Little Bee* could not wait to become one of them, and to actively participate

in supporting their homeland. *Little Bee* published a letter written by a child called Vladko, who wonders when he will finally become a Little Spark and Pioneer, as his two older siblings were already members of the organisation and were enjoying it very much (*Little Bee* 1977a). *Little Bee* responds that little Vladko can join his sisters once he reaches school age, and then he will become first a Little Spark, and then finally a Pioneer. The response further explains to Vladko, and to all kindergarten children, that

> … *Little Sparks are smart, skilled, and well behaved children, that want to know and explore things around them. For example, Little Sparks know who the Czechoslovak president is and where he resides. They know our national songs, they help their parents, they know how to sew a button and many other, different things* (*Little Bee* 1977b, 15).

Through a response to this letter *Little Bee* prompted children to think about what is considered to be proper and important knowledge within their education and childhood. *Little Bee* further states, "you will know all of these things and become an exemplary Little Spark" (p. 15). This promise of a future belonging, and shared citizenship was emphasized by pictures of badges, which could be gained through membership in these childhood organizations. In this way, children could familiarize themselves with them, and look forward to receiving them, in order to actively participate in their aim to become members. Pioneers were portrayed as friends of all children: "Do you envy them for their light blue shirts, pioneer scarves and badges?" (*Little Bee* 1981b, 15). *Little Bee* asks children, encouraging the notion that Pioneers understand children's feelings. Children are then asked to achieve the Pioneer motto of this year, as *Little Bee* speaks for them: "We will prove our love towards our homeland with useful work for socialism" (p. 15). Little Bee further suggests that kindergarten children should implement this motto by inviting Pioneers to the kindergarten, and debates with them how the Pioneer organisation works, how kindergarten children can support Pioneers, and how Pioneers can support the children. "What do you think? Will it be a nice meeting?" asks *Little Bee* (p. 15). *Little Bee* thus portrays children as public, active subjects that participate in the production of their own and others' subjectivities.

In addition, *Little Bee* published songs about Little Sparks and Pioneers, which kindergarten children were expected to learn. The song 'When I become a Little Spark' tells a story about a little girl, who reflects on her future, and how she will become a Little Spark. She is very excited as she looks forward to all her experiences at school, and to receiving a lot of praise from her parents as she gains new knowledge (*Little Bee* 1981a). Teachers and parents were supposed to explain to preschool children what it means to be a Pioneer and a

Little Spark, and to prepare them for becoming a part of that institution "where kindergarten children gain new pleasures" (*Little Bee* 1983, 15). *Little Bee* informed teachers how they should care for and educate children, and suggested that they should establish connections with the local primary school. At the primary schools, teachers were encouraged to network with Pioneer leaders, and to strengthen the links with the Pioneer organisation (Little Bee, 1982). This was intended to prompt kindergarten children to learn more about Pioneers, and to gain knowledge about citizenship, and actively participate in their education.

Concluding comments

Children at all educational levels were actively engaged in the production of political childhood subjectivities in totalitarian Czechoslovakia, and the published texts and stories in *Wild Thyme* and *Little Bee* guided children with respect to how their childhood should look, how they should feel about particular subjects, and how they should think about their engagement with the system and its ideology. Children were the productive powerful actors that shaped their own totalitarian childhoods, not only passive recipients of the strong, punitive, ideologically charged dogma of education of the youngest citizens in totalitarian Czechoslovakia.

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Moral Childhood: The Legacy of Socialism and Childhood Memories in Czechoslovakia

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Abstract: Childhood experiences in Czechoslovakia between 1948 and 1989 were influenced by moral habitus shaped by the political events in 1948. I discussed the concept of moral habitus as it is embodied in the historical-political processes in context of social suffering of children of the political prisoners. Focus on life history of the son of a Czech political prisoners Peter and I examine his sense of difference from other children through distinct experiences, the value of morality in his family, and the urgency to survive. Peter's childhood memories reflect his co-lived suffering with his parents in the past. His experiences within the process of reconciliation reveal new forms of social suffering immerged in post-socialist Czechoslovakia.

Keywords: Morality, Social Suffering, Memory, Childhood, Socialism, Trauma, Reconciliation, Violence, Kinship, Family.

Anthropological interest in childhood is deeply rooted in cross-disciplinary research from the early part of the 20th century. The fields of psychology and psychiatry were tremendously influential and motivated much interest and research in the United States and Europe. Such interest shaped not only theoretical debates, but also methodological strategies for ethnographic fieldwork. In the United States, anthropologist Franz Boas and his students Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, and Edward Sapir, who became known as the School of Personality, pursued their interests not only in the psychology of individuals, childhood development, and parental practices, but also mental health and morality. In Europe anthropological early engagement with psychology or psychiatry is evident in the work of William Rivers, Bronislaw Malinowski, and later Gregory Bateson and Claude Levi-Strauss as well as many others. The uniting force for these scholars is their interest in the relationship between cultural practices and the human mind. Studies of interaction between culture and mental processes offered new theoretical possibilities for anthropology

to engage with human values, emotions, sentiments, perceptions and motivations, as well as with communication. While linking psychological and cultural processes, anthropologists of this generation could begin to question what is normal, moral or natural in any society. These theoretical positions, well supported by ethnographic data, opened new opportunities for anthropologists to confront, for example, racism and sexism. It also allowed for anthropologists to take part in public debates addressing social issues from cross-cultural perspectives at home as opposed to far away cultures of exotic others. With newer generations of anthropologists interested in human cognitive processes, psychological anthropology became an important subfield. The workings of these historical traditions, established a theoretical background for culturally specific understandings of childhood experiences.

In late 20th century and early 21th century a new anthropology of violence and social suffering made new theoretical claims which had a dramatic impact on ways anthropologists discuss human conditions from the perspective of psychological and also medical anthropology today. Arthur Kleinman, one of the leading scholars in the field of biomedical ethics, discussed extensively the moral modes of subjective experience and social suffering as a property of human condition. In his analysis of moral experience within ethical discourse, Kleinman described the implications of the burden of social suffering (Kleinman 1998).

As I discuss childhood and subjectivity under Communism in Czechoslovakia, I will emphasize the influence of political discourse on patterns of moral experiences in childhood. I argue in this essay that the radical political changes in 1948 in Czechoslovakia, established a new moral and ethical discourse which had a profound influence on general childhood patterns in Czechoslovakia. I will do so by examining the the childhood narratives of the son of a Czech political prisoners, Peter. Turning to my ethnographic data, I will show in my analysis of his childhood memories, how his way of being moral is constituted in the moral ecology shaped by particular historical events in the 1950's in Czechoslovakia. In conclusion I will connect Peters' moral narratives to the process of reconciliation, as experienced by his father, after the Velvet Revolution in 1989 Czechoslovakia.

This discussion is an extension of my long-term research concerned with life under Communist political systems in Central and Eastern Europe and based on my own fieldwork examining the lives of Czech Political Prisoners, - men and women, who were victims of the Communist regime in Czechoslovakia between 1948 and 1989.

Peter's recollection of his childhood is an account of memories of particular events, episodes and emotions he experienced as the son of political prisoners. His life narratives are not based on a step-by step detailed account of his life history when growing up. Peter remembered his sense of difference from other children in Czechoslovakia during socialism through distinct traumatic experiences in his life. He emphasized the value of morality his parents gave him, the trauma in the urgency to survive the regimes persecutions, and his sense of anger from powerlessness. In this essay I will first focus my discussion on Peters' ability to make moral habitus in the context of his suffering under the political power of the state. I will present my data in the light of more recent anthropological theories of morality, social suffering and subjectivity.

Peter's Memories of Moral A Childhood

I met Peter for the first time when conducting my fieldwork in Prague, Czech Republic in 1996. I first interviewed his father, Franta, a former political prisoner, and later was introduced to Peter and his wife, Jana. I had the opportunity to get to know Peter on my visits with his father because they share one house. I arranged a meeting with Peter and interviewed him about his life as the son of political prisoners.

Peter was born in 1963, three years from his father was released after spending ten years in prison labor camps. His mother, also a political prisoner spent five years in women's prison labor camps. His parent's met at their friend's home, during one of the former prisoners' secret meetings organized in Prague apartments. "It was love at first sight" Peter told me.

His mother was a member of a resistance group, and when she was 20 years old, she was arrested. Peter told me that she was just distributing flyers, when her group was set up and then arrested for a falsified crime. His mother was sentenced to eight years in the women's prison in Vandsdorf. His father was also arrested in a scam. Peter said: "My father claimed that Communists made him into a political prisoner". His father had a friend who had emigrated to Western Europe and joined SIS. Without knowing Peters' father kept in touch with him by letters about his activities. The Czechoslovak STB (State Secret Police) learned of the letters, established a false group and organized an event to trap Peter's father. He was sentenced to eighteen years in prison and served ten, mostly in uranium mines.

While his mother was rehabilitated in the late sixties, and was allowed to work in the hospital as a nurse in the operating room, his father was only permitted to work in a steel factory. Later, after the sixties, he was allowed to drive a taxi. After his return from prison, Peter's father was harassed until 1989

through repetitive interrogations, constant surveillance and random provocations by the police.

Peter spoke about the many times when a police car circled their neighborhood and always flashed their windows with strong lights. In his remembering, Peter considers these to be traumatic times in his childhood. He told me that his parents didn't like to talk about their time in prison. In his opinion, they tried to protect him and his sister from the trauma these experiences may have caused them. "My parents cherished their relationship after years in prison and they imposed a sense of morality at home", Peter told me.

Now he remembers random and unpredictable traumas when defining his childhood identity. "My classmates didn't live with a sense of danger like I did" Peter reflected. He repeated several times in his narratives that his parents tried to protect them from traumatic episodes and emphasized love and respect in his family environment.

His recollection and emphasis on the role of morality in his childhood struck me as an important, rich ethnographic moment, revealing what Jarrett Zigon called the 'ethical moment', defined as a creative and free emergence of one's sense of a moral way of being (Zigon 2009). Peter defined his childhood as traumatic, yet moral. The traumatic experiences represent for Peter a measure of difference from his peers. Morality, his family's moral habitus, is for him a gift, with which to counter the trauma caused by the regime.

In my earlier work about Czech Political Prisoners (Rehak 2013), I discuss how family creates a social comfort. I conceptualized the kinship relatedness as a form of 'gift-giving', a space marked by social comfort. In contrast to family, a moral space, the public space was poisoned by ideological lies from the Communist government. For Peter, the moral habitat in his family is more than shared moral domestic space, it is a significant aspect of his own subjectivity.

Peter's memories of his moral childhood provoke an important question, What constitutes a sense of morality in Czechoslovakia during Communism and after? In the last decade anthropology of morality has gained significance in the context of ethnographic investigations post-socialist countries in Eastern Europe. One of the most extensive recent theoretical works on morality in an Eastern European context was undertaken by Jarrett Zigon (Zigon 2008). Zigon's theory is centered on the idea of "moral breakdown", the moment, embodied in cultural and social change. The ethical moment is then, for Zigon, a creative ability to perform what he called a "moral way of being". I came to think about the question of morality during my early research in Prague, in post-socialist Czechoslovakia, between 1995 and 1999. I realized,

based on the narratives of former political prisoners, how multiple forms of their concepts of morality are constituted in their subjectivities formations.

In the context of Peter's life history, his sense of moral being in his reflexive childhood narratives is a necessary act of moral reasoning, a "moral breakdown" (Zigon 2009). When I asked Peter to explain more about morality, he answered: "Simply to be an honest and righteous person". To understand this interesting ethical moment in his narratives, we must situate his claims within the public discourse of morality under the Communist government.

The collective notion of morality, - moral habitus in Czechoslovakia, was ruptured multiple times in the history of the state: first by the German occupation in 1939, and then by the Communist revolution supported by the Soviet Union in 1948, and then again in the 1968 Soviet occupation. Relevant to this discussion are the radical revolutionary events in the 1950's and their legacy which shaped, in some ways, all childhood experiences in Czechoslovakia.

The traumatic events that followed immediately after 1945 changed the ecology of mind in Central and Eastern Europe. The Communist revolution in 1948 in Czechoslovakia, is a historical moment of traumatic switch in moral habitus. Regardless of political changes from the faceless Stalinism of the 1950's to Dubcek's 60's 'socialism with a human face', the legacy of a moral breakdown of the Communist revolution, continued to shape moral habitus in Czechoslovakia. For the political others, the prisoners and their families victimized by the Communist party violence, morality is embodied in their freedom to create their sense of a moral way of being. In contrast, for the Communist state that was an anticommunist movement and it included all the imagined political others that represent civic immorality towards the peoples republic. For many who suffered under Communist leadership "the reasoning and choice of morality become a necessary act" (Zigon 2009).

The subject of moral and ethical political life was a central theme for many underground philosophers and writers in Central and Eastern Europe during socialism. All intellectual voices from the underground which addressed moral rights to political freedom, were silenced by the regime (see Havel 1990). Interestingly, a moral theme is still part of the social discourse in the Czech and Slovak Republics. It is now a new generation of Czechs and Slovaks, asking questions about the moral and ethical past. The significance of the subject of morality and ethics is reflected in new emerging ethnographies situated in Central and Eastern Europe.

Tragic Archive, Anger and Denied Agency

In post-socialist Czechoslovakia, the process of reconciliation for children of prisoners was not a public act of reclaiming social face, as it was for their parents. Their parents could publicly testify about their suffering, participate in ceremonial celebrations, and performed for the media, but their children had to come to terms with the past in the shadow of these reconciliation rituals. Often in silence, they live their life as they watch their parents participating in rituals of recovery. For most prisoners' children their stories remain hidden in the ruins of memory.

Like Peter, other children of prisoners, were also subjected to long-term violent acts from the state. Their experience of childhood is marked by helplessness anger and memories of traumatic events and episodes, but the opportunity for recovery is not available to them. In the post-Communist present their performance is the act of silent witnessing.

Peter's reconciliation narratives reflect many dilemmas the process of recovery brought upon the prisoners families after 1989. From his speech, we can see how Peters' childhood memories, are marked by random harassment of his parents, and how these traumatic events give him a sense of urgency to survive and provoke his anger.

Peter's mother died of cancer and his sister moved to Germany. Peter, his wife, daughter and his father all lived in one house outside of Prague, until his father decided to move back to the city. Peter helped his father to find a small apartment in the center of Prague and continued to help him in day-to-day needs. Peter was very disturbed about the way his fathers' reconciliation turned out in the final years of his life.

After the fall of the regime Peter shared, along with his father, a new form of suffering his father experienced. In the era of post-socialism, the collective search for moral truth from the past, twisted the relationships among political prisoners. A number of members of the Federation of Political Prisoners, were accused of collaboration in the past and expelled. The accusations were based on the personal records in the State Secret Police (STB) archive. (For the role of STB archive see Kaplan1990, Rehak 2013, Taborsky 1970, Tigrid 1982) Peter's father was among those members accused and denied membership.

In Peter's eyes, this was a cruel irony of his fathers' moral past. After life long harassments by the police, all his father went through, now at the end of his life, he was stripped of all he had left, a belonging to the prisoners' community.

Elsewhere I discuss the personal files in the State Secret Police archive, as it is the significant discursive locus for establishing political power (Rehak 2013:39). I addressed the fictive character of an archive through the analytical work of archive making embodied in interrogations and torture. In the context of the reconciliation, I show the workings of power in the nation's search for ethical moments in a Communist past and rumors of a fragmented prisoners' community (Rehak 2013: 106). Facing the archive and the legacy of an archive, as I read from my ethnographic data, is a challenging ethical and moral dilemma affecting prisoners' children as well as prisoners. We can see from Peter's experience, and that of others I introduced in my previous work, morality in Czechoslovakia, has become a powerful discursive political instrument for confronting past and present.

With a sense of a paradoxical tragic twist in his father's life, Peter spoke to me more about his father's time in labor camps, emphasizing his father's strong personality and sense of humor, but never about memories of his mothers' time in prison. His mother was politically active in the organized resistance, arrested and then rehabilitated. In contrast his father, initially politically uninvolved, was transformed into the regime's political subject, and trapped in punishments until the end of his life. Peter recalled: "My father was a strong personality. He was respected and trusted among other prisoners. When he was in the camp he was voted to the position of "taborak" (the head master), otherwise this position was given to criminal prisoners." It was ordinarily part of the camps management strategy to appoint "criminals", in charge of the other prisoners.

He also remembered when his father was sentenced to correction "the hole" (called by prisoners). It was a small underground room of low ceiling, which served in camps as a detention room. "My father was in the "hole" several times. One time a camp guard asked him for his ID number and my father told him 114. Later he found out that my father was making fun of him and sent my father to "the hole". The number he gave him was an airplane number. My father had a sense of humor. That is what they, prisoners, had to have in order to survive the camps." When I asked Peter if there was anything specific that diminished his father's spirit in the camps, he said: "The whole ten years diminished his spirit".

While caring for his aging father, Peter was sharing with him a tragic continuity of his suffering, a causing of pain until his fathers' death at the age of 92. With a full grasp of his father's politicized life, with familiar feelings of helplessness, Peter was forced again to experience feelings of anger. Peter's witnessing of his father's new trauma reflects an ethical moment that emerged

in a new era, a time of emerging moral habitus in the Czech and Slovak Republics. At his fathers' side, Peter faced the ugly prediction of a guard in a labor camp, "you are a prisoner and you will always be until you die" (from 2005 interviews about prisoners' lives in labor camps). The hope for a reconciliation was denied to his father. Peter knew that this was for his father a type of suffering in its absolute form. After all, the only social group to which his father had belonged, excluded him on the basis of file records in the STB archives. That seems the cruelest of all ironies.

The children of political prisoners co-lived their parents' suffering in the past and now under the current process of reconciliation, they witness the persecution of their parents, once again. For prisoners' children the STB archive perpetrated a new type of violence and denied them their freedom to re-create their moral habitus.

I emphasize the tragic continuity of alienation and suffering in the lives of prisoners' children, after the fall of socialism in 1989. By connecting the childhood story remembered by Peter, the child of political prisoners, with a patterns of childhood experiences in Czechoslovakia between 1948 and 1989. I present the traumatic impact of the political events of the 50's, as well as its legacy. The legacy of the oppressive political system and the trauma of recovery of the political prisoners in the process of reconciliation in Czechoslovakia after 1989, became for their children, today's the midlife generation, another "moral breakdown".

In the context of Peter's childhood memories, I discussed the concept of moral habitus as it relates to historical-political processes was embodied in a larger moral discourse in Czechoslovakia. I introduced the legacy of moral discourse in the Communist past. I show how for somebody like Peter, the moral breakdown is connected to feelings of powerless anger, now in the post-Communist Czech Republic. I worked with the multiple modes of morality as they are conceptualized by Peter, and embodied in historical processes.

Rejection and denial of a political past may be the only way the politically privileged from the past can today come to terms with their moral past. By contrast in a tragic way children of the powerless from the Communist regime relive the trauma of the past, the only available mental property they have. Like the skeletons in the closet or the ghost of Christmas Past, other Czechs and Slovaks will have to face the children of political prisoners in the future.

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Are We Guilty for Being Afraid

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Abstract: The individual life stories are valuable source of data about the childhood in Bulgaria during the recent past. In this paper the "child" is depicted in the Bulgarian capital during the period of the 60s and the 70s of the 20th century. An attempt is made to explore the everyday space-time of children between 6 and 12 years old, who spend most of their lives in school rather than at home and were totally dependent of the existing ideological system of education and personal formation. Several generations of Bulgarian children grew up in an atmosphere of tension, anxiety and fear whether they have fulfilled the prescribed by the totalitarian state duties, whether they have met the expectations imposed by a social system devoid of basic human rights and freedoms – a system depriving its members from the right of life choice.

Keywords: childhood, communism, school, family, education, socialization, responsibility, guilt, fear.

"Those who cannot remember the past, are condemned to repeat it."
George Santayana, The Life of Reason: Five Volumes in One

Introduction

In November 2014 the Bulgarian society will commemorate a quarter of a century since the beginning of the so-called transition from totalitarianism to democracy. Among academic circles and especially in the media, various projects are being launched that aim to provide some assessment of this period: in economic terms as a change from planned socialist economy to a market economy, in social terms as replacement of the "class" model of division of society with community social stratification, in political terms as disposals of the totalitarian rule of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) and establishment of a multiparty parliamentary democracy. Just wide of the analyses and evaluations remain the attempts to rationalize the past in terms of the change in the values and norms of contemporary Bulgarian society and the main reason for that is the lack of consensus on the previous period of

Bulgaria's history when the communism in its Soviet model reigned. We still lack an objective narrative of the reality that led to systematic violation of basic human rights, to executions, inhumane prison regime, labour camps, torture, brutal violence to dissidents, to violation of the principles of democracy, rule of law and international treaties, to prostrate the national interests to a foreign country to the extent of national dignity extinction and practical loss of sovereignty or in other words – to national catastrophe. Although these findings are recorded and adopted by the 38th National Assembly on April 26, 2000 in the Act that declares the communist regime in Bulgaria as criminal, the nostalgic estimations towards the reign of Todor Zhivkov (Secretary General of the Central Committee of BCP, Chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria (PRB)) are growing in Bulgarian society. This is an incentive to the attempts to represent this rule not only as normal, but as a time that brought modernization and development in Bulgaria, or in general – to the attempts for complete and unconditional denial of memories of communism. Undoubtedly the reasons for this are complex, but the main one is the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), which was in power (one way or another) most of the time throughout the so-called transition. As a successor of BCP it has no interest "to read", evaluate and promote the assessment of its past, more over that "former" communists occupy high positions in all social spheres throughout the whole period. The most striking evidence of this is the so called history that BSP has published on its official website, where it is recorded that in the period 1947-1989, the "BCP aimed at the development of socialism following the experience of the USSR. During this period Bulgaria achieved success in its socio-economic and cultural development" (BSP 2013). This statement is in strong contradiction with the text of the before mentioned Act, under which BCP, which dominated the state between September 9, 1944 and November 10, 1989, was "a criminal organization, like other organizations, based on its ideology, the activities of which were targeting at human rights and democratic system suppression" (National Assembly 2000).

The attempts to reconstruct the recent past inevitably include attempts to reconstruct separate life stages, through which the representatives of the community have passed during a particular historical epoch. Childhood is perhaps the most complex and also the most interesting and revealing period of personal development and its research can be a key to understanding not only the individual life scenario, but also the story of a generation, and why not of an entire community. The researcher of childhood is always being challenged to pass through conventional boundaries of various disciplines of the humanities in order to perform his searches. In this respect, ethnology

provides extremely flexible and adaptable toolkit of methods that combined with an interdisciplinary approach could outline any more specific problem related to raising children in the contemporary society.

Unfortunately the Bulgarian ethnological science has allotted a bleak place for children – they are at the brink of scientific research. They are seen as marginal characters that because of their biological or social immaturity are not worthy objects for specialized research. Children attract the interest of researchers only if they are in a particular status which gives them significance in the world of adults. They are part of the research on the family and especially on the cycle of rites and rituals related to conception, pregnancy and birth. They are surveyed when they have to go through the complex processes of socialization and integration into the ethnic culture of a specific community and mostly the adults are "fond" of them when they take part in a festive ritual or traditional practice. Specialized research on children's issues like the situation of orphans and the system of adoption in traditional and contemporary Bulgarian societies as well as the theoretical concepts of childhood and the childhood in the Bulgarian folk culture appeared only in the last years (Bankova 2012, 2013). Realizing how difficult and responsible task is to pave the way for a new research topic in any humanities, with this paper I would like to draw the attention of the scientific community and the general public to the everyday world of children in Bulgaria in the period of the so-called real socialism.

Methods and Data

In 2010 I started an individual research project titled ***"A tale about childhood".*** My main task is to do an ethnological interpretation of the early childhood in traditional and modern culture in Bulgaria. In the course of the study I did 38 interviews by the method of semi-structured interviews, which covered topics such as family, school, leisure, peers, friends, games. I gathered 47 written stories on the topic "A day in my childhood" which I turned into a body of archival material titled "Etudes on my childhood". My oldest respondent was 92 years old; the youngest – 14 years. Some of the respondents were not born in Sofia, some of them are not currently living in Bulgaria, but all at some stage of their life (between 5 and 18 years of age) lived in the capital. They differ in gender, age, education and social status. The only thing that unites them is the desire to try to look openly, freely and without constraints into the time and space where they experienced their childhood. And to share what they saw there. For which I am grateful.

Such type of research always needs certain limitations and assumptions, both in terms of thematic and temporal scope and in terms of methods and research techniques.

For the sake of this study, the children will be "displayed" in the city affected by large-scale processes of industrialization, urbanization and internal migration. I have Sofia in mind because the main array of data at this stage of the study is related to the capital and because the "Sofia model" can easily be extrapolated to other major Bulgarian cities.

The chronological framework of the study is extended throughout the 60's until the early 80's of the twentieth century. This period is not randomly chosen. This is the period which is defined by its ideological gurus as "real socialism" – an ambiguous concept, whose "archaeology" after Ivaylo Znepolski is related to the need to regulate the existing differences between the theory and practice of imposing communist regimes in different types of societies. On one hand are the countries of Eastern Europe, for which it is assumed that the transition from capitalism to socialism is finished and on the other – are Third World countries where the anti-colonial forces "not without encouragement and military aid from the Soviet Union fight for socialist orientation" (Znepolski 2008: 255-266).

This period coincides with the rule of Leonid Brezhnev, who actually led the Soviet Union from 1964 to 1982. Considering that Bulgaria, for a number of objective and subjective historical circumstances, is the most dependent of the USSR East European country, any researcher of communism should consider the role of the "Big Brother".

And last but not least this period is suitable because in it you can trace the biography of a whole generation, an age group comprising of individuals born in the 15 year interval who live as spiritual peers, who during their childhood had co-experienced the same events. Today these people represent the most active part of the Bulgarian society. Although fate has defined significant differences in their social status and their political beliefs are sometimes diametrically opposed, they are all bound by shared memories of their childhood which they disclose willingly.

In these memories I tried to find the child between 6 and 12 years old. A reason for that was given to me by the fact that all scientists, who dared to set some standards in the development of the child's personality, had treated with particular attention those age limits. These years mark the period which Sigmund Freud defines as "latency", when children steer their energies to non-sexual activities such as forming friendships, athletic body and hobbies (Freud 1962).

Erik Erikson describes this stage as a sort of "entrance to life". In his scheme of personal development this stage is defined as "Industry vs Inferiority", when the child can become a conformist and thoughtless slave who others exploit (Erikson 1950).

This is the time when children realize that their world is based upon age and gender (Harris 1998: 160-165). Some paediatricians named this period the "real" childhood, separating it from infancy and early childhood on one hand and adolescence – on the other (Whiting and Edwards 1988). But perhaps the most colourful and accurate assessment for this age group of children is Linda Perlstein's, who says that in this age, children are "a species that is hungry for freedom because it lives in dependence" (Perlstein 2003: 55).

Ethnographic studies of childhood provide descriptive information based on observation and interviews about the life, activities and experience of children at a certain place in certain time and context – social, cultural, institutional and economic that give meaning to their behaviour there and then. There would be no need for such descriptive information if childhood as ideal and practice was the same among the various tribes, people and historical periods or if the ways of children's development were close and similar for the whole mankind. Ethnography of childhood is based on the idea, which is constantly reaffirmed by empirical research, that the conditions and forms of childhood are variable from one community to another as general tendency, that they are sensitive to community specific context and that they are not conceivable without detailed knowledge of the social and the culturally organized context that give them meaning.

My approach to the reconstruction of childhood emphasizes primarily on the endeavours to collect life stories. The main characteristics of this life-story method is that the interviews are conducted in-depth, they are semi-structured and allow informants to freely communicate their experience and views, and the analysis is based precisely on the text of the interview (Bertaux and Thompson 1997: 13). So the memories are transformed into facts (situations, context, behaviour), accompanied by perceptions and assessment. Thus, they are used as sources to reveal what happened as well as how and why it happened, how the storytellers felt and how they reacted. It targets the simultaneous collection of factual and interpretive information in the way we ethnologists study micro-cultures asking the informants not only to describe facts but to explain them to us. So the main goal of research with qualitative methods is more easily attainable because it allows detection of the characteristics of a community through the individual life history of its members (Silverman 2001: 12).

In this paper I present the results of the analysis of 23 interviews with Bulgarians, who were between 6 and 12 years old in the period 1962 to 1980 and lived in Sofia (9 of them are men, 14 women). For further information I use some comments posted on specialized sites, personal blogs and the online forums attached to them.

It is well known that the time and the place where a child grows up have a very strong influence on the development of his/her personality. Child's environment is populated with characters performing roles and tasks inherent in the everyday life. The environment must be seen not only as conditions and actions, but it should also reference other spatial and temporal markers that "predefine" the general socio-cultural context of childhood. Personality and environment are woven together by shared practices and cannot be separated.

The Home

Among respondents included in this study, there is no one who continues to live in the home, in which he/she was born or in the home, in which he/she lived as a child. This is largely due to the dynamics in the settlement of the capital throughout the years. In the absence of adequate urban planning while the population is rapidly increasing despite the completely unconstitutional "Regulations for temporary limitation of the intake of new residents in the cities" (valid until 1990), in the acute housing crisis that leads to the inability to buy or rent a home life scenario develops usually in at least 2-3 homes consecutively located in different villages, towns or districts of the capital. This "mobility" is important in terms of the relationships that children create, because the constant move in and out of new homes causes loss of old friendships and fear of creating new ones. So in interviews the same phrases are constantly repeated *"my old neighbourhood"*, *"the friends from the new neighbourhood"* etc.

In socialist Sofia the home of the childhood is not always your own, it is maybe "shared" with another "temporarily stationed" family or in a house in the process of expropriation or in a "council flat" in which to live temporarily while they build the new panel block of flats. But this home is always too small and crowded with people. In it except the child, which in most cases has bigger or smaller siblings, live also his parents and at least one adult relative – grandmother, grandfather, cousin, uncle etc. (who arrived from the countryside: for the winter, while studying, for some work…). The term "nursery" is too abstract and does not include the idea of independence and separation from the world of adults. You cannot invite friends there because "*You will make a mess"*, and in the little free time that you spend at home, in

most cases you read a book or play a game alone (mostly boys construct some things with the game "young constructor" and the girls endlessly rearranged their collections of shells of chocolates, kitchen napkins, postcards, photos of famous people). The deficiency dominating every sphere affects children's activities. For example those who are willing to collect stamps must spend too much money and have enough time and patience to gather even the most basic series of six post stamps with an image of butterflies. Those who collect images from the wrappings of chewing gum should perambulate shooting ranges and stalls at fairs to acquire Yugoslav gums that have pictures of footballers and cars.

But these problems can easily be solved if you don't have any free time and this is quite possible given the fact that children, regardless of gender and age, have a myriad of home chores. Here's a non-exhaustive list of them:

- shopping (taking into account that for practically any food product you have to queue it is quite time consuming activity). "*I remember that bread was pulled at certain times off the oven of the bakery which was on our street and I had to regularly stand in the queue with other children and grandmothers and wait. They gave only one handmade bread per person so you could not make a stash"* (L.Sp., born 1961);
- to help grandma cook (clean rice and lentils, peel potatoes, throw trash, serve the table, wash the dishes);
- to sweep and wash the floor at home, clean carpets, reach laundry, ironing ("*even in our textbook in first grade there was a story that had to be learned by heart how the mother teaches her daughter ironing faster and better"* – El.St., born 1970), watering flowers, dusting the furniture;
- to participate in the preparation of sealing. This is very responsible activity because it requires hours of roasting and peeling peppers, required for the famous Bulgarian "lyutenitsa" (a mixture of roasted peppers and ground tomato – P.B.), rotating to exhaustion the press for crushing tomatoes to make tomato paste, cleaning products for pickles etc.;
- to participate in the labour Saturdays (this is mandatory "voluntary" free labour of the whole family which usually consists of cleaning the yard/space between the blocks, the street, painting the fence of the school/kindergarten etc. – activities for which the conscientious citizens pay the municipality taxes).

Usually as a reward for a job well done children received some change that must be carefully saved (keeping them in specially designed piggy banks) as they did with all the cash received, especially with those given during the rite of

"sourvakane" (a traditional custom in which little children hit with a dogwood the backs of their parents, wishing them good health – P.B.), so they could be able to buy in some distant vague future the so cherished football, chess, skates etc.

In case of flaw or poor performance of domestic chores there were various penalties. In most cases they were limited to grounding or to a ban on watching children's programs on television. I must say that during that period not every household had its own TV (sometimes the family visited friends or neighbours in order to watch TV) and children's programs were limited to "Goodnight Children" (10-minute children's show broadcasted every evening at 19:50 before the news – P.B.) and several well-remembered and viewed countless times by everyone cartoon and TV series as "Fury, "Ну погоди!", "Oum le dauphin blanc", "The Pink Panther", "Kimba, the white lion" etc.

Sometimes kids watch other shows with adults. And memories of that are unforgettable. *"It was in the early 70s. My parents and their friends were watching a World Cup hockey match. USSR team was playing and all people in our hall were vigorously supporting their opponents who were the Czechoslovakian team – not USA, not West Germany, not even Canada. And suddenly I burst into tears and started calling all of them "fascists" because they were against USSR. How sad!"* (M.B., born 1963).

In general, the stories about home are very conventional and except some stories about a trouble, that the child had done when he/she was left "home alone" there is little to distinguish a biography from another. *"At home I slept, ate and quarrelled with my parents for not learning"* – sums Y.K., born 1958.

The world of children is inseparable from the adult world. Relations between them may be presented as a complete system or form of organization of joint life and activity, which provides both parties the process of mutual socialization (Elder 1980: 211). In socialist Bulgaria however the relationship between parents and children is consciously, systematically and deliberately torn. Therefore the most recurring finding in comparison with modernity is that the kids before spent very little time with their parents, which led to a number of problems such as alienation, rejection of the style of parenting, rejection of the values and norms of behaviours that parents seek to install in their children. One reason for this is undoubtedly the labour legislation in PRB. Taking into account that throughout the communism labour is not a right but rather a duty, there is no way a mother to be "housewife" no matter how much she wants it. Till 1967 the workweek in PRB is six days. From 1968 onwards started the gradual introduction of a five-day workweek and the process was completed in 1974. Public holidays in the PRB were: January 1 – New Year, May 1 – Day of the international solidarity of workers and a day off

was also May 2, May 24 – Day of the Slavonic alphabet and Bulgarian education and culture, September 9 – anniversary of the Socialist revolution in Bulgaria and National Day of the PRB, a day off was also September 10 and November 7 – anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Celebration of traditional customs and rituals is quite difficult because the communist ideologues were making a concerted effort not only to destroy the traditional calendar rituals, following Lenin's maxim that "religion is the opium of the masses", but to replace them with a completely artificial rituals of socialist type. For example Christmas was a school day for children and working day for adults (unless it happened to be during the weekend). Only if the representatives of the older generation were quite assertive then without making too much noise the family could celebrate Christmas Eve with some meatless meals and Christmas with the typical culinary tradition "baklava". However gifts were brought by Dyado Mraz (Grandpa Frost) who as in the Soviet festivity always arrived on January 1 when the 10-day school holiday began. With the same atheistic reasoning it was very difficult to celebrate Easter. Indeed eggs were painted in every home, although as one respondent says *"Mom had taken some reprimand from the party person in charge, because she was not able to wash her hands thoroughly and that gave her away that she had been painting eggs"* (Sv.D., born 1960). But visiting the church was unthinkable. There from early hours party volunteers were sneaking around so that *"Even if you supposedly accompany your elderly grandmother they will stop you and will record your name and in the next day at school there will be official reprimand or even worse"* (Y.P., born 1957).

The respondents barely remember to have played with their parents except for a few outings in the mountains or on summer vacations. The annual paid 14 days leave of absence which should be taken simultaneously by both parents is usually spent at the seaside. *"My parents were getting a card from the enterprise where my father worked which cost 30-40 levs (his salary was 160 levs as an employee with a graduate diploma). We boarded the overcrowded train to Varna (at that time we had no car) and 10-12 hours later we arrived dirty and exhausted at the sea city station. We were accommodated in a room with three beds and a private bathroom in which there was always hot water (my friends who went camping or rented private rooms didn't have such a luxury). Our first job was to enlist in the canteen. Food was handed out in two shifts in strictly predefined hours that orchestrated the rhythm of the rest of the day – when to go to the beach, when to have lunch, when to rest (between 2 p.m. and ….p.m. it was mandatory to keep quiet) when to dine and then we had an organized by the culturno-masovik* (some kind of animator – P.B.) *of the enterprise holiday house entertainment – evening of talent, Neptune night, evening of Bulgarian-Soviet friendship or welcoming guests from other countries of the socialist camp"* (N.D., born 1962).

Much of the summer holidays were spent in the countryside where the elderly grandparents, some of who had lost their property and subsistence in the years of collectivization, still lived at least for the summer months. *"Those of us who didn't have a village were feeling dumb in the hot summer days in Sofia just because there was nothing to do. Well as we grew up to around 8-9 grade we already regretted for this past carefree time because during the summer vacation we went to at least two ("summer" and "autumn") agricultural brigades, where for months we worked to assist the otherwise "successfully developing" agriculture"* – says M. D., born 1966.

And still the time spent with parents or grandparents is always preferable to the experience in the institution called kindergarten. Here is one of the personal stories taken from the collection ***"I lived socialism"*** called *"The nightmare kindergarten"*:

> *"I was born in 1968 in Sofia and lived in the socialism in its heyday, which included weekly kindergarten as particularly suitable form of growing future Leninists.*
> *I first went to weekly nursery, and then to a kindergarten, which means that I lived there four days a week. And if I do not have much of nightmarish memories of the nursery, thanks to a good woman (I called her "mom Tanya"), the memory of the elite kindergarten № 100 still makes me tremble. It was on "Georgi Georgiu Dezh" street, behind the Doctor's Garden and next to the building in which Ludmilla Zhivkova lived.*
> *I still cannot explain why these teachers and aunties were so bitter and cruel, and why none of them showed a little bit of sympathy for us (and we were a lot of children, entrusted entirely to them).*
> *The most vivid memory I have is not even related to me. We had two twins in the group. Walked glued together. They did not let go of each other even for a moment. When we went to bed, they held hands across the aisle between the beds. Suddenly this act began to infuriate the teachers and after shouting a few nights to no avail they had them separated. They put one little girl to sleep with the boys (which was not allowed), and the other stayed with us. God, how these twins howled all night! Nobody could sleep and, of course, we were all crying with one voice, night after night.*
> *They never put them together.*
> *They began to wet themselves at night, and they had been among the few who had not previously done that. For such sin, the teachers had a precise punishment – anyone who peed in bed at night, was kicked out in the yard wet until they changed his/her sheets. I was regularly punished. In general, for most children, it was a problem. Now I realize that in this way we reacted to the stress we had been subjected to. I have no idea how many times they got me sleepy out of bed and sent me in the yard, but it was quite often, after all finally I was not even afraid.*
> *One morning during the last year in the kindergarten I stood in front of the teacher and told her: "I'll tell my mom". Until then, I did not share anything with my parents at home like the twins and the other children. After this threat the night walks ceased, and it instinctively became clear to me that the teachers were scared.*

> *I had to get in second grade to be sure that I'm finally done with the kindergarten and only then I told my parents. They did not believe me. This is the way my generation was disciplined – in fear, guilt and alienation from its parents. So I am happy when my son (who had no contact with kindergartens) asks me: "Mom, when the socialism in Bulgaria existed – during the First or the Second Bulgarian Kingdom?"* (Hurmuzova 2011: 116)

"Fear, guilt and alienation" – these are the main descriptions of the relation between child and parents in the period. And the desire of children to earn the approval of the elders, to be given as an example to the others, dominated above all of them. Even today the most frequently asked question that you will hear if you go to a kindergarten when parents come to take their children home is "Were you today an obedient child?" Submission and obedience imprinted in the child as a precondition of his/her psychological welfare reduced children into cowardly people afraid of conflict and eager to agree with everybody and everything. There is no greater and more harmful fraud than to tell the child that adults know best what his/her wishes are because they love him/her and would never hurt him/her. Psychologists are adamant that this provokes unrealism of the requirements to the closest entourage and disrupts the relationships with adults and peers (Gerth and Mills 1953).

And above all dominates the uncertainty which inevitably leads to anxiety and fear. Looking for commonalities in the memories shared on the web one of the contemporary researchers of the memory of communism made the following conclusions: "The insecurity as a core problem that constantly undermines one's own identity and inner trust in the child in everyone, in yesterday's self. The insecurity can be seen as two-fold – on the one hand as insecurity in today's place of yesterday's feelings and memories and on the other hand – as insecurity in the very reality of one's feeling from yesterday" (Ivanova 2010: 196).

The School

In Bulgarian urban society a terminological distinction has become dominant, signifying a change in the life cycle of the individual, namely "pupil". Although this term correlates to the development of the personality and to the institutional criteria, in most cases a drastic change related primarily to reduction of the dependence of the child from the family and to the increase of the influence of factors such as school and peers is noted. The child between 7 and 11 years old is assumed to be in its "primary school age" in our country. Indication of the age periods depending on the schooling stage is unfortunate because it excels the institutional criteria as leading features of a given age period rather than its immanent characteristics.

In PRB education was mandatory and free (of charge). This also applied to the members of the Gypsy minority who were sought out at their homes by a checklist and enlisted in first grade each year although their parents didn't really agree predominantly because of the huge fear of the mandatory vaccinations done in school. *"Among the Gypsies there were rumours that their children were vaccinated with a medicine that lead to infertility because the state was trying to limit their birth rate"* (R.Sv., born 1961).

These vaccinations were part of the state healthcare for children which assumed that in parallel with their education the medical care should also be performed in school especially in its component called *Mandatory immunization calendar*. I will leave with no comment neither how appropriate this approach was nor the fact that the individual development of children was absolutely neglected as a factor in it. I would like to draw your attention to the psychological issues created in children by this "healthcare". While until school age in case of any health problem the child went to the doctor with his/her parents; now suddenly it is left all alone in the care of teachers who decided whether to send him/her to the school doctor's office. Here follow two memories shared on the website ***detstvoto.net*** (it is the most popular website in Bulgaria for sharing the memories about childhood – P.B.): "Do not think that all boys were fearless when facing the needle. Once when the ladies in white coats visited us one of my classmates ran for the door jumping over desks and chairs. But the agile nurse came in front of him and obstructed his path. In his desperation he started running around the room – a doomed attempt to escape given that he was stalked by the teacher and the other nurse. When the fugitive was captured, the first nurse returned from her post at the door and prepared the syringe. The boy began to struggle even more, kicking and screaming, but she relentlessly pushed the needle straight. Then there was panic, he started crying, someone said that the needle broke in his hand, but I did not see it – they were all gathered upon him – that is why I'll take it to the frightful school legends. Thus I understood why they always came in pairs: so that no one could escape." And the second story: "The syringes were not always disposable and I remember that for a vaccination in the third grade neither were the needles. Back then we were called right into the doctor's office where we sat in a chair on both sides of which sat a nurse. We stretched one hand to each of them and they began. But first they burned the needles in the flame of a spirit lamp. When I come to think of it I wonder whether they were disinfected and if my memories are not distorted..." (Detstvoto 2008)

And every time I analyze the stories of the respondents I ask myself whether their memories are bent? Or whether I am not bending them?

The first Bulgarian projects using biographical approach based on oral accounts and focused on the communist past were developed in the early 90s of the 20th century. The writer Georgi Gospodinov – editor of the book with stories, that was already three times reprinted argues that "stories based upon childhood refer to positive memories in most cases" (Gospodinov 2007: 200). But here is one of those published memories titled *"The howl of the first-graders"*:

> *"Surely I can remember a lot of stories but this one I will never forget. It was the first school day for my daughter. She like the other children was 6 years old (there was a time when we were obliged to register our children for school at the age of 6). They invited both parents and children for the first class. The children were excited, scared and of course tired of the ceremony in the schoolyard. They sat on the desks, while the parents stood aside. We welcomed "the Comrade", who from now until fourth grade would be one of the most important people to them. She was a big, tall woman with a respectable appearance wife of a military. After greeting the children and us with "Welcome" she said:*
> *Now children I want you to answer the question "Who cares for you the most?"*
> *All of us breathed a sigh of relief – we were confident that all children will answer with no problem. Indeed all competed to answer: Grandma, Mom, Dad some even mentioned sister etc. I looked at their teacher because she did not react (as expected) with "Good kids" but watched them with some indulgence... When the children subsided, she said "No, children, no... I will write on the blackboard who cares for you the most."*
> *She picked up the chalk and wrote in large block letters: "THE PARTY".*
> *Silence. I have never heard a more terrible silence in my life, yes, you could really hear it. I do not know about the other parents, but I felt overwhelmed and scared like those mothers whose children were taken as Janissaries. Can you imagine, not me, not his grandmother, not his father, not anyone of his relatives, but a "party" takes care of my child! I snapped of my fright by the sobbing of the children, which grew louder and became a howl, howl of first grade pupils. All were weeping and repeating – grandmother, grandmother, mom, mom... Then I looked "The Comrade" again – she looked more scared than me. It was the autumn of 1986. Only three years remained till 1989"* (Georgieva 2011: 265).

Yes, the Party...

It is present both in the holiday and in the everyday life of Bulgarian children. From the first till the last of their school days. Let us look into the Bukvar (readers for first graders – P.B.). In the one from 1957 under the watchful eye of Vladimir Lenin a first grader will spell out "Vladimir Ilich Lenin was a great leader and teacher of all workers". And from the next page Georgi Dimitrov is watching closely and says, "I do not like the cowardly and lazy. I love the brave who work and learn well". Bukvar published in 1976. After the children learn all the letters carefully and painstakingly will write by hand: "The party, mother dear, our love and protection!" The Bukvar published in 1982. Having

learned how to write the letter "Й" the first-graders will learn the following poem:

> *"Party. As a mother infinitely good, it always protects us gently. She in learning, work and play, fills us with joy and strength. She leads us to the fairytale world, where everything will be beautiful, where we in winged flight, will create and rejoice." And the same is written in the Bukvar published in 1986"* (Detstvoto 2012).

Definitely "non-happy" are childhood memories for the care of the Party. No wonder that the Party "comes out" of every memory associated with school because it is the state institution (during socialism there are no private kindergartens or schools in Bulgaria) entitled with the difficult task, not only to educate and train, but also to shape future versatile personalities – the worthy citizens of the People's Republic. As the Bulgarian dissident writer Georgi Markov writes in his story "When the clocks had stopped": "After all what is the party ideal which the party leaders and philosophers aggressively pursue – the unification of everything. Eight million people with one and the same face, with one and the same thoughts, with one and the same feelings marching with one and the same smiles under the victorious banner of communism" (Markov 1991).

This unification is impossible without an orderly comprehensive organization which is hierarchically structured and operates from the first school year. Each first grader on March 3 stated its desire to enter the ranks of the first organization which incorporates all (absolutely all!) children from first to third grade. It is called Chavdarska organization. Its name derives from the name of Chavdar voyvoda – a famous Bulgarian haydutin (vagabond – P.B.) who together with his band of more than 300 people operated in the region of Macedonia and Sofia in the late 16th century. Alas the ideals after which the 7-8 year olds are shaped have nothing to do with this legendary figure of a fighter against the foreign invader. From the first page of their statutes the well-known red flags with the hammer and sickle wave and the wise verses are lining next to them: "Lead me party, lead me under your aloft flags! Shine with your red name through the thousands of names!" All respondents remember these verses, some have also remembered some of the "promises" that every chavdarche uttered aloud when joining the organization: "The chavdarche loves his free fatherland as his own mother"; "The chavdarche the labour loves, to your aid he/she always comes"; "The small chavdarches are good buddies" but mostly "The chavdarche is an example at home and in class, he/she remembers: "Pioneer I will become!"

This is also mandatory and inevitable! In the beginning of third grade on September 23, named the birthday of the so-called Dimitrov's pioneer

organization (DPO), every child pronounced the solemn oath: "I, the Dimitrov's pioneer, solemnly promise to be faithful to the covenants of Georgi Dimitrov, dedicated to fight for the cause of the Bulgarian Communist Party, for the victory of communism. I promise to learn and work tirelessly to be worthy citizen and defender of my dear fatherland – People's Republic of Bulgaria." Like the acceptance in the Chavdarska organization the subsequent promotion to a pioneer is accompanied by much solemnity – usually it happens in a place outside school like a monument of dead partizanin (guerrilla fighter – P.B.) where every child gets its blue, respectively red for a pioneer tie. Its three tips and the knot symbolize the unity of the communists, komsomoltsi (members of youth communist organization – P.B) and pioneers. Even the song with which children march goes "The communists build our fatherland, the komsomoltsi they also build, pioneers, a glorious road awaits you, a labour road! Communists, komsomoltsi, pioneers, we are in one and the same formation. Communists, komsomoltsi, pioneers together in work and fight."

The tie had to be kept clean and worn every day at school, because it was part of the school uniform.

> *"The tie was made of very nasty silk and once when grandmother ironed it (because it had to be perfectly ironed and properly tied) burned it with the iron. Lord! How did I roar, like I've lost the most precious to me! Grandma was also shocked and cried and did not let me go to school because she was afraid that they would expel me because I would have been without a tie. The next day early in the morning my father brought from somewhere a new tie and only then we all calmed down and I went to school"* (M.M., born 1967).

On the surface it could be considered that such youth organizations existed before and after the victory of the socialist revolutions in other countries of Central and Eastern Europe, and that in their very essence they are good forms of collective life where the future citizens are trained and shaped in the ideals and values bequeathed to us by the heroes of our past. In reality, however, as Tony Judt writes: "The Soviet rule usurps the national myths for its own purposes, prohibits the remembrance of any painful or conflict moments, except those that retroactively "had intuited" its advent and imposes a new "brotherhood" upon the eastern part of Europe" (Judt 2013).

After September 9th, 1944 the new authorities created the Children's youth organization "Septemvriyche" – an organization involving all children between 7 and 14 years old. It was school based but it organized the children's

free time as well. After the death of the "leader and teacher" Georgi Dimitrov in 1949 it was renamed Dimitrov's organization "Septemvriyche" so for a little while its members were "dimitrovtsi". In 1951 it was again renamed Dimitrov's pioneer organization. The same year the badge of the organization and the appellation "pioneer homes" were accepted and the "Palace of pioneers" was built.

The pioneer also complied with rules. Their list begins with "The pioneer loves his country and serves the cause of the party" and ends with "honour for the pioneer is to become a komsomolets".

If we try to read the symbols and signs we will see a lot of red, golden 5 ray stars, hammers and sickles. If we have to interpret them in the most laconic way this might be a military story about the struggle against the world imperialism in the form of marching in the ranks of the Party under the red banners and fight for the cause of the Party, which is identical with the fatherland and the mother...

One wonderful new (chronologically but not ideologically) syncretism, a blending of Hitlerjugend with the Scout Movement.

Painfully relevant is the comparison of the child with "a material which subjected to proper formation will become effective, loyal, reliably functioning citizen whose public actions will not question the existing social order, whose disciplined work will contribute to the welfare of the society and who in his private life will never totally avoid public oversight that may cause the destruction of the homogeneous, unified socialist collective of the state" (Galabova 2010: 179). Voluntarily quitting this collective was "mission impossible" because it meant full economic and social insulation. The breach of this pattern leads to dramatic irreversible consequences not only for the person but also for its family for a long period of time.

"In our exemplary school the physics teacher – comrade J. was Chairman of the "Committee for Combating Juvenile Delinquency". It included pioneer activists, and some komsomoltsi from the 8 grade classes. I was in "B" class of the VI grade and with two classmates we decided to burn the student's register because we had accumulated a lot of unexcused absences and the teacher-parents' meeting was approaching. We were caught. One of my "friends" got away with it because his father was a journalist from "Rabotnichesko delo" (the paper of the central Committee of BCP – B.P.), my other "friend" told them that I misled him and he bitterly repents. It was only me left. First they reduced my behaviour mark and thus I could not apply for a prestigious high-school; then I was not accepted in the komsomol together with the other pupils; meanwhile comrade J. each week called me in his office and explained to me that I would never become a decent man and that my parents and my little brother would suffer because of me. You will not believe but there were moments when I felt so troubled that I

even thought about suicide. Now when I remember this I solely wish to meet comrade J." (R.S., born 1957).

The stories of true friendships, followed by bitter betrayals are perhaps the most numerous among the respondents. "Slurring" as the calumny is called is encouraged in particular. The question "Who is to blame?" (for the broken window, for the scratched desk, for the inscription on the wall, for the cigarette smoke in the bathroom etc.) always found its answer often given by your best friend, by the only one who knew the "secret" or "truth". And if by chance the friendship turns out to be strong enough then the disciplinary measures (transfer to another class or expulsion from school) came to aid. *"I was in love with R. his mother and class-teacher decided that I influenced him in a bad way. They moved him to the neighbouring class. I busted myself of crying, but when you are not "appropriate" what can you do..."* (I.P., born 1968). In general the topic of the first emotional thrills of the child and especially the girls falling in love, followed by a painful separation, is also strongly included in the memories of that time.

The immense and life-deciding authority and impunity of teachers shines through other stories. These are the stories about

"the teacher of practical skills, who beat our hands with a wooden stick, but no one dared to complain", or the story of *"comrade gym-teacher who groped girls in the small room next to the gym and when I told him that I would tell my class-teacher he laughed at me that no one would believe me because everyone knew that I was a whore"*, or that about *"the drawing teacher who came to class drunk and called us bastards and morons"*, or about *"the teacher of Russian (former Army colonel) who beat us on the palms with a wooden ruler if we did not underline the title of the lesson with pens in three different colours"*.

Two of the respondents remember the same story which occurred in their school in their class. In fourth grade they had a new classmate P., who was very quiet and shy and because he wore big glasses the teacher put him in the first row so he can see the board better. But P. was not doing very well especially in mathematics and slowly wrote what the comrade dictated – that for her was simply unacceptable because she thought he was doing it on purpose. So after another shaming and mocking in front of the class like *"Am I going to deal only with you jerk! How can the other manage and only you cannot!"*, during which P. said nothing and was silent and silent again, as he was facing everyone with his head bowed... pissed himself. And if the story is the same for both respondents their comments were quite different. One of them (E.G., born 1966) said *"And till today the fear smells to me like it smelled back then in the room while comrade T. screamed at P."* while the other (D.Ch., born 1966) just smiled and

said, *"It was like P. told her – I pee on your teaching, and on your instructing, and on you!"*

Favourite pedagogical technique was to put some children as an example and shame others. The first ones are the top-graders. They are "always ready for class" with homework, with lessons learned. They participate in extracurricular activities. Or their parents contribute to these events. "They are quiet and gentle" with other words "all right kids". The others were "wrong", "bad". They "spoiled discipline", "talked in class", "hindered teachers' teaching and children's' listening", "they decrease their marks and those of the entire class". (I should note that each class participated in the so-called socialist competition between the classes, which took into account the overall rating of the class, the participation in socially-useful activities such as voluntary labour, participation in cultural mass events etc... The best were awarded a diploma!) To improve the rating of the class "the good" helped "the bad". Together they visited the so called "zanimalnya". This was a room where upon the recommendation of the class-teacher and under the supervision of a teacher you wrote your homework or learned the lessons for 2-3 hours after regular school hours.

> *"I was the valedictorian of the class, and B. really sucked as a pupil. The class-teacher decided that this could not go on. She commanded us: "You will not get an excellent mark until B. does not earn average in math." Every day I stayed after school in the "zanimalnya" to solve math problems with B. The result was that I finished VI grade with my only for my entire learning of mathematics very-good (not excellent!) mark and B. was moved to another school"* (S.T., born 1964).

This dichotomy of valedictorians and those who lag behind, of good and bad children often led in adolescents to the artificial prolongation of the infantile belief in the fairness of the world and to a sense of personal responsibility for events that were not under their control, which on its turn led to blaming themselves for the unfavourable outcome of a given situation. This caused emotional detachment from oneself and allowed easy manipulation of the individual.

> *"In V grade we started visiting and working at an agricultural testing ground once per month. It was a small farm with flowerbeds, fruit and vegetable garden, which we under the guidance of the teacher in botany had to cultivate. And I will never forget – the first time I was stung by a bee. God! My face had swollen and I could not breathe. And the teacher was only chanting: "Shame on you! You are allergic! Shame on you!" And I was really ashamed..."* (T.B., born 1959).

I do not want to comment neither how appropriate such school activities were nor did they make any sense. Anyway the children of Sofia regularly went to agricultural brigades initially close to the capital and later on – to very remote places. Without their labour the socialist agriculture could not cultivate and collect the yield. They worked both in the field and in the canning factories.

> *"My first brigade was when I was 14 years old in 1978 in a village near Sofia – we were weeding onions. My last brigade was in 1988 as a teacher of eighth grade – in a factory for processing peppers and tomatoes 300km away from Sofia. It is simple calculation that for 10 consecutive years for two months – one every summer and autumn, I "helped" our agriculture"* (D.V., born 1964).

But the stories for the brigades are so many that they deserve more than one thorough study. Here I will limit myself to remind the opinion of Daniela Koleva that "The attitude of Bulgarian socialist state towards children and adolescents is contradictory. On the one hand, the state sequesters the role of the parents as caretakers and educators, and liberates the adolescents from the control of the family and the rural community, placing them under the control of brigade management. On the other hand, mature conduct and attitudes are demanded from them, as well their quick coming of age to get integrated into newly-built socialist society" (Koleva 2007: 217).

Integration into the socialist society passed through another important step: become a trimmer. In a society that tolerates mediocrity among children when it is a form of obedience and submission, is much easier to survive adapting than to strive to stand out in order to earn public approval. Tony Judt discovering similarities and differences in the everyday life of post war Europe citizens ascertains: "The very essence of "the really existing socialism" in Eastern Europe is such that it requires the most humiliating corrupt types of collaboration as a precondition to achieve a tolerable life. And most people sooner or later begin to cooperate: intellectuals, priests, parents, managers, employees, customers, doctors and so on... The peculiar shame that people feel because of that they lived under communism, is not due to some real or imaginary crimes but to the daily lies and endless petty compromises" (Judt 2013). Of course, this happened even easier to people who were kids in this system.

Instead of Conclusion

Ethnologists consider personal descriptive markers as related to the value-normative order in any particular society. And although they are too subjective and relative they gravitate around the supreme value of human life. But when society itself has rejected or replaced the universal moral values as virtue of

honesty and pursuit of truth, and questions the supremacy of the respect and concern for human life, then inevitably deep distractions in terms of values such as self-respect and acceptance of personal responsibility will occur. The fear has a pivotal role here but not so much as a feeling biologically determined and instinctively inherent in every living creature rather, than as the opposition to the sense of confidence, safety and security of the individual trying to survive in a particular social environment.

This behavioural stereotype has its deep roots in the context of Bulgarian history. "Sabre does not cut bowed head" is not just folk wisdom but a survival strategy during the centuries of Ottoman rule. This life strategy excludes a sense of shame because although it is an internal experience it is related to the assessment of the others for us. And the "others" preferred in general to remain silent. And if silence is somewhat understandable (and why not forgivable) for nearly five centuries of foreign rule, it remains inexplicable to me (and definitely inexcusable) why after 25 years of transition from totalitarianism to democracy still exists the consensus of silence that makes possible and logical conclusions like this: "In the majority of Bulgarians communism is absent as real memory" (Kelbecheva 2013). I hope this is just on the surface. For when we go deeper into the memories, especially those related to childhood, we unveil quite different layers. It is very difficult for the researcher of childhood to remain impartial to them. Maybe that is why we should not put so much effort in this direction and the strife for objectivity should not become an axiom. I cannot miss the opportunity to quote Pierre Bourdieu, who said: "There is nothing more wrong, I think, than the universally accepted in the social sciences maxim according to which the researcher does not have to invest anything of himself in his study. On the contrary he must continuously turn to his personal experience but not as happens too often even to the best researchers in a shy, unconscious, uncontrolled manner" (Bourdieu 2003: 51).

My personal experience leads me to the conclusion that only if we remember we can be free. My professional experience makes me think that the "big story" of communism is only possible through plenty of "small" everyday life stories.

It is quite possible that there will be no place for heroes, feats, honour and glory in this story. It may not lead to discovery of the guilty. But it is also possible through it to become responsible for the future of our children at the expense of the infantile desire to bury our heads in the sand. And every story about everyday life starts somewhere in the childhood.

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Romanian Communist Childhoods: Educational Strategies, Remembered Tactics of the 1970s-1980s

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Abstract: With the proliferation of generational life writing focused on exploring experiences of childhood in communist Romania (particularly the decades 1970s-1980s), a new discourse on the recent past has penetrated the public sphere as an alternative to the dominant anti-communist discourse that has so far focused on intellectual and political elites or members of the resistance. This article puts forward the claim that instead of relegating this discourse to the all-too-often dismissed category of pop-culturalization of history or commodification of nostalgia, researchers would be better advised to take their cue from this return to the child's perspective on the everyday as a potential means to disentangle the binary perspective that plagues post-communist memory studies. Following de Certeau (1984), this article explores educational "strategies" targeted at school-age children in communist Romania, while giving equal importance to the "tactics" that children employed in response, as they appear in oral history projects or autobiographies. It focuses particularly on children's organizations and media, highlighting the need to account for a multiplicity of childhood experiences and to factor in the child's agency. As communist "structures of feeling" find their articulation from the perspective of the traditionally marginal child-figure, we might find we need to start talking about communist childhoods in the plural.

Keywords: communism, childhood, children's organizations, children's media, structures of feeling, strategies and tactics

> *"In my diary, on 31st December 1989 I evaluated the past year: school results, love affairs, I was the same. I did not suffer because of the communist regime, except maybe for lack of tropical fruit or other such petty things. I experienced nothing but the mimetic revolution of a child who had grown up reading newspapers, fascinated by the enormity of the regime, from the editions of Free Europe during the national congresses and the communist apartment buildings to the long queues for food. I did not literally suffer. I was a child of those times, that is true, but I never suffered"* (Matei 2007).

This startling confession belongs to Alexandru Matei, a latchkey kid[1] born in 1975, now a scholar and essayist, who, in an article entitled "Ceausescu and I", published in the Cultural Observatory, seeks to provide a "possible reason for the votes cast by the young in favour of Coneliu Vadim Tudor". Interestingly enough, what follows is an exploration of the relationship the teenager Alexandru Matei had with the communist leader Nicolae Ceauşescu, the power talk of the times and the spectacular zeitgeist of the age, instead of a straightforward explanatory article.Only the last paragraph provides an inkling of the promised sociological insights, but the tone remains highly personal still: "With Ceauşescu in power, you felt you could touch immortality, a feeling that only a totalitarian regime can, if murderously so, maintain. Today all leaders are made to my measure. And nobody is truly overwhelming".

Apparently failing to live up to the promise of providing some insight into the reasoning behind the electoral choice of many young people supporting an extreme right party, the article poses compelling interpretive challenges. This confessional article seems to almost beg the question of what it meant to be "a child of those times" and what prompted the feeling "that you could touch immortality".

Alexandru Matei is not alone in expressing such ambivalent attitudes towards his own childhood as entrenched in and at the same time separated from Romania's recent past. A host of more or less established writers and researchers are currently remembering communism through the lens of childhood memories (Cernat et all, 2004; Chivu 2012, Ciobotari 2010; Constantinescu 2008; Deculbe 2004, Ernu 2006; Florescu 2005; Florian and Florian 2006; Gheo 2010; Pop 2013; Voicu 2009). They all seem to be caught up in the process of forging a distinct generational identity for themselves as well as contributing to memory debates by offering their unique perspective as "the last generation of communism". This growing body of autobiographical explorations of childhood memories in the last decades of communism has

[1] In communist Romania, the focus on gender equality in the workplace meant that more and more women went to work. This, however, was coupled with the strict pro-natalist legislation (see Gail Kligman, 1998), which led to many children being left unsupervised after school while the parents were at work. In order to ensure that they would not lose the house keys these would be put on a latch worn around the neck, hence the phrase. As opposed to the general usage in the West, the phrase has fewer negative associations as it is never used to imply parental neglect or poverty, but is rather associated with children becoming more mature, self-reliant and responsible.

put childhood on the map for museums[2] and memory research institutes[3], who are becoming especially interested in the pedagogy of memory and generationality from a markedly anti-communist perspective.

Childhood memories have become a memory battlefield in contemporary Romania. To simplify, staunch anti-communist discourses use childhood tropes to further their authors' memory politics agenda (Cernat et al. 2004) and do so in direct opposition to what is perceived as the malaise of nostalgia. Others, labeled as "nostalgics" (some of whom publicly endorse a leftist discourse (Ernu 2006) while others voice no ideological stance), seek to extricate their personal biography from the broader public discourse on communism. In any case, as generational belonging validates discourses, childhood memories are becoming embroiled in contemporary memory politics in Romania. What we are witnessing is, I argue, far more complex than mere pop-culturalization of history in the nostalgic mode. Instead, the increasing production of autobiographies or autofictions exploring communist childhoods has more to do with certain "structures of feeling" being articulated. As Williams sought to account for the relationship between the dynamic present and historical tradition in his materialist sociological analysis, he identified structures of feeling as "social experiences in solution, as distinct from other social semantic formations which have been precipitated and are more evidently and more immediately available" (Williams 1977: 133-34) The memory discourse of the latchkey generation is a case in point: in it the structures of feeling of the 1970s-1980s generations are being articulated and, together with them, emerging sensibilities that prompt new approaches to the communist past.

Thus, this article seeks to advocate researching childhood in communism in a way that is respectful towards the multiplicity of experiences and departs from the monolithic examination of one-directional relationships between the oppressive state and its indoctrinated children. I would like to suggest the use of the plural "communist childhoods" so as to be able to accommodate diverse class and generational perspectives in a way that does

[2]'70/'80. Tinereţea noastră, '70s/'80s Our Youth, exhibition organized by the National History Museum in collaboration with the National Council for the Study of Securitate Archives, March-June 2011, Bucharest.

[3]Oral history project "Childhood in communism" (2011), organized by the Centre for Investigation of Communist Crimes together with the German think-tank the Konrad Adenauer Foundation. The project encouraged teenagers to interview individuals about their experiences as children in communism, suggesting a questionnaire format that highlighted negative experiences. http://www.condamnareacomunismului.ro/Proiecte/Proiecteeduca%C5%A3ionale/Copilarieincomunism.aspx

not impose morally correct versions of remembering one's childhood or adolescence. It must be borne in mind that in post-communist studies, the preference for identifying fixed structures bearing on individual lives runs the risk of silencing experiences of the everyday. When it comes to children, the peril of excluding any form of agency on the part of communist citizens is amplified by the normative denial of the child's power to act or freedom to interpret (in the broadest sense of the word) cultural artifacts in a way that accommodates her own powers of interpretation, beyond or in ways unforeseen by the institutions regulating the education of children. It is perhaps useful to remember that:

> Determination is a real social process, but never (as in some theological and some Marxist versions) a wholly controlling, wholly predicting set of causes. On the contrary, the reality of determination is the setting of limits and the exertion of pressures, within which variable social practices are profoundly affected but never necessarily controlled (Williams 1974: 133).

Michel de Certeau's analysis of "strategies and tactics" of everyday life, also helps steer clear of totalizing assumptions about ideological indoctrination. Scholarly criticism has been justly leveled at the black-and-white representation of life in the communist bloc, which "overlook a variety of pathways that crisscross the community" (Lampland 1995), replicating dichotomies that place the individual and the regime in stark opposition, rendering those who lived in communism either immoral accomplices or helpless victims of indoctrination and brainwashing propaganda. Instead, a more gradient-like representation of social life under communism might be more fruitful, especially in providing a critique of the oversimplifying tropes that mark post-communist studies: nostalgia and trauma. Strategies involve the mechanisms of power, whose designated space of manifestation is dominated by the strong. A tactic, on the other hand, "insinuates itself into the other's place, fragmentarily, without taking it over in its entirety, without being able to keep it at a distance" (De Certeau 1984: xix). Tactics are defined by Certeau as "clever tricks, knowing how to get away with things, "hunter's cunning, maneuvers, polymorphic simulations, joyful discoveries, poetic as well as warlike"(De Certeau 1984: xix) Tactics and strategies are not directly oppositional, however. In a situation where a child, for example, performatively supports the system by participating in 1st of May parades and marches, but in doing so actually finds social fulfillment and a space for free play and forging friendships or uses the parade as a good way to rally his or her peers and then enjoy an afternoon of, say, listening to Pink Floyd records, the strategies of the system and the tactics deployed find themselves peculiarly intertwined. Therefore, instead of

assuming that "everyone was to a certain extent complicit in the system of patronage, lying, theft, hedging, and duplicity through which the system operated" (Gal and Kligman 51), I proceed in my exploration of the latchkey generation's lived experiences and memories under a different flag. It is my aim to signal the intricacies and ambiguities of children's everyday lives in communism by factoring back in the sense of ownership and agency that sometimes gets readily excluded from narratives of children's lives as well as from those of adult former citizens of socialist countries, much too often represented as child-like.

Image 1: Meme retrieved online

Source: http://memerial.net/fullsize/6495-hey-kids-wanna-build-communism

The traces of the material and social resources marshaled as educational strategies by the Central Committee of the Romanian communist Party through institutions such as the National Council of the Romanian Pioneers' Organization, the Ministry of Education or the Department of Agitation and

Propaganda are to be found in the Romanian National Archives as well as in publications catalogued by the Central University Library in Bucharest or the open archives of the National Council for the Study of Security Archives. The sources I examine in this article run the gamut of books, official documents and statutes, oral history collections and autobiographies.

Organizing Childhood: Falcons of the Motherland[4] and Pioneers

The Organization of the Romanian Pioneers was set up at the end the Second World War, following the Soviet model, with the first five hundred children being sworn in as Pioneers on April 30th 1949. Initially subordinated to the Union of Communist Youth, the Pioneer's Organization became an independently organized body in 1966, following the decision of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party. Thus, the organization became the main institution training children aged 9 to 14 up until 1971 and lowering the age of admission into the organization to 7 afterwards. By its 35th anniversary, it counted 2.695.000 members.

The Pioneer's Organization sought to involve children in a wide range of activities, covering every aspect of their socialization and creating multiple avenues where they could be trained in artistic, sporting or work activities. Indeed, one of the central aspects of life as a pioneer was involvement in technical activities meant to train future workers, as well as agricultural and environmental programmes. The rigorous planning of centralized economy that dominated the industrial and agricultural sectors[5] was applied to the Pioneers' Organization as well, where the emphasis was on meeting, and ideally surpassing, the set targets. For example, in the academic year 1983/1984 (File 46/1984:126-128) the patriotic work (muncă patriotică) activities were carried under the slogan "Every pioneer-a deed of work for the blossoming of the motherland", which materialized in 32,000 glass jars being collected (102% of the proposed plan), 43,700 tons of scrap metal (120,6% of the proposed plan) to give but a few examples. There is only so much figures

[4] In Romanian, "Şoimii Patriei". Translated elsewhere as: Country's Hawks (Dumanescu, this issue of RJPS), Falcons of the Fatherland (Nelson 1988) or Falcons of the Homeland (Glenn 1995, Muresan and Majima 2013). I have chosen this translation given that the political tropes revolved around the Party ("Partidul" in Romanian, masculine noun) and the Motherland ("Patria" in Romanian, feminine noun) as father and mother figures of the nation and its children.

[5] For an ample discussion of the role centralized planning took on, see Lampland 1995: "In socialism, planning constituted the quantification of social good; it was the calculus of political practice and so its reification. The plan became an actor, a historical subject(…)" (Lampland 1995, 243)

can reveal, however, especially bearing in mind that these can also be unreliable in a system where the rigors of centrally planned economy invited creative subterfuges. Children's tactics would sometimes prove to be especially inventive, as one latchkey kid's memories about paper recycling quotas indicate: "We had a limit of kilos per month and, because the newspapers were lighter, we would put in the bag some brick that we could find in the schoolyard until they realized the trick and started to check (up until then, they just weighed them and that was it)". (O. S., 120)" (*Martor* 2002) Where the enforcers of state policies on recycling proved adamant about the rules, space for playful subversion could apparently be found as the latchkey kids proved resourceful in ways unanticipated by the system's educational strategies.

The report lists the following county-level activities for the year 1984: "We are the successors of a heroic people", (visits, trips, contests, meetings, evocations) "Pioneers in the years of light", (concrete commitments to get better school results, cultural-artistic, sporting-touristic, military defense activities) "The Baton of the Generations", (patriotic work, plantations, holiday resorts, tending to touristic routes, mural painting, work on parks and sport centres) "We honour the motherland, the party and the people" (ample festivities and thematic artistic creations at the National Festival The Songs of Romania). As to the actual content of these activities, little if anything can be elicited from official documents. By the 1980s, the language of officialdom had become a self-perpetuating mechanism of "wooden language".[6] The effectiveness of these activities came to depend almost exclusively on the political inclinations of organizers:

> *In intermediary and high-school comrade power diminished considerably. We had some very patriotic comrades who were doing their best to fill our heads with communist nonsense. For instance the Comrade who taught Russian tried to also teach us to become young proud communists. I know he really did his best: he read to us all sorts of stuff about the Soviet Union, had us do our reading in school and at home of the famous Vitea Maleev, went all the way to preaching us about the alienation of Western society. It was he again who taught us that the Soviet Union had 7 hundred million inhabitants and was the biggest country in the world. There certainly were a couple of comrades who didn't really want to be comrades above all, just regular teachers and never made any efforts to conceal the truth.* (11)
> (Martor 2002).

[6] A phrase often used to refer to the recurrent standard phrases that were reproduced in all occasions, as fewer and fewer connections between facts and statements of facts existed. For an in-depth analysis of the language of power, see Alexander Yurchak (2002).

Following his 1971 visit to China and North Korea, Nicolae Ceauşescu set about enforcing the model of Mao's Cultural Revolution in Romania, decidedly aligning cultural production to the communist ethics. The creation of the new socialist man was emphasized more than ever before, and the production of a happy, productive childhood was intensified: "We must turn every schooling unit into a powerful centre of the education of children and young people in the socialist and communist spirit" (Ceauşescu 1971: 54). The vocabulary of class struggle permeated the sphere of childhood and the school system was supposed to combat "the tendency of parasitism, of an easy-going life without work", steering the country's young away from "the cosmopolitan attitudes, various artistic fashions borrowed from the capitalist world" (Ceauşescu 1971: 177–178). Intensely regulated free-time activities were part and parcel of the Party's core tools to produce the ideal "communist child", a child whose main qualities were supposed to be "honesty, modesty, courage and discipline, friendship and camaraderie" (*Statutul* 1967:8)

Being accepted into the Pioneers' Organization was associated with a feeling of pride and desert and the place and time of the enrollment ceremony mattered a great deal as those who got in in the "first wave" were considered to be top-ranking in their class. The Statute of the Pioneers' Organization states that only those who are "academically ambitious, stick to school discipline, display proper conduct at school, in their family, in the larger social group and express their desire to become Pioneers' (*Statutul* 1967: 9) will be accepted in the ranks. The solemnity associated with this highly ritualized event, as well as the special dress code that came with it managed to strike a chord with some children:

> *We became pioneers in the 3rd grade, in series: those who were one year elder made us pioneers. I was made a pioneer at the Military Academy- where the festivity took place. I said an oath! It was really a touching thing, I came home very proud. Since you became a pioneer, you had two uniforms: the daily one you wore at school and the festive one- a pleated skirt, white shirt and scarf. And if you had shoulder straps and badges you couldn't be happier. The straps and the badges were distributed according to one's merit. But you had to work in order to get them. They were given to reward your learning efforts, but also for the patriotic work.*
> (O. S., 120) (Martor 2002)

Perhaps then it is not surprising that the emotional attachment to certain aspects of communist education came to contrast quite sharply with an understanding of the regime as oppressive as noticeable in the article quoted at the beginning of this chapter. According to one representative of the latchkey

generation, the 1989 change of political regimes came with both excitement at the prospect of freedom as well as the disillusionment of frustrated expectations: "In December 89, besides the euphoria felt after becoming aware of the historical moment, I felt a huge regret of never having been a school commander and then a member of the Youth Communist Organization[7] (C. B., 93)" (*Martor* 2002)

For others, however, being part of a communist youth organization was completely undesirable and the consequences of refusal to join were on occasion dire:

> *My younger brother refused to become a CYO [Communist Youth Organization; Uniunea Tineretului Comunist in Romanian] member, but he was threatened to be expelled and he had to accept. Since then he was controlled and followed from a distance being considered a problem pupil although he had the best results in school.* (M. C. J., 108) (*Martor* 2002)

In other cases, the parents' recourse to tactics of lying to extricate their children from festivities meant to celebrate the regime, such as Cântarea României (Celebration of Romania), a mammoth national artistic festival broadcast on national television, revealed layered forms of engagement with propaganda on the side of children themselves:

> *Why did I never go to the Celebration of Romania? At a certain moment when I was, I think, in my fifth grade, they came to my school to recruit us for the Celebration of Romania. What we had to do was to fill the stalls and to handle the plates with the eulogistic captions addressed to the leaders of the country. Of course, everything was compulsory. A year before, the same thing had happened with my brother's class. He got away for the mere reason that he wore glasses. Then, mother came with the idea to invoke the same reason in my case as well. And it worked. Anyway, I was really disappointed, because all my colleagues had a wonderful time and they kept telling stories about it long after this happened.* (160) (Martor 2002).

This particular confession shows how children's socialization was entangled with official propaganda to such an extent as to render the two inseparable. What to the adults was clearly an ideologized festivity, to children it might have. been nothing more than an opportunity to have fun and enjoy each other's company.

With membership of the Pioneers' Organization spanning two educational cycles - primary and middle-school - there was a two-step

[7]UTC (UniuneaTineretului Comunist). Pioneers went on to become part of the Communist Youth Union at the age of 15.

integration process into the organization. Seven-year olds were supposed to verbally swear in as Pioneers by uttering the oath "I…(name and first name), on joining the ranks of the Pioneers' Organization swear to love the motherland, be a good student, be diligent and disciplined, worthy of the red tie and the tricolor"[8] (File 29/85: 31) A written vow was introduced for 5th graders, children aged 11-12:

> *"I will study and work to become a reliable son of the motherlands the socialist Republic of Romania; I will be loyal to the people and the Romanian communist Party; I will not stray from the duties incumbent upon me as a pioneer"* (File 29/85: 31).

Different emotional scripts were in place for 2nd-4th graders as compared to 5th-8th graders as the former had a duty to "love their motherland and prepare to serve it with devotion" (File 29/85: 34) while the latter had "the supreme duty to fervently love their socialist motherland, placing her interests above all". (File 29/85: 35) A new level of commitment to studying was expected from the older student who moves past being just "a good friend of the book" (File 29/85: 34) to being "an unfaltering friend of the book" (File 29/85: 35).

Student report cards in the shape of small notebooks included a section on the rights and obligations of socialist pupils, also featuring heavily politicized emotions

> *The student has the fundamental duty to love our motherland, the RSR, to prove his/her love and devotion to the party for the cause of socialism and communism, through his attitude towards learning and work, through his overall conduct in and outside school, by treasuring the glorious traditions of our people's struggle for national and social liberation through his participation in patriotic activities*[9]

as well as unlikely interdictions to "visit restaurants if unaccompanied by parents", "smoking, going to bars, cafes, casinos, gambling", "not to travel hanging from public transport vehicles, either on the stairs or on the sides of these vehicles". The statute thus projects an uncanny image of the socialist pupil on the one hand "benefitting from the wonderful conditions created and rights bestowed by the socialist state" yet on the other always possibly tempted by the parasitical bourgeois lifestyle that might lead to indulgence in gambling and leisure. The striking ban on hanging from public transport vehicles actually testifies to a social reality of overcrowded buses whose number proved insufficient especially during morning peak hours, rendering the interdiction null.

[8] The tricolor stands for Romania's flag with the colours red, yellow and blue.

[9] Taken from a student report card issued in 1976; a version produced in 1964, for example, emphasized desirable qualities, without including negative traits that needed to be thwarted.

Parents found themselves clumsily negotiating the private space of the family. Discussions between parents criticizing the regime were either carried out in a low voice or formed the object of a silent vow on the part of the child. Safe areas for expression had to be carefully negotiated, although this too depended to a high degree on the figures of authority, as in the example below:

> *In school, one special course was reserved to indoctrination. Once, one of my colleagues had an ironic remark about the Comrade. The joke worked like a spark that caused quite an uproar, with everyone speaking up their sincere thoughts. The headmaster turned red, and tried to calm us down, but in vain. We had colleagues whose parents were high officials, members of the nomenclature. The small incident lasted for about a minute, and we did nothing but reproduce the things our parents said in earnest, at home. The scene happened in the autumn of 1989, when I was in the seventh grade.* (69) (*Martor* 2002).

With the Party overtaking on many of the aspects of children's socialization, parents often found themselves cautiously negotiating their relationship with their own children, torn between finding relief from the highly regulated norms of communist discourse in the child's free expression and ensuring that this freedom did not attract the attention of teachers or party representatives. The account reproduced below shows how tactics of subversion could be predicated upon children's school festivities and reflect back on their parents and teachers, sometimes without the children understanding the deeper meaning of their performance:

> *In the 80s the first graders' festivities, the Celebration of the Winter Tree*[10] *and the ABC celebration had become opportunities for dissidence. During the winter holidays, the festivity would be held nearer Christmas, and not around New Year's Eve. One did not talk about Gerilă (Frosty), but sang about Santa Claus (…) One sang also Happy New Year, the original text: "May* ***the Lord*** *give you what you wish" after decades of singing "May* ***life*** *give you what you wish". I remember that at the festivity of ABC, they sang a song:"One is the moon, two is a pair, five fingers at one hand, seven days a week, 9th March* ***the martyrs'"***[11] *day. My children went to a school at 0 perimeter*[12]*, also attended by the children*

[10]Christmas had been excluded from the official celebrations and replaced with the celebration of the winter Tree. Also, Christmas-related celebrations had been pushed closer to the New Year so that the religious connotation could be suppressed in compliance with the principles of socialist realism and materialism. The figure of Santa Claus was replaced with Frosty.

[11] On 9th March, Orthodox Romanians celebrate the The **Forty** Martyrs of Sebaste or the Holy Forty, a group of Roman soldiers whose martyrdom in 320 for the Christian faith is commemorated by going to church and cooking traditional sweet pastry.

[12]A residential area in the north of Bucharest where members of the nomenclature lived; the area boasted luxurious villas and was protected by militia men.

> *of the nomenclature. And yet, strangely, I remember that we, the parents, cast secret looks at each other, eyes moist with emotion and satisfaction. Did we all consider each of the words uttered against the censorship as a personal victory?* (125) (*Martor* 2002).

In 1976, the Romanian communist Party issued the decision to set up a new mass organization for children aged four to seven under the name of Falcons of the Motherland (Şoimii Patriei) under the coordination of the Pioneers' Organization.

Image 2. Above, group photo of newly sworn-in Falcons. Below, a pioneer pins the patch bearing the emblem of the Organization, which sealed the ritual of acceptance into the Falcons of the Motherland.

Source: (Personal archive).

With this decision, ideological education zoomed in on pre-school children. The rules of conduct that came with the status of being a Falcon included: "being loyal to the party and the people, loving learning and work, loving and helping one's parents, being respectful towards the teachers and the elderly

whose advice they follow, being honest, fair and brave, tidy, neat and obedient, friendly and helpful towards each other, joyfully taking part in the group activities" (*Regulamentul* 1977:10). The Falcons of the Motherland had a duty to "love singing, dancing and sporting activities" (*Regulamentul* 1977:10) as well as the obligation to "always be cheerful" (*Regulamentul* 1977:10). The list of duties seems specifically targeted at inculcating the iconography of the presidential couple, which should be understood in the context of the 1971 July Theses and the Cultural Revolution unfolding in The Socialist Republic of Romania.[13] A Falcon of the Motherland was supposed to recognize the RCP Flag and identify the portrait of comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu and comrade Elena Ceaușescu and the organization was responsible for providing them with elementary ideological education.

Given the early age of its members, this new organization raised some difficulties related to the children's transition from "ideologically undecided" to "ideologically decided" members of the socialist community. The overlap between the biological life course and political affiliation was meant to be perfect, leaving no room for children to "become" affiliated to communist politics, but rather their integration into the organization was a formal statement of fact: they already were communists having been born in a communist country. However, practicalities related to the formal integration into the organization expose the fault lines in the ideological conviction that children are born politically decided:

> *Comrade Petre Lupu: Do all four-year-olds automatically become members of the Falcons of the Motherland?*
> *Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu: I don't know whether we should introduce a written request for enrolment into the Falcons of the Motherland!*
> *Comrade Leonte Răutu: It should be formulated like this: "all children under seven become members of the organization Falcons of the Motherland".*
> *Comrade Ilie Verdeț: It is the organization of children aged four to seven. If we introduce the condition of an "agreement", then should this be verbal?*[14]

The final decision was for a verbal oath[15] to mark the admission into the organization:

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[13]After Ceausescu's visit to China and North Korea, sweeping changes were instated with a view to reproducing the cultural revolution that had so impressed him during his visit. The highly militarized festivities put together to celebrate Nicolae Ceausescu's visit as well as the self-reliance displayed by the Chinese in terms of industrial as well as cultural production had a great impact on the Romanian leader.

[14] http://www.revista22.ro/soimii-patrieibrstenograma-sedintei-secretariatului-cc-al-pcr-din-ziua-de-19-septembrie-1977-3986.html Accessed 28.06.2014.

"I, a Falcon of the motherland swear to be faithful to the people, always honest and fair, to defend and praise this land".

Adding to the wealth of political jokes circulating at the time, most often the only form of subversion that the population had at its disposal, a poem parodying the Falcons' oath was created:

"As I'm sitting on the potty/ And am sucking on my thumbie/I vow to grow big and strong /Be it dark or be it cold"[16].

Mocking the increasing encroachment on childhood and the integration of such young children into the state control mechanisms, the folk rhyme also points at the dire living conditions in communist Romania despite the "wonderful conditions" for which children were supposed to be grateful as the propagandistic discourses all too often claimed.

Children's Media

Media underwent a complete overhaul, too, being purged from "ideas and principles alien to our [communist] philosophy and ethics, the spirit of violence, the bourgeois way of life and mentalities noxious to youth education" (Ceauşescu 1971: 179). As to how this actually translated into learned behaviour, Paul Cernat's autobiographical memories can provide an inkling into the tactics available to young pioneers: "Trained by my family, I had started to scrutinize the broadcasting of western TV series, carefully selected as to convey 'educational' anti-capitalist messages (…) I sided with the fallen, the cunning, the negative elements(…)" (Cernat 2004: 28)

The role of mass-media was that of creating the desired structures of feeling by offering "a sort of emotional support that contributes to the formation and reinforcement of morality and citizenship, to the formation and deepening of burning love for the socialist motherland, of love and attachment to the communist party that has led and is still leading the masses to glorious victories" (Cerghit 1972: 145).

Censorship and the almost complete exclusion of western productions were seen as "a profoundly humanistic measure, reflecting the high degree of responsibility on the part of the party and the state, which see to it that our people, our youth grow and develop in a healthy spiritual environment".

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[15] In the original, the oath was meant to rhyme: "Eu, Şoim al Patriei, mă angajez:/Poporului credinţă să-i păstrez,/Să fiu cinstit şi drept oricând/ Să apăr şi să cânt acest pământ".

[16] In Romanian: Jur cu fundul pe oliţă/Şi cu degetu-n guriţă/Să cresc mare şi voinic/În întuneric şi frig

(Cerghit 1972: 162). Children's literature was supposed to reflect traditional folkloristic traditions merged with the new communist ethos:

> *Children's literature was supposed to reflect traditional folkloristic traditions merged with the new communist ethos and children's media were the main conveyors of these values: 'I could say that we expect our writers to create communist Prince Charming.'*(Ceaușescu 1972: 607).

However, behind closed doors, many families listened to Radio Free Europe. The degree of freedom that children had in discussing their media consumption habits varied, however. Ion Manolescu confesses that:

> *Not only did they[my parents] not forbid me to think and speak freely (as was the case with the majority of activists' children, who, during potentially subversive discussions such as those on foreign music or the Malvine military conflict would say upfront 'I can't talk about this.') but they also let me tune in to 'capitalist' radio stations (...)* (Manolescu 2004: 147).

Far from exhausting the rich material outlining the educational strategies of Romanian communism or the remembered experiences of children and teenagers growing up in late socialist Romania, I hope to have provided enough support for the argument that the multiplicity of experiences of everyday life needs to be acknowledged lest we should apply totalizing labels and neglect the myriad nuances of children's socialization albeit in a system that sought uniformization. Last but not least, with a new generation coming to the fore of remembrance processes, the biographical significance of memories from communism plays a significant role that needs to be acknowledged as explained by writer Cezar-Paul Bădescu:

> *Words like comrade might fill some with disgust or indignation. Not me. For me, communism was horrible indeed, but that holds true on a general level-social, political, economic, national, etc. but for me, as an individual, it was not monstrous. I was born in '68, so communism was the environment in which I was born and grew up, the air I breathed* (Bădescu 2012: 111).

Childhood memories play a crucial role in any life writing project. In post-communist Romania, generational life writing projects are becoming a driving force behind a new discourse on the communist past, with different stakes and memory politics operating since the gaze on the past can never be disentangled from the present's justificatory needs. In this context it is perhaps useful, as this article has aimed to demonstrate, to read official documents and remembered experiences side by side.

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Children as the Nation Future in Communist Romania

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Abstract: It is a well-known fact that in the socialist states children were seen as the main force for social changing, especially in those states having a long term perspective regarding their lasting. Education, child care or supportive measures were far from being sufficient for such a purpose; over organization, over-regulation and a strong discipline had to be enforced since the very first years of every child! The pre-school and school children were going to be integrated in the process of revolutionary education of the young generation. Soimii Patriei (The Country's Hawks), an original creation of Nicolae Ceausescu – no other country of the communist block had a similar organization) and The Pioneers, played their role in the creation of the multilaterally developed society and in the revolutionary education of the young generation. In this paper I will analyse the main children organizations, their statute and regulations, but also their printed materials - magazines for children – with the purpose to present the ways and means used by the state to indoctrinate the children. The indoctrination goes so deep that, in many circumstances, we can think that the children did not belong to their parents but rather to the party and its leader, Nicolae Ceausescu. This type of analyse, including the degree of implication of the children in these organizations (especially the Pioneers) can reveal very interesting aspects about the sociological and psychological impact on children: numerous accounts testify that the position of group, detachment or unity commander (the three divisions in organization) was the first leadership experience in their personal history.

Keywords: Pioneers, Country's Hawkes, communism, childhood, Romania

Short history of the children's organisations

Children's organisations have existed in the entire world long before the fascist or the socialist movements – with which they are usually associated – spread. In the 1880s, in the USA the children's clubs organised by Charles Stelzle on the principles of Masonry were in fashion. The first known children's organisations were founded in Great Britain and the USA. In 1884 William Smith established *Boys Brigade* and in 1899 John Paton rallied boys under the banner of *Boys Life Brigade*. Three years later, in 1902, Ernest Seton set up

Woodcraft Indians in the United States and in 1905 Daniel Beard organised *Boy Pioneers of America*, after he had, through the organisation *Sons of Daniel Boone*, promoted for a few years the benefits of open-air activities for children (Fass, 110-113). But the most well-known movement from the beginning of the 20th century, which has rapidly expanded into the entire world and which still exists today is *Boy Scouts* (in Romanian: *Cercetaşii*), founded in Great Britain in 1908 by Robert Baden-Powell, the son of an Anglican minister, who became a general in the British army, a hero of the Boer Wars. The purpose of this primarily military organisation (even the uniforms were military) was that of creating model teenagers and adults through educating the character and building citizenship by using military exercise (training), by relying on its own code of laws and moral guide (*Scout Law*) and by taking an oath (*Scout Promise*). All these organisations had in common a few elements, amongst which adherence to a moral code, self-government, secret signs, patriotism, uniforms, rituals. Moreover, *Boy Scouts* was a religious organisation, as Baden-Powell had introduced the religious oath and had banned the access of those who could not prove their affiliation to a church. As a matter of fact, churches had become recruiting bases for the *Boy Scouts*! After 1920, due to the numerous protests and contestations of the organisation's military character, *Boy Scouts* was organised on pacifistic principles and set for itself goals related to education and to the organisation of children's free/spare time and thus practically returned to the desiderata of the first children's clubs from the 1880s. One must also mention that although initially there were no age limits for admission into the organisation, gradually *Boy Scouts* set between 11 and 18 years of age the limits for entering and leaving the organisation. Furthermore, it must be emphasised that in 1914 the organisation had spread across 52 states, including Russia and Austria-Hungary, and that in 1918 it included 750,000 boys, amongst whom 155,000 were enrolled solely in Great Britain, the cradle of the organisation.

In the years following the First World War a massive turn takes place in the case of children's organisations as well, due to the advancement of fascism and communism, the two political and ideological extremes that have placed young people in the forefront of the revolutionary movements. Both fascism and communism have used the youth as a manoeuvre mass for a very simple reason: children and young people lacked previous political education and experience! They represented masses that were vulnerable and easy to manipulate and manoeuvre, but which were also significant from a political viewpoint. In the 1920s and 1930s, the fascist parties promised young people not only employment and educational opportunities, but also a mission that

was simply divine: that of becoming the leaders of the revolutionary movement that was going to purify the nations (Fass, 343). Under the aegis of the phrase "Young people build the future", Italy and Germany, countries with a powerful national identity and a society that was very clearly divided according to gender, have fostered and nourished the most powerful children's organisations. In Italy, children aged between 8 and 14 were incorporated into the *Batilla*, a paramilitary organisation that insisted upon the boys' physical training in order for them to become better soldiers. Girls were gathered into the *Piccole Italiane*, where they were oriented/directed/guided towards domesticity and motherhood.

In Germany, immediately after Hitler took over the power, *Hitlerjugend* (*Hitler Youth*) was constituted, one of the NSDAP's paramilitary organisations, which, unlike all the children's organisations that have been brought into the discussion so far/until now, but also unlike other similar German organisations[1] had a precisely set goal: that of cleansing the society of racial impurities (Jews, Gypsies, etc.). Like the Italian model, *Hitlerjugend* (HJ) had a boys division, the *Deutsches Jungvolk*, comprising boys with ages between 10 and 14, and the *Bund Deutscher Mädel* or the *League of German Girls*, the girls division, with ages between 10 and 18. In 1923, the organisation had approximately 1,000 members, in 1926, after its reorganisation, about 5,000 and in 1932 it included 2,300,000 members. Their number grew massively as other similar organisations were being dissolved (for example, the *Evangelische Jugend*, a Lutheran organisation with 600,000 members) or prohibited (*Boy Scouts* was forbidden in Germany and the territories controlled by the Germans after the Nazis took over the power). At the same time, there exist voices that claim that young people joined this movement voluntarily out of a desire to counter the traditional authority, regardless of its nature – familial, school-related or that exercised by the Church.

From a doctrinal viewpoint, HJ were viewed and hypostatised as future pure Arians and as a result they were indoctrinated with racist ideas, meant to

[1]The first fascist youth organisation was *Jugendbund*, established in 8 March 1922, immediately after the creation of the NSDAP. In 1924 it changed its name to *Grossdeutsche Jugendbewegung* (*Greater German Youth Movement*). In the same year 1922, in Munchen, ***Jungsturm Adolf Hitler***, the paramilitary organisation of the Nazi Party, was founded, its purpose being the recruitment and military training of the future members of the *Sturmabteilung* ("Storm Regiment"), the paramilitary adult wing of the Party. After the Beer Hall Putsch (November 1923), the members of these organisations acted in illegality. When the Party was reorganised in 1926, *Grossdeutsche Jugendbewegung* became *Hitler Jugend Bund der deutschen Arbeiterjugend* (*Hitler Youth League of German Worker Youth*) under the command of Kurt Gruber, an ardent admirer of Hitler. In July 1926, Gruber managed to include his organisation into the *Sturmabteilung* and changed its name to *Hitler-Jugend*, the name under which it has functioned until 1945.

motivate them to fight on all fronts for the Third Reich and to execute its missions of cleansing the country of the unwanted elements, included on the black list. Last but not least, HJ were oriented against all the religious currents and they were used for frightening and breaking the youth groups organised under the tutelage of the churches, for intimidating the participants to religious services or to the various activities organised by the churches. In other words, unlike the *Boy Scouts,* HJ were profoundly antireligious – an attitude that, as we will see, was also deeply rooted amongst the youth organisations from the USSR and Romania and probably in all the states from the former Communist bloc. This behavioural tendency represented an extension of the idea of a secular state, not subjected to the influence coming from the part of the religions, which were associated with superstitions and backwardness.

Children's organisations in the USSR

I mentioned at the beginning of this paper the ideas that have guided the communist ideologists as they outlined the directions that needed to be followed when educating the youth: firstly, to extract them from under the control and tutelage of their parents (or family), and, secondly, to mould them so that they would become trustworthy citizens and promoters of the socialist ideals. Until 1917 one cannot speak about socialist children's organisations in Russia, given the fact that even the Communist Party acted clandestinely. Moreover, one can neither say that the Russian Empire had been especially preoccupied with the children, although there are some signs, interpreted by Katriona Kelly as proofs of the interest towards them, mainly in what regards education (the building of schools). In any case, before the 20th century, no systematic research concerning childhood in Russia exists – and the same is true also for Romania and other states from Eastern Europe.

Why do children come to the communists' attention? Peter Stearns identifies two causes: 1. The extremely high infant mortality, combined with the general mortality during the war, which draws the authorities' attention. In 1914, infant mortality was situated around 30%; in 1921 it had reached 50% (some authors speak about a 90% mortality in the case of newborns/newborn babies). 2. The international legitimisation of the regime. Communists took over a series of elements from the western model of childhood and adapted them to the local specificities and conditions, restructuring this model. Summarising, this reorientation towards childhood has caused a resetting of the relations between family and state in a relatively short period of time and in favour of the state, which tried to substitute itself for the parents using any methods possible.

Childhood meant, primarily, schooling – which greatly reduced the time potentially allocated to the household chores fulfilled by children (children are taken from the fields and brought to school) – and, secondly, organisation, on the principles of socialisation and of building the character within children's organisations. The Soviet model of children's organisations pushes the Occidental model of the *Boy Scouts* or the fascist model of the HJ towards its absolute limits, almost all children aged between 9 and 14 being included in the Pioneer Organisation (*Vsesoyuznaya Pionerskaya Organizatsia Imeni Vladimira Ilicha Lenina*) that offered them dancing classes, physical training, summer camps and indoctrination – often through memorisation! On the other hand, children had to participate, in accordance with their own abilities, in the collective work efforts in the fields, factories and plants, in helping the veterans, etc. Those who reached the age of 14 entered the Komsomol (***Kom****munisticeski* ***So****iuz* ***Mol****odioji*) – where the actual indoctrination began.

The Romanian communist vision of children's organisations. The role of the children in building "the new man"

The interpretation of the Romanian communism always starts from the idea of the adoption of the Russian model and of its adaptation to the Romanian conditions, in its most various aspects, from politics to daily life. In the present study we are trying to elucidate the problem of the children organisations from communist Romania both from the perspective of the Western interpretations (see Stearns 2006) and the Soviet model (Kelly 2007), and, most of all, from the perspective of the plans of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP; in Romanian: *Partidul Comunist Român* – PCR) regarding the role of these organisations. Our sources are the party documents issued between 1949 and 1989, regulations of the children's organisations, stenographs of the meetings of the National Council of the Pioneer Organisation (NCPO; in Romanian: *Consiliul Naţional al Organizaţiei Pionierilor* – CNOP) or of the RCP, reports of the Pioneer Organisation, of the Union of Communist Youth (UCY; in Romanian: *Uniunea Tineretului Comunist* – UTC) or of the NCPO and articles that were published in children's magazines.

In the very first years of communism in Romania the enforcement of a new social system meant a crises at familial level, in the context of the state to disrupt the society. The elements defining this crises were massive industrialisation, collectivization, rural exodus, mass schooling, the women access on the labour market. Later on, some positive measures (focused on social care and family protection – support for families with children, paid

maternal leave and children allowance etc.) were enforced for the support of same idea of state care and support for the family life.

There is no doubt that the birth of children's organisations of a communist nature was inspired by the Soviet experience and model, taken over and successfully applied in the post-war years in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. The first meetings of the communists concerning the problem of children postulate precisely this lack of organisation in the case of a population category which, in theory, could serve the Party's goals in the best possible manner, in just a few years' time.

Between 1949 and 1989 two children's organisations have functioned in Romania, namely the Pioneers – from 1949 – and the Country's Hawks, beginning with 1977. The Hawks submitted themselves to the Pioneers, which were, at their turn, subordinated to the UCY[2], the latter being responsible to the Central Committee (CC) of the RCP.

The intention of the Party's ideologists – as well as that of the RCP's leaders – was to expand the propaganda in order to include all the societal levels, regardless of age. As in the Soviet case – an excellent model of "good practices" – the communists bet the preparation of the stocks of future activists on children and young people. The conditions were relatively similar to those from the USSR: an agrarian, poorly educated and deeply religious (and superstitious) society, which still perceived the child as a working hand in the household and afterwards a wage-earner! Schools were built and compulsory mass education became the rule. Women received/were granted access to and entered massively on the working market (inappropriately called a "market") and to factories and plants, respectively, and the state built nurseries and kindergartens motivated not so much by care for the little ones, but in order to permit and facilitate the mothers' access to work. Naturally, school became the recruitment basis for the future communist youth. School as an institution was the first link in the training system of staff needed to build socialism (Falls 2011). Youth needed to be educated in the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. In 1918, Soviet communists decided that "we must make the younger generation a generation of Communists. We have to transform children into true communists. We must learn to influence significantly the family. We have to take control and, to say clearly, nationalize

[2] The Union of Communist Youth (UCY) from Romania was established/founded in March 1922, when the General Conference of the Socialist Youth met in Bucharest, while organising the Communist Youth International – KIM. Between 1924 and 1936, the UCY acted in illegality and in 1936 dissolved itself. During the period of the Antonescu regime, the UCY was re-established, but hardly survived, without the youth's support. After 1944, however, under the protection of the Red Army and of a strong Communist Party, the UCY was reactivated.

them. Since the first days they [the children] will be under the influence of Communist kindergartens and schools" (Heller 1985: 180).

The first successful official attempts regarding the children's organisation concretised in 1949. In the project for the Pioneer Organisation of the Romanian People's Republic (RPR; in Romanian: *Republica Populară Română*) it was noted that organising the children according to the model of the Pioneers from the USSR was the dream of the communists, who "love the children like no one else"! (File 142/1948). In 1948, approximately 50,000 children had already departed/left for the summer camps organised by the Party; the primary base was, therefore, ensured! Through a resolution from December 1948, the CC of the Romanian Workers' Party (RWP; in Romanian: *Partidul Muncitoresc Român* – PMR) sets for the Union of Working Youth (UWY; in Romanian: *Uniunea Tineretului Muncitoresc* – UTM) the task of creating and being in charge of Pioneer organisations comprising children aged between 9 and 14. The organisations were to include only the best children, in order to serve as a model and example for all the others, but all the children were to participate in the activities organised by the Pioneers, of course, considering that every child would become so inspired by the ideals of the Pioneering spirit that they would do all that was necessary in order to be admitted to the organisations. Interestingly, those who set this task guessed that mere political training would not be sufficient to attract children and that it would be necessary to coopt some pedagogues who would propose activities that were adequate for the children's level of understanding and for their age preoccupations. This was one of the assumptions that laid at the foundation of the creation of the children's circles and of the Children's National Palace (in Romanian: *Palatul Național al Copiilor*). According to the organisation project, the main purpose of the Pioneer Organisations was that of becoming "the most reliable help to the popular school in the formation of a young generation, well prepared from a political, professional and physical point of view, in the formation of a young citizen who is dignified/respectable and devoted to the RPR, an enthusiastic builder of socialism, a faithful militant for Lenin's and Stalin's cause..." (File 142/1948, p. 4).

A few guiding ideas/principles were laid at the basis of the organisation:

1. Love for the motherland – it implied knowledge of the historical past, the cultivation of popular music, dances and literature, knowledge of the country's riches and, above all, "understanding the superiority of our country over the countries in which children lead a miserable life".
2. Love for and devotion to the Party;

3. Love for the USSR – "the country in which the happiest children in the world live";
4. Respect and appreciation for the other peoples;
5. Love for learning – children's principal duty towards their motherland and their parents;
6. Love for nature;
7. Building the character of the Pioneer, of the "future new man" – love for work, the sentiment of workers' justice, courage and abnegation in the fight for socialism's and communism's just cause, honesty and modesty, collective spirit, self-critical sense, sincerity, morality!

According to the organisation project, the Pioneers must be handled with care, politics and indoctrination must be carried out within the capabilities of their young minds, without scaring them and driving them away! The formalistic attitude that would have prematurely aged children had to be eliminated. All advice was taken from the method of the Russian pedagogue Kalinin. Beyond propaganda, the project seriously discussed the problem of these children's education: they should be accustomed to read – the suggested reading materials were, however, carefully selected by the Party! –, imbued with an artistic and critical spirit, oriented towards sporting activities, in order to develop healthily and harmoniously. At the same time, the Pioneer should hike and go on excursions, be altruistic, work and evolve within a social group, exercising his or her qualities as a member of the team.

The Pioneer Organisation

The smallest formation was constituted by the group, including 8-10 Pioneers from the same class. More groups formed a detachment and all the detachments of a school composed a unit. "Democratically" – by direct election – the group chose its leader the detachment elected a management/a board comprising 3-4 members, led by a detachment commander and the unit was headed by a group formed of 7-9 members, coordinated by a commander chosen in a plenary session (File 167/1950, leaf 10). Those in charge at the level of the county appointed a superior instructor, who was responsible for the entire activity that took place in a school unit.

Similarly to any organisation of a socialist type, the Pioneer Organisation's activity as well unfolded on the basis of a working plan, which respected the school board's requests and did not impinge upon syllabus/curriculum. A task was set for each individual (each Pioneer) and each individual was responsible before the group for its completion – the fulfilment plan was checked weekly, the detachments analysed the results once every two

weeks and the unit reported monthly the degree to which the tasks were accomplished. As a result, an extremely laborious/complicated scheme that was surely going to affect schoolwork, regardless of how much it was insisted upon the contrary in the organisation regulation.

Access to the Pioneer Organisation

As shown in the project for its establishment, the Pioneer Organisation could comprise children aged between 9 and 14, who proved that they had good results in school (they were the best in their class) and that they had an exemplary behaviour within the school and outside of it. Enrolment was voluntary and depended upon a request submitted by the student in question, a request that had to include, apart from the date of birth and the current address, information about the parents and their social status. Obviously, access to the organisation was made more difficult and even prevented for children who came from families with "unhealthy origins" – in the same manner in which access to higher levels of education was hindered for the same categories. As a general rule, if the request was approved (after a serious analysis at the level of the school), the future Pioneer received the red tie and the Pioneer's insignia in a public ceremony, organised in places and at dates with a special meaning for the workers' movement or for the country's glorious past, uncontested by the communists. The ceremonial was extremely pompous and took place in the presence of the county Party leaders, of the army's representatives, of various councils and committees, of the representatives of the school inspectorates, of the people with the best results in production, of the parents and of the other students. Similarly to all the young people enrolled in the organisations that were mentioned at the beginning of this study, young Pioneers also promised[3], at the solemn moment of receiving the red tie, to become noteworthy citizens of the motherland/country through hard work and education. The Pioneers' slogan was: "Learn and fight for the working class!", an exhortation expressed by the highest-ranking person who attended the ceremony. And the answer that the Pioneers gave was: "I will fight, I will learn"! At 14 years of age, the Pioneers could join the UWY.

Just as their parents – toilers for the cause of the country – the Pioneers could be rewarded for the attainment of the desired results, criticised and exposed in the wall gazette if they failed to fulfil them and sanctions could be

[3] The commitment of the Pioneer: "I, a young Pioneer of the RPR, before the Romanian Working Party, pledge the commitment to protect the conquests of the working class, and to fight for socialism's and communism's victory in our country. I make the commitment to learn and to work so that I will be a noteworthy citizen of our popular republic".

imposed upon them for irregularities. The most drastic disciplinary sanctions were enforced upon children who, through their behaviour, brought disgrace on the Pioneer's prestige. They could even be excluded from the organisation, an action that had very serious consequences for the one who aspired to become a university student – he or she could hardly ever enrol at a faculty, without undergoing the rehabilitation process!

What was expected, concretely, from the Pioneers? Obviously, by following the example coming from the East, from the USSR, the Pioneers, raised in the spirit of the class ideology of the proletariat, were to become the future generations of "energetic and cultivated citizens of socialism, political leaders, administrative cadres, valuable technicians, avant-garde members of the people, capable of sacrifice and heroism" (File 1949, leaf 10). In short, the Pioneer was the developing prototype of the "new man" – the country's future, without any connections with religion, superstition and ignorance, inclined towards work and sacrifice, situated at a considerable distance from the so-called "bourgeois" traditions and values. Simona Preda shows that the absolute model was Pioneer 001, Pavel Morozov, at least until around 1951, the year after which the Romanian communist leaders tried to put some distance between themselves and Moscow and its model (Preda 2012). The regulations, the manner in which the candidates were received into the organisation, the system of rewards and punishments, the uniform, the ranks, facings and other various insignia actually show that the organisation was inspired by a military model and, given the fervour with which the propaganda acted, it is not surprising that children were really eager to become Pioneers. "Organised as an army at a smaller scale, easy to manoeuvre and instruct, the mass of Pioneers who had barely entered the system at the tenderest ages had to quickly take the step forwards towards the statute of a base of cadres for the Republic" (Preda 2012: 20).

The inventory of terms from the propagandistic literature provides the image of a model youngster, guided by courage, patriotism, honour, loyalty. In the 1980 regulation, hence at 30 years from its establishment, certain amendments are introduced both in defining the organisation's purposes and in distributing the Pioneers' obligations according to their age. Thus, the Pioneer Organisation is a "mass revolutionary organisation of the children", which contributes to the communist education and formation of the young generation, alongside schooling and the family. "The Pioneer Organisation helps the Pioneers get acquainted with and understand the Romanian Communist Party's politics, it mobilises them to participate, according to their abilities, to its fulfilment. The Pioneer Organisation educates pupils in the spirit

of the socialist internationalism, of friendship with children from the socialist countries, from the entire world, under the sign of peace and understanding amongst peoples. It develops the sentiment of solidarity with the peoples' fight for freedom and national independence, for social progress". The little Pioneer (classes II-IV) loves his country and gets prepared to serve it with devotion; the big Pioneer (classes V-VIII) loves his motherland ardently, placing the country's interests above everything else; in everything he does he proves interest and passion and, above all else, his actions demonstrate his commitment towards the organisation, the party and the motherland (The Statute of the Pioneer Organisation, 1980).

The Country's Hawks[4]

In 1976 a conclusion was reached, namely that even preschool children must be comprised in the system of patriotic education and formation and the RCP's members of note were charged with elaborating a regulation for the creation of an organisation for preschool and first grade children, the future Hawks of the Country. By comparatively analysing the two regulations – of the Pioneers and of the Hawks – one cannot notice significant differences of vision regarding the role of those organisations and of the methods that they suggested in order to reach their goals.

It appears that the idea of constituting the Country's Hawks had belonged to Nicolae Ceauşescu, who had as a rationale the desire to extend the patriotic and political educational activity amongst small children and those who had reached the age of 4 as well, regardless of whether they went to kindergarten or not (Report/2.09.1976). From the stenograph of a meeting from 1976, one can see that the motivation/motive that laid at the foundation of including children beginning with the age of 4 was not related to any pedagogical or logical reason, but to one that was merely circumstantial: Leonte Răutu, one of the prominent leaders of the Party at that time, proposed that children of 5 years of age be regimented, explaining that there is a big difference between a child of 4 and one of 5. Ceauşescu replied that, as they were being taken care of and were engaged in activities within nurseries, the regimentation beginning with the age of 4 remained in effect (File 89/1976, Protocol no. 10 of the meeting of the CC's Secretariat). Probably, if nurseries and kindergartens had included children of smaller ages, the official indoctrination would have begun much earlier.

In general lines, what was sought was the "implantation of the love for the motherland, the Party and the people, the children's patriotic,

[4] Also the translation "Falcons" - Pohrib 2014.

revolutionary, socialist education, in the spirit of work, of care for the common property, of diligence, honesty, courage, mutual aid and of activities within the collective", traits which, as can be seen, were suited both to the working class, comprising adults, and to those who had just been weaned, included or not in a form of socialist organisation. Ironically, it was mentioned that these noble sentiments had to be nurtured through methods appropriate to the age, although learning by memorisation was not excluded! Likewise, almost all the objectives that the new organisation set for itself were copied from the objectives of the sister organisation – the Pioneers – including the participation in accordance with "one's own abilities" in work done for the use of the community and the acquirement of the patriotic ideals.

As working methods, a series of means were envisaged: meetings with militants of the Party, visits to the plants, factories, agricultural units, excursions, learning patriotic songs and poems, fun and recreational games and sports activities. The identity of the Hawk, as it was "sketched out" by the Party: a faithful/devoted son of the people and the Party, loves work and learning, respects and loves his or her parents, educators and teachers, is honest, just, courageous, well-behaved, tidy and presentable! Of course, all the Hawks were good friends and helped each other out, participating with joy at the activities of the group or class in which they were included. And above all else, the Hawks were always cheerful and strove to do a good deed every day! (Project of regulation "The Country's Hawks", 1976).

The Pioneer Organisation had the task of harmonising the activity of the young Hawks and the Council for the coordination of the Pioneers' activities stipulated the creation of a commission for guiding the activity of the newer organisation. In the document from 1976 it was shown that, "according to the proponents' knowledge", no similar organisations exist in the world, for children so small! Nevertheless, our research shows that a corresponding institution – the *Chavdarcheta* – was functioning in Bulgaria at the time.

In the report forwarded by the Pioneer Organisation in 1977 it was noted that the members of the almost 3,000 commissions constituted in order to support the organisation and the activity of the Hawks warmly thanked comrade Nicolae Ceauşescu for his constant preoccupation with the patriotic, revolutionary education of the motherland's youngsters, from the earliest ages (Report, 5 June 1977). As the stenograph of the meeting of 5 June 1977 shows, a series of improvements that were to be brought in the regulation of the Country's Hawks were discussed. Nicolae Ceauşescu appeared disturbed by the proposed suggestions, their vast majority concerning form and phrasing. In the proponents' opinion, these alterations cleared the organisation's significance

and purposes, but according to the leader they threatened the latter's existence: "you propose that instead of they are faithful sons of the people and the Party we substitute with they are preparing themselves for becoming faithful sons...". He received the reply that it was assumed that these children were in the midst of a process of formation, of education and Ceauşescu asked: "What do you understand by a process of formation? When they were born, were they not born as sons of the country/motherland? There is a wrong conception in your case. Are they not sons of the people? Is there a need for a certain process of preparation in order to become sons of the people? Then, whose sons are they?!" (File 89/1976). Consequently, the leader's perception of these children's affiliation is obvious: they belong to the state, to the people, and far less to their parents!

Conclusions

The regimentation of children from very small ages in the system of organisations conceived by the RCP – the Country's Hawks, the Pioneers, the UCY – practically resolved/solved the problem of the stock of Party cadres. These organisations' programmes and regulations – especially those of the Pioneers – were thus formulated so that children would want to be admitted, to feel the Pioneering spirit and to participate in the work of creating the "new man" and in the flourishing of the multilaterally developed society as rewards for their sustained activity, for their patriotism and love for the country and the leader. Simona Preda demonstrates that the propagandistic literature spread the idea that solely the mere belonging to the Pioneer Organisation was a reason of pride for the young pupil.

Beginning with very early ages, children were included in various forms of social-political organisation and they were psychologically affected by a series of slogans. When speaking about pupils, the expression of the "new man" was eminently the Pioneer. To be a proud wearer of the red tie was a synonym for being a part of the ranks of the youngest communists, adorers of the Party's word. Later on, in the '70s, the Country's Hawks were created alongside the Pioneer Organisation, at Ceauşescu's express request, and it comprised the category of the smaller, preschool children, who were also going to contribute to the *construction of the multilaterally developed socialist society*. The regimentation of the youth was a primary objective of the moulding of the "new man", as the children and the young people represented the future of the country, the reserves amongst which the new activists were going to be recruited. "*For a young revolutionary, the interests of the socialist society become personal goals, from the fulfilment of which he will never stray on his way. Dignified, sincere,*

disciplined, courageous, he respects truth and honesty, fulfilling, through everything he does, through his entire manner of living and conduct, the Party's word" (*Cutezătorii* 1984).

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