

Antonello Biagini – Andrea Carteny

After the Fall of the Wall, ‘Ostalgia’: From Berlin to Budapest?

Introduction

Ostalgie (‘Ostalgia’) denotes a series of somewhat nostalgic meanings and perceptions of real socialism that lasted until 1989. It first emerged as a German phenomenon following the reunification of East Germany (the German Democratic Republic, GDR) and the German Federal Republic (GFR), and then took on distinctive national expressions during the transition to democracy and capitalism in the different countries that had exited specific communisms:¹ in Poland or Hungary, Ostalgia was characterised by references to social security and relative socialist prosperity; in other Eastern bloc states² – such as Romania, Albania and, partly, Bulgaria³ – it translated into nostalgia for peculiar nationalistic and authoritarian forms which had been able to ensure a relative well-being and, above all, a period of peace that was then lost (as in the case of Yugoslavia, where ‘Yugonostalgia’ roughly coincides with the cult of Tito and ‘Titonostalgia’⁴), or a greater role within a larger nation that no longer exists (Czechoslovakia).

Much often, nostalgia for socialism developed ironic tones,⁵ linked to a somewhat empathic selection of situations typical of the now lost socialist ‘golden age’, in contrast to the alienation and social dislocation inherent to the transition to free-market economy: in this sense, the identity reference to ‘Eastern Europe’⁶ became associated with an East that, with the fall of communism, was reincorporated into the capitalist West.

As a result, in countries such as East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, characterised by the development of civil society and the presence of those middle classes that had played a leading role in the 1989 ‘velvet revolutions’, nostalgia for the socialist

¹ For an overview of nostalgic trends in former socialist countries, see Maria Todorova and Zsuzsa Gille (eds), *Post-communist Nostalgia* (New York – Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2010).

² See David A Kideckel, ‘The Unmaking of an East-Central European Working Class’, in *Postsocialism: Ideals, Ideologies and Practices in Eurasia*, ed. by C M Hann (London: Routledge, 2002), 126–144.

³ Kristen Ghodsee, ‘Red Nostalgia? Communism, Women’s Emancipation, and Economic Transformation in Bulgaria’, *L’Homme Z.F.G.* 15, no 1 (2004), 33–46.

⁴ See Mitja Velikonja, *Titostalgia. A Study of Nostalgia for Josip Broz* (Ljubljana: Mediawatch, 2008).

⁵ Linda Hutcheon, ‘Irony, Nostalgia and the Postmodern’, in *Methods for the Study of Literature as Cultural Memory*, ed. by Raymond Vervliet and Annemarie Estor (Brill: Leiden, 2000). See also Antonello Biagini and Andrea Carteny, ‘Ostalgia: dal modello tedesco-orientale ai casi polacco e ungherese’, *Costellazioni* 3, no 3 (2017), 89–108.

⁶ Charles King, ‘Post-Postcommunism: Transition, Comparison, and the End of “Eastern Europe”’, *World Politics* 53, no 1 (2000), 143–172. See also Dominic Boyer, ‘From Algos to Autonomos: Nostalgic Eastern Europe as Postimperial Mania’, in *Post-communist Nostalgia*, ed. by Maria Todorova and Zsuzsa Gille (New York – Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2010).

past took on the colour of survival, and even of a certain well-being which was ensured for everyone, in contrast with the sacrifices imposed by the transition process on a large part of the population in the 1990s. On the other hand, Ostalgia inevitably acquired the form of nostalgia for the Soviet Union in those countries that had experienced socialism under the direction of Moscow and its Communist Party (Russia, the Baltic and the Southern Caucasus states).

It is also possible to identify different forms of nostalgia: a *restorative nostalgia*, related to national memory and recalling the truth and tradition of a country's socialist past; and a second type, ironic and ambivalent, defined as *reflective nostalgia*, which arises from social memory and adopts a critical approach to the experience of real socialism.⁷ Therefore, through different semantic values, one can take into consideration two major phenomena: the cult of the 'modernisation' of communist paraphernalia – busts of Lenin, pins with the red star, military hats with Red Army emblems – which have become widespread on the stalls in Eastern Europe marketplaces; as well as the 'monumentalisation' of real socialism, which includes theme parks, public monuments, museum exhibitions.⁸

East Germany

As previously mentioned, the emergence of everyday East German symbols soon exploded in East Germany: the pickled gherkins from the Spree Forest came back on the market; the *Sandmännchen* (the Little Sandman that sent East German children to bed) reappeared in the evening television schedule; the *Ampelmännchen* (the little traffic light man, allegedly inspired by the profile of the East German leader Erich Honecker) repopulated the streets, as well as the Trabant, that is, the traditional socialist-made car (produced by VEB Sachsenring Automobilwerke Zwickau, in Saxony), which spread across Eastern Europe as a mechanical product capable of combining technology and resistance, and later became a universal symbol of *retro cult* taste.

Moreover, in recent years, the economic crisis has been the main reason for the melancholic recollection of the times of life security in the GDR, when the solidarity of the collectives was a major social factor. As such, observers have found this element to be closely linked to the call of *Ostalgie*.⁹ The historical context is, of course, the categorical basis for understanding the collective feeling of nostalgia for the socialist past. In this regard, the historical approach has given rise to interesting interpretations, also for the field of transitology and the studies – not only historical, but also political, psychological, anthropological and, more generally, cultural – on the transition from real

⁷ The first typology can in turn be declined as more clearly 'restorationist', hoping for a return to the socialist past, or specifically 'restorative', in the sense of 'curative'. See in this respect Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Norway* (New York: Basic Books, 2001). See Todorova and Gille, *Post-communist Nostalgia*, 8.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ See Ben Schott, 'Schott's Vocab: Ostalgie', *The New York Times Blogs*, 15 October 2009.

socialist regimes (single party and planned economy) to liberal democracy (multiparty and market economy).

An example is the perspective linking the processes of substantial Western colonisation in the East and the nostalgic reaction of a large part of the population that had lived under socialism.¹⁰ In this vein, it is interesting to apply the orientalist paradigm developed by Edward Saïd,¹¹ from which would emerge a stereotyped image of the *Ossi* (the Oriental) in West Germany, which may easily become the representation that West Germans 'really' have of their Eastern compatriots. In any case, this frame can help grasp the self-perception of East Germans concerning the national conditions given by German reunification, a historical *unicum* in the post-communist horizon of Eastern Europe,¹² but also their consciousness to be the result of the Prussian 'exceptionalism', undoubtedly legacy in the character of that socialist regime.¹³

Such *clichés* soon took shape also in fiction and public communication, as well as in everyday life:¹⁴ literature, art and film. This explains the success among the audience and the critique of Thomas Brussig's novel *Am kürzeren Ende der Sonnenallee* [On the Shorter End of Sun Avenue] and the film *Sonnenallee*, directed by Leander Haußmann, both released in 1999; and the fortune of the well-known movie *Good Bye, Lenin!*¹⁵ which led ZDF television to launch the spectacle *Ostalgie Show*, watched by almost five million people and one third of East Germans.¹⁶

The inspiring principle behind nostalgia, therefore, is not so much a real desire for the restoration of real socialism, but rather a feeling associated with the previous – albeit relative – 'social well-being', as opposed to the severe sacrifices that have marked the post-communist era.¹⁷ It is hence necessary to distinguish between Ostalgia as a social phenomenon – almost as a custom – and nostalgia for the communist past in a properly political sense. The first case includes various manifestations of social, cultural and even commercial nature. In Germany, for instance, Vita Cola, a drink that had been the GDR's answer to the American Coca Cola myth, was brought back into the shops. Intriguingly, Vita Cola is currently the best-selling fizzy drink in some regions of the

¹⁰ See Paul Cooke, *Representing East Germany since Unification: From Colonization to Nostalgia* (New York: Berg Publishers, 2005).

¹¹ See Edward W Saïd, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), and subsequent editions in numerous languages.

¹² Russell Spinney, 'Spinney on Cooke, 'Representing East Germany since Unification: From Colonization to Nostalgia'', *H-German*, January 2017.

¹³ Joshua H Whitcomb, 'A Problematic 'Modell' for Success: East German Nostalgia and Identity in Modern Germany's Attempt to Come-to-Terms with its DDR Past', *Of Life and History* 2, Article 9 (2019).

¹⁴ In former East Berlin, for example, one can find an *Osseria*, a tavern with menus and dishes typical of East German times.

¹⁵ By Wolfgang Becker, 2003.

¹⁶ Cooke, *Representing East Germany*, 141. Alexander Beyer, actor in the movies *Sonnenallee* and *Good Bye, Lenin!*, defines Ostalgia as puberty, that is, an inevitable phase of life, which is however unrepeatable in its complexity, and which in the end perhaps does not even exist. See 'Ostalghia – La nostalgia dell'Est', *La Storia siamo noi*, 2014.

¹⁷ See G Hardin, 'East Europe's Communist Nostalgia', *The Washington Times*, 11 August 2004.

former GDR. Surprising as it may seem, nostalgia has indeed occupied a considerable share of the consumer market.¹⁸

This kind of nostalgia has a predominantly apolitical character, as it rather embodies a generational nostalgia for products and lifestyles that marked decades and then suddenly disappeared after 1989. Obviously, this social phenomenon rests, at least partly, on the existence of a purely political nostalgia, yet the two types of Ostalgie could hardly overlap. In fact, its political manifestations follow different paths and have different variants in different countries. It has already been pointed out that the GDR was a case in its own right, since it represented not only a state and a society, but also a regional identity, which was denied public legitimacy after the fall of the Wall. In this context, reunification has led to the annexation of East Germany to West Germany, not only from a political-administrative point of view, but also from an economic and cultural one.¹⁹

East German pride

The perception of a real otherness – if not subalternity – of the *Ossis* towards the *Wessis* does not fade even with the presence of politicians from the East in top national government positions, as in the case of Angela Merkel. Moreover, after the initial euphoria that followed the fall of the Wall, the citizens of the former GDR had to deal with many inauspicious phenomena. For many years, unemployment in the Eastern *Länder*, which was almost absent during the socialist era, was close to 20 per cent. This was accompanied by factory closures and the migration of many young people to Germany's western regions.

If a few people regret the GDR in its entirety, it is also true that, in most instances, the change has not met expectations. This sentiment found expression in the success of the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS) that, despite receiving minimal support in the western regions, often reached around 30 per cent in parliamentary and administrative elections in the East. The PDS was a party whose instruments and leadership represented a sort of continuity with the GDR and the Socialist Unity Party (SED), which was its leading party. Nevertheless, the PDS had a reformed political platform, which not only rejected the idea of an impossible restoration of the GDR, but also made democracy and political and cultural pluralism its fundamental values.²⁰ The PDS' trajectory illustrates to some extent the limits of a purely political Ostalgie.

Despite its excellent results in the eastern *Länder*, its political capacity was irretrievably compromised by its inability to gather a substantial following in the West. This prompted its leaders to form a new political group, the Left (*die Linke*), together with left-wing elements in the West. The party, that was originally led by the former

¹⁸ Andrea Rota, 'Ostalgic advertising texts. Una breve analisi semiotica', *Linguistica e Filologia* 24 (2007).

¹⁹ Vladimiro Giacché, *Anschluss. L'annessione: l'unificazione della Germania e il futuro dell'Europa* (Reggio Emilia: Imprimatur, 2016).

²⁰ Gregor Gysi, 'Apology (critical) of the GDR', *Limes* 5 (2009). The author was secretary of the PDS for several years and, before the fall of the Berlin Wall, had been a lower-ranking official of the SED.

social-democratic leader Oskar Lafontaine, had to leave behind its image as a 'nostalgic' movement for the sake of becoming a national force. Since its formation in 2007, *die Linke* has remained a leading force on the German political scene, becoming the country's third largest party after the two historical Christian Democratic Union of Germany (CDU) and the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD).

Although the Linke continues to gain the most support in the eastern part of the country, where it has often won local elections, it does not take on the traits of an Ostalgia phenomenon, but rather embodies a national, modern political proposal.²¹ It has been argued that the GDR was a special case in the socialist camp, and this was not only due to its regional rather than national identity. Indeed, the GDR could boast economic indicators, lifestyles, and levels of prosperity then unknown in other eastern European countries. In addition, while the SED had authoritarian systems of government, the GDR did not have the kind of personalism and cult of personality that existed, for example, in the Romania of Nicolae Ceaușescu.

In broadening the analysis on the political dimension of Ostalgia, it is appropriate to draw some guidelines that provide essential data for interpretation. Political nostalgia for communism is more widespread in function of concrete factors, namely pre-existent conditions of material well-being and decent lifestyles in the socialist past, in the face of the improvements and/or worsening occurred after 1989. In other words, political hostility is somewhat the result of the gap between before and after. The more decent the living conditions were before 1989, the more fertile the nostalgic feeling will be. The more the living conditions have improved since 1989, the less tendency there will be to look back. In spite of the monolithic image of communism during the Cold War years, the living conditions in the various countries were significantly different, both with regard to margins of freedom and socio-economic levels of prosperity.

The former socialist regimes in Eastern Europe had different levels of political, economic and cultural development, and this diversity inevitably conditioned both the application of the communist model and its concrete implementation in everyday life. In light of this, the concept of 'communism' is progressively gaining ground in historiography as a more suitable category to encompass the many realities experienced by the socialist countries.²² The political, economic and cultural experiences of Eastern Europe states in the aftermath of the fall of the Berlin Wall are equally diverse.²³ While in some of them the overall assessment is largely positive, the scenario is more varied in other countries, where change was followed by the eruption of the economic crisis, unemployment, war and sometimes even the break-up of the country itself.²⁴

²¹ Ümit Yazıcıoğlu, *Von der SED zur "Die Linke" – Die Geschichte der PDS als gesamtdeutscher Partei* (Basel: Tekman Verlag, 2012).

²² See for example, Antonello Biagini, *Preface*, in *Comunismo e comunismi: il modello romeno*, ed. by Gheorghe Mândrescu and Giordano Altarozzi (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Accent, 2005).

²³ See Todorova and Gille, *Post-communist Nostalgia*, 8.

²⁴ Kurt Biray, 'Communist Nostalgia in Eastern Europe: Longing for the past', *Open Democracy*, 10 November 2015.

Does Budapest feel “ostalgic”?

In a parallel and somewhat comparative consideration, it is interesting to examine the ostalgic phenomenon in other countries of the former Eastern Bloc such as Hungary, once known as ‘the happiest barrack’ in the communist camp. It must be premised that Hungary is among those former socialist countries in which elements and attitudes of *Ostalgie*, both individual and public, emerge only from a complex elaboration of the perception of the socialist past.

This is due to various causes, related not only to the different characteristics of the systems, but also to the distinctive historical reality that has characterised the Hungarian communist regime and then the transition to democracy and market economy.²⁵ With its well-defined national identity, Hungary has often harboured hostility towards the Slavic peoples, in general, and Russia, in particular, throughout history (think of the revolutionary epic of 1848–1849, which was ended by the Austrian troops with the help of the Croats and the external intervention of the tsar’s army). Furthermore, socialist Hungary was shaken in 1956 by an uprising involving reformist segments of the ruling party and a large part of the population. The aim was to change the country’s internal political order and to emphasise its full autonomy from Moscow, a goal that was epitomised in the proposal to leave the Warsaw Pact.

The Soviet military intervention that followed left a vivid memory in the Hungarian population and, although Hungary never had the economic and political problems of Poland, this has meant that nostalgia for the communist past now refers to the regime of János Kádár – which was consolidated by the fierce repression of the revolution – and is therefore very much reduced in the public discourse. At present, the country is also experiencing a relatively stable period from the economic point of view, another factor that leads Hungarians to show few regrets for the past. From a political point of view, the last few years have witnessed the affirmation of nationalist political and cultural trends, which not only aim at preserving the ‘Hungarian specificity’ against the homogenising tendencies inherent to globalisation and membership of supranational bodies such as the European Union, but are also naturally inclined to consider the communist period an anti-national experience, imposed by Soviet tanks and not matured from within the Hungarian society. Yet, a deeper investigation yields significantly different results.

A survey revealed that most Hungarians have a rather positive opinion of the socialist era: in recent years there has also been a tendency among citizens to revive brands and styles from this historical period. This trend has had some success even among the younger generations, that not only have no direct experience of communism, but also grew up in the years immediately following the change, during which communism was

²⁵ Antonello Biagini and Francesco Guida, *Mezzo secolo di socialismo reale: l’Europa centro-orientale dal secondo conflitto mondiale all’era postcomunista* (Turin: Giappichelli, 1997). To know more about the transition period in Hungary, see Pasquale Fornaro, *Ungheria* (Milano: Unicopli, 2006); Antonello Biagini, *Storia dell’Ungheria contemporanea* (Milano: Bompiani, 2006).

described as a dark time.²⁶ The Hungarian identity, ethnic and cultural specificity is found, to some extent, in the memory of 'goulash communism' (Kadarism), a national socialism capable of producing irrational and 'inauthentic' results; yet, in spite of this, according to the ironic and somewhat nostalgic view of citizens, those were still 'Hungarian times'.²⁷ In this context, nostalgia indicates a 'cultural practice',²⁸ an approach capable on the one hand of taking an ironic distance from realistic *kitsch* and socialist reality and, on the other hand, of re-evaluating in popular memory the simplicity of everyday life during socialism.²⁹

It is thus worth distinguishing the nostalgia of the elder and younger population groups. Notwithstanding the lack of freedom, socialism is mourned by older people as a safe era, in which citizens were assured the minimum conditions of existence (education, health, housing and work). This reality exerts a growing aura on the elderly, who were among the first to be penalised by the socio-economic changes after 1989. On the other side, the youth do not have any concrete forms of political or ideological nostalgia. Here, Ostalgia is undoubtedly an aesthetic-commercial phenomenon, which empties symbols of their ideological content and reassesses them in their value of historical *kitsch* (as in the case of the setting and menu of the Budapest pizzeria *Marxim*, fully inspired by original real socialism). Then there is the process of 'monumentalisation' of socialist realism, as in the case of the Memento Park, namely the museum/statue park³⁰ of Hungarian socialism. This project, arisen from the need to preserve from dispersion and destruction some of the countless statues removed from public places in the weeks following the fall of the regime, was entrusted to the architect Ákos Eleőd after a public competition launched by the municipal council of Budapest.

The aim was to document the Hungarian Communist dictatorship through monumentality and socialist realism in order to raise awareness in the young Magyar democracy. The Memento Park was inaugurated on the second anniversary of the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from the country, on the 29th of June 1993, and enlarged in 2006 with a new section (a 'witnesses' space) on Stalinism and the 1956 revolution, bringing together 42 statues. The structure, clearly critical towards the regime, certifies both the awareness of the emotional distance from the socialist era and the success of Western capitalism in the Hungarian post-communist context.³¹ However, it also exploits unconcealed nostalgic

²⁶ See Fruzsina Müller, 'Retro Fashion, Nostalgia and National Consciousness: Success of a Revived Shoe Brand from Socialist Hungary', in *N/Ostalgia – Ways of Revisiting the Socialist Past*, ed. by Isabella Willinger (Budapest–Berlin: Anthropolis–Rejs, 2007).

²⁷ The critical and ironic literature of Kadarism celebrates the emblematic agri-food success of the 'Hungarian orange', a *magyar narancs* described by Péter Bacsó in 1969 in the film *A tanú* [The Witness] (immediately censored by the regime) and remained in the collective consciousness in the post-communist period, giving the title to one of the first liberal newspapers, the weekly *Magyar Narancs*. See Maya Nadkarni, "'But It's Ours": Nostalgia and the Politics of Authenticity in Post-socialist Hungary', in *Post-communist Nostalgia*, ed. by Maria Todorova and Zsuzsa Gille (New York – Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2010), 190–214.

²⁸ See Kathleen Stewart, 'Nostalgia. A Polemic', *Cultural Anthropology* 3, no 3 (1988), 227–241.

²⁹ See Nadkarni, "'But It's Ours":'

³⁰ *Szoborpark Múzeum*.

³¹ Maya Nadkarni, *The Death of Socialism and the Afterlife of its Monuments: Making and Marketing the Past in Budapest's Statue Park Museum*, in *Contested Pasts. The Politics of Memory*, ed. by Kathleen

references to the socialist period in Hungary, considered by a consolidated collective memory (and by a special exhibition) to be ‘the happiest bay of the communist lager’: here, therefore, ‘Red Star Tours’ are proposed to tourists, as well as a ride (or at least a photo) in a Trabant 601 (defined as ‘the dream car of the communist era’). In addition, cultural products, music and images of the communist period are on sale in the ‘Red Star Store’.³²

Conclusions

The predilection for the socialist ‘old style’ in countries like Hungary tends to consider minor brands as ‘alternative’, perhaps well-known and familiar, because they belong to a common past, to the detriment of the omnipresence of American and Western brands. Yet, there is also a nostalgia for a time when these countries had, despite everything, their own definite national identity, immediately recognisable in flavours and clothing. The latter trend has political overtones, but rather than representing ideological nostalgia for communism, it shows a reaction to the disorientation experienced by the youngest generations in an era of great uncertainty, where the identity of entire populations is challenged by market dynamics, even more than by political crises. In this sense, Ostalgia is a particular expression of a broader phenomenon, which for the past two decades has been producing in all regions of the world a sort of desire to return to one’s origins, and manifests itself in more or less radical forms of identity withdrawal. Apart from the older generations, where one can still find a political-ideological value in nostalgia for socialism, the ostalgie echoes and references are of an aesthetic nature, based on the ability to project everyday symbols and objects of socialist *kitsch* into post-modern elements of ‘communism-chic’.³³

Literature

Biagini, Antonello, *Preface*, in *Comunismo e comunismi: il modello romeno*, ed. by Gheorghe Mândrescu and Giordano Altarozzi. Cluj-Napoca: Editura Accent, 2005.

Biagini, Antonello, *Storia dell’Ungheria contemporanea*. Milano: Bompiani, 2006.

Biagini, Antonello and Andrea Carteny, ‘Ostalgia: dal modello tedesco-orientale ai casi polacco e ungherese’. *Costellazioni* 3, no 3 (2017), 89–108.

Biagini, Antonello and Francesco Guida, *Mezzo secolo di socialismo reale: l’Europa centro-orientale dal secondo conflitto mondiale all’era postcomunista*. Turin: Giappichelli, 1997.

Biray, Kurt, ‘Communist Nostalgia in Eastern Europe: Longing for the past’. *Open Democracy*, 10 November 2015.

Hodgkin and Susannah Radstone (London: Routledge, 2003).

³² Memento Park – Budapest. The spirit and statues of the communist dictatorship.

³³ See *ivi*; see also Karolina Slovenko, ‘Post-communism Nostalgia in Poland. Nostalgia for Polish People’s Republic’, *Change and Resistance*, December 2006.

- Boyer, Dominic, 'From Algos to Autonomos: Nostalgic Eastern Europe as Postimperial Mania', in *Post-communist Nostalgia*, ed. by Maria Todorova and Zsuzsa Gille. New York – Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2010. Online: <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt9qd8t4.5>
- Boym, Svetlana, *The Future of Nostalgia*. New York: Basic Books, 2001.
- Cooke, Paul, *Representing East Germany since Unification: From Colonization to Nostalgia*. New York: Berg Publishers, 2005. Online: <https://doi.org/10.5040/9781350214811>
- Fornaro, Pasquale, *Ungheria*. Milano: Unicopli, 2006.
- Ghodsee, Kristen, 'Red Nostalgia? Communism, Women's Emancipation, and Economic Transformation in Bulgaria'. *L'Homme Z.F.G.* 15, no 1 (2004), 33–46.
- Giacché, Vladimiro, *Anschluss. L'annessione: l'unificazione della Germania e il futuro dell'Europa*. Reggio Emilia: Imprimatur, 2016.
- Gysi, Gregor, 'Apology (critical) of the GDR'. *Limes* 5 (2009).
- Hardin, G, 'East Europe's Communist Nostalgia'. *The Washington Times*, 11 August 2004.
- Hutcheon, Linda, 'Irony, Nostalgia and the Postmodern', in *Methods for the Study of Literature as Cultural Memory*, ed. by Raymond Vervliet and Annemarie Estor. Brill: Leiden, 2000.
- Kideckel, David A, 'The Unmaking of an East-Central European Working Class', in *Postsocialism: Ideals, Ideologies and Practices in Eurasia*, ed. by Chris M Hann. London: Routledge, 2002, 126–144. Online: <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203428115-11>
- King, Charles, 'Post-Postcommunism: Transition, Comparison and the End of "Eastern Europe"'. *World Politics* 53, no 1 (2000), 143–172. Online: <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0043887100009400>
- Müller, Fruzsina, 'Retro Fashion, Nostalgia and National Consciousness: Success of a Revived Shoe Brand from Socialist Hungary', in *N/Ostalgia – Ways of Revisiting the Socialist Past*, ed. by Isabella Willinger. Budapest–Berlin: Anthropolis–Rejs, 2007.
- Nadkarni, Maya, *The Death of Socialism and the Afterlife of its Monuments: Making and Marketing the Past in Budapest's Statue Park Museum*, in *Contested Pasts. The Politics of Memory*, ed. by Katharine Hodgkin and Susannah Radstone. London: Routledge, 2003. Online: <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203391471-21>
- Nadkarni, Maya, "'But It's Ours": Nostalgia and the Politics of Authenticity in Post-socialist Hungary', in *Post-communist Nostalgia*, ed. by Maria Todorova and Zsuzsa Gille. New York – Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2010, 190–214. Online: <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt9qd8t4.15>
- 'Ostalgia – La nostalgia dell'Est', *La Storia siamo noi*, 2014.
- Rota, Andrea, 'Ostalgic advertising texts. Una breve analisi semiotica'. *Linguistica e Filologia* 24 (2007), 137–152.
- Saïd, Edward W, *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.
- Schott, Ben, 'Schott's Vocab: Ostalgie'. *The New York Times Blogs*, 15 October 2009.
- Slovenko, Karolina, 'Post-communism Nostalgia in Poland. Nostalgia for Polish People's Republic'. *Change and Resistance*, December 2006. Online: <http://changeandresistance.blogspot.com/2006/12/post-communism-nostalgia-in-poland.html>
- Spinney, Russell, 'Spinney on Cooke, 'Representing East Germany since Unification: From Colonization to Nostalgia.' *H-German*, January 2017.
- Stewart, Kathleen, 'Nostalgia. A Polemic'. *Cultural Anthropology* 3, no 3 (1988), 227–241. Online: <https://doi.org/10.1525/can.1988.3.3.02a00010>
- Todorova, Maria and Zsuzsa Gille (eds.), *Post-communist Nostalgia*. New York – Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2010.
- Velikonja, Mitja, *Titostalgia. A Study of Nostalgia for Josip Broz*. Ljubljana: Mediawatch, 2008.

- Whitcomb, Joshua H, 'A Problematic 'Modell' for Success: East German Nostalgia and Identity in Modern Germany's Attempt to Come-to-Terms with its DDR Past'. *Of Life and History* 2, Article 9 (2019). Online: <https://crossworks.holycross.edu/offlifeandhistory/vol2/iss1/9>
- Yazıcıoğlu, Ümit, *Von der SED zur "Die Linke" – Die Geschichte der PDS als gesamtdeutscher Partei*. Basel: Tekman Verlag, 2012.

Further literature

- Hann, Chris M (ed.), *Postsocialism: Ideals, Ideologies and Practices in Eurasia*. London: Routledge, 2002. Online: <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203428115>
- Hodgkin, Katharine and Susannah Radstone (eds), *Contested Pasts. The Politics of Memory*. London: Routledge, 2003.
- La Mantia, Cesare, *Poland*. Milano: Unicopli, 2006.
- Mândrescu, Gheorghe and Giordano Altarozzi (eds), *Comunismo e comunismi: il modello romeno*. Cluj-Napoca: Editura Accent, 2005.
- Ochman, Ewa, *Post-Communist Poland – Contested Pasts and Future Identities*. London – New York: Routledge, 2013. Online: <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203550830>
- Vervliet, Raymond and Annemarie Estor (eds), *Methods for the Study of Literature as Cultural Memory*. Leiden: Brill, 2000.