

REGIONS OF MEMORY - ABSTRACTS

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MAPPING MEMORY REGIONS

HOW MANY EUROPEAN MEMORY REGIONS? MAPPING EU MEMORIES

PHILIPPE PERCHOC

After the World War Two, Western Europe seemed to be divided into more than two memory regions: defeated axe powers and victorious allied powers (with France somewhere in the middle). The dominant narrative on the victory over Nazi Germany in Europe resulted into the temporary disappearance of specific memories coming from Western countries, which had a very different experience in the World War Two. Spain and Portugal, Turkey, Ireland and other neutral countries are some of them.

As shown by Tony Judt, these former memory boundaries were subsumed by the narrative of European integration and its French / German nexus. Still, since the 2004 enlargement of the European Union, these memory issues (ie. Spain Civil War, Irish volunteers in the British army) and the addition of the Eastern European memory of the World War Two resulted into the emergence of “memory politics” inside the EU institutions, especially the European Parliament. Nonetheless, the European Parliament created a Day of Remembrance of victims from both totalitarian regimes (23rd of August) and it issued a declaration over the European consciousness, but it continued to discuss over memory issues at European borders: the Armenian genocide or the Holodomor in Ukraine.

The aim of my paper is to discuss the geographical scope of the memory debates inside the European Parliament since 2004: new issues inside the EU borders (Spain Civil War, new debate over two totalitarian regimes) and outside EU borders (Turkey, Ukraine). From these debates, I will try to discuss if there is any effect on EU policies inside (EU structural funds) and outside (European neighbourhood policy) the EU. In addition, I will try to address the problem of “mapping memories” as my paper will include a certain number of maps.

MAPPING THE SEMANTICS OF “EUROPEAN MEMORY”

GREGOR FEINDT, RIEKE SCHÄFER

The merit of genealogical approaches to history lies in its potential to emphasise and constructively deal with the contextual embeddedness of historical interpretation. A genealogy of regions of

memory, therefore, should also take into account the importance of memory in the process of transforming mental maps of the social space into historical and political regions. This contribution seeks to support the genealogical questioning of regions of memory by placing the question as a matter of example in its actual political context.

We propose to illuminate the present map that discourses about forgetting and remembering the past draw between, over and beyond Western and Eastern Europe on the example of present debates on “European memory”. A special emphasis will thereby be placed on the violent past of Europe’s 20th century. Over the last few years there has been an ever growing interest in “European Memory”. The forms of which, its content and its genealogy have remained disputed as is shown by the most recent publications on the topic. Standing in relation to a supranational political project, the topic of “European Memory” offers itself for a cross-regional comparison. It allows scrutinizing different mnemonic regions within Europe and thereby questioning the widespread albeit simplistic polarization of the continent into East and West.

This paper explores the debate on European memories with a comparative semantic analysis of seven European countries. It thereby investigates in questions of transfer and entanglement of semantic practices and public representations between regions that are marked by heterogeneous historical experiences. Commonalities, similarities, cross-regional influences, differences and regional specificities will be revealed. A systematic analysis of an extensive corpus of newspaper articles permits an understanding of discursive rules governing the use of the terms Europ* and Memor* in their communicative correlation. The corpus draws upon the main national newspapers of Poland and the Czech Republic, Germany, France and Great Britain, Italy and Spain between 2004 and 2011.

BEYOND EAST AND WEST: EASTERN EUROPE & AFRICAN HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS: A SCHOLAR BIOGRAPHY

JOANNA WAWRZY尼亚K

The paper attempts to challenge several interpretative inaccuracies circulating in contemporary memory studies by presenting an intellectual biography of Nina Assorodobraj-Kula, a Polish scholar who published her work on historical consciousness in the 1960s and at the time planned a (never accomplished) comparative study between Eastern and Western Europe and Africa.

The paper argues that: (i) one can trace the intellectual genealogies of contemporary memory boom not only in French, German and Anglo-Saxon scholarship, but also in other academic systems; (ii) the claim that memory boom began in the 1970s and 1980s. does not hold in the Polish case where extensive research took place a decade earlier (also including the ‘rediscovering’ of Maurice Halbwachs); (iii) 1989 should not be treated as a zero hour for both memory processes and memory research in Eastern Europe. Against that background, the paper reconstructs the intellectual milieu and imagined geography of Nina Assorodobraj-Kula, who in the 1960s saw linkages between Africa and Eastern Europe. The paper owes a lot to my intellectual exchange with Kornelia Konczal (EUI) and is a part of larger project of mine: *Theorizing Memory in the Suburb of Europe: Eastern Intellectuals Western Encounters* currently pursued at Freiburg Institute for Advanced Studies (2012/2013).

ESTABLISHED VS EMERGING MEMORY REGION: REFLECTIONS ON GENOCIDE MEMORY IN POLAND AND RWANDA

MAŁGORZATA WOSIŃSKA

Holocaust memory discourse in Poland has gone through various stages of formation, e.g. the process of documentation, the emergence of competing narratives of victimhood and suffering, the debates on the role of Poles in the third phase of the Holocaust, opening of museum exhibitions.

On the other hand, the popular, globalised memory of the Holocaust became structured by a number of fossilized symbols: the train tracks, the Birkenau gates, *Arbeit macht frei* sign over the entrance to the Auschwitz I camp, the gas chambers and crematoria.

In my paper I will use these two memory traditions, global and local, as a starting point for discussing the memory work that is being done (and needs to be done) in contemporary Rwanda, where a new memory region emerges. The most remarkable observation resulting from my research is that while the Rwandans have a significant knowledge of the event of the Holocaust and are able to reproduce coherent narratives about it, then their own, very recent traumatic experience of the 1994 genocide has not yet found its institutionalized expression. The possibility of such articulation still appears to be an unmapped territory. If the traumatic memory continues to remain silent and unexpressed, the processes of its healing and of re-constructing the social cohesion may not be possible.

The presentation will be based on the field research conducted in Rwanda in the years 2009-2012.

RUSSIA AND THE FORGING OF MEMORY AND IDENTITY IN EUROPE (WRITTEN PRESENTATION)

MARCO SIDDI

This article analyses Russia's role in collective memory and national identity construction in France, Germany and Poland. By comparing memory discourses across the case studies and Russia, it attempts to explain why profoundly different perceptions of Russia exist in European countries and how such discourses affect prospects for the emergence of a shared European memory of the twentieth century. This work argues that the different representations of Russia in national memory discourses are one of the main factors preventing the emergence of a harmonised European collective memory.

MEMORIES OF EASTERN EUROPE: THEORETICAL APPROACHES

REPPRESSED PAIN VS RESERVED MEMORY: SPECIFICS OF NATIONALISM STUDIES IN THE EASTERN EUROPE AS REFLECTION OF TRAUMATIC HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE

ALEXEY VASILYEV

One of the basic targets of nationalism studies is to answer the question about the grounds of stability of nations and their emotional power that influences to the masses throughout long time. Classical constructivist approaches don't explain why nations being artifacts designed by political and intellectual elites cause so strong and steady collective emotions. Primordialistic theories which explain these phenomena by existence of the "hidden" forces and qualities of biological or cultural character aren't convincing. Within contemporary European concepts offering explanation of this phenomenon we can see two main approaches. They represent the West and the East of Europe.

The first is the "western" approach (E.Hobsbawn, J.Armstrong, A.D.Smith etc) which emphasizes historical and cultural mechanisms of forming and keeping of national identity. It implies that nations are constructions created by elite in the period of Modern. However it emphasizes that such constructing can be successful only if it uses crucial experience of the past political structures embodied in cultural memory of community living in the territory where the nation is created.

The second one is "east" approach (presented by S. Žižek and partly E.Domańska) which uses psychoanalytic perspective of the analysis. From the point of view of S. Žižek, the source of stability of national feeling is mourning, collectively endured pain of the repressed loss.

In this perspective national memory is under the influence of resentment but not nostalgia for glorious past, like in the first case. The first approach is focused on triumph and glory, and the second one - on trauma and tragedy. These approaches reflect, in my opinion, the difference of historical experience.

COUNTER-MEMORY, ALTERNATIVE MEMORY, AND VIOLENCE IN POLISH RESEARCH ON THE SOCIAL ASPECTS OF MEMORY

MARTA KARKOWSKA

A number of studies on the social aspect of Polish memory touch upon the subject of the polyphony of memory, thus highlighting numerous dimensions and numerous voices it contains. This has often been related to the specificity of Polish history, tradition and experiences.

In my presentation I would like to develop one aspect of this complex phenomenon and discuss the type of memory which contemporary researchers often define as contending memory (also: competing or alternative memory), one that challenges dominant or official memory. In my

discussion of the subject I would like to refer to the typical ways in which the experiences of mass violence have been preserved in Poland.

First, I would like to provide an overview of categories and concepts such as *countermemory* by Michel Foucault, *Gegen-Erinnerung* (counter-remembrance) by Aleida and Jana Assmann or *Counter-Memory* by James E. Young as well as concepts by Polish researchers in this field, including Barbara Szacka or Ewa Domańska. This overview will serve as a point of departure for further discussion of benefits and problems related to the deployment of these categories and theoretical assumptions in research on Polish collective memory. In the discussion I will refer to selected examples. The main focus of my study is the memory of the events, persons and phenomena of 20th century. My analysis aims to demonstrate the opportunities and limitations inherent in the models and research categories offered by European researchers, with particular reference to research on the memory of mass violence, which itself has been understood and interpreted in a variety of ways.

RECEPTION OF 'MEMORY STUDIES' IN POLAND

KATARZYNA SZALEWSKA

In my presentation I would like to consider the mechanisms of the reception of the latest theories of knowledge about the past in the contemporary Polish humanities (especially in literary studies, in literary theory and methodology, which aim to be an avant-garde that both coins the terms and sets the trends for every field of philological studies). More precisely, I would like to draw upon Anglo-Saxon, or even better, English-language inspirations, which have been quite often offered by researchers from postcolonial countries, mainly from Southeast Asia, and later propagated thanks to the academic *lingua franca*, namely the English language.

Over the last three decades, not only a number of linguistic borrowings (broadly defined as *studies*) and new research fields implied by these terms, but also both ostensible and true reformulations of research paradigms have been carried over into the methodology of the Polish humanities. It can be best illustrated by the prefix post- gaining in popularity as an exponent of historical processes or by turnabouts that every now and then are being proclaimed in the humanities. This tendency seems to be most visible in research on memory: *memory studies*, posttraumatic studies or the mnemonic turn are but a few examples of these discursive reformulations and methodological shifts.

The aim of this paper is to provide a critical reading and analysis of selected academic contributions in the field of literary theory and the reception of these concepts and ideas proposed by memory studies. I would like to examine whether these concepts and ideas have been rightly applied to the Polish context and what significant modifications have been made by Polish researchers. Can Polish post-dependence studies, which already have their own research centre and international conferences, become a local answer to postcolonial studies? Is post-memory, deployed as a key word in the analysis of the discourse preserving the memory of *Kresy* (Eastern Borderlands of Poland, a former territory of the eastern provinces of pre-war Poland, now in Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine), an appropriate term to be used in the dialectics of oblivion and memory in both the collective and regional experience of resettlement? I would like to address these questions by examining the

models in which Polish specialists in the humanities apply, modify, interpret and, sometimes, simply copy foreign research paradigms.

THE THREE-DIMENSIONAL CONCEPTION OF THE SOCIAL MEMORY AS A STARTING POINT FOR COMPARATIVE STUDIES

ANDRZEJ SZPOCIŃSKI

The subject of this paper is the three-dimensional conception of the social memory. I make the assumption that in the model situation this can be analysed in three dimensions: the dimension of carriers (i.e. values, ideas, patterns of behaviour); the dimension of values (i.e. the values connected with these carriers) and the dimension of subjects: both the subjects of production (i.e. who created the values) and the subjects of the appropriation of the past (i.e. which groups carry out the appropriation of a given piece of the past).

The significance of the individual dimensions of the social memory may, in certain cases, differ; moreover in some cases, some of the dimensions may not be significant at all. This diversity could be the subject of empirical research, the results of which may constitute a convenient starting point for wider research around the diversity of historic cultures, both synchronic and diachronic.

Another current trend in research into this conception is comparative studies of the diversity of values (ideas, patterns of behaviour) experienced in the context of the past and the social context of their functioning. Such studies give an insight into both the diversity of value systems of the given cultures and the social context of their functioning. The three-dimensional conception of the social memory can be easily expressed in operational terms that make them useful in empirical research.

MEMORY IN THE HISTORICAL SPACE OF VIOLENCE:

THE IDEOLOGICAL BEGINNINGS OF THE 20TH CENTURY

„THE HUN AT WORK“. ATROCITIES AND MEMORY

MACIEJ GÓRNY

More than ten years ago John Horne and Alan Kramer revisited the WWI narrative of German atrocities in Belgium and Northern France.¹ In their analysis the wartime reports, for decades treated as sheer *Gräuelpropaganda*, regained their authenticity. At the same time Horne's and Kramer's publication contributed to the new direction of WWI-studies centered upon the problem of violence on and behind the front and focusing on the relations of military and civilian population.

¹ John Horne, Alan Kramer, *German Atrocities, 1914. A History of Denial*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.

In my paper I will analyse the versatile connection between this phenomenon and collective memory. I will focus on the role already existing and deeply-rooted representations of war atrocities (based on historical and cultural narratives) have had on the way the German cruelties were committed, perceived and reproduced in the *Entente*-propaganda. Was there – on both sides of the conflict – an *expectation* of the art of military violence based on the images from the previous Franco-Prussian war? What was the relation between this expectation and the real *experience* of German atrocities? Were the actual acts of military violence based on the cultural memory of the German army?

The second part of my paper will be devoted to the impact of images and representations created on the Western front in Southeast and East-Central Europe. The objects of comparison will be the Austrian atrocities in Serbia and against the Ukrainian population in Galicia as well as war atrocities during the Polish-Ukrainian conflict in Eastern Galicia. I will try to identify the character of transfer of ‘Western’ patterns into the regional narratives. Finally the question of ‘norm’ and ‘singularity’ of war related violence in Russia and Turkey should be debated.

REMEMBRANCE AND RUPTURE: MEMORY AS MOTOR AND MIRROR OF THE SOCIALIST-COMMUNIST SPLIT IN INTERWAR POLAND

STEPHEN J. SCALA

The First World War ushered in a new era of mass violence in Eastern as in Western Europe. The war itself as well as the conflicts and upheavals that followed in its wake (e.g., the Polish-Soviet War, the November Revolution in Germany, the Russian Civil War) claimed untold numbers of victims and saddled postwar societies with the difficult task of making sense of the carnage. This period of wrenching memory work began just as European Social Democracy was breaking down from a unified movement into two distinct and antithetical camps—a socialist and a communist one—under the combined impact of the world war as well as the Bolshevik Revolution. This process of identity formation and differentiation among the Marxist left was indelibly shaped by how the nascent socialist and communist movements remembered the many “comrades” who had fallen in the chain reaction of violence set in motion by the First World War and how each group attached specific politico-ideological significance to such remembrance—in short, how memory served both “as a model *of* and a model *for* social reality.”²

The proposed paper examines this process as it played out among the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) and the Communist Party of Poland (KPP) as they confronted the commemoration of highly contentious individuals and collectives such as Rosa Luxemburg, Vladimir Lenin, and the war dead of the First World War and the Polish-Soviet War. Conceptually, emphasis is placed on how the enunciation of distinct cultures of remembrance both drove and reflected the growing politico-ideological divide between the two parties. The topic is placed within a comparative and transnational framework alongside the German and French cases, with the Soviet Union’s attempt to impose an “orthodox”

² Barry Schwartz, *Abraham Lincoln and the Forge of National Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 18.

form of communist remembrance providing an overarching point of orientation. Such an approach proves uniquely appropriate for bringing out respective national peculiarities while acknowledging the fraught relationship within Marxism between the international and the national as well as between ideology and social reality in this crucial period when distinct socialist and communist movements crystallized out of once-unified Social Democracy.

DIFFUSED MEMORY OF THE FORGOTTEN GASSCAPE (1914- 2014). HOW TO USE WITHOUT ABUSE THE RESULTS OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDIES FOR THE DESIGN OF MEMORIAL LANDSCAPES?

ANNA ZALEWSKA

As time passed, bodies sank deeper, and interest in wartime memorabilia quickened! Almost 100 hundred years ago Poland was the arena for a dramatic struggle between German and Russian Armies that became deadlock 60 kilometers southwest of Warsaw. Due to the political circumstances Poles were engaged on both sides and were dying as their Russian and German 'brothers in arms' not only from hostile bullets and artillery shells, but also in the fumes of gases. Between December 1914 and July 1915 Germans used poisonous gases and lachrymatory agents against the Russians at the Rawka and Bzura Rivers. This painful clash is called "the Battle of Ypres of the Eastern Front". The gasscape initiated close to Bolimów, which absorbed thousands of soldiers and civilians - is today almost completely forgotten. Some claim that Bolimów is not functioning in social memory because of "lack of decent promotion". Theoretically, that oblivion is going to be changed by the activities undertaken and stimulated by the round anniversary of the outbreak of Total War: *by 2014 the tourist trail of I WW will be completed?! Among others, cemeteries, remains of tranches and other gasscape's material traces were pointed as worth attention (in)tangible reference points for diffused memory.*

From the perspective of archaeologist and historian, who takes into consideration the issues concerning ethical, forensic, religious and economic dimensions surrounding the recovery and commemoration of the multinational painful heritage, in my presentation I will examine: 1. How are conceptualized scientific and public frameworks for the research and preservation of traumatised sites at local, national and international levels? 2. How to use (ethically) the results of archaeological studies for the design of IWW memorial texture? 3. To what extent archaeology in Poland is willing to *contribute to a fuller story about the war-related past by presenting a view 'from the underground'*? By answering those questions I will try to expose, that *excavation of the Great War remains is a challenging memory-making activity.*

CONTEMPORARY ARMENIAN NOVELISTS IN TURKEY: THE LITERARY REPRESENTATION OF ARMENIAN COLLECTIVE MEMORY

SEDA ÖZDEMİR

The aim of this study is to place contemporary Armenian literature within Armenian search for the main aspect of Armenian collective identity, memory and history. After a passive period in literary production, Armenian novelists have started to produce numerous literary writings following a passive period after the events of 1915. That revival can also be read as the reflection of the newly emerging Armenian visibility in the public sphere and the demand to demonstrate the Armenian cultural identity and memory. In the literary works of this period, authors try to rewrite modern Armenian history, which is admitted as ruptured by the deportation from Anatolia in 1915. Therefore, they feel the need to provide the connection between the past and present to be able to display a living Armenian identity in Turkey, instead of any nostalgic memory. Besides, that historicization project also aims to rearticulate Armenian belonging to Anatolia, which is assumed as the ancient homeland of Armenian people. By that emphasis on the history, Armenian literature functions as a tool to recall the Armenian collective memory within Anatolian territory. In that sense, lived experiences of Armenians within modern Turkish history gain importance in the literary works, documented or fictionalized. In conclusion, despite their different literary approaches, I think those literary works play a constitutive role in the construction of Armenian collective identity, memory and history, being a minority group living within a Turkish-Muslim larger society.

GAMES WITHIN FRONTIERS: MEMORY AND CITIZENSHIP IN INTERWAR ROMANIA (WRITTEN PRESENTATION)

CATALIN TURLIUC

An important aspect of democratization process is the political participation overlapped on the emergence of mass politics. The paper is focused mainly on how political emancipation was gradually gained by different social categories and ethnic groups in interwar Romania as a result of the modernization and democratization processes. Of course, a *sine qua non* condition in order to participate at the political debate and competition was to fully enjoy the right of citizenship which was granted or sometimes annulled according to the constitutional laws of the country by the decisional factors. We stress the fact that modernization does not equal democratization in all the cases and in every chronotopic sequence of the modern world. Also the tribulations concerning our topic, the ups and downs of political participation are deeply rooted in the *forma mentis* of the population as well as in the practices and doctrines of the political elites. In this respect social memory played a very important role especially in the case of different ethnic groups residing in the country. Prejudices and stereotypes were often used in order to manipulate and control the political participation of different ethnic groups or social categories. A study case for the present paper is the Jewish population, one of the most important and active minority living in interwar Romania. Content analysis and comparative methods are used in order to conduct the research and pinpoint the most important features of how memory and history are intertwined when dealing with our topic.

SPATIAL FRAMES OF REMEMBRANCE:

DISPLACEMENT AND MEMORY (1)

HISTORY, TRAUMA, AND SPATIAL IMAGINATION: A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

IRENE SYWENKY

History and collective trauma are necessarily connected to the problem of space and place. Both commemoration and forgetting are articulated within specific spatial parameters and associated with particular places that are meaningful in the context the traumatic event. In textual narratives, spatial imagination assumes discursive nature. As some scholars argue, to become “historically conscious” means that “the relationship between past and present must constantly be produced and reproduced” (Toews 258). This continuous production and reproduction of the representations of past events can be seen as a mode of reading and of critical engagement with history, but also as a social commitment. Such persistent movement between past and present in its connection to space and place-- the ongoing re-writing of the official *logos* through the prism of one’s own memory and continuous “othering” of the official narrative of the past -- constitutes the main problematic of many contemporary narratives.

In a broadly comparative framework, using examples from the North American (Japanese-Canadian) and Central and East European (Polish and Ukrainian) contexts, I will examine the complex relationship between memory and space. The paper will focus on the experiences of historical displacement during the mass internment of Japanese-Canadians during WWII and various collective displacements in Central and Eastern Europe in the context of the changing political regimes and shifting borders of the twentieth century. These historical displacements, as reflected in narrative spatial practices (cf. Michel de Certeau and Edward Soja), form an inherent part of social imagination, thus also becoming part of the ideological order that underlies the discourses of identity, nationhood, and history. I argue that in these narratives of displacements the articulation of space itself posits a distinct problematic that bears on the conceptualization of collective selfhood; persistence of memory and history in space and place forms a continuum of interpretation and knowledge that informs discourses of individual and collective identities.

Toews, John E. "Manifesting, Producing, and Mobilizing Historical Consciousness in the "Postmodern Condition." *History and Theory* 48 (October 2009): 257-75.

THE CONSTRUCTION AND RE-CONSTRUCTION OF THE 'HISTORICAL TRUTH' AND MEMORY OF THE WAFFEN SS 'GALICIA' DIVISION IN UKRAINE AND THE DIASPORA

OLESYA KHROMEYCHUK

This paper looks at how the memory and narratives of the Waffen SS 'Galicia', later known as 1st Ukrainian Division of the Ukrainian National Army, are being re-constructed and presented to a wider audience by scholars, politicians and the Second World War veterans. It discusses the importance of the process of memory re-construction and how it affects the official narrative. The narratives and political framings of the 'Galicia' Division tend to divide into two dichotomous approaches, each presenting itself as 'historical truth'. On the one hand the ex-members are often portrayed as traitors, opportunists and war criminals. On the other hand, ex-'Galicians' are seen as those who arguably chose 'the lesser of two evils' and joined the Nazi Army in order to defend their motherland against the Soviet invasion and attempted to build a nucleus for the Ukrainian army. Rather than follow the well-trodden path of attempting to justify or condemn the Division's actions, this paper will emphasize the specificity of the historical and political conditions which surrounded the Division's dissolution and which enabled its members to escape repatriation to the USSR. By doing this, the paper will ask how the contemporary narratives of the Division are being created and presented to the public, who participates in the process of creating an official narrative of the 'Galicia' and how this narrative affects the identity of Ukrainians in Ukraine and abroad. The paper will also ask how narratives of the Second World War in general, and the Ukrainian cooperation and collaboration during the war in particular, differ in Ukraine, Russia, Europe and North America.

MUSLIM MESKHETIANS (MESKHETIAN TURKS) FROM 1944 TO NOWADAYS.

EKATERINE PIRTSKHALAVA

This work refers to the memory of the Muslim Turks in the Soviet Union. In the 40s of 20th century as a result of Stalin's policy to clean south boarder of the Soviet Union from "undesirable people", Muslim population, comprising by large part of Turkish-speaking Meskhetians, were deported from Georgia to Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. After the incident in Uzbekistan 1989 from Uzbekistan they migrated to Russia, Ukraine and Azerbaijan. Repatriation of Muslim Mesketian (Meskhetian Turks) to Georgia is difficult process and it continued until now days. It started in 1977. This first wave of repatriation continued till 1984. After the independence of Georgia in 1991, most of those who managed to return were forced to leave the country as a result of dire economic conditions and government's nationalistic rhetoric. Their living in Russia was continuously violated. Despite living in Russia for several years they did not have neither citizenship nor passports or property rights. In 2006 the government of the US decided to shelter Muslim Mesketians. The live of Muslim Meskhetians is very hard and their collective memory is interesting for research. The collective memory the People who lived in Georgia near the border of Turkey is different; they have different explanation of this situation in 14 November 1944. There lived Muslim, Catholic and Orthodox Meskhetians (Meskhetia is part of Georgia and people who lived in this part called Meskhetians).

The memory is very interesting psychological process. Many things influenced of the process of reminding, some of them are the goal and past experience (Lindsay, 1993; Oftus, 1992; Schraiber & Sergent, 1998). The qualitative research what I had is representation this. What was the reason for the people and how they restore the past, what is different for people who are deportee and for people who was to stay in this area (district)?

HOME AWAY FROM HOME(LAND): LOCAL MEMORY POLITICS AND 'NATIONAL' ACTIVISM AMONG THE CRIMEAN TATARS OF SEVASTOPOL

JUDY BROWN

The defining event of Crimean Tatar history in the 20th century was their mass deportation from the Crimean peninsula by Stalin in 1944. The memory and postmemory (Hirsch, 2008) of this traumatic event has been at the foundation of Crimean Tatar national mobilisation and memory politics during their years in exile in Uzbekistan and since their return to their historic homeland from 1989.

Most scholarship on the Crimean Tatars has focussed on the national level at the expense of local level analysis. This paper seeks to address this gap by presenting a local case study which, moreover, pursues the curious question as to how Crimean Tatars in the city of Sevastopol use memory politics and how they relate to the national movement. This question is curious in that Sevastopol, for its Crimean Tatar population (approximately 6000 people), is a home *outside* the Crimean Tatar homeland – the city is geographically part of the Crimea but not administratively, as it answers directly to Kyiv.

This paper explores various memory processes among Crimean Tatars in Sevastopol. Firstly there are those who see a strong continuity between their activism and the Crimean Tatar national movement; their rhetoric draws upon international human rights frameworks (Fisher, 1978) and established global concepts such as restorative justice and the politics of regret (Olick, 2007) to seek agency through victim status. A second tendency among Sevastopol's Crimean Tatars is to integrate their narrative into the city's dominant discourse of military glory by foregrounding their pre-war service in the fleet and also in the defence of Sevastopol 1941-42. This cultivation of local memory challenges popular representations of Crimean Tatars as Nazi collaborators, whilst seeking legitimacy through the dominant narrative of heroic sacrifice for the Soviet homeland. Thirdly some Crimean Tatars reject Sevastopol as a memory project by harking back to Crimean Tatar presence before the city's foundation. Lastly this paper explores pluralities and exclusivities of these memory processes, as well as a palpable ambivalence towards them expressed by some Crimean Tatars through indifference and nostalgia for Uzbekistan.

Data for this paper were gathered from analysis of relevant cultural texts as well as four months of fieldwork in Sevastopol in 2011-12, encompassing ethnographic studies and interviews with activists.

GERMAN - POLISH COMMON RELIGIOUS HERITAGE IN SOCIAL REFLECTION (WRITTEN PRESENTATION)

JOANNA CUKRAS-STELAŃGOWSKA, JAKUB STELAŃGOWSKI

The main goal of the presentation is to show the fate of the holy place in Lower Silesia – our documentation of the Calvary in Lubawka. For this project the Calvary was treated as a work of art, historical monument, place of worship – sacred space – historical space. Such an approach provided for a wider presentation of the described phenomenon, which constitutes a significant part of Lubawka's cultural heritage of (till 1945 Lubawka was named Liebau in German). The monograph that focuses on this place is based on the results of our field research, and consists of descriptions and photographic documentation of objects of sacral architecture, its architectural features and aesthetic qualities.

Lubawka is a small, border town in the south-west part of the Lower Silesian province. One of the dominant features of the Lubawka's panorama is Świąta Góra (Heiligen Berg), where between 1740-1905, with various intensity, objects of sacral architecture were being erected. In the past, these wayside shrines were under loving care of inhabitants of Liebau (Lubakwa), nowadays only remains of the Calvary have survived.

The present study of the Calvary as an object of religious worship, reveals its past richness in terms of material and formal meanings. Our basic purpose is to provide the grounds for discussion, to stimulate a journey back in the past, to perceive a given reality and its transformations, to familiarize with the place and its image. Our offer can be treated as one of possible, but also universal, cases and methodological options which can be applied while studying other local communities affected with the trauma of displacement ("uproot" and „put down roots" again) and

encounter with different cultural groups which set up claim to the same space. There will appear the problems of co-existence between people and places, of building a spiritual relation called inhabitancy, of active experiencing and decoding the content, being in the space and the space present in the inhabitant. Researchers will be concerned with similar problems: the background of immigrant population and its cultural 'baggage', change in the population composition and hopes connected with the new place of residence, adaptation - „taming of the cultural landscape”, local and regional identity (home and foreign elements, changes in cultural and mental landscape).

MEMORY AND SURVIVAL DURING THE SOCIALIST PERIOD. CASE OF OLD BELIEVERS IN SIBERIA (RUSSIA) AND IN NORTHEASTERN REGION OF POLAND – COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS (WRITTEN PRESENTATION)

VICTORIA DUNAEVA

The Old Believers make up a unique regional ethnographic group. They were founded more than 300 years ago by a group of religious dissenters unwilling to accept the liturgical reforms of the seventeenth century Russian Orthodox Church. In 1650 Old Believers broke away from the Russian Orthodox Church and then were cruelly persecuted for their actions by the church. They tried to find safe places for living outside from Russian Empire. Some sects of Old Believers chose borderlands, others exiled to Russian Siberia. They fled also to northeastern region of Poland (Białostoczczyzna, Suwalszczyzna).

Old Believers became subject to fluctuating levels of persecution over the period of Communism. Nevertheless, they preserved their beliefs, Russian language and traditional Russian culture. But they still have been living in isolation. I would like to examine how the Old Believer community in Siberia and northeastern region of Poland adapted its ethical practices and kept their belief during Soviet power forced by process of collectivization, anti-religious campaigns, and the propaganda of socialist labor. What was the difference of strategy of survival during Soviet period among Old Believers in above mentioned countries?

It is considered that centuries of persecution have made some Old Believers culturally conservative. Does it concern also Old Believers in Siberia and in the northeastern region of Poland? How do they change over time? I would like to share some conclusions from my research which I conducted within the framework of the seminar “Russians in Poland: ethnic minority or immigrants?” at the Institute of Sociology of Warsaw University.

MEMORY IN THE HISTORICAL SPACE OF VIOLENCE:

AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES: OFFICIAL NARRATIVES

THE AFTERMATH OF DISSIDENT REEDUCATION: A COMPARATIVE APPROACH OF ROMANIA'S 'PITESTI PHENOMENON' AND THE CHINESE LABOR CAMPS

ADRIANA DECU

During 1920s, a Russian pedagogue, Anton Makarenko conducted large scale psychological experiments on orphan children to prove that behaviour can be altered if progressively forcing the subjects, through various means, to renegade not only friends or family, but also their most profound personal beliefs. Almost three decades later, Communists will use the re-education method on dissidents, keeping intact Makarenko's main techniques: the "internal" and the "external" exposure, followed by the public humiliation – mainly blaspheming religious texts or symbols.

What Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn referred to as the 'most terrible act of barbarism in the contemporary world' took place in a prison in Pitesti (a small Romanian town) between 1949 and 1952 and probably represents the most brutal facet of the communist "re-education". A few years later, in the mid '50s, the Chinese initiate the 're-education through labour' system, also based on Makarenko's principles, but intended as a system of administrative detentions. Still used today (although some small legal changes were made in 2007) to punish (and reform) criminals, its initial goal was to incarcerate "counter-revolutionaries" in labour camps, where they were subjected to torture and severe psychological pressure.

Half of century later, "re-education" does not mean much for our contemporaries. On one hand, the regime buried all evidence of the abominable treatment of the dissidents; on the other, few prisoners had the strength to resist the re-education, and even fewer lived to talk about it. Furthermore, this is still a delicate subject (China is still a communist country, while Romania continues to struggle with its totalitarian heritage). Through testimonies, autobiographies, sporadic media coverage (interviews, documentaries), all considered in a comparative manner, we intend to answer a question we find most important: how does the world, today, remember the communist re-education?

'COUNTER-MEMORY'. THE OFFICIAL REPRESENTATION OF THE 1956 HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION BEFORE 1989

ÉVA TULIPÁN

Rewriting the memory of the 1956 revolution started right after its suppression. The reinterpretation was built on real historical sites and death cases in order to discredit the powers of the revolution and strengthen the legitimacy of the new regime. In the Kádár era the authorities communicated their own interpretation of the brutal 'counter-revolution' to the society with the help of symbolic politics and use of space, in which violence committed during the revolution (or fabricated afterwards) played a crucial role.

The bloody siege of the Budapest party headquarters at Republic Square in 1956 served as a central symbol of brutality both in Hungary and abroad. The constructed and partly falsified narrative of the siege which evolved in the milieu directly following the revolution contained faked key elements and later inserted picturesque scenes (a hostage drama scene for example). Taking advantage of the characteristics of the functioning of memory and forgetting, the propaganda offered ready-to-use memories for the reassessment of events.

The functioning of the total dictatorship and the close control it exercised even over memory appears unusually clear in the case of a journalist interrogated by the political police due to an article draft in which he diverged from the official version of an episode in the Republic Square siege.

The narrative formed a counter-myth against the revolution as an element of the psychological warfare, which claimed to be 'history' in the 1970s-1980s with the assistance of a former secret police officer turned 'historian'. Many clichés thus formed are still alive in the collective memory of the Hungarian society.

THE SOLIDIFICATION OF CONFLICT MEMORY IN SRI LANKA

RACHEL JOYCE

The Sri Lankan government forces defeated the separatist Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam in 2009. In the post-conflict period, the majority Sinhalese government, headed by President Mahinda Rajapaska and his personally-appointed brothers, has undertaken physical manipulation of the landscape and control of discourse in an effort to re-frame and suppress understandings of the conflict dynamics. The official policy of denial, the usage of mythology and the attempt to create a unified Sri Lankan identity at this juncture is a concerted effort to solidify the conflict memory in adherence to the Sinhala-Buddhist desire for a hegemonic state and a consolidation of power beneath the current, autocratic government.

Tamil minority grievances have been expressed since independence within the context of an exclusionary state built on Sinhala-Buddhist ideology, relied upon by ethnic entrepreneurial politicians. The historical mythology draws largely on an ancient battle between a Sinhala King and Tamil 'invading' forces. Parallels have been drawn with the unilateral military defeat in 2009, with Rajapaksa benefiting politically from comparisons with the celebrated Sinhala king.

In the aftermath of defeat, LTTE graveyards and monuments have been destroyed and replaced with military bases and triumphalist monuments for the Sri Lankan armed forces. The conflict has been reduced in discourse from an ethnic separatist movement to a simple counter-terror struggle, de-politicising the past and further oppressing the Tamil minority.

Tamil minority "truths", based on the ideology of separatism and the experience of war and discrimination, are suppressed and rejected as pro-Tiger. Some potential exists within the official Lessons Learned and Reconciliation Commission for a "truth" archive but efforts by activists and the vocal Tamil diaspora to add alternate narratives are demonised. The conflict is newly manifested in discursive terms, in a struggle to construct a societal conflict memory for an internationalised audience.

MENSHAWY MOUSTAFA

The paper seeks to analyse the role of war against Israel memories in the 18 days leading to the downfall of former Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak. Analysing the content of Mubarak's two speeches before the resignation on February 11, 2011, I will define how he had attempted to legitimise his staying in power via a heavy use of war memories. On the other hand, from a comparative discursive approach, the paper will define how anti-Mubarak protestors had attempted to delegitimise Mubarak's rule via invalidating the same war memories coalesced by Mubarak into one dominant controlling discourse or the *master narrative* as labeled by Joel S. Migdal. Both discourses within the same defined time frame, I argue, were conscious tactics to play on *imaginative effort* by which Lynn Avery Hunt means the people's "reconfiguring their relationship to political authority".

Before pursuing the path of this comparative dichotomy in Egypt, the first section of the paper embarks on a theoretical nuanced approach on memory and its claims; how we remember, what we remember, and who controls memory in general. This conceptualisation is as contextualized as to help bridge a customary gap between biologists, psychoanalysts and socio-political scientists on the workings of memory. The second section is dedicated to the Vietnam War memories as an example of how memory moves according to the Foucauldian theoretical assumption; i.e. recalling is not only a mental faculty but a socio-political *presentist* process defined by power. This section shows how memory had been re/constructed by those in power in the 1970s and the 1980s in the United States. On the basis of this theoretical generalised background, the final section situates memory in Egypt, juxtaposing Mubarak's mnemonic representations and goals against those of his opponents. This juxtaposition is deliberate in order to delineate the shift of memories of war into a searing war of memories. The conclusion is that Mubarak lost the war of memories by his downfall.

However, the paper ends with the argument that the war of memories is not over, since Mubarak and his followers have shown a reasonable adeptness at understanding memory, i.e. strengths and failings, characteristics embedded to its structure such as what I call the *flexibility/fixability* variable, *mnemonic fixers* operating as presuppositions countering (and at some times according with) the malleability of memory such as religion and mythology.

SPATIAL FRAMES OF REMEMBRANCE:

DISPLACEMENT AND MEMORY (2)

CIVIL WAR AND EVACUATION IN THE BIOGRAPHICAL MEMORY OF GREEK REPATRIATES FROM POLAND"

EWA NOWICKA

The paper aims to present empirical material collected during my fieldwork in Greece in 2004, 2005 and 2006. I found three generational types of the narratives, different types of life stories among people who (or whose families) were engaged in communist guerilla warfare in 1946-1949 in the civil war in Greece. After collapse of communist army, partizans, their families and often people totally not connected with the war were evacuated by the communist authorities to various eastern block countries. They were able to return to their homeland only after 1974. Their life histories seem to be unknown and rarely analysed, so I treat my paper both as the purely academic and engaged anthropological activity.

DIASPORA IN THE HOMELAND? MEMORIES OF RESETTLEMENTS FROM THE FORMER *KRESY* OF THE SECOND POLISH REPUBLIC IN CONTEMPORARY POLAND

MAŁGORZATA GŁOWACKA-GRAJPER

The memories of violence that has been preserved by both individuals and entire communities in Central Eastern Europe concern not only massacres and labour camps, but also one of the largest mass resettlements in history. As a result of World War II, millions of people were forced to abandon their local homelands in the action aimed at creating a more “coherent” ethnical and national landscape of this part of Europe and to prevent possible bloodshed in the future. One of such groups were so called “Kresowiaczy” – Polish and Jewish inhabitants of *Kresy*, who were made to leave the territories of Lithuanian, Belarusian and Ukrainian Soviet Republics to join their ideological homeland, Poland. The majority of these people were relocated to Recovered Territories in the West of Poland, but some of them found their new homes in other parts of Poland. They were called returned expatriates, even though they were not “returning to their Homeland”, but leaving their local homeland which their families had inhabited for centuries.

Currently, more than 60 years since, the memory of the “repatriation” from *Kresy* as well as the memory of *Kresy* themselves function in a different context and have undergone dramatic change. The resettlements of Polish citizens after World War II have been placed in the context of similar relocations of German citizens. In addition, the issue itself has been related to the geopolitical problems of the newly emerged independent states to the East of Poland. Those communities that of former *Kresy* residents in Poland have started to resemble a diaspora. This is a “diaspora of memory”, whose narratives about the past, even though acknowledged by society, remain on the margins of collective memory. Thus, the sociological account of such a type of memory must draw upon the research on the mechanisms of inclusion of the memory of territorial identities into collective memory. The former, as it strives to preserve the past, cannot rely on its constitutive element, namely local communities.

NOT-EXPERIENCED EXTERMINATION AND EXPERIENCED EXPULSION. THE POST-MEMORY OF THE HOLOCAUST, THE MEMORY OF EXCLUSION AND THE PROCESS OF CREATING IDENTITIES IN POLISH MEMORY PLACES AMONG POST-WAR JEWISH EMIGRANTS.

DĄBROWSKA KAMILA

My paper draws upon ethnographic research conducted among Polish Jews who lived in Dolny Śląsk. My interviewees left Poland in the mid-1950s and at the end of the 1960s. The collected life stories were narrative practices, presenting the life of an individual as a coherent identity process. Through life stories they expressed a vision of their lives, with the crucial experiences in life trajectory.

Aristotle claimed that “from memory people construct their experience.” The philosopher added that multiple memories of the same thing create a single experience in the end. In my paper I will analyze two memories. As they were articulated in the life stories of my interviewees, they revealed what past experiences were perceived as most important.

The first memory will be that of the *non-experienced* post-memory of the Holocaust, what Marianne Hirsch terms as the memory of the second generation. The lack of the inter-generational transfer of family knowledge, and the absence of a broader family, together with snippets of information from the past, created in the post-war generation a continuous sense of a fragmented, porous life story. After many years, the desire to fill in the missing gaps in personal identity induced them to create the post-memory, based on their own experiences of imagined past.

The second memory was shaped by the experiences of expulsion and exclusion from the Polish national collective they felt themselves to be a part of. As an effect of traumatic events, group memory of historical injustice became the crucial element of the collective memory.

Both memories are traumatic, referring to the images of physical and symbolic violence, permanently inscribed into the complex image of Poland. Journeys to Poland are a time of verifying, performing completing individual and collective identities. Places visited turn into memory places, whose meanings are constantly being re-formulated, together with the identity process. In my paper I will present the role of Polish memory places for the two sets of memories and for the process of creating both individual and collective memory.

THE LONG WAY TO ITHACA: THE EXILES ARE COMING HOME

CLAUDIA DRAGANOIU

What is one expected to find home after being away for a long while? Definitely something different than what they left behind.

Exiles have had their eyes on Romania for nearly five decades, hoping they would live to see their country free again – their journals, autobiographies, articles and testimonies prove it. They did not know Communism first hand, but they were aware of what was happening in the country, sometimes even more aware than the people back home. Probably one of the most relevant examples is the fact that the exiles were the first to write about the horrors in the Communist penitentiary system when people in the country had no idea what was really happening in prisons. In 1989, when they could finally come home, they had the surprise to find people (most of them raised in Communist schools and indoctrinated accordingly) still convinced that the dissidents who had left the country after the

war were the enemy. As always, things seen from within were totally different from the outside perspective, although the same subject was considered...

My paper focuses on the memory of the Communism in post-communist societies, showing how remembrance, even in the absence of all restrictions, is still conditioned by previous political restraints, censorship, brainwashing. Most importantly, however, it analyses the way this affects the exiles' reintegration in the community.

"DISTANT SIBERIANS" POLISH SCIENTIFIC DISCOURSE ABOUT THE KAZAKHSTANI POLES' BIOGRAPHICAL NARRATIVES (WRITTEN PRESENTATION)

WIKTORIA KUDELA-ŚWIĄTEK

In order to understand the narrator, researchers usually relate his or her account to similar accounts from their own culture and tend to explain historical phenomena and biographical experiences of the narrator by juxtaposing them with those phenomena from their own history that they know, understand and find similar. In their studies on Polish people residing in Kazakhstan, Polish researchers very often use narratives of Polish Siberian deportees relocated to Kazakhstan during World War II as a point of reference. One may notice that these studies tend to treat the experiences of Polish people residing in Kazakhstan and Polish Siberian deportees in Kazakhstan as similar or identical; they also present the former as "forgotten Siberia deportees" or "Poles by denomination".

The powerful Siberian rhetoric obliges researchers to touch upon only those threads in the biographies they study which bring out similarities between Poles residing in Kazakhstan and Polish war deportees from Eastern territories of pre-war Poland (also referred to as Siberian deportees). Researchers tend to avoid issues regarded as controversial, including the participation of Poles residing in Kazakhstan in the social and political life of the Soviet Union, Poles as Soviet informers, everyday life in the kolkhoz (collective farm), Poles making careers in the Communist Party, national conversions, etc.

My own study, in which I have juxtaposed literature on the topic with the results of the field work I have carried out, allows me to conclude that the narratives by Polish people residing in Kazakhstan are being composed in a completely different way than the narratives by Siberian deportees, the latter being certainly more familiar to the Polish audience due to abundant biographical accounts, radio broadcasts as well as feature films and documentaries. The former draw upon completely different sources than the latter. On the contrary to Siberian deportees who tell stories of their exile in order to save them from oblivion, Polish people residing in Kazakhstan recount the repressions they experienced to show their compatriots in Poland that the Polish community in Kazakhstan still exists and that its members have every right to consider themselves Poles.

THE MISSING 'OTHERS': COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE MEMORY OF THE ETHNIC VIOLENCE IN POLAND AND UKRAINE (WRITTEN PRESENTATION)

ANNA WYLEGAŁA

Among historical experience that local communities of Central and Eastern Europe have in common, one deserves special attention: it's large and mostly compulsory exchange of the population after second world war. In result of the Holocaust, ethnic cleansing, flight, deportation and semi-forced migration many places in the region lost considerable part of its prewar inhabitants – and were repopulated by the new settlers. My main research question is in this context whether at all and how these new settlers remember former inhabitants of their small homelands – the missing 'Others'.

My analysis are based on the field studies (more than 150 biographical interviews) in two local communities located in the borderland regions which were particularly exposed to the postwar exchange of the population: Ukrainian Galicia and Western Poland (so called "regained lands"). Before 1945 Polish town of Krzyż used to be part of the German state; after the war all the German population escaped or was deported to Germany, while the town was repopulated by Poles – mostly the Polish deportees from the former Polish Eastern Borderland. Zhovkva in Western Ukraine used to be multicultural, Polish-Jewish-Ukrainian town in the borders of interwar Polish Republic. In 1939-1945 it lost all its Jewish, almost all Polish and considerable part of the Ukrainian population. It was repopulated by the Ukrainians and Russians – including Ukrainians deported from Poland.

In my paper – for methodological reasons – I will focus on memory of the Germans in Krzyż and memory of the Poles in Zhovkva. Both ethnic groups were before the war privileged in terms of political power, both left rich material and symbolic heritage and were consigned to oblivion in the official postwar discourse of memory. Both Poles and Germans either left their homes because of the fear of being murdered or were later on forced to leave – after experiencing brutal ethnic violence; some of those who replaced them, were responsible for their fate. I will analyze biographical narratives of new inhabitants of Krzyż and Zhovkva trying to explain how do they perceive and evaluate this disappearance today; who was responsible, who was guilty and who was a victim in this story? Is history of the Others – and violence that they experienced – part of local history and identity? Is it remembered and commemorated publicly or is it rather repressed memory, like during the communist period? What is the structure of this memory in various generations of the local community and to what extent is this memory transferred?

MEMORY IN THE HISTORICAL SPACE OF VIOLENCE:

AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES: COUNTER-MEMORIES

JEWISH EXPERIENCE OF VIOLENCE IN POST-WAR ARGENTINA (WRITTEN PRESENTATION)

KAŁCZEWIAK MARIUSZ

Eastern European refugees fleeing Europe in late 19th and early 20th centuries considered Argentina a place where they would live peacefully, a place without anti-Semitism and persecution. America was supposed to become a new Jewish home, where the traumas of Europe could be forgotten.

However, predominantly Catholic society of Argentina developed ethnical stereotypes similar to those in Europe. Already in 1919, Buenos Aires experienced extremely violent pogrom directed against foreigners, Jews in particular. Around 400 people were killed, while around 7 thousands were

injured. Pogrom was to great extent inspired by anti-Semitic militias such as Liga Patriótica Argentina that opposed immigration to the country. Around 1910, when the country celebrated its 100th anniversary of independence, Argentina experienced strong comeback of nationalism, expressed for example in the writings of Ricardo Rojas.

Pre-war experience of anti-immigrant violence against the Jews, was in 70s and 80s substituted with state-organized violence. Dictatorships ruling Argentina in these decades are responsible for kidnapping, imprisoning in concentration camps and murdering thousands³ of political opponents. Among so called *desaparecidos*, many belonged to Jewish-Argentinean community. According to the research conducted by Centro de Estudios Sociales(CES) de la DAIA (Delegación de Asociaciones Israelitas Argentinas) number of kidnapped and murdered Jews was between 5 and 12 times higher than their actual share in population.

In 1992 a bomb was planted in Israeli embassy in Buenos Aires, and in 1994 in Jewish community center AMIA. Both events led to further traumas among Jewish Argentineans, questioning their place within Argentinean society. Following these events many decided to emigrate, but at the same time they gave the community new powers to fight for equality, justice and recognition.

In my paper I will examine post-war experience of violence among Argentinean Jews and its influence on changes within Jewish community. I want to present as well activities of movements such as Memoria Activa, who struggle for final clarification of dictatorships' atrocities.

HIDDEN STORIES OF BULGARIAN MOHAMMEDANS

SHABAN DARAKCHI

This paper aims to present the "unofficial" stories of so-called Mohammedans in Bulgaria. These are stories that remain hidden from the scientists and the media. The reason for this is that during the last 15 years people of these communities there is an increasing media interest and as a result information given to anthropologists and sociologists can not be considered authentic any more. This problem arose during the fieldwork for my thesis, which lasts more than 5 years in these communities. Being born into such a community I have the privilege to "see" and be admitted to places and facts that remain hidden or unnoticed. The basic methods I use is the participated observation and depth interviews. Thus survey will explore how people themselves are situated in the history of the Revival process, comparing their stories to the official recorded history. This analysis which I intend to submit aims to analyze the discrepancies between the oral stories and the beginnings of recorded official historiography of this significant milestone in the Bulgarian political history of the 20th century. The main aspects I intend to develop this comparative analysis are the perceptions of the Mohammedans of communism as a political regime and its ideological legitimacy among the people. Another main dimension it the problem of formal symbolic language system consisting of the prohibition of certain speech and wearing traditional costumes and ways in which

³ Around 10 000 according tot he examinations of a Comisión Nacional sobre la Desaparición de las Personas

people "screwed up" this system. The results of this study can be compared with similar historical processes in other countries and ajar new scientific dialogue and thread of research.

MEMORIES OF EAST EUROPEAN ROMA. BETWEEN ENCAPSULATION, HOMOGENIZATION, AND PROLIFERATION OF MEMORYSCAPES

SŁAWOMIR KAPRALSKI

Studies on the memories of Roma communities are divided into two main approaches. In the first of them Romani remembrance is presented as separated from the history of non-Romani world by the barriers of traditional custom or social segregation, fragmented, and – if developed at all – focused on the short-time temporal perspective of one’s own group. In the second one, often advocated by Romani activists, the main effort is to show (or construct) frames of remembrance that make all Roma share the same historical fate and form a community of memory, regardless contingent particularities.

In the paper I shall argue that Romani remembrance is a complicated process which reflects the way Romani communities are situated in the network of relations within the “Romani world” and outside. Therefore, Romani memoryscape involves an intersection of Romani and non-Romani frames of remembrance. In result, Roma remembrance is not encapsulated (even if it is fragmented), nor is it homogenized along politicized narratives of identity supported by ritualized rituals of remembrance (even if such narratives penetrate the remembrance processes of particular groups). What characterizes contemporary Romani remembrance is rather the interweaving of the two processes (fragmentation and unification), which broadens the access of various Roma communities to different recollections of the past. Instead of a single Romani memoryscape we shall rather speak of a proliferation of memoryscapes, which serve as a resource for various hybrid Romani identities.

Empirically, my argument will be illustrated by the way in which Roma in different East European countries reflect upon the Communist times and post-communist transformation, as well as by their reception of the homogenizing narrative of Romani suffering during WWII, called Romani Holocaust or *Samudaripen*.

SPATIAL FRAMES OF REMEMBRANCE:

REGION AS A FIGURE OF MEMORY

GÖMÖR – GEMER: PARALELL LIEUX DE MÉMOIRE

CSABA G. KISS

A region on the border of Slovakia and Hungary. At the end of the 19th century, Count and Palatine Géza Andrassy described Gömör as Hungary in miniature. 70 years later, Slovakian writer Vladimír Mináč in turn referred to Gemer as Slovakia in miniature. Until 1920, the region was one of the

megyes [counties] of the Kingdom of Hungary. In 1920, the vast majority of the region became part of the Republic of Czechoslovakia, while its southern fringes remained in Hungary. Between 1938 and 1945 the vast majority of the region was incorporated into Hungary, while its northern fringes remained in Slovakia. After 1945, the borders from 1920 were restored.

The paper aims to analyse the processes of building regional and national identities in both communities (Slovakian and Hungarian) in 1960-1989. This will be carried out, using local historiography (places of national remembrance) as well as fiction published at the time.

„FAMOUS MACEDONIA” – THE COMMEMORATION OF THE REGION IN 20TH CENTURY GREECE

OLIMPIA DRAGOUNI

In 20th century after Balkan wars Modern Greek state acquired part of last territories of European Turkey (geographical region of Macedonia). Later on, in 20s, those terrains altered their ethnic character after the exchange that took place between Greece and Turkey (Muslim population was replaced by Christian Orthodox)

Those rapid changes were followed by a specific Greek “campaign” of proving that (Greek) Macedonia is and should be a part of Greek cultural and historical heritage. The article shall present the process of commemoration (*upamiętnianie*) of *transmitters* and *realms of memory* connected with this territory and existing in Greek national and public discourse. It shall also examine the ways used by Greek state to confirm that Macedonia together with its ancient heritage belongs to Greek national canon. By doing so, the article shall explain the background of the controversial stance that Greece took against Republic of Macedonia (Greece still doesn’t allow its Northern neighbour to use the term “Macedonia” in its name, claiming that doing so, it is “stealing” Greek ancestry).

The notion of commemoration is used after Polish scholar, Andrzej Szpociński, who treats the analysis of *realms of memory* (Pierre Nora et al.) as a research programme that clarifies the mechanisms of shaping social memory and examines a specific social memory “infrastructure” in the context of ability that a culture has to commemorate and use specific mnemotechnic techniques. The notion of *historical memory transmitters* (*nośniki pamięci historycznej*) are used after Marcin Kula, who understands them as any possible historical personas, places, events of historical value.

A broad range of texts of culture: periodicals, newspapers, TV and radio stations, symbols, monuments, museums will serve as the source for analysis.

HISTORICAL NARRATIVE DISCOURSE OF WWII IN UKRAINE IN THE CONTEXT OF “RUSSIAN WORLD”

OLEKSII POLEGKYI

In a discursive approach, which sees politics of collective memory as increasingly being a struggle over ideas and values, certain symbolic topics are an important means of political influence.

In the process of nation building, politics of memory becomes a crucial battle field for competing interpretations and narratives of the past. National memory has therefore discursive and hierarchical character, different social groups compete for access to the public sphere in order to establish the hegemony of their narrative.

The term “Russian World” is generally understood to comprise not only the Russian diaspora itself, but also an ideological concept of Russian foreign policy towards former Soviet republics. Russia uses its compatriots’ policy and historical narratives as a way of exerting soft power on neighbouring countries.

One of the bases for “Russian World” is a common historical memory. The Second World War, or the Great Patriotic War, is certainly one of the most evocative historical events in the Russian imaginaries, which used to legitimize the communist rule.

Nowadays in Ukraine and Russia rather different views on the role of WWII in their national histories and in the formation of the respective national identities. In Ukraine conflicting meanings and different interpretations of WWII contribute to a political conflict which splits Ukrainian society.

A message uniting Russians at home could theoretically also be used for strengthening ties between Russia and its compatriots abroad. The constant reference to the memory of the Second World War is not so much a reference to historical facts as the evocation of a real founding myth. The memory of the WWII has to be understood from this viewpoint of mobilization by identification.

ITALIAN FOREGROUND OF THE “NEW” EUROPE. SOME REMARKS OF CLAUDIO MAGRIS AND PAOLO RUMIZ ON THE EASTERN PART OF THE CONTINENT AND ITS HISTORICAL LEGACY OF THE 20TH CENTURY

PIOTR CHMIEL

The aim of this paper is to retrace how the countries and cultures of the „new Europe” are presentend in the works of two Triestine authors: Claudio Magris, a famous writer and author of the monumental *Danubio (Danube)* and a journalist Paolo Rumiz, particularly interested in the Central Europe and the Balkans. Both authors change their stylistical and professional attitudes, transforming themselves in travellers and essayists, while betaking to the countries located between the Baltic, the Adriatic and the North Sea. They will be called here „new Europe” which is an expression used in a political discourse referred to the recent enlargements of the European Union and therefore not so appropriate while talking about cultural features of the region, but quite useful for being not so equivocal as “Central Europe”, „Eastern Europe”, „Central-Eastern Europe” and many similar terms used in the discourse related to the history and culture of the European regions. In fact, the analysed authors themselves do not use these terms in a coherent way. Therefore, I prefer to speak about a new Europe – starting from here, referred to without quotation marks – in order to avoid a discussion on definitions of all above-mentioned terms. The notion of new Europe will regard in this

text all countries visited by Magris and Rumiz: South Slavic states, countries situated along the Danube, as well as Poland, Czech Republic and Slovakia (or, in case of Magris, Czechoslovakia) and Ukraine.

The new Europe of Rumiz and Magris – not defined precisely in conceptual and geographical terms – is a big *lieu de mémoire*, multicultural area and palimpsest of history. The authors' observations on the region are influenced by the Triestine models of interpretation. The writers are, in fact, observers from both from „within” and „beyond” of the region: from „within” due to the historical affinity of their part of Italy to the new Europe as well as due to the Habsburg legacy underlined by both authors.

The new Europe of Magris and Rumiz is defined on the basis of its historical experience. The latter may be compared to a palimpsest, testifying a *longue durée* and plurisecular coexistence of the nations and cultures living in the region. The second important feature of the new Europe is – according to the writers – its multiethnicity. The third characteristic of the new Europe is the consciousness of some nations of serving as a bulwark of a cultural entity considered to be „more civilised”, more developed in a cultural sense. Moreover, Magris and Rumiz present the new Europe's history as a history of empires which dominated it in the past, being usually external to the region.

MEMORY IN THE HISTORICAL SPACE OF VIOLENCE:

TRANSITIONS: THE CHALLENGES OF DEMOCRACY AND THE MARKET

LAW BETWEEN MNEMOSYNE AND LETHE. COLLECTIVE MEMORIES AND CONSTITUTIONAL IDENTITIES IN CENTRAL-EASTERN EUROPE.

ADAM CZARNOTA, ANNA MŁYNARSKA-SOBACZEWSKA

Law during thousands years developed impressive numbers of tools and technics to remember and also forget. Therefore as we claim legal institutions are based on the remembrance and especially collective remembrance. At the same time what is remembered institutionally is in the service of live- it means is useful for organisation and institutionalisation of social life. For normal function of society degree of forgetting is necessary. That's why law is located between tow goddesses from ancient Greece Mnemosyne – the goddess of remembrance and Lethe- the goddess of forgetting.

In our paper we will focus on the reconstruction of types of historical narratives adopted in constitution-making in post-communist Central-Eastern Europe and also on this type of stream in collective memories which have been suppressed and abandoned. We will try to show what type f narratives were chosen for legitimacy of new constitutional post-communist orders.

LAW OR POLITICS OF MEMORY IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE?

ULADZISLAU BELAVUSAU

Eversince the Germanic concept of militant democracy (*streitbare Demokratie*) has been powerfully coined in the English-speaking literature by Karl Loewenstein⁴, it has remained an issue of extensive debate: to which degree the constitutional democracies – that overcome the unsavory pasts of the *anciens régimes* – should limit individual liberties *via* preventive legal restrictions? By far the focal to this debate has been the dilemma of *historical revisionism* juxtaposed against the right to freedom of expression. It has been clear that authoritarian regimes are not necessarily brought to power by violence, but rather by the emotionalism that manipulates public opinion *via* xenophobic rhetoric and historiographic falsifications, including genocide denials, historical demonization of the minorities and victimizations of the “titular nations”. Nonetheless, can a liberal democracy afford censorship of historiography for the sake of a more protected democratic governance, e.g. *via* a ban on a certain genocide denial? In the course of the last century, this question has been answered in a strikingly different way by various Western democracies, offering a somewhat libertarian (“USA”) free speech model and a more balanced (Western-European) paradigm of constitutional thinking.

This presentation will explore the legal engagements with “memory” in three selected countries of Central and Eastern Europe: the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland, embracing the last twenty years of post-communist transition. The issue of *historical revisionism* is a truly sensitive area of the CEE free speech debate, in which “European” and “American” models have been in constant competition. On the one hand, Central Europe is in fact the primary arena of the Shoah since it was the region with the highest concentration of European Jewry and, accordingly, the largest number of Nazi victims. The issue of Holocaust denial in CEE is thus of a particular sensitivity, comparable to that in Germany and Austria. The museums commemorating the victims in the locations of Nazi concentration camps (such as, perhaps the most famous, Auschwitz in Poland) occupy an important space in the historical memory of CEE nations.

On the other hand, “the only true history” of World War II used to be nothing but a product of negotiation among the winning allies. Small CEE states became the hostages of super-powers and were deprived of equal competition on the “free market of historiographies”. The mass killings of Polish officers in Katyń (1940), Hungarian revisionist writings subsequent to the Treaty of Trianon (1920), *Vertreibungen* of Germans from Czech Sudetenland (1946), massacre of Jews in Polish Jedwabne (1941), anti-Soviet partisan movement, or the atrocities of the “winning” armies in Germany and Central Europe have not been accommodated under the-only-trustworthy historical truth.

The presentation will shed light on how both legislators and judges in the region have been destined to choose between the pragmatic American and preventive European approaches, often balancing on the slippery slope between militant democracy and pure *Geschichtspolitik*.

REMEMBERING COMMUNIST PERSECUTIONS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ROMANIAN AND BULGARIAN POLITICS OF MEMORY

⁴ Karl Lowenstein, “Militant Democracy and Fundamental Rights” (1937) 31 *American Political Science Review* 417.

In the aftermath of 1989, the countries of East-Central Europe faced the challenge of dealing with their communist past. The answers provided to this societal demand varied according to the nature of the communist regimes in each country, the degree of attachment of the population to the former regime, the existence of an emerging civil society, the role of intelligentsia in negotiating the fall of the regime, the ways regime collapsed, the “contextual factors” like the “privatization of nomenklatura” (Helga A. Welsh), and/or the presence in the new state structure of what Thomas A. Baylis called “lower nobility of the communist era,” the transition issues related to economic and social problems.

This paper is going to deal with the memory of communist persecutions in Bulgaria and Romania. Soon after the fall of Ceausescu regime (22nd of December, 1989), the memory of communist repression invaded the public space of Romania. In the last 22 years, hundreds of memories and historical books have been printed, fictional movies and documentary films were realized and broadcasted, monuments were built in order to honor the “victims of communist repression”, and a museum displayed the “horrors” of the former regime. In Bulgaria, the political persecutions were quasi-absent from the public space. The first exhibition showing the camp of Belene was opened only in 2009, 20 years after the fall of communism.

This article aims at understanding the politics of memory concerning communist persecutions in post-communist Romania and Bulgaria. Why is communist repression a displayed issue in Romania and a silent place of memory in Bulgaria? Are the political actors playing an important role in the ways communism is remembered? What is the role of the public opinion in remembering communist persecutions in the two countries?

“POST-AUTHORITARIAN” IDENTITY AND THE MEMORY OF “AUTHORITARIAN” VIOLENCE: A CRITIQUE OF THE WESTERN LIBERAL-HUMANIST NOTION OF VIOLENCE

MATTHIAS ISTVÁN KÖHLER

One could ask, how the experience of mass-violence in the first half of the last century has affected the identity of people living in the area Timothy Snyder calls “Bloodlands”. I suggest to turn the question: what were the experiences of the last two decades, that gave people the “memory-frame” (Maurice Halbwachs) to re-actualise the memory of experienced mass-violence? Snyder's western liberal-humanist notion of violence, which understands violence as the inadequate means of achieving a maybe (not) adequate aim, falls not only short in understanding mass-violence outbursts of the last century, as it doesn't consider the hidden kind of violence which is even our every-day's experience. Accepting Walter Benjamin's suggestion to understand violence as whether law-establishing or law-enforcing, we gain the possibility to interpret the meaning of 20th century's mass-violence in today's memory as a re-actualisation in order to cope with more sublime forms of mass-violence like mass-unemployment, mass-poverty, social insecurity and the rise of criminality, which happened to occur with the victory of the liberal-capitalist world in the area of the “Bloodlands”. In this case, we would have to interpret these “new” phenomena not as remaining

from so-called communist or authoritarian times and the somehow still in deficit establishment and enforcement of western liberal-democratic and liberal-capitalist laws in a “post-communist” situation, but as the very characteristics of semi-peripheric societies in a liberal-capitalist world-system. This perspective allows us to understand parallels in the constitution of so-called “post-communist” and “post-colonial” identities. As I argue, it is less the experience of “authoritarian” times' massviolence which constitutes these identities, but the law-establishing and law-enforcing violence of the “post-authoritarian” times.

BETWEEN VIOLENCE AND REMEMBRANCE – NEGATIVE MEMORY IN POST-COLONIAL AND POST-AUTHORITARIAN SOCIETIES: INDONESIA'S EXAMPLE

JOZSEF BERTA

„The Beginning To Remember“ (Mary S. Zurbruchen) came up in Indonesia with the end of the Suharto-regime in 1998. The experience based on political changes as democratization is shared with Eastern European countries and societies after 1989, nine years before the turn-over in Indonesia.

It seems that post-Suharto Indonesia, being post-colonial and post-authoritarian, was hit by the similar phenomenon as post-communist Central-Eastern European countries: “Remembrance” – as a constitutional technique for identity – has received a significant meaning, while post-war Western-model mnemonics of remembrance and its institutions had been started to be established.

Post-colonial and post-authoritarian societies are – as a significant difference to European societies – not necessarily post-heroic ones (Münkler), largely the reason not completely to turn the focus of remembering on „negative history“ (Koselleck) with individuals and minority groups as victims. They are still in many cases placed as suspect subjects outside of the imagined collective (Anderson). The clashes are ethnical and religious (Appadurai) or ideological. After 1998 the mentioned minorities, above all the Chinese as “non-Indonesians”, mostly catholic, and detected as “communists”, have started to collect and institutionalize their „untold stories“ on experiences with mass-violence as mass murder, forced labour etc. during 1965-1970. But mass-violence as in-state colonialism and authoritarian actions did not disappear in post-Suharto Indonesia.

It should be discussed if we face here a pre-war European practice of „dealing with history“ as a vehicle for the ongoing post-colonial “nation-building process“, affected by the “Remembrance in global ages” (Levy/Sznaider), considering the second thesis, that this practice is less controversial in Indonesia than in Eastern Europe, where western European post-war “culture of remembrance”, especially the focus on the established idea of „negative memory“ is less a matter in question, but a geographical and cultural device on the “Battlefield Europe”(Leggewie) besides of “Bloodlands”.

SPATIAL FRAMES OF REMEMBRANCE:

CITY AS A MEMORY SCENE

PIOTR TADEUSZ KWIATKOWSKI

Frampol, a small town in the Lubelskie voivodship, was bombed by bombers of Wolfram von Richthofen's 8th Air Corps of the Luftwaffe on 13 September 1939 at around 15:00. There were no military targets in the town, there was no anti-aircraft defence, and the raid itself was aimed at assessing the effectiveness of bombing tactics in the field. The commanders decided to conduct an experiment, and used the town as a practice target. When two and a half years earlier, on 26.04.1937, the airmen of the Condor Legion (commanded by the same Wolfram von Richthofen) bombed the small Spanish town of Guernica, the news spread and there was an outcry throughout Europe; the bombing itself took on a symbolic significance. So why did the annihilation of Frampol fall into oblivion? In the search for an answer to this question, in-depth interviews were conducted in the town in 2011 with the 3 last surviving witnesses of this event. Their accounts show the effect of "flash bulb memory"; over 70 years later, these participants in the events were able to talk about their emotions then, about specific episodes and conversations. Interviews with chosen "guardians of memory" – people interested in the town's past and striving to popularise it – show the formation of narratives presented currently in the media and local publications. In confronting the accounts of witnesses with the image formed in collective memory, we try to identify social factors conducive to remembering this event. The first is the family memory still alive in the town: children and grandchildren of the witnesses were repeatedly told stories about the bombardment, and passed them down to younger generations. Over the past decade, the local authorities and media have been the initiators of commemorative measures. The reasons behind memory of the event not going beyond the borders of the local community, and not assuming symbolic importance on the scale of larger communities, also seem interesting. The forgetfulness here is undoubtedly a result of the competition: so much happened during World War II in the region that this individual episode was pushed to the sidelines of local memory. Secondly, as a result of fortunate circumstances, the bombardment of 13 September did not cause many fatalities, and was of no significance in regard to the balance of victims. Is it therefore worth going back to this episode and studying how it functions in collective memory? It would seem that it is: Frampol is one of the signs of a depraved twentieth-century mind – rational, systematic, pervaded with attention to methodological correctness and usefulness, yet simultaneously totally disregarding ethical values. This bombardment was one of the signs foreshadowing the greatest cruelties of the Second World War.

WAR AFTER WAR. THE WWII MEMORIALS AS MEMORY SITES - THE CASE OF WARSAW

KRYSTYNA EWA SIELLAWA-KOLBOWSKA

This text is an attempt to sociologically describe the social actors' struggle for "a memory in stone" commemorating the war events in the city space. Warsaw is often seen as one of "the city-Phoenix", such as Hiroshima or Dresden, but nonetheless alive and important is the Warsaw' identity as "battlefield", in the literal and symbolic sense. Time of building war memorials in Warsaw is still ongoing and have not ended yet. I have analyzed a tumultuous history of over a dozen of them, commemorating two events in the World War II: the Warsaw Uprising and the liberation of Warsaw

(based on data provided by: historical documents, interviews, movies, photographs). In my study⁵, I have used the perspective of the history of the second degree (Pierre Nora). I analyze what is happening with the past in social practices and collective memory, what obtains interpretations, when and by whom, for what purpose they are produced and reinforced. I also analyze how durable are commemoration practices and how important they are to build a collective sense of identity of one group, and / or exclusion of other communities. The analysis covers the period from 1945 to recent years, focusing on the processes of remembrance, recovery (reconstruction) and the deconstruction of memory sites such as war memorials. The analyzed period is long enough to capture the general accuracy of the policies and practices of commemoration. Results identify the main actors of the "war after the war" and how very much the war memorials are a result of interaction of the collective memory and the historical policy. It is often assumed that consciousness rooted in time and possession of own past is essential to the functioning of individuals and groups. Additionally, as the results of the analysis show, individuals and groups have a need for rooting their own memory in the city space. In Warsaw, for now, the collective memory of the Warsaw Uprising, and the liberation of Warsaw is highly fragmented and divided. We can see this phenomenon "in stone", in war memorials, where main strategies and narratives of commemoration are reflected.

WAR MEMORIES AND URBAN PLANNING IN THE POST-WAR DIVIDED CITY: THE CASE OF MOSTAR, BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

ANA ACESKA

In this paper I will give an insight to the interplay between memories and space in a post-war divided city. How are the collective and individual memories and forgetting related to mass violence taken into account when planning the post-war divided city? How do scholars, urban planners and policy makers describe and interpret these memories in their various professional responses to the post-war divided city? In most of the cases, the urban planning strategies in these cities are focused on the creation of "common" or "neutral" spaces which are planned as sites of "forgetting" rather than "remembering". In scholarly works, moreover, these cities are being conceptualized as sites where the memories of mass violence are more present than elsewhere.

On the bases of an ethnographic research conducted in Mostar, Bosnia-Herzegovina, in my paper I will challenge these taken-for-granted ways of conceptualizing and planning the divided city. I will argue that these approaches fail to recognize the extent to which spaces can be "neutral" in a city that is a locus of collective and individual memories and forgetting related to mass violence. I will moreover explore the way they fail to acknowledge that post-war ethnic identities and collective and individual memories and forgetting related to war-time mass violence are not what people "have", but what people "negotiate" in their everyday lives. In the context of Mostar, they also fail to

⁵ The project: "Years 1944/1945 in Warsaw – in the collective memory of Poles. The difficult communities of remembering and the inconvenient sites of memory ", financed by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of Poland.

recognize that the various identity formations and “we/they” divides in the post-war times are not felt and mapped onto places on one side of the city only.

CIVIL SOCIETY ACTIVISTS AND CLASHING MEMORIES IN POST-WALL BERLIN

JENNY WÜSTENBERG

As the call for papers for this conference suggests, research on memory in Europe has long been dominated by Western European perspectives while Eastern European experiences have often been sidelined. This mnemonic conflict plays out in very concrete ways in Berlin. In this paper, I examine how civil society activists have played a key role in building and changing the landscape of memory as it exists in the German capital today. Through dozens of interviews with local players, as well as extensive archival research, I show how activists in the united Berlin have developed and operated and how they have influenced the Berlin memorial scene in the longer-term. Despite continuing tensions between advocates of “Holocaust-centered” memory and those who wish to commemorate the crimes committed by the GDR regime, I argue that their principles and tactics have in fact emerged out of their contentious interaction. I contend that this comparative case study in activist engagement holds important lessons for the formation of “European memory” more broadly: rather than a shifting of perspectives, what is needed is an enhanced understanding of how different actors in memory politics, as well as the historical experiences and narratives they promote, help to shape one another.

THE PROCESSES OF COLLECTIVE MEMORY IN CULTURALLY DIVERSE CITIES ON THE EXAMPLE OF BIALYSTOK AND LUBLIN.

KATARZYNA SZTOP-RUTKOWSKA, MACIEJ BIAŁOUS

Contemporary Lublin and Białystok are two biggest cities of eastern Poland, aspiring to become major regional centers of economy, culture and science. Before World War II both cities were multiethnic, with a large and significant Polish, Jewish, German, Ukrainian and Belarusian communities. Today's structure was assumed by the World War II, in particular the Holocaust, the postwar state borders shift and intense migration from the countryside to the city. Contemporary multiculturalism Lublin and Białystok is largely illusory, that is, not covered by the ethnic structure. Despite that fact, the two cities, constructing its image (for example as candidates for the European Capital of Culture 2016), largely refer to the multi-ethnic heritage as their primary asset.

Main objective of the presentation is to confront the official remembering of the cities' past with the collective memory of its inhabitants as well as local opinion leaders. We would therefore try to answer the question: to what extent discourses of memory carried by different groups compete with each other, are in conflict or form as a coherent structure? What strategies are shown in the official discourse of commemoration and how they are connected with collective memory. The last important question concerns the issue of forgetting: how today's inhabitants of Lublin and Białystok remember and how respond to the traumatic events of the 20th century (especially the Holocaust),

which largely determined contemporary urban structure, both in social and architectural dimension?
How do they (not) remember the trauma of witnessing the Holocaust?

Presentation will be based on the results of vast empirical research under title: "The processes of collective memory functioning in a culturally diverse regions on the example of Białystok and Lublin Region", carried out in 2010-2012 in both cities by the staff of the Institute of Sociology, University of Białystok.

THE WARSAW RISING OF THE DEATH. MOURNING AND MELANCHOLIA IN POST-WAR WARSAW (WRITTEN PRESENTATION)

MARCIN NAPIÓRKOWSKI

A corpse is the most literal imaginable sign of violence and one of the most important figures of contemporary memory discourse. After the surrender of The Warsaw Uprising the whole city was literally covered with dead bodies. They were reposed in shallow, improvised graves or even left completely unburied; some of them were massacred by bombs, half-burnt, scattered by explosions. It would be safe to assume that the post-war return to the abandoned city and the confrontation with its horror, symbolized distinctly by corpses, induced a collective trauma upon the inhabitants of Warsaw.

In my paper, referring to classical Freudian categories, I would like to present some attempts at *working* this experience *through* in a process of collective mourning. Analysis of available archival sources shows that many funeral and commemorative practices were intentionally obstructed by the new communist regime in order to erase the memory of the uprising. This resulted in spontaneous illegal commemorative practices returning – as a form of Freudian *acting out* – through all the period of the People's Republic of Poland.

Nowadays, all phases of this history remain inscribed in the structure of the rebuilt city. Contemporary Warsaw, then, may be metaphorically analyzed as a traumatized patient, showing many signs of neurosis, that may be identified in social conflicts, landscape and even art. Peculiar aesthetics of *necropolis* present in works of many contemporary artists may be interpreted as a returning image of a trauma that has not been worked through.

MEMORY IN THE HISTORICAL SPACE OF VIOLENCE:

AMBIGUOUS AFTERMATHS

THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO, LANDS OF VIOLENCE: “AFTERSHOCKS” OF PATRICE LUMUMBA’S MURDER

KARINE RAMONDY

This speech covers a study on the impact of the political murder of Patrice Lumumba, the African leader, at the time of DRC independence. He was murdered outside “his own land”, in the hostile province of Katanga, and the impact of his physical disappearance varies in different parts of the country. There was no corpse and no grave, and the State has long made sure that no memorial process should bring to mind this hero of the struggle for independence.

If his memory is evoked, it is as anecdote, or indirectly and exploitatively.

This murder has put a brake on the history of the country, it has created a gap which has never been filled, in which the efforts of the survivors are interred and lost. The main characteristics of postcolonial Congo are a deep sense of loss: loss of ancestral ground, history, memory and the place of the dead.

This tragic disappearance has engendered a series of massacres, and ‘democratised’ murder as a tool for taking power. Violence and crime have become commonplace in political situations and have long eroded society. Death is given in the name of the State or on behalf of it, and nowadays everybody uses it. A Eurocentric vision consists of interpreting these situations in terms of Afro-pessimism, but African actors can read things differently according to exogenous or endogenous factors.

BLOODY EVENTS AND CONTRADICTIONARY TRUTHS: THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1989 AND THE “RASHOMON EFFECT”

DRAGOȘ PETRESCU

The Romanian revolution of 1989 was not only the sole violent, but also the most contested of all the 1989 revolutions in East-Central Europe. My paper is concerned with a particular type of memories of violence associated with the revolutions of 1989. More specifically, it argues that from among the six countries that witnessed a regime change in 1989, i.e., Poland, Hungary, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Romania, only in Romania the memory of the 1989 regime change is associated, in terms of both collective and individual memories, with an enduring “Rashomon effect.” At a more general level, the present paper discusses the problem of reconstructing and remembering intensely violent and highly contested events via cinematic narratives.

The revolutionary character of the 1989 events in Romania was constantly contested and often denied. In spite of the fact that blood was spilled in December 1989, the revolution and its ideals were ridiculed, often by former revolutionaries themselves. Thus, in terms of public representation it is generally allowed and widely accepted to caricature the revolutionary dream of 1989. The present paper examines three main interpretations of the 1989 events in Romania, which constitute at the same time three conflicting readings of a shared reality, as they emerged from testimonies, witness accounts and written memoirs by a number of direct participants to the events: (1) 1989 as an authentic revolution; (2) 1989 as a confiscated revolution; and (3) 1989 as an international conspiracy. In light of the aforementioned readings of the 1989 regime change emerging from the recollections of the participants, the crucial question one has to address when looking back to the collapse of Romanian communism is whether the 1989 events constituted an authentic revolution or not.

Based on the “shared reality, differing truths” idea,⁶ and true to the origins of the concept – the famous 1950 movie *Rashomon*, directed by Akira Kurosawa – my paper examines the process of reconstructing and remembering the 1989 revolution based on three cinematic narratives released in 2006: (1) *Cum mi-am petrecut sfârșitul lumii* (The way I spent the end of the world),⁷ directed by Cătălin Mitulescu; (2) *Hîrtia va fi albastră* (Paper will be blue),⁸ directed by Radu Muntean; and (3) *A fost sau n-a fost?* (Was it, or not?),⁹ directed by Corneliu Porumboiu. Each of the three feature films addresses one of the three fundamental issues related to the Romanian revolution of 1989, i.e. inception – *The way I spent the end of the world*; unfolding – *Paper will be blue*; and outcome – *Was it or not?* Altogether, the above mentioned cinematic narratives address the 1989 regime change in Romania as a sort of Self-Ironical Tragicomedy, which is conspicuously different from the way the communist period (1945-1989) is generally addressed, i.e., as a Tragic Romance. Moreover, my paper argues that through a reading in reverse order of the three cinematic narratives, i.e.: *Was it, or not?* – *Paper will be blue* – *The way I spent the end of the world*, one could get a rather accurate image of the current debates – fuelled by the recollections of the participants – concerning the process of remembering the 1989 revolution in Romania.

Last, but by no means least, the analysis of the cinematic narratives that touch upon the 1989 regime changes permits a cross-regional comparison with regard to tragicomic or self-ironical ways of addressing contradictory truths about the inception of those events or the ways of remembering them. Thus, the potential for immediate and fatal violence that existed in the case of the non-negotiated – that is, not based on the roundtable principle – and non-violent revolutions in East Germany and Czechoslovakia make those cases more appropriate for a comparison with the Romanian case, in contradistinction with the “negotiated revolutions” in Poland and Hungary. For instance, the setting of Porumboiu’s movie *Was it or not?* is very much alike that of the 2003 Czech feature film on the 1989 regime change in former Czechoslovakia, *Městečko* (Small town), directed

⁶ Karl G. Heider, “The Rashomon Effect: When Ethnographers Disagree,” *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 90, No. 1 (March 1988), 74.

⁷ Cătălin Mitulescu, *Cum mi-am petrecut sfârșitul lumii* (The way I spent the end of the world), 101 min., 2006.

⁸ Radu Muntean, *Hîrtia va fi albastră* (Paper will be blue), 91 min., 2006.

⁹ Corneliu Porumboiu, *A fost sau n-a fost?* (Was it, or not?), 89 min., 2006.

by Jan Kraus.¹⁰ In Mitulescu's movie, *The way I spent the end of the world*, it is a schoolboy, named Lalalilu, who sparks the Bucharest revolt on 21 December 1989 by firing his tiny catapult – a forked stick with an elastic band – towards the secretary general of the Party, Nicolae Ceaușescu himself. The panic-stricken crowds turn the staged meeting into an anti-Ceaușescu demonstration and this is how the 1989 revolution eventually began in Bucharest. Somehow similarly, in Sebastian Peterson's 1999 movie *Helden wie wir* (Heroes like us) the young East German Klaus Uhltscht provokes the fall of the Berlin Wall due to his penis that had reached gigantic proportions because of a surgical error.

POST-COMMUNIST ARTISTIC MEMORIALIZATION: THE PORTRAITS OF CEAUSESCU

LUCIA POPA

The reappropriation of the totalitarian past had never been envisaged in the Romanian artistic field by institutional ways: nowadays, after more than 20 years since the fall of the communist regime, there is still no museum dedicated to it.

In the Socialist Republic of Romania the State held the monopoly on writing and illustrating the History. The State ordered and acquisitioned artistic works conceived with the respect of the official canons (those of the *socialist realism*), art products which had to illustrate an utopian vision of the Romanian communist society and some idealised portraits of the political leader. The subversive artistic visions of the history were brought into the public attention only recently.

Nowadays, on the contrary, the Romanian state has no official artistic vision of the communist past. However, this official *amnesia* of the recent history is balanced by a “capitalist” speech: the one of the post-communist art market from Romania. Over twenty artists, from different generations, most of them already internationally renowned (Dan Perjovschi, Ion Grigorescu, Adrian Ghenie etc), are the recent authors of that “travail de mémoire” (Paul Ricoeur) concerning the Romanian communist past.

The main question of my paper is how did the artistes shaped the memory of the totalitarian past and of the mass violences during the Romanian Revolution from December 1989? How did they illustrated the portrait of Ceausescu in the post-communist visual arts? In what kind of artistic record did they remembered that past? Is there a *nostalgia* or we can rather talk about a more sobre record, that of a “mémoire douloureuse”? Is Ceausescu the subject of some dramatic paintings or, on the contrary, he was represented as a *pop icon*?

CHORNOBYL AS A CONCEPT IN UKRAINIAN COLLECTIVE MEMORY

NADYA TRACH

¹⁰ Jan Kraus, *Městečko* (Small town), 100 min., 2003.

The article highlights representations of Chernobyl concept in different spheres of contemporary Ukrainian public life – mass-culture, literature, cinema, political discussions, mass-media, visual culture, as well as its linguistic representation in memories of people who lived at this area (memories are collected by dialectological expedition of Ukrainian linguists). Ecological catastrophe at Chernobyl as one of the biggest tragedy, trauma of Ukrainian people in the XXth century (that goes along with Holodomor (Famine) and World War II) dramatically influenced discourses not only of Ukrainian inner political and cultural life, but also representation and identification of Ukraine all over the globe. The article analyzed the symbols that are used to describe the tragedy, as well as a interpolation ecological catastrophe to other spheres, constructing Chernobyl as a metaphor for describing collapse, crash, feeling of being lost.

SPATIAL FRAMES OF REMEMBRANCE:

REFRAMING THE NATIONAL

PENETRATING THE 'REMEMBRANCE DAY' PLAYLIST: MUSIC AND THE GLOCALIZATION OF MEMORY

GAL HERMONI, UDI LEBEL

The presentation will examine the musical repertoire broadcast on Israeli state radio stations on Remembrance Day. Commencing with the first Remembrance Day, Israeli radio stations have refrained from broadcasting songs that do not contribute to the glorification of the military mythology or fail to reinforce the consensual perception of national loss. In view of globalization - it might be assumed that Remembrance Day songs would undergo changes in tune with the times. From a musical point of view, new songs that belong to what Regev and Seroussi (2004) classify as 'globalizing Israel' penetrated into the nationalist arena. But, following Inglehart and Baker (2000) these songs, despite their seemingly secular façade, remain limited hegemonic enclosures organized around the core of founding values. Apparently this is an example of the process of Glocalization of Culture. The article seeks answers to the strategies employed to accommodate these new songs to the traditional ideology of the classical Remembrance Day songs and examines whether the mechanisms of legitimacy that enable the inclusion of new voices on Remembrance Day, can be identified. We argue that their choice is not arbitrary and that they illustrate the manner by which voluntary cultural entrepreneurs (musical editors) are co-opted in the post-national condition.

“MUSIK MACHT FREI”¹¹: WEST-EASTERN DIVAN ORCHESTRA

AGNIESZKA TOPOLSKA

¹¹ The phrase comes from a documentary devoted to the East-Western Divan Orchestra entitled *Knowledge Is The Beginning*, directed by. Paul Smaczny.

West-Eastern Divan Orchestra (WEDO) is a project initiated 10 years ago by Daniel Barenboim, a world famous pianist of Jewish origin who lived for some time in Israel, and Edward W. Said, a Palestinian anthropologist who grew up in Egypt. They formed an orchestra in order to create the opportunity for dialogue between representatives of all sides of the conflict in the Middle East. Thus, musicians from Israel, Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt and Jordan can play in the orchestra.

The main idea for WEFO is to “civilise” the national discourses by means of music. Their first performance in Weimar, a visit to the concentration camp in Buchenwald, workshops and accompanying discussions held every year in Seville, the formation of a youth orchestra in Palestine as well as performances given in Rabat, Morocco, and Ramallah, Palestine, are experiences which contribute significantly to constructing the sense of national and ethnic identity in young musicians; they also aim to fight stereotypes and misconceptions that the nations in the Middle East feed on and preserve in their collective memories.

The paper aims to show how the idea to put emphasis on music can contribute to the process of shaping identities and collective memories in the Middle East communities. Interestingly enough, it is European classical music that has been used: Tchaikovsky, Dvorak, Martinu, Beethoven and Boulez. The paper also refers to a number of different ways in which music can be used for political purposes and puts particular emphasis on the role music plays in the politics of memory. The paper also argues that, regardless of geographical location, similar patterns govern and shape the mechanisms of collective thinking of the inhabitants of the “bloodlands”.

A SOCIAL HISTORY OF POST-SOVIET ARTS: THEATER AND TRAUMA IN POLAND AND UKRAINE

MAYHILL C. FOWLER

How does art reflect or resolve historical trauma? Artists emerging from state socialism faced the task of not only finding new funding structures and performance spaces, but also forging new relationships towards the past. This paper examines the comparative case of contemporary theater in Ukraine and Poland and shows how artists have responded to history for artistic innovation. The violence of Nazism and Soviet socialism has proven a productive or destructive challenge for creative production. In Poland, benefitting from European Union funding and a specific theatrical genealogy, history has shaped art: the Holocaust has served as a vehicle both for confronting the past and creating an innovative artistic product—as exemplified by Tadeusz Słobodzianek's *Nasza klasa*. In Ukraine, by contrast, theater has shaped history by reinforcing historical myths. Natalia Vorozhbit's dark comedy, *The Grain Store*, remains unproduced in Ukraine because of its unorthodox vision of the Holodomor. Rather, Ukrainian theaters stage classics that reflect a nationalist narrative. Eastern Europe may be united in the importance ascribed to art, but artists, officials, and audiences have responded variously to the question of art's dynamic with history. I argue that transformations in funding, physical space, and the function of art itself have shaped the limits and possibilities of artistic innovation across the post-Soviet space.

My methodology is the "social history of the arts" – inspired by historian Robert Darnton – focusing on the intersection of aesthetic, political, economic, and social structures in creative production and

reception. Eastern European intellectuals themselves, such as Czesław Miłosz and Miklos Haraszti, explain how minds become captive; my paper hopes to explain how history can encourage or prevent artists to emerge from captivity.

THE FORENSICS OF MEMORIALIZATION IN POST-WAR BALKAN PHOTOGRAPHY -

YOUNG STEPHENIE

In *The Future of the Image*, Jacques Rancière argues that contemporary theorists of the image are suffering from religious tendencies and that for him there is a stark political choice in art: It can either reinforce radical democracy, or create a new reactionary mysticism. The image has been placed in a messianic position to heal the ills of representation and while it has not necessarily replaced traditional text, the pictorial turn has led to an image-centered world where the image is ideologically framed as a savior or deliverer of truth, especially regarding images of war or strife. Thus, we must ask, is it the fate of the photograph to “reinforce radical democracy . . . create a new reactionary mysticism” or do something else?

This paper addresses how contemporary post-war photography is used as a forensics of traumatic events and placeholder for memory. It compares two photographers from former Yugoslavia—Bosnian Ziyah Gafić and Croatian Tarik Samarah. Through Gafić’s series of photographs of objects from Bosnian mass graves entitled “Quest for Identity,” and Samarah’s images which focus on objects taken from the exhumation of 8000 plus Bosnian Muslim men killed in Srebrenica, I look at how photographs of objects from these traumatic sites rather than portraits of the dead themselves, are used as discursive devices to narrate the life and death of victims. I am particularly interested in how these “forensic portraits” create a conversation with Rancière’s messianistic warnings as Gafić, for example, in his quest to document “all” objects found in mass graves from former Yugoslavia, creates a way of using objects as formal portraiture that memorialize the dead. Have photographs of objects come to have more affect and agency in remembrance than traditional portraiture? What do these images say about how we remember or *desire* to remember in light of this idea of the forensics of memorialization?

MONUMENTS, PLACES OF REMEMBRANCE AND FOREIGN POLICY MAKING. THE CASE OF JAPAN AND UNITED STATES. JAPANESE PERSPECTIVE (WRITTEN PRESENTATION)

OLGA BARBASIEWICZ

French historian Pierre Nora is an author of the historical documents on the history and culture of the French nation, titled "Les Lieux de mémoire" in which he shows the activities which aim is to stimulate the remembering of the past. Basing on the cooperation between Poland and Germany in creating common places of remembrance, in my presentation I would like to compare if such movements are possible in Japan and USA, especially relying on the theory that it can affect the relations between two countries (in this case Japanese-American). I am going to show this problem

on the exemplary lieux de memoire such as Arizona Memorial, located at Pearl Harbor in Honolulu, Okinawa Prefectural Peace Memorial Museum and Pacific National Historical Park in Guam - not only the material lieux de mémoire but also those non-material. Referring to these places, I will present the latest facts from the Japanese - American relations, and try to answer the question, if such places affect the modern bilateral relations or not and what is their influence on the social moods.

MEMORY IN THE HISTORICAL SPACE OF VIOLENCE:

TRANSITIONS: JUSTICE, ACKNOWLEDGEMENT, COMPENSATION (1)

STRUGGLE OVER MEMORIES OF THE 1965-68 MASS VIOLENCE IN INDONESIA: COMPARATIVE AND REGIONAL REFLECTIONS

KATHARINE MCGREGOR

Between 1965 and 1968 approximately half a million Indonesians from the political left were killed by the army and anti-communist coalitions. Further to this hundreds of thousands were imprisoned without trial and subjected to torture, rape and forced labour. Once released former political prisoners were stigmatized and their civil rights further infringed. For the duration of the military dominated Suharto regime (1965-1998) the regime represented the violence as a 'justifiable revenge' for the alleged betrayals and provocations of the Indonesian Communist Party. In neighbouring Malaya the Malay dominated government welcomed the repression of the Indonesian Communist Party, having fought its own civil war against the Malayan Communist Party (MCP). In Malaysia the anti-communist repression was also celebrated in monuments and commemorative ceremonies as part of a narrative of national salvation. The end of the Cold War in Malaysia triggered a peace treaty between the MCP and the Malaysian government and efforts to reconceptualise the MCP's role in history via memoirs and new history projects. Driving these efforts was the spirit of reformasi and an attempt to move beyond communal based politics. Efforts to reconceptualise the 1965-68 violence in Indonesia commenced with the fall of the Suharto regime in 1998 and the beginning of a democratization process. There has been intense contest over memories of the violence and related political advocacy for the rehabilitation and compensation of former political prisoners and for acknowledgment of the violence as a crime against humanity. Resisting the call for historical revision and the claims of victimhood on the part of survivors of the violence, some groups in society have attempted to replicate narratives of communist betrayal and warned of the on-going dangers of communism to a religious society. Following the failure to establish a truth and reconciliation commission, reversals to revisions of the history curricula concerning the violence and its prelude, early in 2012 the Indonesian President proposed making a presidential apology for all past human rights abuses, but this did not eventuate. The National Commission of Human Rights, however, released its findings following a four year investigation stating that the violence was a gross violation of human rights. Both the proposed apology and the findings of the national commission provoked mixed societal responses including strong resistance. Focusing on the memory wars over these two anti-communist repressions this paper will examine how these struggles over memory have evolved, their contemporary relevance and to what extent we can speak of Southeast Asia as a region of memory.

MEMORY VERSUS RECONCILIATION. THE LIMITS OF A FAIRY-TALE

VALÉRIE ROSOUX

For decades, political thinkers and official representatives have been reluctant to consider reconciliation as a relevant concept in their field. Because of the religious connotation of the term, they have generally regarded reconciliation as a spiritual process limited to interpersonal relationships. Since the end of the cold war, more and more specialists in history, philosophy, psychology, sociology, criminology, international relations and political science pay attention on what is designated as “probably the most important condition” for maintaining a stable peace (Bar-Siman-Tov, 2000: 237). However, reconciliation appears as an “undertheorized phenomenon” (Long and Brecke, 2003: 147), a “controversial and rather obscure” notion (Forsberg, 2003: 73) or even a “rather crude analytical tool” (Hermann, 2004: 40-41). Therefore it seems crucial to question the scope and limits of reconciliation as a peace-building process.

Beyond a theoretical interest, this question has a direct impact for practitioners; a better understanding of the issue is actually a *sine qua non* condition for more efficient interventions. Calling for reconciliation whatever the circumstances, particularly when the concept is poorly defined, can be futile or even counterproductive. To demonstrate this, the presentation emphasizes cases where calls for reconciliation are not only fruitless but also detrimental for peace and/or democracy.

The presentation will be divided into three parts. The first one examines the various conceptions of reconciliation as a political process. The second attempts to delineate to what extent it can be appropriate to refer to the notion of reconciliation as a strategy of conflict transformation. The third part stresses the practical limitations of the concept of reconciliation when applied on the societal - and not personal - level.

HOW DO MEMORY, IDEOLOGY AND NATIONAL IDENTITY DISCOURSE RELATE? REACTIONS TO THE PERUVIAN TRUTH COMMISSION

LUIS TSUKAYAMA CISNEROS

In this paper, the Peruvian population’s mixed reactions to the conclusions of the Truth Commission in Peru in 2003 can help us answer the important theoretical question of what are the connections between national identity discourses, ideology and memory. More specifically, by examining the relationships between these theoretical elements, the present paper will deal with questions specific to the Peruvian case but that could illuminate other non-Western cases: what is the role of memory in the construction of national identity? Why is national identity constitutive in Peruvian society? And finally, why is the past so important in a society whose discourses of national pride and national identity are so rooted in the present, in a way as a form of compensating for the traumas of the past? The answers developed in this paper hope to give illuminate how national identity discourses are

created and why they are so powerful when they relate to social traumatic memories, particularly in the face of various forms of violence, both at personal and social levels. Also, the discussion of these questions will help us revise traditional understanding of how memory and ideology relate to one another, and the extent to which taking into account the agency of individuals is central to understanding the construction of discourses of national identity and memory.

CRIMINALIZING COMMUNISM: TRANSNATIONAL MNEMOPOLITICS IN EUROPE

MARIA MALKSOO

The eastern enlargement of the European Union has intensified calls for reconstructing a common European remembrance of the continent's multiple totalitarian legacies. Various political initiatives to criminalize, along with counter-attempts to re-legitimize, the legacy of communism have emerged at the pan-European level. Each has an ambition to leave an imprint onto the symbolic moral order and the legal regime of the broader European community. This paper builds a conceptual framework for understanding the contestation of juridical regulation of the social remembrance of totalitarian communist regimes in Europe. It engages critically the concept of cosmopolitanization of memory, analyzing its interpretive utility for shedding light on the respective pan-European institutionalization attempts. The argument is that the trans national mnemopolitics of the various experiences of totalitarianism in Europe reveals much about the current transformation of the modern European polity.

I maintain that the pan-Europeanization pursuits of the mostly East European remembrance of communism offer an intriguing case of transnational memory in the making. Secondly, I claim that exploring the political contestation over the totalitarian communist legacy in Europe enables us to better understand the emancipatory mnemopolitical agenda of the ex-communist states in the enlarged European community. The calls for the pan-European condemnation of totalitarian communist regimes explicate a move from the re-nationalization of memories to post-national aspirations. These initiatives also constitute a demand for political justice of a particular kind. By seeking recognition to the inclusion of their encounters with communism into the established European mnemonic narrative of the twentieth-century totalitarianisms, the Eastern European mnemonic actors concurrently seek recognition for their agency as Europeans. This politics of recognition is also designed to legitimate a particular regime of truth in the countries making the claims for the pan-European condemnation of the legacy of totalitarian communist regimes.

INSTITUTIONALIZED MEMORY, INSTITUTIONALIZED TRUTH (WRITTEN PRESENTATION)

KOMOSA MARCIN

In the last two decades of the 20th century, the concept of the transitional justice was developed in the law and the social science. It focused on strategies and means of dealing with the past in the societies recovering after violent conflict or going through the democratic transition. Because of the

famous South African case, the truth commission was considered as the most important mechanism of transitional justice, based on the personal truth-telling and the society healing process.

More than 20 truth commissions which were established in Latin American, African and Asian countries might be seen as institutions which uncovered the memories of the past violence, empowered the voice of victims and facilitate the process of national reconciliation. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa, led by archbishop Tutu was treated as the ideal model of dealing with past.

The paper examines the lessons learned from the truth commissions activities, including their achievements and failures as well as tries to compare it with different transitional justice strategies chosen in Poland and other Eastern European countries.

WE ARE NOT LIKE THEM: CONTINUOUS MODERNITY IN EAST CENTRAL EUROPE'S INSTITUTIONAL MEMORY PRODUCTION AFTER THE FALL OF COMMUNISM (WRITTEN PRESENTATION)

SOKOL LLESHI

There is a concern and at the same time an acknowledgment in the memory studies in particular, but also on a broader societal level of experiences of the past, that the post-communist Eastern Europe does not share the same memory as that of the Western Europe. Bracketing out the normative judgments on whose past is more central to Europe, or even which experience of the totalitarian regimes is morally reprehensible the Holocaust or the Gulag, it seems that these memories of Europe are talking past each other, albeit attempts at reconciling these memories. Nonetheless, there is another distinction between the memory work of the post-communist Eastern Europe experience and the Western Europe experience. I would like to note that the distinction East and West of Europe is not a claim of deeply rooted, essentialist different identities as it is more a use of these categories as conventional terms that denote particular and peculiar historical junctions and conditions that differentiate between what Pierre Nora would call the process of decoupling of state-nation-memory towards the decentralization, fragmentation and democratization of memory, and a process of the coupling of the state/memory as a homogenizing memory of the past. This paper tries to draw the attention towards the peculiar process of the establishment of certain institutional sites, called Institutes of Memory that are situated at the intersection between the institutional legacies of the past repressions of the state socialist regimes, such as the apparatus/archive of Security Services and the bureaucratic field of the new democratic regime. The way representations of the past are mediated recently in the post-communist Eastern Europe questions the post-modern condition of fragmented and plural memories in the public sphere.

VIOLENCE, WAR AND ENDORPHINS: CHILDREN POPULAR CULTURE DURING CIVIL WAR IN YUGOSLAVIA

ZLATKO BUKAČ

During the Croatian War of Independence in the nineties, in Croatia there was a flood of various popular products on the theme of war and Croatian national identity. Numerous songs, television programs, as well as every other aspect of popular culture had some notion of early construction of Croatian national identity. Many popular products developed primarily for children took the so-called “nationalist turn”, especially comics and collectible stickers.

Such and similar products can form and perpetuate certain ideologies, which play an important role in constructing similar collective identity, or, as Ghassan Hage points out, fantasy about certain social and cultural space. With that in mind, this paper will analyze the role of “Cro-Army”, a “memorable” product for children from the 1990s, as well as the comic book “Super Hrvoje”. Cro-Army is a collection of collectable stickers framing various symbols of war adapted for children. The collection was developed by “Kraš”, the largest chocolate factory in Croatia. Super Hrvoje is a comic book with only one issue. This issue explains the origins of a Croat who came back from Germany during the War, accidentally became a super hero made of stone and who protects Croatian army from, as the comic book states, “Serbian aggressor”.

The paper will analyze the mechanisms through which the memory of war is constructed for children and how these mechanisms are experienced today. This paper will also analyze how the violence of war was presented to children and what kind of function on constructing children’s identity did that kind of “popular” and “childrened” violence have on the further construction of Hage’s notion of fantasy. The examples analyzed for this paper include the complete album of Cro-Army stickers accompanied by the television commercial for this product as well as examples from Super Hrvoje.

REWRITING HISTORY IN SOUTHEAST EUROPE: A PROCESSUAL ANALYSIS OF REMEMBERING AND FORGETTING

TAMARA PAVASOVIC TROST

This project focuses on the process of remembering and forgetting in three countries of the former Yugoslavia: Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia, from the 1970s until today. Beginning with a shared Communist narrative, these countries witnessed an explosion of historical reinterpretation during the 1980s and 1990s, followed by a gradual transition to new democratic narratives in the post-2000s. As such, they provide an excellent case for studying the *process* of remembering and forgetting, both over time and across space. While much is known about the manipulation of collective memory during the 1990s in the Balkans, few studies comparatively examine the ways in which this process evolved. When did history textbooks begin demonstrating early signs of ethnic antagonism? How did separate ethnic identities come to replace the Yugoslav ones in textbooks, and did this occur at the same time in the three countries? How and when did the nationalist narrative of the 1990s transition to a more democratic narrative, and to which extent were textbooks purged of

nationalist rhetoric in current textbooks? I systematically examine history textbooks in three former Yugoslav countries – Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia – from the Communist era until today, surveying how interpretations of history changed throughout the Tito era, through the violence of the 1990s, and into the democratic regimes of the post-2000s.

While the process of memory manipulation occurred through many channels (television, newspapers, public speeches), my project focuses specifically on its manifestation in schools, and particularly in history education. Numerous studies have emphasized the importance of textbooks in the construction of historical memory. Indeed, because of their centrality in “forging” a new kind of historical memory, history textbooks have been heavily examined over the past decade. While bringing attention to the centrality of history education to politics and identity in the present, these studies have several shortcomings. First, they typically examine a single textbook version and are static, examining textbooks at only one point in time. Second, these studies are methodologically very diverse, each with its own set of content analysis procedures, eliminating the possibility of a comparative or longitudinal examination. This study attempts to build upon these shortcomings by systematically examining textbooks in the three countries, employing both qualitative and quantitative content analysis in examining both changes in the interpretation of historical events of the past century.

DEALING WITH CONTENTIOUS PAST: MEMORY AND EDUCATION IN POST-CONFLICT CROATIA

BORISLAVA MANOJLOVIC

Even seventeen years after the conflict, the communities of former Yugoslavia are undergoing a painful process of facing the past, while the reconciliation and positive peace remain elusive. This study seeks to explore historical memories of mass violence that emerged from the processes of Croatian state and nation formation, war and transition towards peace with a focus on Croat and Serb school communities in Eastern Slavonia particularly stricken by interethnic divisions, stereotyping and segregation. The guiding assumption of the proposed research is that history is used by communities for making sense of the Self and the Other by bringing the coordinates of space, time and identity into a unitary frame. The rules governing production and interpretation of historical narratives serve as scripts that regulate and inform people’s action and identity that is deeply connected with people’s primeval need for knowing who they are and how past action of their collectivities influences their present and future lives. School communities and educational systems in post-conflict societies often serve as places where narratives of different groups clash and cause contention. The issue of which or whose version of the past is taught may become for different communities a question of their cultural and social survival and identity. The people’s choice of a particular historical narrative is heavily ideological and political, while reflecting not only views or beliefs of the speakers but also of their communities and the larger societal contexts. Memory and history can have very concrete impact on the ways in which post-conflict societies function. Therefore, this study will look into various social practices of counteracting the negative effects of divisive and contentious past through education, community involvement, pedagogy and history textbooks.

NATIONAL HISTORIES AND IDENTITIES IN EDUCATION ABOUT THE HOLOCAUST IN POST-1989 POLAND AND THE WIDER WORLD

JOLANTA AMBROSEWICZ-JACOBS

Existing studies revealed several conflicts around the memory of the Holocaust in Poland: between understanding the need to teach about the Holocaust and indifference toward anti-Jewish graffiti; a conflict around the perception of Polish help to Jews; and the competing images of Polish and Jewish suffering during World War II. Those conflicts will be addressed in the paper as reflecting educational gaps in the Polish education system (lack of bad memory). Comparison with other similar studies in Europe and beyond will allow one to reveal affinities and divergences in patterns of behaviour in various states in relation to the historical past, social identity and collective memory.

This paper will look at the consciousness of young Poles, in terms of attitudes toward Jews, the Holocaust and memory of the Holocaust. The data presented are the preliminary results of the author's longitudinal study „Attitudes of Young Poles toward the Jews and the Holocaust”. Quantitative and qualitative studies include field studies and participant observation of educational projects in Tykocin, Treblinka, Warsaw, Lublin, Bodzentyn and Kielce.

The paper will present some components of the development of education about the Holocaust in Poland in comparative context (with references to German, British, Swedish and cross-EU studies) and look at the attitudes of young Poles towards the memory of the Jewish past, including the Holocaust.

There is a need to evaluate the attempt to bring back the memory of Jewish neighbours in some of the states of Central and Eastern Europe, a process with an ongoing effort to renovate monuments, destroyed cemeteries and synagogues. The number and scope of such initiatives in Poland indicate that civic institutions and individuals are intensifying their efforts to teach their fellow citizens about the Holocaust, however their impact should be assessed in detail.

MEMORY IN THE HISTORICAL SPACE OF VIOLENCE:

TRANSITIONS: JUSTICE, ACKNOWLEDGEMENT, COMPENSATION (2)

THE MEMORY OF THE KHMER ROUGE REGIME IN CAMBODIA

STEPHANIE BENZAQUEN

The memory of the Khmer Rouge regime in Cambodia (1975-1979) exemplifies what many scholars call the globalization of the Holocaust.

References to the Nazi genocide in the depiction of Khmer Rouge atrocities, far from being a recent trend, began as soon as Democratic Kampuchea (as the country was called during Pol Pot's reign) collapsed in 1979. Western journalists supporting Vietnam's intervention in Cambodia called the infamous prison Tuol Sleng –where the Khmer Rouge political police had killed thousands of Cambodians– an “Asian Auschwitz”. It was a view that the newly-established authorities, the socialist People's Republic of Kampuchea, were all too eager to implement since it allowed them to play down the Marxist-Leninist credentials of the former regime, thus to appear “legitimate” at home and abroad. In today's “multi-party” Kingdom of Cambodia, references to the Holocaust still dictate sites and practices of remembrance and shape interpretations of the events. However, what has been long repressed, namely colonial and Cold War narratives, emerges anew as questions of agency, national identity, and relation to the West re-surface in the context of global economics.

My paper explores such an interaction of Holocaust tropes with regional narratives in the documentary representation of justice (i.e. Khmer Rouge Tribunal). It focuses on two sets of work, in both cases made by survivors of the Khmer Rouge regime:

- Filmmaker Rithy Panh's interviews of Tuol Sleng's commander Duch (Trial Case 001): *Duch, Master of the Forges of Hell* (movie, 2011) and *L'Elimination* (book co-written with Christophe Bataille, 2011);
- Journalist Thet Sambath's interviews of Nuon Chea, the ideologist of Democratic Kampuchea (Trial Case 002): *Enemies of the People*, (movie co-directed with Rob Lemkin, 2009) and *Behind the Killing Fields* (book co-written with Gina Chon, 2011).

My paper examines how these works represent liability, the relationship between interviewer/victim and perpetrator, forms of memory (e.g. role of the body, function of photographic evidence), and historiographic processes at play in narrativizing the Khmer Rouge period.

POLITICIZED TRAUMAS: THE TRANSFORMATION OF ‘COMFORT WOMEN’ MEMORY AS A MEMORY OF INJUSTICE

PARK GYUNGHEE

Most critical investigations of the ‘comfort women’ memory have centred on the nationalistic tendencies of the South Korean government and the redress movement. Though braver scholars have published their criticisms of Korean-Japanese collaboration and the culpability of Korean patriarchy in the formation and exploitation of the ‘comfort systems’ – which have inspired others to venture into the realm of counter-memories – the general focus of the now globalized ‘comfort women’ memory has remained regional. However, with evidence of U.S. military participation in the ‘comfort stations’ at the end of the second World War, variations of the ‘comfort women’ memory in the West need to be examined as much as those in the East. This essay analyses how transnational interpretations of the ‘comfort women’ memory are not solely the product of South Korean memory activists and government nationalist interests, but a part of global social processes. The aim is to describe how the memory of ‘comfort women’ has been transformed from a regional memory into one of injustice for multiple publics.

GERMAN COMPENSATION PAYMENTS AND DIFFERENTIATED MEMORIES OF THE WORLD WAR II

PIOTR FILIPKOWSKI

In June 2007, with official celebration performed at the Bellevue Palace in Berlin, the process of compensation payments for former slave and forced labourers for the Third Reich was concluded. During several preceding years public German Foundation “Remembrance, Responsibility and Future” with its partner organizations and with two cooperating international institutions – International Organisation for Migration and Jewish Claims Conference – distributed ca. 4,66 billion euro to ca. 1,66 million people in 98 countries of the globe. The vast majority of ‘beneficiaries’ of these payments lived in East and East-Central Europe.

Complicated legal and institutional framework was constructed to push into practice this act of historical justice – as some engaged and observing actors would pathetically claim – or rather final act of historical injustice or unfair deal in which relatively small and arbitrary amount of money was paid by German industry to buy ‘eternal’ legal peace – as some others would critically, if not cynically say.

Being not the first compensation programme for the victims of the Second World War (most probably the last one – for biological if not legal reasons) this one seems to be in many ways unique. Complicated triangular constellations of German Federal Foundation (EVZ) – its partner organizations in respective countries (or international organizations in some countries of ‘the rest of the world’) – and individual (but often collectively acting) victims of the war were created.

German and international compensation discussions and discourses had to be translated into German (and other national) legal frames and changed into social practices in differentiated, often unfamiliar national and/or socio-cultural contexts. The latter meant – among others – confrontation with different, often conflicting, memory cultures, master narratives (in some cases hardly existing before this process) – but also private memories and narratives on the war. In many cases – especially in Eastern Europe – it was the first occasion to the victims of the war, to narrate their story to the public (even if the public meant usually to the archive) and to create memory groups.

EVZ compensation payments programme was also unique in this respect, that shortly after it was completed, big international interdisciplinary research project was launched to research and (critically) narrate the story of these payments. Even more unique, this project was financed by the main protagonist of the story, namely Foundation “Memory, Responsibility and Future” (Stiftung EVZ). This four years lasting research project directed by prof. Constantin Goschler (Bochum University) was recently concluded with 4-volume publication *Die Entschädigung von NS-Zwangsarbeit am Anfang des 21. Jahrhunderts. Die Stiftung »Erinnerung, Verantwortung und Zukunft« und ihre Partnerorganisationen* (Compensations for Nazi-forced labour at the beginning of the 21st Century. Foundation “Memory, Responsibility and Future” and its Partner Organizations), Wallstein Verlag, Göttingen, 2012.

Having been engaged in this research endeavor I would like to sketch a brief summary of this research showing – on concrete Polish and other East-European examples – how this constellation worked on different levels and what collective, group and individual memories – as well as discourses – it evoked but also produced. My empirically grounded ‘findings’ might be a good occasion to raise some more theoretical questions on the relation between collective and individual memory – or ‘even’ individual experiences of the past.

GERMAN RESEARCH ON RACE IN THE MEMORY OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE PODHALE AREA

STANISŁAWA TREBUNIA-STASZEL

The paper focuses on Nazi German racial research carried out during World War II in the General Government by staff of the Nazi Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit (later referred to as IDO) and the memory of those events kept by the eldest inhabitants of the Podhale area.

During World War II, in 1940, the Nazi German occupation authorities in Krakow established the Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit, a Nazi research unit, whose aim was to provide an estimate of natural and cultural resources of the occupied territory. Following the guidelines of the Nazi German plan for mass extermination, the staff of this pseudoscientific institution embarked on an ambitious project to provide an anthropological and ethnological study of the inhabitants of the General Government. The materials they collected were to facilitate the racial segregation process of those living in the occupied territories. In the project, a particular emphasis was placed on Gorals [highlanders] from Podhale, an area located at the foothills of the Tatra Mountains. One of the reasons to do so was the natural beauty of the local landscape and well as the cultural specificity of the local people; the latter was soon to become an object of manipulation on the part of the Nazi German invaders (action Goralenvolk). As a result of anthropological, medical, sociological, historical and ethnographic research carried out in Podhale, over 22 thousand pages of various documents were produced, including questionnaires and surveys containing data from anthropological research, medical and sociological information as well as hundreds of photographs, envelopes containing hair samples and fingerprint files.

The history of the German study was virtually unknown and had lapsed into oblivion for more than 50 years. It was rediscovered and brought to daylight in 1997 by an American researcher of German descent, Gretchen E. Schafft. While searching for materials on anthropological studies carried out in the Nazi Germany, she came across an intriguing collection of findings in the National Anthropological Archives at the Smithsonian Institute in Washington, D.C., which as she discovered was produced by the staff of the Race and Ethnology Section of the Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit. In 2008, the collection was transferred to the Archives of the Jagiellonian University.

Currently, the staff of the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology at the Jagiellonian University are carrying out work to organise, describe and evaluate the IDO resources. An important goal of the project is to reach out to people who have been subjected to German anthropological and medical research. The authors of the project want to record the accounts covering a wide range of feelings, emotions and experiences in order to find out how the Nazi research in Podhale was

remembered by the local people. So far, researchers have managed to identify and interview thirty people who were made to take part in the Nazi-German racial research (they were small children at the time). The memories and images they retrieve from the past are not only a valuable source for the historical reconstruction of these events. Above all, they provide a unique empirical material to be used in research on the functioning of memory as well as on the mechanism of retrieving memories through documents produced by German researchers.

GERMAN CEMETERIES OF WORLD WAR II IN EASTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE (WRITTEN PRESENTATION)

SZYMONICZEK JOANNA

Turning-point cause in Central and Eastern Europe and they have opened association in relations new chapter with Germany. Become structure of rate of stripped new hostility basic purpose, injuries, anticipations that is unusually hard after years of wars and occupation. Next periods of constructions of new neighborhood this creation of rich infrastructure and institutional mutual relations, cooperation in all domains, as well as it cause many from painful past settled, with respect for sensitivity of society and historic truth. One of such problem, it has not been solved which after world war ii directly, fifty must wait years only about, political situation will be changed, problem of German graves and war cemeteries from World War II. There be one of most important and in relations most urgent humanitarian problem. Approximately three million German soldier's had lost their lives in the eastern countries in World War II. (more than twice as many as the rest of the war gravesites in the West). Regardless the German War Graves Commission (*Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge* in German) took care, repaired and constructed more than 300 cemeteries of World War II and the 190 grounds out of World War I in Eastern, Central and South Europe.

FRAMING THE FUTURE

ART & PUBLIC SPHERE

WHEN ABSENCE BECOMES LOSS AND OTHER FABLES. ARTISTIC AND LITERARY SOLUTIONS FOR CONFRONTING AND SHAPING COLLECTIVE MEMORY

KATARZYNA BOJARSKA

One of the most agonising problems we seem to be dealing with in contemporary Poland is how to rethink the relationship between different social groups' histories of victimisation and their representations. This problem seems to be absolutely essential for the shape of collective memory, the relationship that such groups establish between their past and their present (political) moment. I am strongly inspired here by the questions American literary scholar, Michael Rothberg, poses in the

introduction to his thought provoking book, *Multidirectional Memory*. Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonisation these are the following: what happens when different histories confront each other in the public sphere (and not only in the singular memory and within sensitivity of an artist, a writer, a theatre maker, etc.) Does the remembrance of one history of violence and violation erase others from view? Must there be competition of victims or are there any other, possible, empathic and (self)critical options at hand? I am not so much interested in the politics of commemoralisation as in the way how they are being processed, acted out and worked through by various contemporary artistic and literary sensibilities. My presentation would focus at a number of strategies of exposing, overcoming and criticising the paradigm of memory or victimhood competition within the realm of representation. I would like to stress in particular how this new, multidirectional (and in most cases post-) memory is being shaped vis-a-vis the renegotiation of the dialectical relation between historical absences and losses. I will be trying to prove how the recontextualisation of Dominick LaCapra's notion of trauma, absence and loss allows for a clearer look at the complex issues of the postwar period in Poland.

FADING MEMORY OF BIRKENAU, HIDDEN IN NATURE AND OBJECTS

AGNIESZKA KŁOS

The space of Auschwitz – Birkenau is undergoing gradual change. This affects both the way the place is perceived by its visitors and the ways in which the narratives about Auschwitz are created. Survivors cannot recognise places connected with their traumatic experiences anymore. The history of the place is shaped not only by historians, but by current politics, too. Holocaust denial also plays a part in the process. How is the contemporary memory of Auschwitz evolving and what has become of the camp area and its surroundings? What are the carriers of memory trying to convey, including those that we barely manage to notice, such as trees, soil and ponds? And what about the objects that underwent restoration? How does this reshape our memory? The presentation is illustrated with works by contemporary artists that touched upon the subject of Auschwitz – Birkenau.

REMEMBERING JEWS AND THE HOLOCAUST IN CONTEMPORARY WARSAW FROM POLISH AND ISREALI PERSPECTIVES: THE WORK OF JOANNA RAJKOWSKA AND YAEL BARTANA

UILLIAM BLACKER

The paper analyses how the work of two contemporary artists, one Polish and one Israeli, use the space of Warsaw to remember the pre-war Jewish population of the city and the Holocaust, which annihilated that population. Joanna Rajkowska is one of Poland's leading contemporary artists, and her works have been displayed in prominent public sites in Warsaw. Her most famous work is her palm tree in central Warsaw, 'Greetings from Jerusalem Alley', which references, in its form and physical location on Aleje Jerozolimskie, Jerusalem and the city's vanished Jews. Rajkowska has also touched on Jewish themes and used important Jewish locations in Warsaw in other work, such as 'Oxygenator' (2007). Yael Bartana is an Israeli artist, but represented Poland at the Venice Biennale in

2011. In her trilogy of films set in Poland, 'And Europe Will Be Stunned' (2006-11), Bartana uses prominent locations in Warsaw in which to stage performances (the Palace of Culture, the National Stadium, site of the future Museum of Polish Jews) that provocatively posit a return of Jews to Poland. The paper will analyse how these two artists remember the same events and the same people in the same locations, while engaging with their respective, different, often conflicting memory cultures – Israeli and Polish, and argues that it is precisely through the use of the public space of the city, which is inherently open to the inscription and interpretation of various memories, that a cross-cultural dialogue is made possible.

ALYOSHA VS. SUPERMAN: REMEMBERING THE PAST THROUGH THE IDEOLOGICAL LENSES OF THE PRESENT

BOZHIN TRAYKOV

On June 17th 2011 the Monument of the Soviet Army (MSA) in Sofia, Bulgaria underwent a peculiar transformation. People stared with dismay at the soldiers of the Red Army that had overnight taken the identities of icons of American consumer culture, such as Superman, Ronald McDonald and the Coca Cola prototype of Santa Claus. This provocation reignited the emotional debate about the future of the monument. Its destiny has been a bone of contention since the fall of the Berlin wall. The Monument of the Soviet Army serves as a bridge connecting a violent past with an equally violent present, and it poses questions about the future. It signifies the presence of history and politics in everyday life. The proposed paper is based on research and analysis that examine the relationship between collective memory and discourses of history, politics and ideology on the one hand, and the art of provocation as a mobilizing factor that subverts meanings and opens up spaces of alternative readings on the other. The monument, prior to its transformation functions to evoke the memory of the 'totalitarian state' and the 'horrors of communism' that engaged intellectuals for the last two decades. Such discourse rarely questions the process of transition that formed the structure of the current political-economic system. I view the transformation of the monument as an act of symbolic struggle over meanings of the past through the lenses of the present. It evokes the memory of Bulgaria's recent history of actually existing socialism in relation to the socio-economic realities of the current neoliberal regime. The paper draws on the works of such scholars as Maria Todorova, Katherine Verdery, Alexei Yurchak and others.

FRAMING THE FUTURE

ORAL TESTIMONIES

THE METHODOLOGIES OF ORAL HISTORY. VISUAL HISTORY ARCHIVE VERSUS HISTORY MEETING HOUSE AND KARTA CENTRE'S PROJECTS

Visual History Archive to największy zbiór relacji historii mówionej na świecie. Znajdują się w nim 52 tys. relacji nagranych w 56 krajach, w 32 językach. Większość z nich realizowanych było w domu świadka, w języku przez niego wybranym. Ich długość wynosi przeciętnie 2-3 godziny. Są to wywiady biograficzne, narracyjne. Jednak różnią się dosyć wyraźnie od relacji nagrywanych przez Archiwum Historii Mówionej DSH i Ośrodka KARTA, które znowu jest największym zbiorem relacji biograficznych w Polsce. Podstawową różnicą jest oczywiście fakt, że relacje VHA nagrywane były w technice wideo, natomiast wywiady AHM w zdecydowanej większości w technice audio. Ale różnice występują także na poziomie metodologicznym. Wydaje się, że podstawowym zadaniem, które przyświecało twórcom VHA było dokumentowanie historii Holocaustu, zbieranie faktów, nazwisk, dat i to wpływało na charakter wywiadu, który miał strukturę pytań i odpowiedzi. Natomiast w AHM za podstawę przyjęto zasadę prowadzenia swobodnego wywiadu narracyjnego, w którym nieskrępowana wypowiedź świadka, często z powtórzeniami, nieścisłościami miała większe znaczenie od dopytywania o fakty. Pierwsza część relacji inicjowana była prośbą o opowiedzenie historii życia. Pytania pojawiały się dopiero w drugiej części wywiadu i miały pobudzić pamięć, pomóc przywołać kolejne obrazy i opowieści. Na konkretnych przykładach z obu projektów, będziemy chcieli pokazać, jak te wyjściowe założenia metodologiczne wpływały na finalny efekt wywiadów.

VIRTUAL MEMORIES OF JEWISH RESISTANCE AGAINST THE DESTRUCTION

ALINA BOTHE

In the 1990s the USC Shoah Foundation gathered, taped and digitalized over 48,000 personal testimonies of survivors of the Shoah. This source collection is now available through the Visual History Archive (VHA): a digital archive in which virtual testimonies are stored. The digitalization was combined with an excellent cataloguing and indexing of each individual testimony, which allows users to search in all included testimonies for certain topics.

By conceptualising the digital archive with Homi Bhabha as a space-in-between, in which the virtual testimonies are researched, represented and perceived, the paper will show that one of the fundamental consequences of the digitalization of the survivors testimonies is the emergence of a new source for historical research: the virtual testimony. The virtual testimony allows users to engage with the survivors in a way, which opens up new connections of past and present, memory and narration.

Jewish resistance to annihilation is a part of Shoah history that has been almost neglected in historiography. The VHA now allows for new perspectives and research on the topic, as more than one-tenth of the survivors in the VHA define themselves as part of the Jewish resistance. Researching Jewish resistance in Eastern Europe opens up a specific perspective on the memory of violence in the region. This paper will a) approach the virtual testimonies in the VHA epistemologically and b) reflect

on practical changes, challenges and opportunities for historical research on Jewish resistance in Eastern Europe.

“POLES IN THE WEHRMACHT” AND GERMANS IN THE WEHRMACHT – INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE MEMORY (ORAL HISTORY OF FORMER GERMAN SOLDIERS IN POLAND).

KAROLINA ŻŁOBECKA, MARCIN JARZĄBEK

W czasie II wojny światowej w niemieckim mundurze znalazło się blisko pół miliona dawnych obywateli II Rzeczypospolitej oraz wielu mieszkańców Niemiec (Górnego Śląska, Prus Wschodnich czy Gdańska), którzy po 1945 r. zostali obywatelami polskimi. Ich wspomnienia siłą rzeczy nie mogły stać się w powojennej Polsce częścią pamięci zbiorowej i nie wychodziły poza rodzinne, lokalne lub środowiskowe ramy pamięci. O ile w Niemczech – zwłaszcza w ciągu ostatnich 25 lat – pamięć autobiograficzna żołnierzy z czasów II wojny światowej musiała przepracować podnoszone w publicznej debacie kwestie odpowiedzialności niemieckiej armii i poszczególnych żołnierzy, o tyle w Polsce nieobecność problemu „Polaków w Wehrmachcie” w polu zainteresowania publicznego (ale także polu zainteresowania historyków) aż do 2005 r. sprawiła, iż praca pamięci jednostkowej przebiegała inaczej niż w kontekście niemieckim.

Referat przedstawiać będzie wstępne wyniki projektu historii mówionej pt. „Dziadek z Wehrmachtu” prowadzonego przez stowarzyszenie Genius Loci-Duch Miejsca z Rudy Śląskiej oraz gliwicki Dom Współpracy Polsko-Niemieckiej, we współpracy z Archiwum Historii Mówionej FOK/DSH. W ramach tego projektu przeprowadziliśmy nagrania wspomnień przeszło 30 żyjących dziś w Polsce byłych żołnierzy niemieckich, którzy brali udział w II wojnie światowej. W trakcie naszego wystąpienia poddamy analizie dwie wybrane narracje byłych żołnierzy Wehrmachtu, uwypuklając wpływ odmiennych ram pamięci zbiorowej na treść i formę ich wspomnień. Wskażemy szczególnie na fakt, iż narracje te – niezależnie od polskiej czy niemieckiej tożsamości narodowej byłych niemieckich żołnierzy – wychodzą poza schemat ofiary lub sprawcy.

THE FUTURE OF MEMORY PROJECTS

POLSKIE MIEJSCA PAMIĘCI W PARADYGMACIE KULTUROZNAWCZO-ANTROPOLOGICZNYM

BARTOSZ KORZENIEWSKI

Referat przedstawia założenia projektu Leksykon polskich miejsc pamięci w kontekście kulturoznawczego paradygmatu badań nad pamięcią. cel referatu to próba odpowiedzi na pytanie: co nowego w badaniach nad pamięcią i miejscami pamięci może wnieść projekt Leksykon polskich miejsc pamięci. Odpowiedzi starać się będą udzielić w trzech częściach:

1. Opisując zalety kulturoznawczego paradygmatu badań nad pamięcią,
2. Postulując konieczność ich antropologicznego dopełnienia,
3. Akcentując potrzebę badań nad najnowszymi, PRL-owskimi miejscami pamięci.

Celem projektu jest przeprowadzenie badań kulturoznawczych w zespole około 30 wybitnych polskich uczonych nad kluczowymi dla polskiej kultury i tradycji miejscami pamięci oraz wydanie kilkutomowej serii wydawniczej prezentującej ich katalog w formie esejów naukowych ułożonych tematycznie wokół poszczególnych wątków i zagadnień. Kolejne tomy byłyby poświęcone innej tematyce wiążącej się z takimi wartościami i wątkami jak „wolność”, „duma i wstyd”, „wina i przebaczenie”, „sukcesy i porażki”, „państwo i naród”. Ma to być rodzaj katalogu najistotniejszych z punktu widzenia świadomości historycznej i kultury symbolicznej Polaków miejsc pamięci, rozumianych jako obiekty świadomościowe (posiadające jednak, nieraz bardzo trwałe nośniki materialne): symbole, mity, stereotypy, toposy a więc historycznie zróżnicowane i kulturowo zmienne postaci manifestowania się wyobrażeń i przekonań społecznych na temat przeszłości. Każdy tom odzwierciedlać ma pełną gamę polskiej tradycji oraz tradycji mniejszości narodowych zamieszkujących terytorium Polski stąd różnorodność poruszanych wątków, przywoływanych postaci i wydarzeń a także odpowiedni dobór autorów specjalizujących się nie tylko w badaniu historii i kultury Polaków ale także mniejszości żydowskiej, niemieckiej, ukraińskiej, białoruskiej, czeskiej, romskiej itp.

W ramach projektu planuje się analizę i interpretację najistotniejszych polskich miejsc pamięci w kulturze symbolicznej Polaków ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem ich kontekstu historycznego, nośników i sposobów utrwalania oraz artykułowania w przestrzeni kulturowej oraz obecności w świadomości zbiorowej.

Projekt ma w założeniu nakierowany być kulturoznawczo i antropologicznie, a więc zajmować się nie tyle tym jak Polacy pamiętają dane „miejsce” lecz bardziej tym, jak mówią o nim dzieła kultury. Szczególny nacisk w ramach projektu położony będzie na badanie tego, w jaki sposób tworzone są znaczenia poszczególnych miejsc pamięci nie tylko w ramach kultury wysokiej oraz nie tylko na poziomie kultury narodowej ale także w ramach kultury popularnej, praktyki codziennej oraz w ramach tradycji lokalnych i regionalnych oraz na badanie okresu 1945-1989, który jest dotąd słabo przebadany pod względem symbolicznego imaginarium ważnego dla tożsamości współczesnych Polaków.

POLITICS OF HISTORY IN POLAND, GERMANY AND RUSSIA

MICHAŁ ŁUCZEWSKI, TOMASZ MAŚLANKA

The purpose of our project is to advance memory studies through description and explanation of the politics of remembrance in Poland, Russia and Germany. We will apply hereby contentious politics paradigm as well as GIS. To provide our research with more theoretical depth, we will refer to the social theory of Jürgen Habermas.

Let us make our goal more specific.

Firstly, an object of analysis: politics of remembrance (PR) in Poland, Russia and Germany after 1989. Since this notion has not taken roots in Polish sociology yet (Szacka 2006, comp. Nijakowski 2008), we will propound our own definition: Politics of remembrance is a top-down, state-led action with regard to the past, whose aim is to construct a given image of the history of a nation/region/city.

Secondly, an object of research. To analyze PR, we will focus on the sites of memory (SM) in three countries, whereby we understand under that notion something more traditional than what Pierre Nora (1989) suggested in his *lieu de memoire*. In line with traditional understanding, we consider the site of memory to be a concrete site in space, which commemorates the past, such as museum or monument. To get to know contemporary politics of remembrance in Poland, Germany and Russia, we will explore 30 biggest (with regard to their budget) sites of memory built or reconstructed after 1989.

Thirdly, a theory. Our theoretical perspective allows us to go beyond the classical approaches of memory studies. On the one hand, we will make use of the dynamically developing contentious politics paradigm (CPP, Tilly 2005, McAdam, Tarrow, Tilly 2001) and thus we will frame politics of remembrance in a broader context of social and political phenomena, i.e. state-led actions as well as social processes of mobilization and demobilization. On the other hand, however, we will draw our theoretical insights from the social theory of Jürgen Habermas (Maślanka 2011). We will extend it and treat a site of memory as a kind of a state-led medium of communication, which in public sphere articulates validity claims. While Tilly's approach will enable us to analyze, how PR actually works, Habermas's perspective will enable us to explore the goals of PR. Drawing on Habermas we will consider PR to be a medium of communication of a state with citizens as well as with other states. Specifically, we will ask, whether and how contemporary PRs affect public spheres, whether processes of reconstruction of national identities take place in the direction of citizenship, Europeanness, universalism, and taking into consideration the Other, whether identities constructed are based on monologue or open to dialogue and negotiation of interpretations, whether in consequence European public sphere takes shape, a space of communication free of systematic distortions, which takes into account claims of citizens and other states (Habermas 2007, Maślanka 2011).

Fourthly, a methodology. Taking as a point of departure both Tilly and Habermas, we will apply both quantitative (quantitative content analysis, quantitative network analysis) as well as qualitative methods (qualitative content analysis, qualitative network analysis, ethnography, historical sociology). Specifically, we want to take advantage of GIS-systems and to apply it to memory studies. Therefore we will construct an internet platform, which will combine visual analysis of an identity constructed by the memory site with Google Maps technology.

WIZUALNE REPREZENTACJE POLSKO-NIEMIECKIEJ PAMIĘCI PRZESZŁOŚCI W KONTEKŚCIE OTWARTEJ/ZAMKNIĘTEJ POLITYKI REGIONALNEJ (WROCŁAW, SZCZECIN, GDAŃSK).

ANNA WACHOWIAK, IZABELA SKÓRZYŃSKA

W artykule śledzimy historię polsko-niemieckiej pamięci przeszłości (historia drugiego stopnia Pierre'a Nora) w kontekście dwóch kluczowych problemów, jakie postanowiliśmy rozważyć.

Pierwszy dotyczy postępującej pluralizacji pamięci przeszłości. Odwołując się do prowadzonych przez nas badań terenowych, analizy dokumentów oraz źródeł wizualnych, w kontekście polskich dyskursów regionalnych i w związku z aktualną polityką historyczną (Anna Wolff-Powęska, Barbara Szacka, Robert Traba, Andrzej Szpociński, Paweł Machcewicz, Lech Nijakowski) chcemy pokazać, w jaki sposób procesy regionalizacji i ulokowania wpływają na zmianę obrazu Niemców w aktualnej polskiej pamięci regionalnej i lokalnej oraz, jak pamięci te mają się do wcześniejszej, sprzed roku 1989, oficjalnej pamięci Niemców w Polsce. Proponujemy przegląd wybranych praktyk aktualizowania pamięci niemieckiej przeszłości w Polsce, zwłaszcza w Szczecinie, Gdańsku i Wrocławiu, będących wizualnymi reprezentacjami polskiej pamięci niemieckiej.

Analiza jakościowa tych reprezentacji (nekropolitalnych założeń pomnikowych oraz pomników) podporządkowana została pytaniu i jest to drugi problem, jaki rozpatrujemy w artykule, o leżące u podstaw tych inicjatyw wartości i/lub interesy (Marek Ziółkowski) określające ramy promowanego, zwłaszcza po roku 1989, pojednania polsko-niemieckiego. Polska pamięć niemiecka pracowała/pracuje w dwóch dających się wyróżnić porządkach. Pierwszy pozostaje w związku z pamięcią II wojny światowej jako doświadczenia tyleż polskiego, co teraz także europejskiego.

Z punktu widzenia naszych dociekań ważniejszy jest jednak drugi porządek pamięci polsko-niemieckiej przeszłości wiążący się z polską pamięcią Niemców jako elementu obcego kulturowo zwłaszcza na tzw. Ziemiach Odzyskanych, gdzie obok pamięci oficjalnej, pracuje także pamięć regionalna, lokalna, rodzinna. Ponownie ożywiona polska pamięć Niemców, coraz bardziej widoczna na mapie innych zbiorowych odniesień do przeszłości, nie tylko otworzyła, ale także w dłuższej perspektywie pozwoliła rozwinąć się, choć nie bez przeszkód, polskiej pamięci niemieckiej, także w kierunku popartego wartościami pojednania polsko-niemieckiego.

W artykule przyglądamy się bliżej, jak ten proces przebiega.