

**GENEALOGIES OF MEMORY IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE  
THEORIES AND METHODS**

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**ABSTRACTS**

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**WEDNESDAY 23 NOV. 2011  
PLENARY SESSION  
(12:30-3:30 pm)**

**HISTORY AND MEMORY IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE: HOW SPECIAL?**

**Harald Wydra 'Dynamics of memory in East and West: Elements of a comparative framework'**

The painful legacies of genocide and the political and moral coming to terms with totalitarian rule in Europe have made 'apologetic' forms of memory a moral and normative task focused on acknowledgement of crimes, political recognition and the rehabilitation of victims. Conversely, memory in post-communist Eastern Europe has been characterized by divided memories, refusals to acknowledge crimes by communist regimes, and the uses of the past in political struggle. The proposition I am going to defend here is that if we want to understand dynamics of memory in the new Europe, we have first to examine the conditions under which narrative commitments have been made across the political evolution of post-war Europe. One central problem is that any possible evaluation of Eastern European memory works within conceptual paradigms, which are hegemonically 'western'. A further issue concerns the fact that memory regimes operate through complex interactions between biological renewal, social experience, and the search for meanings by new generations. The past is thus to be considered not as a by-gone and well defined period but rather a social organism in gestation.

The basic argument defended here is that societies are initiated into interpreting their past by 'learning' specific acts of commemoration, performance, and ritual. Like individuals societies acquire habits of remembering, which are transmitted, challenged, and collected across the inter-generational memorial fabric. Drawing on insights from post-1945 West Germany, I focus on some key events in pre-1989 Eastern Europe in order to identify why narrative commitments to memory in this region have appeared to follow distinctively different paths. Ritualised habits in West Germany included the forgetting of values such as glory, patriotism and the learning of the internalisation of guilt. Conversely, Central and eastern Europe 'forgot' their own foundations, as the social revolution of the Second World War and the communist experiment purged political elites, destroyed the built environment, and developed mythic time dimensions, which would make it difficult to establish consistent narrative commitments to the past. In conclusion, I argue that the construction of a common memory in Europe requires the study of changing forms of generational capital of elites, and the cultural meanings 'stored' in a nation's memory.

**Sławomir Kapralski 'Ain't nothing special'**

The author attempts to show that a thesis on the 'special nature' of social memory and frames of remembrance in Eastern Europe is a false generalization of the fact that 'Western' and 'Eastern' memories have been 'desynchronized' and not an adequate representation of reality. The popularity of the thesis in the Western and Eastern European discourses can be accounted for by an 'orientalizing temporal othering' (in 'Western' discourses) and by a politics of identity and recognition (in 'Eastern' discourses). The author will illustrate his argument with a review of silencing and erasing the memory of the atrocities experienced by the Roma/Gypsies in Europe to show that similar mechanisms of remembrance/forgetting have been employed in both parts of the continent.

### **Andrzej Nowak 'Constructed memories as elements of a political correctness'**

The author proposes a study on the relations between historiography and memory, or rather memory politics constructed through various centers of political correctness, such as: EU institutions, churches, bureaucracy, the media, and the academic establishment. The memory imperatives, or 'decalogues' formulated by these institutions and environments, attempt to create a visible system of barriers to set the correct ways for a common remembrance. Will there still be room within such set ways for what constitutes the most important for historiography: i.e., attention to the singular and the unique?

### **Joanna B. Michlic 'The trajectories of bringing the dark to light: The memory of the Holocaust in post-communist Europe'**

In 1945, only few grasped the extent of the destruction of East European Jews and their civilization and the implication of this loss for the region. Today, the Holocaust has become the European paradigm of *lieu de mémoire* and the universal icon of evil. Most recently some have claimed the Holocaust an international paradigm of human rights. These developments have evolved in different directions, creating greater understanding of the impact of the Holocaust on the one hand, and on the other making poor analogies and producing competing narratives of martyrdom. In Europe, in spite of the establishment of the International Day of Holocaust Remembrance (27 January), the memory of the Holocaust does not cease to cause tensions between the West and the postcommunist countries. In the latter states, the memory of the Gulag and reluctance to come to terms with the dark wartime past in relation to local Jewish communities play a significant role in the manner in which the Holocaust is remembered today.

When communism collapsed in Eastern Europe in 1989 and in the Soviet Union in 1991, coming to terms with the Holocaust was one of the political, moral, and cultural challenges that encumbered postcommunist Europe's 'return' to Europe. But the restoration of memory has not been and could not have been a smooth, unifying, and unified process. And at present it is still undergoing many dynamic transformations of competing and discordant remembering. The presentation discusses the two major stages of the process of restoration of memory of the Holocaust in postcommunist Europe and argues that in order to understand its ongoing dynamics three key dimensions recurring in the landscape of memory of Jews and the Holocaust should be considered: remembering to remember, remembering to benefit, and remembering to forget. By studying these dimensions carefully, we learn the nature of the reconceptualization of Jews and the Holocaust, and the limits of the recognition and integration of the 'dark past' by broader multigenerational sections of postcommunist societies.

### **Dariusz Stola 'On the peculiarities of memory of the 20th century in Poland: A delayed coming to terms with troubled pasts'**

This paper will focus on three factors that have influenced collective memories in Poland, and possibly in other parts of Central and Eastern Europe in the 20th century: the experiences of waves of violence on unprecedented scale, the peculiarities of early post-violence periods, and consequences of memory policies of the communist states. First, here was the part of Europe most exposed to and affected by violence in the 20th century: the two World Wars and several other bloody and destructive inter-state or civil wars, as well as violent policies, mostly by Nazi and Communist regimes: mass killing, incarceration, torture, slave labor, various kinds of forced migrations, expropriation and innumerable other deprivations and humiliations. Poles, and other Central and Eastern Europeans, were victims, perpetrators and – most frequently – witnesses of the calamities. Second, soon after violence had ended, be it a war or a wave of terror, those who survived could communicate more freely, i.e. articulate their experiences. These early recollections, crucial for further development of narratives on the past, bear signs of their circumstances. Third, Communists showed a special interest in the past and imposed unprecedented control on social communication. They made great efforts to shape collective memory by both organized commemoration and organized oblivion. Moreover, some of the policies lasted several decades, which had to affect the inter-generational dynamics of collective memory. These policies were of limited and varying effectiveness but some resultant distortions remain visible.

## **Matthias Weber 'The Germans': an East-European *lieu de mémoire*. Assymetry of memories in Germany and Poland'**

Zahlreiche Regionen des östlichen Europa wurden historisch und kulturell von ihren einstigen deutschen Bewohnern mitgeprägt. In Regionen wie Schlesien/Śląsk, Hinterpommern/ Pomorze Zachodnie, Ostpreußen/Prusy Wschodnie und in Siedlungsgebieten wie Siebenbürgen/ Transilvania, Zips/Spiš oder der Bukowina/Bukovina lebten Deutsche zum Teil über Jahrhunderte - als Mehrheit oder als Minderheit, jedoch stets im Austausch mit Angehörigen anderer Ethnien. Im 20. Jahrhundert wurden Ostmittel- und Osteuropa insgesamt zum Gegenstand zunächst von expansiven Konzepten der deutschen Politik. Diese im Umfeld des Ersten Weltkrieges entstandenen Konzepte mündeten unter dem Regime des Nationalsozialismus in einen Vernichtungskrieg von bis dahin unbekanntem Ausmaß, der Millionen von Menschenleben forderte und Kulturgüter in unermesslichem Umfang zerstörte.

Das Referat befasst sich mit der Erinnerung an diese beiden vorstehend genannten Aspekte der Geschichte der Deutschen im östlichen Europa; sie sind zwar historisch deutlich voneinander zu unterscheiden, haben sich aber in der Erinnerungskultur zum Teil überlagert. Beide Aspekte sind in sehr unterschiedlicher Weise in die deutsche und in die polnische Historiographie eingegangen und haben zu Asymmetrien in die kollektiven Erinnerungen beider Gesellschaften beigetragen. Bekanntestes Beispiel für die Überlagerung beider Themen ist das im 19. Jahrhundert entstandene Schlagwort vom 'deutschen Drang nach Osten', das in den Medien zum Teil bis in die Gegenwart Verwendung findet. Bei einer vergleichenden Betrachtung der kollektiven Erinnerungen an die 'Deutschen im östlichen Europa' müssen deshalb beide Aspekte zusammen behandelt werden.

Angesprochen werden die einander entgegengesetzten Deutungen der Geschichte im Rahmen der sog. 'deutschen Ostforschung' und der 'polnischen Westforschung' und deren Nachwirkungen in modernen Geschichtsbildern in Deutschland und Polen. Die differierenden Erinnerungskulturen sind nicht zuletzt auch eine Folge der traditionellen Westorientierung und der gering ausgeprägten Wahrnehmung des Vernichtungskrieges im Osten in der deutschen Gesellschaft und der im Gegensatz dazu zentralen Bedeutung der Okkupationszeit und ihrer Opfer in Polen. Ein Akzent des Beitrags liegt auf den nach 1989 entstandenen gemeinsamen Ansätze in den beiden Ländern, die auf Erlangung einer transnationalen Geschichtsdeutung im europäischen bzw. globalen Kontext ausgerichtet sind.

## LIEUX DE MÉMOIRE (1)

### Maciej Górny, Kornelia Kończal 'Polish-German realms of memory. The theory and practice of an interdisciplinary project'

Od pięciu lat Centrum Badań Historycznych PAN w Berlinie realizuje jeden z największych polsko-niemieckich projektów badawczych w humanistyce, angażujący kilka instytucji i ponad setkę przedstawicieli różnych nauk społecznych z Polski, Niemiec, Francji i Czech. *Polsko-niemieckie miejsca pamięci* odwołują się do koncepcji Pierre'a Nory (*histoire au second degré*) a w szczególności do idei miejsc pamięci (*lieux de memoire*). Wyciągnięto także wnioski z krytyki, z jaką spotkały się prace Nory i potraktowano jego kategorie badawcze jako narzędzia przydatne także w badaniu historii ponadnarodowej. W wydanych przez Etienne'a François i Hagena Schulze trzech tomach *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte* (2001) kluczowa kategoria świadomie wykoncypowana została jako rozwinięcie koncepcji Nory, ponieważ redaktorzy dążyli do przeciwstawienia 'zamkniętej' koncepcji historii Francji 'otwartej' koncepcji historii Niemiec. W prezentowanym polsko-niemieckim projekcie są one punktem wyjścia dla nowego spojrzenia na historię relacji polsko-niemieckich w perspektywie długiego trwania (*longue durée*). Kluczową częścią projektu jest czterotomowa publikacja pod redakcją Roberta Traby i Hansa Henninga Hahna we współpracy z Kornelią Kończal i Maciejem Górnym, która ukaże się równocześnie w polskiej i niemieckiej wersji językowej. Znajdzie się w niej około 90 artykułów na temat wspólnych, osobnych i paralelnych polsko-niemieckich miejsc pamięci. Ostatni tom zawierać będzie artykuły metodologiczne. Jako pierwszy, jesienią 2011 r. ukaże się tom 3 'Paralele'. Pozostałe trzy tomy ukażą się na obu rynkach wydawniczych wiosną przyszłego roku.

Przedmiotem prezentacji będzie wypracowana w ciągu 5 lat intensywnej pracy koncepcja badawcza, wzbogacona o doświadczenie pracy w międzynarodowym i interdyscyplinarnym środowisku. Referenci podejmą problem wytwarzania i ewolucji kategorii nadających się do badania pamięci grupowej w ujęciu porównawczym i w oparciu o inspiracje *histoire croisée*. Osobną, nie mniej istotną kwestią będzie refleksja nad praktyczną stroną realizacji ambitnych założeń metodologicznych. Doświadczenie pracy w dużym zespole pozwala na pewne uogólnienia z zakresu historii nauki, które – w zależności od przyjętej nomenklatury – można ująć jako formy funkcjonowania 'kolektywu myślowego' lub też studium ugruntowywania nowego paradygmatu badawczego.

### Filip Pazderski 'Local 'realms of memory' in the borderland areas in Central and Eastern Europe as indicators of processes of regional collective remembering'

Central and Eastern Europe makes an ideal case for studying the complicated nature of the processes of collective remembering. As an Austrian historian Moritz Csáky pointed out, especially here we can observe diverse, multilevel composition of people's collective memory, which content is influenced by various diffusing cultural layers. The latter ones come from ethnical groups which inhabit particular areas or were brought there over centuries of wars, processes of migration, as well as cultural and economical relations with people from different countries and cultural groups. Thus, as Csáky argues, experience of this part of Europe shows that while analysing Pierre Nora's *lieux des mémoires* we have to distinguish from focusing solely on national symbols (which are constructs of the 19<sup>th</sup> century ideology), and rather try to deconstruct them by evaluating what different cultural layers are there, that these 'realms of memory' are composed of.

In this way diverse structures of collective memory can even become more complicated in the areas where different cultures interact with each other by the very definition: in cultural borderlands. This paper examines two examples of such places in a comparative way. The first one is a small town Krynki, located next to the Polish-Belarusian border. The second is Purda – a village placed in the historical Polish-German borderland, next to the city of Olsztyn. In both places the author was doing qualitative research on the local people's collective memory content (by using narrative interviews method).

Both places have experienced processes of large migration, leading to significant changes in the composition of the local society. Some content of the collective memory of the former inhabitants of these areas remained, taking

the form of 'local realms of memory'. The aim of this paper is to analyse and compare collective memory content of both places using Jan Assmann's concept of communicative memory. The paper will be dedicated to the evaluation of local collective memories at the level of representation of the culturally diverse traditions of each of the analysed areas, as well as to surveying the level of cultural exchange between inhabitants from different ethnical groups, reflected in their present collective memory. Moreover, I will try to answer if we can find communities of memory within groups of inhabitants of each of the analysed places, and discuss what theories of collective remembering can be used to observe this phenomenon.

### **Anna Zalewska 'Bullets, buttons, stones and bones as the carriers of memory – the Olszynka Grochowska case'**

*Bones – strongly needed!* This is the moment when archaeologists become engaged in strengthening the 'sense of place' crucial within the mnemonic practices. Driven by A. Szpociński's assumption that *the past is the perfect instrument of running various kinds of social activities: matching or dividing individuals and whole communities* - I will try to answer the question, what institutions and which type of media of memory can be perceived as the indirect symptoms of the Polish – Russian relations in the long term perspective. In analysed case, two types of media (natural landscape and buried within it material traces of the battle between Russians and Poles from 180 years ago) will be pointed as potentially crucial in rendering the phenomenon of placing the past in the constantly changing social and political situation. By observing the various 'steps' in (un)memorising battlefield in Olszynka Grochowska I will describe the extent to which the carriers of 'material memory' can be seen as the obstacle in keeping strong the Russian position (authority) in Poland between 1831 and 2011. I also postulate the thesis, that even though adverting to the past and its use and abuse in social politics has a very old tradition – the present decentralization of 'historical policy' (mainly as the consequence of emerging *button up* initiatives that occur as a result of increasing processes of democratization) contributes to creating the new type of more individualized forms of commemorating of some historical events. It is also worth thinking how and why initiatives, often noble in its assumptions (like in Olszynka Grochowska, where individuals lead up to commemorate self-sacrificing and forgotten soldiers and their sunk into oblivion traces from the 19th century) in a sense compete with one other.

### **Marcin Napiórkowski 'The Warsaw Uprising as a 'generator of sense''**

In my paper I would like to present the results of my research on the forms of commemoration of The Warsaw Uprising in the years 1945-2005. By analyzing selected press narrations, archival materials, and witnesses' testimonies, I want to answer how (or rather: by what means) has the past event been made a significant component of the present reality. This leads me to focus on the question of *forms of presence* of the past – from the strictly material and literal ones, as dead corpses covering the streets of the abandoned city, to such intangible or metaphorical spheres as the structure of the calendar. It occurs that most of those *forms of presence* refer to the peculiar type of memory, that we may call 'nostalgic'. Most of the material media of memory and of commemorative practices refer more to emotions, feelings or senses, than to facts and figures. It seems that the historical event functions in the 'collective imagination' as a kind of a 'Generator of Sense', producing values and 'landmarks' enabling members of the community to categorize current events. The past serves, then, as a 'space of reference' for the present beliefs, but at the same time it is shaped by them. This mutual relation seems even more interesting in the context of such a politicized event as the Warsaw Uprising.

### **LIEUX DE MÉMOIRE (2)**

#### **Jacek Chrobaczyński, Piotr Trojański 'Auschwitz and Katyń: the lenses of memory'**

The histories of Auschwitz and Katyń are directly interconnected not only because they are the most important Polish cemeteries from the period of the World War II, but also because they are undoubtedly the most dramatic and overpowering symbols and the clues indispensable for understanding the nature of Nazi and Communist totalitarian systems. They are equivalent and identical as far as the sources of hatred for the Polish state and society are concerned, but quite different as far as the types of remembrance and histories of commemorating those crimes are concerned.

All the times the scope of the presence of the Soviet crime in the collective remembrance of the Polish society was much lesser than that of the Nazi one. The reasons were multiple. Katyń was 'only' a scene of war crime (mass execution), a particular moment in history, whereas Auschwitz remained a concentration camp throughout the war period. It lasted, threatened and warned. It was everyday-present, tangible sign of mass genocide.

Whereas Auschwitz and an image of a German-Nazi have integrated all the society in their right to hate and resist, Katyń has divided the society politically and polarized the attitudes. Sometimes, quite contrary to the case of Auschwitz, it forced – under the influence of the external factors – silence, oblivion. That is why Katyń caused a profound split in the Polish society (which was not the case with Auschwitz and the German war criminals). It was also a significant caesura in political attitudes and choices of the Poles, which have shaped their consciousness for many years.

The experiences of cultivating remembrance of Auschwitz and Katyń as well as of commemorating the victims, were very different in both cases as well. Concealing and misrepresenting Katyń crime by the Communist authorities and at the same time emphasizing the Auschwitz crime together with instrumental treating of its dimension resulted in asymmetry of perception of those two memorials and consequently in distortion of historic consciousness of the society. Memory gap and the lack of reliable historical knowledge about Auschwitz and Katyń have been leaving its stamp for many years. It was reinforcing myths, led to the rivalry of remembrance, appreciation / depreciation of the victims, indifference and even exculpation of the murderers. Although today, after the collapse of Communism, history and politics still – of course not to the same degree – stay in much discord as far as Katyń and Auschwitz are concerned, the belief is justified, that the process of restoring the truth about them progresses, resulting in changes of historic consciousness of the Polish society.

In this paper we are going to show resemblances and differences in perception of Auschwitz and Katyń by the Polish society in historical perspective; to reflect about symbolism and significance of those places for the Poles in the past and today; to investigate the process of shaping (distorting) memory of both events, indicating political factors affecting historical consciousness in the times of People's Republic of Poland and today.

### **Lidia Jurek 'Drawing up the boundaries of the endless empty steppe – the recuperation of memory of the Gulag in Eastern Europe'**

Not only are the different pasts in Eastern Europe loaded with catastrophes, killings, and violations of national dignity, but these facts were constantly manipulated by lies, thus creating *fantasy realities* and double memories' (H. Wydra). Embarking on the common experience of East European societies living in the *fantasy realities* throughout the communist period, the paper analyses the vicissitudes of the memory of the deportees to Siberia. Given that the *fantasy realities* of the Soviet bloc erased the problem of the Gulag from the public memory, my paper tries to trace the re-integration of the Gulag inmates' memory into the national canons of several Eastern European states on their breaking free from communism. States like Poland and the Baltic republics inscribe the Gulag experience into a larger framework of Soviet crimes as well as forced displacements during and after the WWII, the phenomenon which ultimately contributed to the irreversible alteration of the population structure and cultural landscape of the region.

In the paper I analyze the Gulag commemoration initiatives looking at various commemorative rituals, both on the national (the Lithuanian 'Mission Siberia: walking the paths of our grandparents', the film 'Polish Syberia', 2011 or the annual International March of the Living Memory of Siberia) and European levels (the deputies of the Baltic States to the European Parliament have been most active in adding the Gulag experience to the European political agenda and in including this issue into the concept of European memory and remembrance). Moreover, I briefly summarise the recent arguments in the scholarly debate over the role of the memory of the Stalinist crimes in the formation of national identities in the region and I try to determine to what extent the post-1989 'liberations' of the Gulag memory from the *fantasy reality* were successful.

### **Shelley I. Salamensky 'Uses of the Jew: 'Jewface' minstrelsy, 'Jewfaçade' display and cultural memory in East-Central Europe'**

In this presentation, I investigate operations of European non-Jewish cultural memory as they manifest through what I discuss as 'neo-Judaic' activity in East-Central Europe. I argue what I term 'Jewface minstrelsy' performance and 'Jewfaçade' display effect a displacement of East-Central European traumatic affect onto the figure of the perished 'Jew' and space of vanished 'Jewish culture' that permits negotiation of abjected culpability and victimhood with regard to the twentieth-century past, and enables greater cultural functionality within the EU-dominated context of the present day.

Jewface—akin to the 'Blackface' minstrelsy once prevalent in the US—is comprised of music, dance, theatre, and extra-theatrical social performance in which non-Jews dress up and, essentially, 'act like' Jews, as historically,

often quite fancifully, imagined. Jewfaçade includes museum-type installations, as well as architectural constructions, and even elements of restaurant and café decor, meant, similarly, to evoke notions of Jewish life. To date, I have completed five years of field research in Germany, Poland, Lithuania, the Czech Republic, Ukraine, and Russia.

Jewface performances and Jewfaçade displays vary greatly in accuracy and evident intent. Some are educationally-oriented, such as Krakow's annual festival of Jewish culture, which is accompanied by scholarly lectures and intensive community discussion. Others are crassly exploitative and/or commercial: for instance, a 'Jewish-style' restaurant in Lviv in which guests are given broad-brimmed 'Hasidic' hats with attached foot-long payess side-curls to wear, and prices are left off the menu—forcing diners to bargain, or 'Jew' the staff down.

These phenomena generally have little new to add to knowledge about past Jewish life. However, they can tell us a great deal not only about perceptions by these cultures of their 'Jewish' pasts and their involvements with them, but about anxieties and/or agendas regarding their own histories, politics, economies, minority groups, spiritual longings, and positions in the wider world today.

**James Mark 'Where can the collapse of communism be celebrated? The problems of commemorating 1989 in Central-Eastern Europe'**

The mythologisation of a founding moment of revolution or transition is often central to establishing, or questioning, the legitimacy of the system that follows it. The first two decades after the collapse of Communism commonly saw the politicisation of the meaning of 1989, and its instrumentalisation by different political actors seeking both to define the 'true nature' of post-Communism and justify their own attempts to remould it. This paper will examine the use of commemorative spaces and rituals to celebrate, or delegitimize, the moment when Communism collapsed, drawn from eastern Germany, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Poland. This paper is the result of collaborative work between James Mark, Muriel Blaive, Adam Hudek, Stanislaw Tyszka and Anna Saunders.

## **THEORIES AND CONCEPTS (1): TRADITIONS**

### **Alexey Vasilyev, 'Russian memory studies in the context of actual world trends '**

This paper examines the state and the perspectives of the development of collective memory studies in Russia in the context of the actual world trends in this sphere. During the 1920-80's a base of researches of collective memory in Russia has been created. In L.Vygotski's works memory was considered a cultural mediated function. M. Bakhtin developed the theory of «genre's memory». J. Lotman's considered the concept of all culture as a system of textual memory. In the works of J. Levada and M. Barg the problems of historical consciousness were analyzed. In the 1980's in Russia, as well as in many other countries, the real «memorial boom» occurred. It was related to the political reconsideration of the past. The disintegration of the USSR, the formation of the Post-Soviet states and the creation of new national identities made the problems of collective memory and the politics of memory very actual. Since the late 1990's in the Russian science there has been a lot research done on the world scientific heritage in the field of memory studies, separate case studies have been analyzed, and the first generalizing works, devoted to the politics of memory and the mechanisms of the formation of national identity in Russia have been published.

### **Elżbieta Tarkowska 'Collective memory, social time and culture: the Polish tradition in memory studies'**

The paper concerns the research studies on collective memory in Poland. These studies have two characteristic features: the long tradition and clear cultural context. The research tradition is much more longer than polls on collective memory, which go back to the 1960s and are identified with names of Barbara Szacka, Andrzej Szpociński and Piotr Kwiatkowski as successors of Nina Assorodobraj-Kula's ideas. This tradition is deeply associated with Durkheimian legacy, very strong in Poland, both in prewar as well as in postwar period. The very well known book by Maurice Halbwachs and forgotten today work of Stefan Czarnowski were for many decades the main source of inspirations and ideas concerning social memory and its functioning. In this perspective the social memory was closely connected with culture and time; it was seen as cultural phenomenon and as dimension of social time. These two categories: culture and social time as important factors in collective memory studies conducted in Poland are object of the present paper. This specificity of the Polish research studies on collective memory is unknown today, both for foreign researchers as well as for younger generations of Polish memory researchers. This tradition is worthy to be recollected and seen in contemporary perspective.

### **Jarosław Kilias 'Is there any sociological tradition of the social memory research? The Polish and the Czech case'**

My paper is going to deal with the Polish and Czech research on the social memory. In Poland such research started already in 1960s when an outline of an original plan of the historical consciousness research was proposed by Nina Assorodoraj-Kula, and the translation of Maurice Halbwachs's *Social memory* was published. What seems to be interesting, the original concept was totally left out and a series of opinion polls was conducted instead. In Czechoslovakia opinion polls on historical consciousness were conducted as early as in 1940s and later on in 1968. Recently a series of studies has started in Czech republic, not without direct influence of the earlier Polish research. At present, social memory forms an extremely popular research field in both countries and a great deal of it is done by sociologists. However, most of this research is strictly descriptive, and main inspiration sources are anthropology and/or cultural studies instead of sociology. Consequently, an important part of potential research issues is left out which cannot be solved except by using sociological theory/instruments. In my paper I am going to try to map out the Czech and Polish research and attempt to identify typical uses of such research and social roles played by social memory students. This will enable me not only to identify the strong points as well as omissions (i.e. to identify potential issues for the sociological analysis) of such research, but also to answer the question why sociologists hesitate to use their own theories and methods studying social memory.



## **Georgiy Kasianov, Karolina Wigura 'Between nation-building and westernization. Studies of Cultures of Remembrance in Contemporary Central Eastern Europe'**

Our paper will be devoted to characterization of cultures of remembrance studies in contemporary Central-Eastern Europe with a particular stress on Poland, Ukraine, Czech Republic and Hungary.

The loss (in 1989) of the stability and definition brought about as a consequence of the year 1945, by Yalta, Potsdam and the Cold War, disrupted the European approach to memory. The democratic breakthrough in Central and Eastern Europe, the unification of Germany, and later the European integration of the former 'people's republics' created a stimulus for the pluralisation of images of the past. The will to join the European Union was often expressed by means of criticism of nations' own pasts as well as by praise for one's 'true history' based on 'true memory'. Moreover, citizens of Central and Eastern Europe began to stress their own experiences of injustice suffered at the hands of both the Nazis and Soviets. The image of the past was enriched at an internal, national level. Not just nations, but also groups of war veterans, state-run centers of remembrance and individuals were involved in beginning discussions on the interpretation of historical events. Consequently, a uniform vision of the past was replaced by a whole array of competing and pluralist cultures of remembering. Constructed and reconstructed 'collective memory' has regained its status as a tool of identity (re)building process, which in turn faces a number of cultural challenges produced by the 'return to Europe', real or imagined.

May we distinguish, within the Central Eastern Europe itself, different schools, or they are all rather strongly influenced by the Western studies and approaches? Which centers of remembrance studies are most influential in this region and what methods do they use? What theories has been developed within the last 20-30 years? How memory/counter-memory projects are instrumentalized, used and abused by scholars, politicians, media? Does history writing distinguishes itself from memory? Is it possible to speak of a particular Central Eastern European memory culture and are there differences between it and the "boom for memory" in the other parts of the world? These are the most important questions we would like to answer in our paper.

### **DYNAMICS OF MEMORY (1): BIOGRAPHIES**

#### **Kaja Kaźmierska 'Biographical and collective memory – mutual influences in Central and Eastern European context'**

It is obvious that there is a constant interaction between biographical and collective memory. It serves to built reservoirs of both levels of memory as well as helps to support individual and collective identity. It is also known that in totalitarian regimes controlling the contents of collective memory is considered as the means to control biographical memory, this in turn leads to control people's life. Thus in the case of totalitarian state asymmetry between these two levels of memory can be more frequently observed than in the democratic system. History of Central and Eastern European countries has been shaped by complicated events of 19th century, 20th century wars and the time of communism. Specific sensitivity to history created by difficult process of creating national identity was then suppressed on the one hand and strengthened on the other during communism.

In my presentation I would like to refer to different biographical contexts in which asymmetry or symmetry between biographical and collective memory gain specific meanings. I will address to examples taken from different narrative materials gathered during researches on various topics though all of them concentrated on exploring the meaning of the past in individual biographies.

#### **Martina Staats 'Memories of Bergen-Belsen'**

After the liberation in April 1945, the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp became an international site of remembrance. This paper focuses on the POW and concentration camp survivors' memories. Survivors and their relatives constructed different kinds of their own *mémoire collective* (Halbwachs). Remembrance took place in individual and collective, cultural and social structures such as celebrating commemoration days and erection of personal and collective monuments. From the very beginning, associations of Bergen-Belsen survivors played an important role in the process of how remembrance entered the public memory in many countries, as well as social memory of communities, groups and families.

In the year of the liberation the first survivors' associations established collective symbols of commemoration at the former camp ground. Later, the historical site of Bergen-Belsen became a place of pilgrimage: soil and remainders of bones were collected as holy relicts and brought to the (new) home countries. Many of the

survivors returned to their countries of origin as soon as possible. Their direct relationship to Bergen-Belsen is very individual. Bergen-Belsen acts as a connecting cultural space, and as a witness to memory and history. So far, research has shown that there is a wide variety of memory culture throughout Europe and other countries. Which stories have been told? Did former inmates take part in the formation of a national culture of memory or did they (have to) commemorate in small (private) communities? These questions can partly be answered by looking for example at the former Soviet Union, Poland and Hungary. The aim of this presentation is to compare the culture of memory of the POW's in the Soviet Union and in Poland with Jewish and political concentration camp survivors in Hungary, Poland and the Soviet Union.

### **Machteld Venken, Jarosław Pałka 'Similar or different? Polish soldiers' war memories in Poland and Belgium'**

Soldiers of the First Polish Armoured Division had similar war experiences, but after the war ended up either before or behind what would become the Iron Curtain. During the Cold War, these Polish soldiers and former liberators of 'the West' (France - Belgium - the Netherlands) came to live in different cultures of war memory. This contribution offers a preliminary narrative analysis of 41 autobiographical interviews recently conducted with ex-combatants settled in Belgium and Poland. It highlights similarities and differences in ex-combatant practices of the Cold War period. Western European and American memory studies often stress the importance of public commemorations for ex-combatants to give meaning to their war experiences. Ex-combatants of the First Polish Armoured Division living in the Polish People's Republic were often deprived of such possibilities. How did that have an influence on the way they practiced war memory during the Cold War, and the way they speak about it today? How different was it to be an ex-combatant of the First Polish Armoured Division in Poland or in Belgium?

### **Michał Kierzkowski 'Divided European memory: a perspective of women's memory of Stalinism in Czechoslovakia'**

In my paper I intend to concentrate on two issues. The theoretical part is going to be devoted to the reflection on the differences, generally speaking, between Eastern and Western approaches to their own past – between central points of collective memory in Eastern and Western Europe. Although the European Union becomes a more and more capacious creation constituting not only, as originally planned, a community of economic and business interests, one can hardly speak of a common collective memory. The main problem is that for Western Europe the central point of collective memory is the Holocaust, while in Eastern Europe memory is mainly directed towards the crimes of the Communist regime. This apparent asymmetry of memory introduces an unwanted upheaval. This asymmetry of memory and different approaches to the past are understood as a legacy of the decades of Sovietization. However, it seems that these conditions have deeper roots in the socio-cultural sphere. This reflection will also be supplemented with a study of women's perspective on memory. Secondly, the analytical part will be devoted to the characteristics of memory in the post-Communist countries in Central and Eastern Europe, relating to the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. For this purpose, I am going to analyze oral history interviews with Czechoslovak women who were political prisoners under Stalinism. The interviews were conducted in 2008 as a part of a larger project 'Political Prisoners.eu'.

## **THEORIES AND CONCEPTS (2): PROPOSALS**

### **Gregor Feindt, Félix Krawatzek 'Entangled memories: a new conceptual approach to memory in Eastern Europe'**

Memory is rightly considered to be intensively contested in contemporary Eastern Europe. Thus research on this topic should respond to the challenge resulting from the entanglements of memories of different social groups. This problem is gradually recognised and recent empirical works are dedicated to the entanglement of memories. However the theoretical methodological development lacks significantly behind as empirical research continues to derive its theoretical frame from approaches developed within (and in order to preserve) the national realm. It remains to be theoretically founded how memory is shaped through interaction between social groups, interactions which can be conflictual as well as consensual.

This paper is to examine the theoretical shortcoming of current memory research in analyzing the entanglements of memory. The new conceptual approach has been developed by the authors as part of a group of young researchers for a workshop on 'European Memory' at the 'Centre for Interdisciplinary Research' in Bielefeld in July 2011. Investigating the intellectual foundations of contemporary memory research, namely the French *école sociologique* and competing interpretations of *mémoire* towards the end of the 19th century, it is first argued that memory is inherently dynamic and its construction indicative of underlying societal structures.

Based on that, it is argued secondly, that entangled memory should be understood as multilayered and polyphonic discourses. Interpretations of the past, of historical experiences, are contested on a synchronic level by different societal groups (nations, religious, regional) as well as across time, in a diachronical perspective. The importance of understanding memory as being entangled will be exemplified using aspects of the remembrance of the Second World War, in particular *Vertreibung*, *Katyń* and the German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact. Interpretations of these European *lieux de mémoire* contain a variety of conflicts within society and transnational entanglements which challenge the prevailing analytic-theoretical framework of memory studies anchored in the nation-state.

### **Marta Bucholc 'On the potential of Norbert Elias's approach in social memory research in Central and Eastern Europe'**

Norbert Elias's theory is only incidentally referenced in the scholarship on collective memory. Although he never presented his views in this field in a systematic manner, his comprehensive approach may be reconstructed based on such works as *Über den Prozeß der Zivilisation* (1939), *The Established and the Outsiders* (1965), *Time: An Essay* (1994) and *The Symbol Theory* (1991). In my presentation I will discuss the categories of Elias's theory of social memory against the backdrop of current research and argue the potential of their application to the problems of memory in Central and Eastern Europe.

Elias's most important tenet is that human memory can only be explained by the symbol theory. By this token, all activities in which symbols are used (speaking, thinking, remembering and knowing), are diverse aspects of the same process based on human ability to use socially created symbols in communication. The memory research needs to account for the interactive and communicational origins of both individual and collective remembering.

One of the issues of primary importance for Elias as far as remembering is concerned is collective forgetting; it is on this process that I intend to focus. According to Elias forgetting operates by three main mechanisms: (1) elimination and creation of fantastic notions (fantasy being basically a substitute and subsidiary for experience), (2) modification of social canons of reference as a result of shifting power balances in the figurations, and (3) delegitimization of alternative imageries by means of marginalization or elimination of groups acting as their social vehicles. I will discuss these mechanisms and the dynamics of memory they entail in the broader conceptual framework of the theory of civilizing processes referring to the examples from Central and Eastern Europe in order to show how fruitful Elias's interdisciplinary and multidimensional analysis can prove in the field of research on social memory.

**Amelia Korzeniewska and Bartosz Korzeniewski 'Transformation of memory: theoretical model and the practice of empirical research' tba**

**Magdalena Saryusz-Wolska '*Modi memorandi*. An interdisciplinary lexicon of collective memory terms'**

In order to handle some pragmatic problems within the field of memory studies, the Center for Historical Research of Polish Academy of Science in Berlin has undertaken an analysis of the academic language, especially of the fundamental terms, in the field of collective memory studies. The first results were both of practical and theoretical manner. As we observed, many of the researchers understand the fundamental terms of collective memory studies in different ways, using varying words for the same phenomena, or simply applying diverse methods when working with similar research objects. Obviously, this variety of discourses and methods adds new values to collective memory studies and is very characteristic of this field of research. It leads to some difficulties, however, especially when it comes to practical communication.

On the practical level, we reached the conclusion, that researchers both in Poland and internationally need applicable tools to communicate outside the borders of their own academic disciplines, otherwise truly interdisciplinary projects on collective memory will remain a minority. On the theoretical level, we ask questions about the history of collective memory studies. The interdisciplinary character of this field of research might not only be a matter of common work carried out by historians, sociologists, psychologists, anthropologists etc. It is also a result of the expansion and the crossing of some theoretical traditions in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, such as psychoanalysis, hermeneutics, functionalism, or specific 'turns'.

Thus the aims of our project are: (i) creating of the first interdisciplinary research team in Poland focused on collective memory studies, especially the terms used in this field of research. (ii) systematizing the fundamental cross-disciplinary terms used in the field of collective memory studies. (iii) by the end of 2013: publishing a lexicon / encyclopedia of collective memory terms containing about 150-200 keywords, cross-references and a bibliography.

## **DYNAMICS OF MEMORY (2): GENERATIONS**

**Lutz Niethammer 'Eastern roots of postmodern ethics? The generation of Zygmunt Bauman and Agnes Heller'**

Postmodernity is widely regarded to be a characteristic representation of western thought fashionable mainly in the 80s and 90s of the 20th century. I will report on a conference at the Imre Kertész Kolleg Jena, to be held at the end of October 2011, with and about the Polish-English sociologist Zygmunt Bauman and the Hungarian-American philosopher Agnes Heller. There we explore experiences in Eastern and Central Europe as possible roots of a less playful Postmodernism with Ethics, that has evolved during their years in emigration. Other creative people among the generation born around 1930 in Central Eastern Europe will be taken into comparative consideration. The results of this international workshop in intellectual history will tell, whether it makes sense to construct a Bauman-Heller-Generational Unit (according to Karl Mannheim) among the postmodernists.

**Wulf Kansteiner 'Historicizing memory studies: Holocaust interpretation and the concept of political generation'**

The notion of political generations as carriers of specific historical interpretations nicely illustrates the methodological diversity and conceptual inconsistency in collective memory studies. On the one hand, generations are perceived in almost biblical terms as members of an age group who have been fatefully shaped by historic events and have limited choices about imparting their burden of the past to future generations. On the other hand, a specific generational consciousness is often construed as simply another invented tradition that only comes into existence once people retroactively start to identify themselves or others as part of a generational collective. The tension between the event-driven and the constructivist definition of political generation informs many foundational texts of the field (compare for example Jan Assmann's concept of communicative memory to Pierre Nora's concept of sites of memory). The tensions between the two scholarly interpretations of generation become particularly intriguing if they are applied to the same historical setting from compatible methodological vantage points, as has been the case in social psychological research about the German contemporaries of WWII and their descendents. Starting from that case study, the essay offers critical reflections on notions of causality and agency and highlights generational shifts in the history of memory studies itself.

## **Katarzyna Waniek 'Third generation Poles and the witness generation of Germans in conversation about World War II'**

This paper particularly aims to inquire into autobiographical narrative interviews in which young Polish people (living in Germany or working with Germans) reconstruct their problematic encounters with Germans of war generation born in East Prussia. It will be shown how interactions laden with incompatible collective memories and interpretations of the wartime events are recapitulated and accounted for in the life stories of young Poles. Simultaneously, it will be discussed how Polish narrators' different attitudes toward their German interactional partners: (1) tenacious unwillingness to take the perspective of Germans versus (2) readiness to take into account and consider the other – broadly contrary – point of view may influence their identity, but also their sense of belonging to various 'we' communities (e.g. national or European). In regard to point (1), it will be also shown how third-generation Polish people may 'overuse' and 'oversimplify' the negative picture of Germans for their practical purposes at hand and, thus, strengthen so called 'bad memory'. Next, it will be argued that reconciliation attempts as described in point (2) are inherently difficult and complex. They confront, on the one hand, Polish collective memory in which Poles are defined as victims continuously wronged by fate, treated badly and deceived by other nations (especially Germans) and, on the other hand, collective memory of Nazism in Germany and memory of witnesses to the wartime events stereotypically bearing the burden of being perpetrators of atrocities. Comparing these two attitudes allows to arrive at a conclusion that a courage to work the past through is very important not only for individual sense of identity, but also substantial for creating effective field of communication in Europe understood as a mental space of reference.

## **Aleksandra Rychlicka 'Who owns the past? The literature of the post-1989 generation and its struggle with memory'**

After the fall of Communism in 1989, parallel to the expectations towards the older writers who were to confront and analyse socio-political changes, the post-1989 generation was supposed to be free of any influence of the old system. Robert Murray Davis in his study of Post-Communist literature optimistically states: 'Writers who came to maturity before and during the communist era have had a more difficult time than those who began their careers after 1989. For the latter, the socialist regime is becoming as remote as Vietnam already seems to America's younger generation of writers.' (*The Literature of Post-Communist Slovenia, Slovakia, Hungary and Romania. A Study*, p. 6)

The paper challenges this assumption and studies the long-lasting effects of the past on the newest writing. Through an examination of literary works by the youngest generation of Polish writers it attempts to analyse the continuous presence of the historical past in contemporary literature. However, it is asked in the paper, as the youngest generations of writers navigate towards the past, do they explore the realm of history or that of memory? And whilst talking about the past experience one did not live through, whose memory it is? Finally, is memory a property and if so, who does it belong to? The main research question concerns the sources for collective memory and explores the notion of memory's ownership. The paper examines different ways of accessing and experiencing the past in nowadays Poland and their impact on current literature.

**THURSDAY 24 NOV**  
**PARALLEL SESSIONS**  
**(3-5 pm)**

**MEDIA OF REMEMBRANCE (1): SPACE/PLACE**

**Máté Zombory 'Memory as spatial localization'**

In reflecting on the question whether there exists a non-Western perspective on the past, or even a specific Central and Eastern European past experience, I would like to discuss two major problems.

The first is the 'globalization of memory' which means that over the last three decades, certain modes of social relations towards the past, narrative forms, and techniques of preservation have been largely dispersed on a global scale. Today the public sphere of memory practices is not limited nationally, and the questions of 'Western' or 'Eastern' or 'European' memories, together with that of the national pasts, are posed in this sphere. I will examine a main feature of this social field, the imperative of 'duty of memory', and the dominant memory practices that it defines: testimony and victimisation. By this reflexion I would like to explain the fact that contemporary memory practices – including academic studies – mainly focus on past tragedies, and raise the question of communities of memory in relation to them. How to overcome the challenge of the 'clash of memory groups', that each 'collective identity' defined exclusively by past experiences excludes the others because of being afraid of the relativization of its 'own suffering'?

The second problem, related to the first one, is the spatial dimension of memory, the social relation between local and global aspects of memory. Through the concept of 'localization' I will discuss the geographic aspect of memory practices. In this respect, social remembering is positioning, that I intend to differentiate from exclusion, defined by the politics of memory based on the 'duty to remember'. I will show an example in which the common feature of Eastern European historical experience is closely related to the spatial position of the remembering subject.

**Agnieszka Kudelka 'Monuments and memory constructs in L'viv between 1867 and 1939'**

Das Projekt will Erinnerungskonstruktionen im gemischtethnischen Ort mithilfe von Langzeitstudien nachgehen. Untersucht wird Hauptstadt Ostgaliziens und der Woiwodschaft Lwowski Lemberg/Lwów von 1867 bis 1939, die als besonders dynamisches, multiethnisches Gebiet innerhalb der ostmitteleuropäischen Bruchzone angesehen wird. Das bedeutet, dass in Anlehnung an Burke von vornherein Konflikte um konkurrierende kollektive Gedächtnisse unterstellt werden. Die Studie fokussiert in Anlehnung an Meyer auf Erinnerungspolitik, denn die Erinnerung wird von ihm als eine wichtige Kategorie der politischen Kultur, die einen immensen Einfluss auf alle anderen gesellschaftlich-kulturellen Verhältnisse hat, betrachtet. Das Projekt untersucht aber nicht nur die Prozesse des Aushandelns sowie der Visualisierung von historischen Bedeutungsinhalten sondern spricht, auf dem Ansatz von Schwelling basierend, auch die Ebene der Akteure an, da diese durch derartige Leitbilder direkt beeinflusst werden. Hier ist der Umgang mit der Geschichte durch Akteure, die Teil der sich verändernden Lemberger Gesellschaft waren oder einen Einfluss auf die Erinnerungskultur in Lemberg ausübten, zentral. Es wird das Muster der Veränderung des Umgangs mit Geschichtsbildern in Transformationsgesellschaften von Schmid erprobt. Das Fallbeispiel betrifft Denkmäler. Einerseits sind die denkmalverantwortlichen Akteure andererseits die von Denkmälern verkörpernden Symbole wichtig. Anhand der Begründungen für den Denkmalbau wird überprüft, welcher Bezugsebene (Stadt, Region, Nation, Staat) Denkmaler zugeordnet werden. Es wird untersucht, welche Bezüge dominieren. Diese Mehrdeutigkeit der Symbole im Bezug auf Zentral- und Osteuropa ist bisher ein Forschungsdesiderat.

Wichtig sind auch Zeitbezüge der im Lemberger Raum kursierenden Symbole. Neben den existierenden Symbolen gibt es die mit dem Initiieren von Denkmälern entstehenden Symbole. Sie werden auch nach ihrem Charakter zwischen kulturellen, wissenschaftlichen, politischen (konservativen vs. demokratischen), militärischen, religiösen, völkischen und monarchischen unterschieden. Diese Unterscheidung knüpft an Versuche der Kategorisierung der Nationaldenkmäler an, aber geht darüber hinaus. Anschließend werden Korrelationen zwischen Denkmalakteuren und den von Denkmälern verkörpernden Symbolen untersucht, d.h. welche Denkmäler welche Akteure initiiert und unterstützt haben.

## **Katja Grupp 'Kaliningrad minus Königsberg, culture minus memory: A 'foreign' city in German and Russian perspective'**

Geografisch betrachtet handelt es sich bei den Städten Königsberg und Kaliningrad um ein und dieselbe Stadt. Der Bruch, der zwischen Königsberg liegt, ist der Zweite Weltkrieg. Königsberg wurde von den sowjetischen Truppen im April 1945 eingenommen. 1946 wurde die zerstörte Stadt in Kaliningrad umbenannt. Die deutschen Bewohner mussten bis 1948 die Stadt (und das Gebiet) verlassen, aus allen Teilen der Sowjetunion kamen Neusiedler. Was aber geschah mit den deutschen Hinterlassenschaften (Denkmäler, Architektur, Parks)? Welchen Teil der Erinnerung nehmen die ehemaligen deutschen Bewohner mit in eine neue Heimat? Wie ist der Umgang mit der fremden Stadt aus deutscher und russischer Perspektive?

Anhand von deutschen und russischen Texten der 40er, 50er und 60er Jahre des 20. Jahrhunderts sollen diese Fragen untersucht werden. Das kulturelle Gedächtnis, der Speicher von Geschichte und Geschichten bekommt durch die Neu/Umbesiedlung des Orts eine neue Bedeutung. Ausgehend von der Idee des 'kulturellen Gedächtnisses' wird davon ausgegangen, dass Kultur als eine Sichtbarmachung von Codes verstanden werden kann (Lotman). Lotman spricht von der Semiosphäre. Die Codierung und Decodierung des (kulturellen) Raums wird hier als dynamischer Prozess verstanden. Der Bedeutungsraum ist mit einer Vielzahl an semiotischen Codes gefüllt, die in asymmetrischen Machtpositionen zueinander stehen und in einen Übersetzungsprozess treten. Bei der Verschiebung der intendierten Bedeutung von einer Sprache, einer Kultur in eine andere kann es zu 'Übersetzungsfehlern' kommen, so dass eine neue Bedeutung entsteht. Diese Motiv gibt es, wenn das Fremde (Königsberg) das Eigene (Kaliningrad) wird. Das Fremde erscheint als ein zentrales Moment der Beschreibung der jeweils anderen Stadt.

## **Judy Brown 'Walking memory through city space in Sevastopol, Crimea'**

This paper presents one of several research methods used by the author to undertake a spatial ethnography of memory in the city of Sevastopol on the Crimean peninsula, Ukraine. The ethnographic study itself builds on urban history research to explore how Sevastopolians experience urban space as it is being constituted in the present by different temporalities and historicities (Mbembe, 2001). The introduction to this particular methodological approach of 'walking memory' explores literature on spatial concepts of walking as a place-making practice (Basso, 1996; Munn, 1990; Pandya, 1990; Richardson, 2008) whilst reflecting on the post-socialist context of current-day Sevastopol (Kuzio, 1994; Qualls, 2009; Sasse, 2007).

Data were gathered during fieldwork in Sevastopol from July to September 2011. The 'walking memory' methodological approach involves taking both informal and commercial walking tours around the city offered in a range of languages – Russian, English, French and Ukrainian language. Analysis of the materials gathered (field notes and photographs) focuses on routes made through the city, commentary provided at different stages, use of language and tone, identifiable narratives and narrative absences, the presentation of the city and its history to the group, anecdotes and the guide's personal relation to the city. Particular attention is paid to interactions with the group. Such a methodology is intended to produce very rich data for exploring cultural memory in city space.

The paper reflects on the strengths and weaknesses of this methodology as revealed in the fieldwork. Specifically, it addresses problems of access and, in this regard, discusses the complementary data-gathering methods used by the author – chiefly interviews, non-participant observation and secondary literature. The paper presents some of the research findings to help answer the following research questions: 1) How is memory of Sevastopol produced in city space? 2) In what ways is this memory cosmopolitan and/or internally competitive? 3) To what extent can we speak of a local Sevastopolitan memory? 4) In what ways does Sevastopol identify with wider narratives of Ukrainian/European/global integration?

## **MEDIA OF REMEMBRANCE (2): MUSEUM AND FILM**

### **Simina Bădică 'Regimes of memory in Communist and Post-Communist Romanian museums'**

Museums of communism are among the most relevant places to assess post-communist attitudes to the recent past. However, discussing the memory of communism only in its post-communist setting hinders the proper understanding of these memorial actions as their context is wider and includes communist attitudes and construction of memory, memorials and museums. The communist regime was very active in representing itself in the museum. Thus, I argue, post-communist museums of communism are intimately linked with museum of communism of the pre-1989 era, first of all institutionally (for those museums that existed before 1989) but most importantly museographically. Most representations of communism in the museum tend to use the same narrative scheme, the same curatorial practices as those used by communist museums, while only changing the text surrounding the exhibit. Even those exhibitions that can be easily defined as anticommunist tend to employ visual and discursive means that were extensively used by communist propaganda in representing their version of communist memory. In both these memorial regimes, communist and post-communist, memory is to be relearned, taught and exhibited; there is no question of a living memory, of a controversial memory, there are no shadows and no open questions. The memory of communism in both its communist and post-communist version is a black-and-white narrative proposed to the public as a master-narrative, very similar to the way history is still written and thought of in these parts of Europe.

My presentation will include the relevant stories of two museal institutions, one old and one new, deeply connected with the communist heritage of the country. One is the Romanian Peasant Museum in Bucharest located in the building of the former Museum of Communist Party History and the second one is the Sighet Memorial Museum located in a former political prison. The ways in which these museums decided to deal with and exhibit the difficult memory issues entrusted to them are symptomatic for the ways in which the memory of communism has been dealt with in Romania and, more generally, Central and Eastern Europe.

### **Monika Heinemann 'The historical museum as a medium of remembrance – A case study on the memory of the Second World War in Poland after 1989'**

Museums and exhibitions have been objects of research in cultural and museum studies in Germany for several decades. The body of theory on how museums construct an image of the past is vast. Still, these theoretical approaches have not contributed to the development of a common terminology and methods for the analysis of exhibitions so far. In the last few years, however, several publications of young researchers have contributed to the formulation of such a methodology. Especially historians in Germany working on cultures of memory have recently approached historical museums as media of remembrance that allow the study of the cultural memory (Assmann) of societies.

The paper aims at giving an insight into recent developments in the historical memory studies in Germany. On the one hand, it is to discuss the possibilities and limitations of analysing the culture of memory ('Erinnerungskultur') of a society by means of the medium of historical exhibitions. On the other hand, it will present methods and sources of exhibition analysis. As a case-study, it addresses historical museums in Poland that cover the time of the Second World War in their permanent exhibitions. The Historical Museum of the City of Kraków and its permanent expositions in the 'Pomorska Street' and 'Schindler's Factory' branches will be used to illustrate the development of local and national narratives on the time of the German occupation from the 1980s until 2010.

### **Gintare Malinauskaite 'Cinematic memory of the Lithuanian double occupation: the development of partisan and Holocaust cinema and its interrelation'**

The aim of this research paper is through the analysis of the Lithuanian memory films to decode its cultural memory and interpretation of history. After the independence in 1990, Lithuanian cinema has provided its viewers with historical films, which mainly focused on the glorification of the Lithuanian partisans. One of the most successful Lithuanian partisan films was *Utterly Alone* (2004). This film portrays Lithuanian partisan war against the Soviet occupation and shows the life of the most famous Lithuanian partisan Juozas Lukša-Daumantas. In the meantime, the victims of the Nazi occupation and the Lithuanian-Jews history were largely ignored by national cinematographers, until the creation of the first Lithuanian Holocaust film *Ghetto* (2006, in co-production with Germany). This film retells the Jewish life and death in Vilnius Ghetto in 1942.



The central question of this paper is to find out how the Lithuanian double past, namely, the Nazi and the Soviet occupations, is represented in the post-independence Lithuanian cinema, focusing on the analysis of the two above mentioned movies. Along with the visual representation of the past, also the narrations of the films will be researched. The goal is to find out how these two past communicate with each other in these two films, namely, how the narrations are interrelated and how the victims and perpetrators are interlinked. The analysis of these two films should reveal not only the discourse of the Lithuanian history films but also show the function of memory films for nation-state building process and for societal memorialization of traumatic events.

### **Małgorzata Pakier, 'German and Polish Holocaust Cinema and the Construction of Europe: The Politics and Ethics of Memory'**

Since the 1990s the Holocaust has become the central event in European memory culture. It has also been embraced by EU institutions as a fundamental event for a potential pan-European memory, to bolster political union. This presentation focuses on the ways in which a common European Holocaust memory is being constructed in film, with special focus on German and Polish cinema. The films will be considered within the broader context of political and public discourses, media representations, and historiography. I will discuss images and narratives whereby films have contributed to public debates on the past and to Holocaust commemoration on national and European levels. I will note the tension between the ways these films ascribe particular historical roles along traditional national categories, and more universal modes of interpretation applied and developed by filmmakers and audiences. One trend toward 'Europeanizing' the Holocaust can be seen in the shift from showing history according to the traditional perspectives of victims and perpetrators, or heroes and villains, towards a new discourse category of the 'ordinary people'. This shift corresponds to broader public debates triggered in recent years by books such as Christopher Browning's *Ordinary Men* or Jan T. Gross' *Neighbors*, both of which sparked controversy. But the film analysis will go further. It will also indicate, from normative and ethical perspectives, the possible limits of creating a common European memory of the Holocaust through politics and film, confronting the notion of a memory *ex negativo*, as formulated by Volkhard Knigge and Norbert Frei, with the concept of trauma and the impossibility of closing the past.

**THURSDAY 24 NOV  
PARALLEL SESSIONS  
(5.30-7.30 pm)**

**(NEW) MEDIA OF REMEMBRANCE (3)**

**Gertrud Pickhan 'History turns digital'**

Der Beitrag soll die Veränderungen, die durch das Medium Internet in der Rekonstruktion, Rezeption und Repräsentation der Geschichte des Zweiten Weltkriegs eingetreten sind, in den Blick nehmen. Mit dem Internet ist ein neues Medium entstanden, das die Bedingungen und Formen der historischen Rekonstruktion, Repräsentation und Rezeption in erheblicher Weise verändert hat. Bisher sind diese Veränderungen nicht kohärent analysiert und die Auswirkungen des Internets nicht in geschichts- bzw. kulturwissenschaftliche Theoreme übersetzt worden. Karl Schlögel spricht hier so prägnant wie zutreffend von Cyberia als terra incognita der Gegenwart. Wenngleich noch nicht ausreichend erforscht und theoretisiert, ist das Internet das neue, innovative Medium der Geschichte. Die Nutzung des Internets z.B. durch Online-Kataloge und digitale Archive verändert die historische Rekonstruktion. Interaktivität, Intermedialität und neue Formen der Kommunikation (z. B. Blogs, Facebook, Twitter) haben das Potential, neue historische Narrative zu schaffen und verändern zugleich die Rezeption von Geschichte. Offen ist jedoch, welche Auswirkungen das Medium Internet auf Geschichtswissenschaft wie Erinnerungskulturen hat.

Die Freie Universität verfügt mit den Zugang zum Visual History Archive der Shoah Foundation und dem im Aufbau befindlichen Archiv 'Zwangsarbeit. Erinnerungen und Geschichte 1939-1945' über zwei digitale Sammlungen von ZeitzeugInnen-Interviews, die in Lehre und Forschung genutzt werden. Zentrale Fragen sind dabei: Welche Bedeutung hat die Spur des Mediums Internet für die Geschichte und Nachgeschichte des Zweiten Weltkrieg? Wie lässt sich beschreiben, welche Auswirkungen das Internet auf Rekonstruktion, Rezeption und Repräsentation der Geschichte der Shoah und der Zwangsarbeit hat? Wie lässt sich die Spur des Mediums aufspüren, konzipieren und in Theorie übersetzen? Welche Implikationen hat das Medium Internet für die Ethik der Erinnerung? Der Beitrag präsentiert ein mögliches Forschungsdesign, das diesen Fragen nachgeht.

**Alexander von Plato 'Media and memory: the presentation and 'use' of witnesses in sound and image'**

At first view, it seems a simple task to describe the different possibilities of "using" witnesses in sound and image. The advantages and disadvantages of using audio-tapes or video in Oral History are rather clear. However, at second sight, this task has to include the influence of media on the memory of our witnesses and vice versa – and to what extent they influence each other. This is one of the biggest challenges of interpretations and it leads to the differences between the work of journalists, film directors, writers and historians. Will media (or historians) control the statements of the witnesses even before their physical death? At third view, there is the problem of different statements or even messages of witnesses at different periods with their differing demands on historians, memorials, writers, TV etc. Or the other way round: Do we translate their testimonies leaving apart those statements, which seem to be antiquated, in our attempts to make their messages more understandable for our or future times?

**Marcin Wilkowski 'Facebook as a sphere of commemoration: a critical view'**

According to the most recent media information, Facebook has about 700 million registered users. For a majority of them it is an everyday tool for managing social contacts and building one's identity in the digital world. The popularity of Facebook causes not only movements in the Internet business and technology of the Web (the famous 'like button'), but also becomes a new sphere of memory works and commemoration. In 2010 I published an article about a project of Piotr Brożek. On his own initiative, Brożek developed a Facebook profile of a Jewish boy Henio Żytomirski, murdered in Majdanek in November 1942. Describing this initiative I mentioned briefly the potential dangers of such a model of commemoration. Now I would like to go deeper into the subject and analyze critically not only Brożek's project but, in general, this model of commemoration in the methodological context of memory studies. Using actual discussions about the role of SNS (Social Network Sites) in the process of identity building and managing social relations as well as constructing memories, I will try to show some methodological, language and conceptual dangers in doing such research. Do we need to use business buzzwords as terms used in

the analysis? How to collect data in the constantly changing environment of Facebook? Do we really notice the importance of the webpage interface or do we rather treat it as a transparent sphere?

### **DYNAMICS OF MEMORY (3): BORDERLANDS**

#### **Tatiana Zhurzhenko 'Politics of memory and national identity in the post-Soviet borderlands: Ukraine/Russia and Ukraine/Poland'**

The paper addresses politics of memory in the Ukrainians-Russian and Ukrainians-Polish borderlands as an integral part of post-Soviet nation-building and transition to democracy. By focusing on borderland territories it transcends the national cultures of remembrance and places the research problem in the context of the ongoing debate on memory and European identity after the end of the Cold War. The paper explores the territorial aspect of collective memory and national identity, and it looks at how national myths and narratives 'make sense' of territories and places. Combining two innovative approaches in social sciences - memory studies and border studies - the project conceives borderlands not as marginal places but as central sites of power where the meanings of national narratives and identities are created, contested and transformed. Borderlands are zones where neighbouring national cultures of remembrance come into intensive contact and often into conflict, where they negotiate and borrow from each other.

The paper focuses on two border sites, which represent different historical and geo-political contexts: Kharkiv (Ukraine) / Belgorod (Russia) and Lviv (Ukraine) / Przemysl (Poland). Based on a typology of borderland territories (integrated, interdependent, contested, alienated) the paper tries to show how the borderlands and their commemorative landscapes are (re-)narrated and how the new national identities are (re-)territorialized.

#### **Tanya Zaharchenko 'How memory becomes identity: the curious case of East Ukraine'**

The study of the postsocialist region of the world has acquired a particular relevance in the recent decades, as political, cultural and social changes swept across Eastern Europe. In the case of Ukraine, however, any attempt to map the post-Soviet national identities is complicated in a peculiar way – not due to a presence of sizeable national minorities, as is usually the case, but because the country's ethnic titular majority itself does not constitute a homogenous, coherent collective. Throughout the centuries, different parts of Ukraine accumulated different historical legacies, belonging to the Polish-Lithuanian, Habsburg, Ottoman, Tsarist and Soviet territories. As a result of memories rooted in these varying experiences, the country today is peppered with diverse patterns of ethnic, linguistic and religious traits. In an effort to tackle this situation, both academic and popular discussions have focused on the assumed importance of ethnicity and language as signs of national identity. This paper argues that in the case of Ukraine, where different regions have been subject to differing external forces, and thus carry on historically diverse collective memories, such attention has been misplaced. Here, one's place of residence – home region – acts as the main determinant of identity, crosscutting all other existing cleavages. Essentially, a regional approach to cultural memory is key to understanding Ukraine. Using examples from the culturally hybrid and under-explored Eastern borderlands of the country, this paper challenges existing categories and methods of perceiving and interpreting Ukraine's multifaceted countenance. Connecting memory with identity formation, it demonstrates that, though 'no one can grasp the country as a whole', the borderlands' mixed remembrance trajectories have formed fluid identities that should have a firm place in memory theory, equal to, and along with, some more rigid and established self-perceptions of the country's diverse population.

#### **Malgorzata Głowacka-Grajper 'Anthropology of social memory of the Kresy: territorial identity seen through the categories of 'tradition' and 'politics of memory'''**

An often cited sentence from Halbwachs's book on social memory says that history begins where tradition ends. History understood as a product of the work of historians, addressed to the members of a society (and especially 'politics of memory' based on it) seems to be far from traditions often perceived as the unmanipulated part of the past, present in the lives of ordinary people. However, this distinction becomes problematic when we realize that history becomes more and more a verifier of tradition, and tradition becomes an object of the study of history, and even defines historical narratives. Between these two concepts there is the third: 'social memory'. It is defined as the social way of functioning of the interplay of tradition and history. Thus, social memory as a place of creation of visions of a group's past, individual experiences of its members and ties connecting them to each other and the territory important for them become a cultural construct which should particularly draw anthropologists' attention.

I will try to define the character of this cultural construct on the example of memory of the former Polish Eastern Borderlands (the Kresy). Over the years Poles in these areas formed a community whose identity was based on a relationship with the territory (perceived as a Polish one). After World War II, some of them remained in these areas, some were sent into the interior of the Soviet Union, and some were resettled to the new Polish state. Over the period of Communism, the memory of the Polish Kresy was successfully pushed to the margins of social and political life and after the beginning of the democratic changes in Poland we had to deal with the 'explosion' of memory connected with the Kresy. However, it was a short period. It soon became clear that this memory can be an obstacle in relations with the newly established states on the Polish eastern border and it has been marginalized in the public life. In this paper, I will focus on the question: how these changes in the socio-cultural environment and in the attitude of the Polish state to the memory of the Kresy affected the way of defining (by individuals) traditions of the Kresy and the place of memory of it in the political and public life in Poland? I will concentrate on two groups: people coming from there and the so-called 'Kresy lovers' (some of whom do not have any family relationships with this territory). They aim to preserve the Polish memory of the Kresy but try to adapt it to the contemporary world. They try to preserve the territorial identity with the territory which is no longer their place of living or it even never was.

**Jan Kajfosz 'Contemporary social memories and the theory of magic. How do we construct 'our' past and how do we instrumentalize it'**

The aim of the paper is to consider such ethnolinguistic categories as cognitive blending, connotation and magic as possible keys to the following questions: 'How can current conditions of our lives determine the remembered past?' and 'How is it possible that we can perfectly adopt different representations of the past (as a foreign country) and internalize them as our past itself?' The forgetting of the past is constitutive for the process of social remembering and this process has been extensively studied. My aim is to examine the forgetting of the difference between immediate experience and its further representations occurring under new conditions. 'How do we reconcile different representations of the past and how is it possible that diverse representations of the past merge in one social memory?' Such amalgamations of various forms of representations and diverse scales of objectification (amalgamations of signifier, signified and of the past as an 'absent object', as well as amalgamations of denotations and connotations) can be clarified by means of the theory of magic, by means of the law of resemblance and the law of contiguity. My theoretical inquiry was inspired by R. Barthes's *Mythologies* and I would like to rethink the relation between the primary and the secondary signification. I will support my considerations by empirical study of the construction of social memory in Teschen Silesia which was divided between Poland and Czechoslovakia in 1920. On both parts of the new border there occurred different state institutions which influenced local memories.

**FRIDAY 25 NOV. 2011  
PARALLEL SESSIONS  
(9-11 am)**

**MEDIA OF REMEMBRANCE (4): LITERATURE**

**Heinrich Olschowsky 'Literature as a means of cultural memory on the specificity of the East-European region' tba**

**Stanisław Obirek 'Religious memory versus cultural memory in the works of Stanisław Vincenz'**

Stanisław Vincenz (1888-1971) is known, first of all, as the author of the monumental saga 'On the High Uplands. Sagas, Songs, Tales and Legends of the Carpathians' (*Na wysokiej połoninie*). It is a poetic vision of lost Atlantis - a picture of harmonic coexistence of different world of various religious and ethnic minorities.

His cooperation with "Kultura" in Paris, his friendship with Czesław Miłosz, and the creation of "Platonic private academy" deserve deeper and more systematic description. It is highly important mission, because today we can observe a renaissance of oral tradition as a completion of literal heritage, both so central to Vincenz's works. This renaissance is captured in a theoretical frame elaborated mainly in the USA (Albert Lord, Eric A. Havelock, Walter Ong), in western Europe (Jack Goody, Aleida and Jan Assmann), and in Poland (Andrzej Mencwel, Grzegorz Godlewski). The literary and philosophic oeuvre of Stanisław Vincenz is a wonderful combination of praxis (records of tales from eastern Galicia in "On the High Uplands") and theory (philosophical essays).

In my paper I would like to associate Stanisław Vincenz's works with nowadays anthropological reflections. Both share the same core - a mutual influence of oral and written traditions, and also construction strategies of cultural and religious memory.

As Jan Assmann claims, the clericalization of culture led to its sacralization and stagnation. This was the case in Ancient Egypt, where priests controlled memory. It happens in any culture that resigns critical approach which is revealed in its prophetic and hermeneutic dimension. It seems that Stanisław Vincenz's literature enables to grasp variety of cultural interweaving of ethnicity and religion in their dynamic coexistence.

**Joanna Jeziorska-Haładyj 'Memory of loss: Danilo Kiš and Aleksander Jurewicz. A comparative perspective'**

The paper tackles the problem of memory and its literary representation in the works of two 20<sup>th</sup> century Central-Eastern European writers, who have a lot in common but haven't been yet, to the best of my knowledge, analyzed comparatively: Danilo Kiš and Aleksander Jurewicz. Both writers share a complicated, diverse background: Kiš was a Serbian writer, whose mother came from Montenegro and father was a Hungarian Jew. Jurewicz, born to a Polish family in Lida (now Belarus), as a 5-year-old moved to Poland as a repatriate. The biographical data is worth mentioning because individual experience has played a significant role in the development of literary creation – in both cases autofictional, deeply founded in private history but inevitably bound with great historical changes. Andi, the character of Kiš's 'Family Circus' trilogy (Garden, Ashes; Early Sorrows and Hourglass) and Alik, the boy from Jurewicz's Lida (and other works), incarnate many Central-Eastern European specific traumas: migration, moving borders, doubtful identity, fear. The tensions between collective and individual memory, childhood and adult point of view, evolution in remembering and recollecting past events – those problems are crucial in the effort of understanding this literature and the world it depicts. I intend to trace those tensions also using narratological devices. A crucial method in both semi-autobiographical creations is dividing the self into two textual realizations, symbolized by two grammatical forms: the first person ('I') and the third person ('He'). This interference enables to differentiate two memory modes: subjective and objective, one associated with intimacy and sincerity, the other with distance and restraint.

**Anna Zeidler-Janiszewska 'Mimesis as a form of memory in Holocaust literature and art'**  
tba

## **DYNAMICS OF MEMORY (4): SILENCE AND ARTICULATION**

### **Simon M. Lewis 'The Legacy of Catastrophe: Approaches and Methods on the Example of Belarus'**

Belarusian history is remarkably Benjaminian. Walter Benjamin famously wrote of the angel of history, who looks toward the past and 'sees one single catastrophe which keeps piling wreckage upon wreckage and hurls it in front of his feet.' Few countries have suffered as much wreckage as Belarus, which has been subjected to disastrous wars and foreign domination for the best part of the last 400 years. The catastrophes suffered by this country can be divided these into two types: the more-or-less instantaneous destruction wrought by war, mass killing, and genocidal occupation (e.g. the 17<sup>th</sup> century 'Deluge', the Second World War), and what Ann Laura Stoler elegantly calls the 'less dramatic durabilities of duress that imperial formations produce as ongoing, persistent features of their ontologies', i.e. the catastrophe of colonial subjection under both Polish and Russian rule. Both types of disaster have left Belarus in ruins.

My paper considers a number of ways in which Belarusians come to terms with this legacy, looking in particular at the memory of the Second World War and German occupation. It considers the problems faced in articulating memory and mourning and also the politics of their repression. Two sites of mourning are of interest: Khatyn and Kurapaty. The first, which commemorates villages burned to the ground together with their inhabitants, entered Soviet Belarusian memory discourse as a symbol of the horrors of the Nazi occupation. This Soviet discourse, however, had its own specific colonial agenda and was not conducive to a process of *working through* loss and horror on a grand scale. This ambivalence of memory continues to haunt to this day. Kurapaty, on the other hand, commemorates executions carried out by the Stalinist NKVD, and is strictly a preserve of opposition circles. Relevant questions here are – why does the state refuse to mourn its victims? And how can a repressed memory of a trauma be articulated in cultural discourse?

### **Uilleam Blacker 'Unknowable and unspeakable? Traumatic memory and cultural representations of the Katyn massacre'**

The paper arises from the work of the Memory at War project at the University of Cambridge on the cultural memory of the Katyn massacre in Poland. While Andrzej Wajda's film has come to be seen as the definitive representation of the massacre by many in Polish society, his is not the first attempt to come to terms with this traumatic memory. Many writers have treated the subject in their work, from renowned poets such as Zbigniew Herbert and Czesław Miłosz to novelists such as Włodzimierz Odojewski. Yet no writer has produced a single work of literature that could be seen as a major literary monument to Katyn. The massacre was mainly hinted at, or served as a backdrop for other narratives. When it was dealt with, writers often focused on the lead up to the tragedy, or the immediate aftermath. The traumatic event itself remained a lacuna in the memory of Polish culture, until Andrzej Wajda's graphic reconstruction in 2007. While censorship was of course an issue in the communist period, it seems there are deeper reasons for the reluctance, or perhaps even inability, of Polish literature to directly remember the massacre. The paper will discuss this problem in the light of the theories such as Cathy Caruth's idea of the unknowability of trauma, Giorgio Agamben's writings on the witness and the archive in traumatic memory, and ideas of the 'unspeakable' nature of the memory of the Holocaust.

### **Krisztina Németh 'Facts and narratives, contradictions and traumas: can past lifeworlds be reconstructed?'**

The central question of lifeworld-reconstruction (in case of my present research, the reconstruction of a vanished Jewish lifeworld in a small Hungarian rural town) is how to deal with the lack of data, with wiped out traces or relicts and the 'deficient recollections' of their non-Jewish neighbours. Another problem is how to handle the conflicts between ascertained facts and 'living' narratives, since they often contradict each other. Lifeworld-reconstruction not only explores historical facts and background, it also attempts to grasp the taken-for-granted knowledge that used to provide orientation for the members of the community, organize the banalities of everyday life, make daily routines meaningful and shape thinking by fixing the horizon of actions and experiences. In other words, lifeworld-reconstruction opens up for study the culture, norms, value systems and inter-cultural relations of the local Jewish and, to certain extent, non-Jewish communities. All this, although mainly unconsciously interiorized, seems to allow reconstruction, despite the sharp and violent break caused by the deportations that form the pivotal point in narrated life stories. Traumas are also apparent in the silence about the past and in the disruption of local communities.

The problems of reconstruction (such as the anomalies emerging out of the divergence between the already documented historical, morphological facts, statistical data, on the one hand, the life stories, as well as the contradictions among the personal narratives) required a systematic comparison of the two main kinds of data – facts and narratives. A deeper methodological scrutiny, inspired by grounded theory, indicated the strong and weak points of both the ‘hard data’ and quantitative methods and the limits of the narrative technique. As a methodological approach based on the dialogue of quantitative and qualitative data, lifeworld reconstruction turns contradictions into a special kind of metadata that inform about the traumatic (traumatized) past and the narrators’ relationship to it, the actors’ self-presentations as related to their representation of the past, etc. This allows to conclude to the possibilities as well as the methodological and hermeneutical limits of lifeworld-reconstruction.

### **Anna Ljuza Szász 'Art, oblivion and memory: the case of Hungarian Roma'**

'Forty years is the limit of a generation; the passing of the generation of contemporary witnesses and the transition from the lived, embodied memory to a tradition that is to be handed down from generation to generation. (...) To make sure that this memory does not die with them, it has to be transmuted into tradition, into the symbolic forms of cultural memory' – writes Jan Assman and then lists eight procedures of culturally formed memory. Among them there is 'making visible through body-marking, on the boundary between one's own and the other's body'. Considering the events of the Roma Holocaust in Hungary, the fortieth year has already passed – the generation of both the survivors and witnesses will soon be vanished, however neither institutions nor individuals could be regarded as agents of its memory, neither texts nor testimonies were produced and even if they were, they are fragmented, scattered and expropriated. I take art, in the Lacanian sense, as the boundary between one's own and the other's body and therefore see how contemporary Roma art represents the Holocaust, how it transmutes into myth and tradition. How could art approach a traumatic historical event methodologically? Is art capable of mourning and processing the trauma collectively or does it remain only an allegory of a confrontation with memories of the past? What is the relationship between document and memory in contemporary art? How could the following core questions: 'what do we remember?'; 'how do we remember?'; 'what do we see?' and 'how do we see?' be conceptualized in the context of art?

**FRIDAY 25 NOV**  
**PARALLEL SESSIONS**  
**(11.30 am-1.30 pm)**

**MEDIA OF REMEMBRANCE (5): THE VARIOUS ROLES OF HISTORIANS**

**Larysa Buryak 'Memory studies in Ukrainian historiography: tendencies and perspectives'**

Memory studies as a socio-cultural phenomenon is a relatively new and topical issue in the scientific world of Ukraine. Taking into account the fact that existence of a certain number of methodological problems is in the process of awareness and development, the present stage of Ukrainian memory studies can be defined as initial. The Ukrainian memory studies terminology requires further improvement and unification – one can find the Ukrainian definition of the term ‘memory studies’ within the frame of a national historical tradition. A majority of Ukrainian scientists use terms such as ‘historical,’ ‘national,’ ‘national-historical,’ memory rather intuitively. Moreover, they do not use a more complicated modification of memory, requiring additional explanations, eg. collective, social or cultural memory. While these terms have the key to solve numerous historical problems of the Ukrainian society: choice of identity in the posttotalitarian society on the social and individual level; interactive contradictions (alleged and actual), prejudices; stereotypes regarding external relations (Poland, Russia, Western Europe). Critically estimating the whole picture of memory studies in the Ukrainian historiography, one can argue that there exists certain configuration of investigations, allowing to speak about some regularity and tendencies. Research work is presented by elaboration of certain fields of scientific knowledge: history, law, politology, social psychology which testifies for interconnections of these objects of investigation. Currently there are at least two defined discourses in the Ukrainian studies – scientific and scientific-political. The first one considers memory as a phenomenon from a scientific point of view, taking into consideration western conceptions of Paul Ricoeur, Maurice Halbwachs, Jan Assman, and has a more theoretically grounded approach. Scientific-political discourse is foremost directed to influence actively the process of the Ukrainian state formation, memory playing significant role as its constitutive part. Taking into account modern historical realities, scientific-political discourse in the Ukrainian historiography has a dominating position, defining the content of memory studies. Dominating lexical units of these discourses are constructions such as ‘memory studies as a field of competition’ which cause natural questions: who is competing with whom; for whom or for what; for what purpose and sake? The answers one can get after carrying out a thorough investigation of memory as a socio-cultural phenomenon in the context of national identity, external relations and geopolitics as a whole.

**Michał Łuczewski, Tomasz Zarycki 'Scholarly debates and moral ontologies in Poland and Russia'**

Scientific debates over the past experiences are always value-laden. We will show this on the example of the most important Historikerstreite in Poland and Russia, i.e. debates over two books: 'The Neighbors' (Gross 2000) and 'History of Russia in the 20th century' (Zubow 2009). However, we want to go beyond commonsensical observation that history is not neutral to show concrete strategies employed by scholars to permeate their analyses with implicit valuations. More specifically, we will show their practices on the level of (a) defining, (b) describing and (c) explaining phenomena, such as groups and relations between them. While we reconstruct a 'menu', from which scholars chose in defining (Gerring and Baresi), describing (Tilly) and explaining (Boudon), we show that each decision is not neutral and has certain value-laden consequences. Last but not least, in our paper, we would like to introduce the concept of 'moral ontology' (Charles Taylor) to memory studies. As the debates we analyze are in the final instance about construction or deconstruction a national identity as a moral Statement, that schools are extremely important institutions of socialization seems to be rather trivial. We all know that they have to teach youths how to be good members of society, pass specific value system, pattern of virtues, visions of the past defined by present interests. In this process of socialization key role have history lesson – they create social memory of students, their identity and strengthen their ties with national group.

**Agnieszka Nowakowska 'Teaching Polish-Lithuanian history'**

A statement that schools are extremely important institutions of socialization seems to be rather trivial. We all know that they have to teach youth how to be good members of society, pass specific value system, pattern of



virtues and visions of the past defined by present interests. In the process of socialization the key role have history classes: they create social memory of students, their identity and strengthen their ties with their national group. We all know those trivial statements but, in my opinion, we do not know *how* schools create students' social memory or identity through history classes. In my presentation I will show how historical narration is created in schools by history teachers. I regard teachers as active creators who have fundamental influence on what students learn at school. Teachers shape knowledge and imagination of the youth about the past with their narration during lectures by spinning stories, asking questions and underlining some facts. They also use teaching aids such as source texts, films, maps and school décor (school wall newspapers). I am researching those narrations in two high schools in Vilnius: one with Lithuanian and one with Polish as the language of instruction. It is a terrain of big national tensions between Lithuanian and Polish groups. I will present how teachers show their students a common Polish-Lithuanian history and, at the same time, they create a vision of Lithuanian and Polish national groups. It will also be important to show factors which have an impact on history teachers' narrations – e.g. their national identity, origins or educational background. Hence, I can place my presentation at the juncture of 'research themes' and 'research categories.'

### **Izabela Skórzyńska 'Historian amidst the past as performance: An observer or a performer?'**

Increasing popularity of social performances of the past such as theatre, rituals, happenings and ceremonies, requires historians' involvement in research of these specific collective acts of recalling the past. The methodological and methodical background of such research are two historical traditions in particular: anthropology of history and Pierre Nora's new history. In both cases the dominating methods are archival research, visual analysis as well as, subsequently, fieldwork and participant observation.

Participant observation, as one of the key methods of cultural studies is recently gaining importance in the field of performance studies as well but it appears also as discussion topic about methodological and methodical background of historical studies. In particular, the role of a historian as a cultural performance researcher comes to the fore. Referring to my own experiences as a researcher of social performances of the past, I would like to propose considerations of the role of a historian in the context of subtle but significant difference between historian as a participating observer and as a performer. This question is particularly important from the standpoint of, at least potentially, conflicting discrepancy between a requirement of researchers' engagement in performance as dynamic collective action and a demand of critical distance and objectivity, still actual in the historical studies.

### **DYNAMICS OF MEMORY (5): PRIVATE/VERNACULAR – PUBLIC/OFFICIAL**

#### **Karen Auerbach 'Memory, identity and the writing of history: A case study of Jewish life in Poland after the Holocaust'**

This paper examines methodologies of studying the history of everyday life as a way of exploring the construction of memory, identity and community in postwar Polish Jewish society. The analysis is based on my research for a project titled *A Window on Postwar Warsaw: The Jewish Families of 16 Ujazdowskie Avenue*, which traced two intertwined histories: the reconstruction of ten Jewish families in Warsaw after the Holocaust, and the rebuilding of the city that shaped their postwar lives. The setting for the study is a turn-of-the-century building at 16 Ujazdowskie Avenue in the center of Warsaw where Jewish families lived in ten of the apartment house's twenty-three apartments. Parents in half of the families worked for the Communist government's ideological publishing house, *Książka i Wiedza*.

The frameworks of microhistory and generational history brought to light the influence of Jewish background on everyday life and the evolution of identifications over the course of postwar generations within Jewish families. The research approach was shaped by the study's focus on processes of integration as well as by the families' ambiguous relationship to memory of the Jewish past. Limited transmission of memory from parents to children challenged any attempt to access historical reality and to place the postwar period within the context of prewar and wartime lives. Tensions between memory and history were therefore an underlying theme of the study and influenced the source base. Four groups of sources – oral histories, archival documents, personal papers and published writings – established a detailed understanding not only of historical reality as far as it was possible to reconstruct, but also of how historical reality compared both with the memory transmitted from parents to children, and with the narratives presented in postwar documents. Conflicting narratives underscored the ways in

which survivors re-created themselves after the Holocaust. Writing about individuals who consciously suppressed memory of the past exaggerates the difficulties of accessing any historical reality beyond memory while shedding light on methodologies that can overcome those obstacles as far as possible.

### **Nicoletta Diasio 'Remembrance as embodiment in Polish contemporary memories'**

One of the most remarkable features of the memory in Central Europe is the way family memory is entangled in public memories, and the intertwine between domestic stories and the 'great' history of the nation (Kwiatkowski, Nijakowski, Szacka, Szpocinski 2010). Aside from the official memory - fostered by collective effort and imprinting history's rediscoveries, schoolbooks' rewriting and urban space's redefinition - family memory weaves collective events with personal tragedies, casting individuals within a social group and simultaneously singling them out (Halbwachs, 1925). In an historical context, punctuated with military occupations, shifting borders and forced migrations, memory transmission has been a potent instrument of identity building, and a tool of resistance (Sawisz 1990).

Nevertheless, whilst the studies on memory in Central and Eastern Europe focus on the importance of narratives, the bodily dimension of the remembering, and resistance has not been systematically explored. My contribution is based on an ethnographic research made in Warsaw and in Gdansk on family memory and on transmission (reconstruction of family genealogies, kinship relations, participant observation, interviews). My research reveals the relevance of the concept of embodiment in the way family and public memories co-construct each other. These memories are, literally, sensitive: they constitute a sensory matrix, founded on elements of a common material culture, and techniques of the self generating multiple identifications. Furthermore, the adjective 'sensitive', echoes a dimension of vulnerability. Sensitive memory is a wounded memory. Naming the absent, filling in genealogical gaps, locating forgotten villages, is an art bestowed upon those who make every effort to pass on the memory of the family. As Skultans reveals in the case of Latvian memory (2007), the experience of the emotion and suffering are at the core of the shaping of memory, and of its transmission. Nevertheless the dimension of narratives should be integrated by participant observation and by a phenomenological approach aiming to understand the memory's construction and transmission as a form of embodiment.

### **Piotr Kwiatkowski 'World War II in the memory of today's Polish society'**

The Second World War has been one of the central topics of public debate regarding the past since the fall of Communism in Poland. Political transformation and cultural changes over the last two decades set the confines of this discourse. A question that arises here is: to what degree is this public discourse of the war actively involving social elites and social opinion - forming circles, influencing informal collective memory, influencing what is thought about the war and the reaction to it of the people who do not deal professionally with the past, its exploration, analysis and assessment, or artistic recreation? An attempt to obtain as thorough and multifaceted picture as possible of the memory of the war that Poles share nowadays was the goal of a project conducted in summer 2009. The project, on commission for the Museum of the Second World War, embraced qualitative research carried out using focus group discussions, plus quantitative research involving a survey conducted using face-to-face interviews on a nationwide representative sample of adult residents of Poland. In the paper, I discuss selected findings of the research described above, focusing on four topics: (1) the scope of interest in World War II in the contemporary society; (2) wartime experiences in family accounts; (3) the war as a significant experience for the national identity; (4) the impact of the events of 1939 - 1945 on the formation of national stereotypes and on the perception of international relations in the region and in Europe.

### **Iryna Sklokina 'The memory of World War II and cultural consumption in the Soviet Society (UkrSSR, 1954-1985)'**

One of the important issues in contemporary memory studies is to trace the influence of the consumer culture upon the culture of memory. The formation of mass consumption societies in the 20<sup>th</sup> century influenced the Soviet Union, though the applicability of the term 'mass consumption society' to socialist states is a controversial issue. But still, especially during the Thaw and Stagnation period (1954-1985) the Soviet society experienced a rise in the discourse of individual consumption and a formation of different groups with diverse tastes, as well as a rise in the cult of WWII memory and a formation of different memory groups with diverse visions of the wartime past. How were these two processes interrelated (if they were)? How was the official discourse of 'wartime self-sacrifice' and 'collective titanic deed' received in the context of consumption of WWII images in entertainment and leisure practices?

The aim of this paper is to analyse the interconnections of the sphere of the official memory cult of WWII and everyday practices of the Soviet society such as recreational and leisure practices, tourism, and celebrations. Among other aspects, this interconnections paved the way for a certain kind of 'privatization' of memory of WWII, its esthetisation and infantilization. The fact that commemoration of WWII in the USSR became so strongly linked to entertainment and consumerism resulted in the persistence of the WWII cult not only on the level of political instrumentalization but also on the level of popular tastes. Maybe this is one of the sources of impossibility to create in contemporary Ukraine a public culture of grief and mourning similar to 'Western European examples' (if such exist), oriented to commemoration of victims, mutual understanding and reconciliation.

**FRIDAY 25 NOV**  
**PARALLEL SESSIONS**  
**(3-5 pm)**

**MEDIA OF REMEMBRANCE (6): HISTORY IN THE PUBLIC DOMAIN**

**Marcin Jarzabek 'What kind of memory orders you to demolish historical exhibition? – case study of the Silesian Uprisings' history-memory qui-pro-quo'**

In June 2011 historical exhibition Silesian Uprisings in the historical memory: participants – monuments – anniversaries, prepared by historians from the Katowice archive was publicly criticized by one of the deputies to the Silesian regional parliament, who wanted to demolish it. That episode might be an exemplification of an important shift in Eastern European approach to its own past. Traditionally history and memory, as two discourses of the past being poles apart, constitute general opposition, although borders and criteria of delimitation in that division are always debatable. Dynamics of the historical reality presents it as a complicated network of interrelated forms of the reflection about the past rather than a simple 0/1 division.

The aim of my paper is to present such a network of interconnections between few forms of the memory (communicative memory, commemoration policy) and history (historical objectivity and national legitimization) using the example of contemporary presence and usage of history and memory of Silesian Uprisings (1919-21). After the First World War Upper Silesia became a place of a Polish-German conflict that took place both on the political and military scene. Three military clashes (Silesian Uprisings) and the plebiscite, in 1922 resulted in division of that area and, consequently, began the memory clash, where historical research and commemoration policy were tools of strengthening national identity on the borderland. Also after 1945 Polish communist authorities in their own way continued that memory policy.

In my paper I present how Polish official commemoration policy, representing national point of view, went together with professional historiography and how far they were from the content of the communicative memory of the Upper Silesian themselves. However, in contemporary reality living communicative memory is naturally disappearing and 'free market' of historical researches allows both to canonize various forms of communicative memory and to conduct investigation with different motivations and ideological backgrounds. Investigating these discourses I conclude that ideological commemoration policy (deprived of historiographical legitimization) can find other source of support in one or another memory community.

**Florian Peters 'Memory' vs. 'History'? Discourses on World War II in Late Socialist Poland**

Drawing on my PhD project on representations of World War II in the historical discourses of regime and opposition in late socialist Poland (1976-1989), my paper addresses the theoretical and methodological framework of memory and history by applying it to an empirical case study.

The last decades of state socialism in Poland are considered a paradigmatic case of the political relevance of memory, since both the anti-communist opposition movements and the state socialist regime were eager to develop and spread historical narratives in order to reproduce or deconstruct the system's legitimacy respectively. World War II, including historical incidents connected to it (such as the double experience of German and Soviet Occupation, the extermination of Polish Jews, the Warsaw uprisings), constituted one of the major subjects of this

conflict over memory, because it was situated at the crossroads of different historical narratives, such as internationalist-heroic, nationalist-heroic and religious-martyrological narratives.

In my paper, I will argue for an approach that overcomes the common opposition between 'top down', manipulative historical policy and 'bottom up', somehow authentic cultures of memory. Therefore, I use the term 'historical culture' to address the differentiated sphere of representations of the past in the present. It is not through the sampling of individual memories that the past acquires political relevance for the present, but on the level of history and its narratives, which provide historical meaning and interpretative frameworks for the present. While avoiding normatively charged concepts of a 'war over truth; between regime and society, I am rather interested in the common structures and blurred in-betweens of hegemonic and counter-hegemonic historical discourses.

### **Gábor Gyáni 'History in public use in today's Hungary'**

Following 1989 history became an increasingly important issue both in Hungary and every post-communist country of Central and East Europe. The then emerging cult of the national past sustained by the party politics rooted not just in the fundamentally negative communist attitude prevalent during the former decades as it has been accused of being. The discourse then emerging and entitled 'Return to history' was also a reaction to the demands of the new democracies established amidst the circumstances of national sovereignty. Accordingly, any revival of the historically tried methods, and discovery or invention of national traditions served in many cases to preserve or gain vitally important mass political support or assurance of the passive loyalty of people, the voters, then experiencing in large numbers the heavy economic price of the political change (mass unemployment, drastic decrease both in the wages and the occupational position of many, and the shocking increase in material inequality within society). The growing preoccupation with the national past was thus necessary for creating and strengthening the democratic national community which could replace the forces of political loyalty in a situation where the former mechanisms of legitimacy (fear of terror or of its remembrance, the discrimination and the gentle forms of suppression, political apathy, and, last but not least, the widescale collaboration of large part of society) have suddenly ceased to operate.

A new form or mass media of this preoccupation with the distinctive national past was established and facilitated by the expansion of a *public history*, which seems now to rule the whole domain of collective memory. What are the most preferred themes implied in it, and what conceptual guideline seems to inform this special pattern of historical consciousness always serving the needs of a national politics are the main issues to be discussed in my paper.

### **Cristina Petrescu 'Cultural memory in the making: Communism remembered in post-1989 Romania'**

Any study on memory in East-Central Europe needs qualifiers, such as: suppressed, forbidden, or counter, attached to this concept. These qualifiers symbolize the legacies of a series of non-democratic regimes that succeeded one after the other in this region during the twentieth century. While the Second World War rather divided historical experiences in East-Central Europe, it was communism that turned the countries from behind the Iron Curtain into a community of memory. This common recent past confers to East-Central Europe a different identity as compared to Western Europe. Nevertheless, inside this region, different communisms have been differently remembered. The proposed paper focuses on the author's native country, Romania, in order to analyze in a comparative perspective the post-1989 organization of the memory of communism in the public sphere. Unlike others in the former Soviet bloc, Romanians did little to preserve the memory that was forbidden in public under communism; networks of dissent were too weak to accomplish such a task. Looking retrospectively twenty years after, one can observe the emergence, dominance, and persistence of a unique reading of this past, detectible in all public representations: the communist period was the darkest epoch in national history. What is more, according to this reading, the local version of communism represented no less than the most inhumane dictatorship in the Soviet bloc. In all other countries in East-Central Europe, such reading of the past was formulated as an immediate reaction after the collapse of communism, but twenty years after, different versions of this recent past, ranging from traumatic to nostalgic narratives naturally coexist. In Romania, there have been no controversies upon the past, but a canonization of the above-mentioned ideas on Romanian communism, reiterated in all publicly articulated reconstructions of the past, from personal recollections to professional writings, and from museum exhibitions to cinematic narratives.

These congruous representations originated mostly in the memory of the Romanian Gulag, but they were also consistent with the more recent recollections of the 1980s, the years of deep crisis and shortages that singularized

this country in the Soviet bloc. One could thus hypothesize that the harsher a communist regime was, the more powerfully traumatic recollections are expressed and thus, the longer the public consensus on that regime's negative impact survives. Notwithstanding the obvious influence of the past upon its remembrance, this study tries to capture though the process of formulating the prevailingly-negative memory-based representation of Romanian communism by looking at groups and individuals involved in it. The first part – mapping autobiographical recollections – addresses personal memories and defines the major groups that publicly remembered their lived experiences. It examines the corpus of memoirs, diaries, interviews, and occasional recollections from the communist past that were made public, classifies them according to the social group of the respective author, defines the main message conveyed by each group, and evaluates the potential impact of every such message. In short, it analyzes what some Romanians actually wanted to remember from their personal past in order to share it with others. The second part – shaping collective representations – illustrates the directions in which relevant institutions and civil society groups, as well as individuals – professionals or nonprofessionals – channeled their interest in the memory of communism for the sake of transmitting it to future generations. It looks to what personal memories were selected in order to construct a shared past by focusing on public representations of communism, as well as historical writings. This process of organizing the memory of the past also influences the subsequent autobiographical testimonies. In other words, between personal recollections and memory-based public representations – historical writings included – there is a constant and mutual interaction. Given all the above, this paper argues that these reciprocally-influencing processes of remembrance have gradually crystallized in the public sphere a hegemonic and long-lasting collective representation of Romanian communism that forgets more than it remembers about the recent past by emphasizing sufferings, exaggerating heroism and externalizing guilt. Such a public representation corresponds to an understanding of this past shared by institutions and individuals engaged in preserving its memory, but it fails to embody the multitude of personal experiences under communism, maintaining a gap between private and public versions of the past. It is ultimately, this author argues, the expression of a cultural syndrome – characteristic to Romanian intellectuals – that is generated by the feeble pre-1989 anti-communist dissent and epitomized by the excessive post-1989 anti-communist public remembrance of communism.

## **DYNAMICS OF MEMORY (6): STRUGGLES FOR POWER AND LEGITIMACY**

### **Dalia Agata Báthory 'Memory traps: uses and abuses of collective memory in politics'**

Studies of collective memory have developed without really developing, since their vocabulary has exploded in concepts. Some of these concepts, such as the 'mnemonic map' of Europe, 'frozen memories', 'communicative silencing' (Malksoo, 2009), are metaphors with a poetic input in the memory field. Other concepts, inspired from psychoanalysis, are metaphors that confer a dramatic weight to studying collective memory, together with an organic view on the society: 'social repair', 'social healing', 'body politic', (Prager, 2008). This particular approach may be traced back to a Volkish tradition and ideology, veiled behind an up-to-date and very popular psychoanalytical discourse. Memory is a construction and a reconstruction (Halbwachs, 1992; Bartlett, 1932; Brockmeier, 2010), and in this process of reconstruction we always find the bricks of affective positioning and that of schemata (Bartlett, 1932). These bricks are a guarantee that any discourse on memory is an irrational, emotional one and is a cause to a conflict whenever two opposing memories meet. Moreover, memory is an exploitable emotional resource of which power takes advantage. Therefore, besides all the poetry and the drama in memory studies, a more prosaic approach is needed. In this article I deal with memory as narration (Brockmeier, 2010) and I try to capture its meanings, using Ernesto Laclau's and Chantal Mouffe's discourse theory as a framework. The case study is a focus on several recent political interventions, of Romanian and Hungarian leaders, that are mnemonically driven and have an obvious manipulative purpose. The aim is to show how the use of memory can vary from transitional justice to games of political power and to point that collective memory is a factor that should be a lot more taken into consideration in political science and international relations.

### **Stanisław Tyszka 'Legal means of remembrance. Property restitution in Czech and Polish public debates after 1989'**

The presentation will discuss the politics of memory in the Czech Republic and Poland after 1989 in relation to restitution of nationalized property as a measure of post-communist transitional justice. The dominant historical discourses in both countries are analyzed on the basis of restitution legislation and procedures and public debates. The latter saw the emergence of various historical narratives of victimhood, constructed around memories of different historical injustices, and justifying or opposing claims for restitution or compensation for lost property.

In both national cases it is possible to identify dominant memory discourses that shaped the dynamics of restitution debates. In the Czech Republic, there was a condemnation of communist crimes presupposing the principle of compensation for past wrongdoing, while in Poland the idea of property restitution was rejected on the basis of arguments relating to universal victimhood and the impossibility of universal compensation. In both countries the different narratives were legitimized by law. In the Czech case this came in the form of the adoption of restitution laws at the beginning of the 1990s, while in Poland the situation was marked by legislative silence and far-reaching legal continuity with the communist legal order.

### **Zuzanna Bogumił 'Politics and religion. New martyrs and the interpretations of the Soviet past'**

Memory of opposition and suffering inflicted by socialist governments is an important component of the identity of some countries founded after the collapse of the so-called Eastern bloc. At the same time, these countries have witnessed religious revival, and religious motives are frequently used to explain recent events. In many countries people who were persecuted by the socialist governments are nowadays perceived as martyrs and some of them were even canonized (e.g. priest Jerzy Popiełuszko by the Catholic Church in Poland, or new martyrs by the Orthodox Church in Russia).

In my presentation I will focus on the Orthodox phenomenon of the new martyrdom in Russia. Since it has an impact unprecedented in other countries (at the occasion of the 2000<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Christ's birth, the Orthodox Church canonized over a thousand new martyrs), its analysis gives a clearer picture of the problem of imparting religious dimension to the 20<sup>th</sup> century Communist experience. My goal is to analyze the rhetoric of the Orthodox language and to focus on the significances and social functions of some memorials to the new martyrs, in order to answer the following questions: How do they remember the repressive past? And what kind of cultural and religious argumentation do they use to explain a traumatic experience? I will also raise the problem of the relationship between authority and religion and its influence on the role of history and function of memory in post-socialist countries. The presentation offers an anthropological and sociological perspective on the problem of commemoration of the traumatic past based on the field research I have been carrying out in the Russian Federation since 2006.

### **Robert Wszyński 'Young nations imagining past. The indigenous societies of the former Soviet Union'**

Wydaje się, że zachodnie konstruktywistyczne modele opisują dobrze powstanie i rozwój narodu, który w sposób ciągły i rzecz można 'bezbolesny' przeszedł od preindustrialnego modelu monarchicznego ku nowoczesnemu społeczeństwu przemysłowemu i ideologii nacjonalizmu. W sposób podobny, jak mi się wydaje, zachodnie modele opisujące pamięć i historię, mediacyjną rolę elit politycznych, instytucji oraz mediów w procesie konstruowania pamięci zbiorowej odwzorowują dobrze procesy zachodzące raczej, mówiąc językiem 'gellnerowskim', wśród narodów starych/szlacheckich/historycznych. A co z narodami młodymi/chłopskimi dopiero piszącymi swe pierwsze podręczniki historii i państwami jakich dużo powstało po upadku kolejnych imperiów (habsburskiego, sowieckiego) na przestrzeniach Europy Wschodniej i Dalekiego Wschodu? Tutaj, jak mi się wydaje, z trudem dopasować można założenia teoretyczne przeniesione z doświadczeń Anglii, Francji czy Niemiec. Wykorzystując dalej konstruktywistyczną analogię, zauważyć należy, że teoretycy nacjonalizmu uznali jednak odmienny sposób budowy nacjonalizmu narodów postakoloniaalnych (np. Hobsbawm) czy młodych/chłopskich (Gellner).

Pragnę zatem w swym wystąpieniu ukazać specyfikę młodego państwa ( Białoruś), czy autonomii w ramach szerszego ciała politycznego (republiki autonomiczne Jakucja, Buriacja, Tuwa w ramach FR), a w nim narodu budującego czy odbudowującego swą historię i tożsamość grupową. Narodu pozbawionego ciągłości instytucjonalnej, jak i własnych elit ( najczęściej w wyniku ludobójstwa). Odwołam się tutaj do własnych badań terenowych na Białorusi, Syberii i Kazachstanie. Ośmielę się ukazać odmiennosc, od klasycznych założeń teoretycznych, niektórych procesów związanych z pamięcią zbiorową, historią i działaniami elit narodotwórczych (np. pamięć komunikatywna 7-30 pokoleń). Sięgnę również do przykładu mniejszości narodowych (Jakuci, Buriaci) i grup emigranckich ( repatrianci z Kazachstanu ). Na tym tle postaram się równocześnie zarysować 'nieme założenia' teorii budowanych na przykładach starych narodów Europy Zachodniej.