

# Observing *Memories*

# 1

DEEP ARTICLE

# TOTALITARISMOS

*Lorem Liquia id magnis et quas et doluptatium hitenditio.*

**Les memòries del  
nazisme i l'estalinisme  
a Europa**  
TRAVERSO

**L'evolució dels treballs  
de memòria a Europa**  
P. NORA

**Els memorials de  
l'Europa actual**  
JAMES YOUNG

# Observing *Memories*

**EUROM**  
EUROPEAN  
OBSERVATORY  
ON MEMORIES

DRIVEN BY



WITH THE SUPPORT OF



**IMATGE DE LA COBERTA**

## Guernica

**AUTOR**

**Pablo Picasso**

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# Observing Memories

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# 1

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**EUROM** is a transnational network of institutions and organizations committed with the analysis and promotion of remembrance public policies. It aims to reflect on the recent history of the struggle for democracy and freedom in Europe, advocating for a plurality of memories. The Observatory is driven by **Fundació Solidaritat de la Universitat de Barcelona** with the support of the European Commission – Europe for Citizens Programme.

# EDITORIAL

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**Jordi Guixé**

Director of the European Observatory on Memories

# *Time, Memory and History.* **At the crossroads of European Memory**

AUTOR

**Jordi Guixé**

Director of the European  
Observatory on Memories

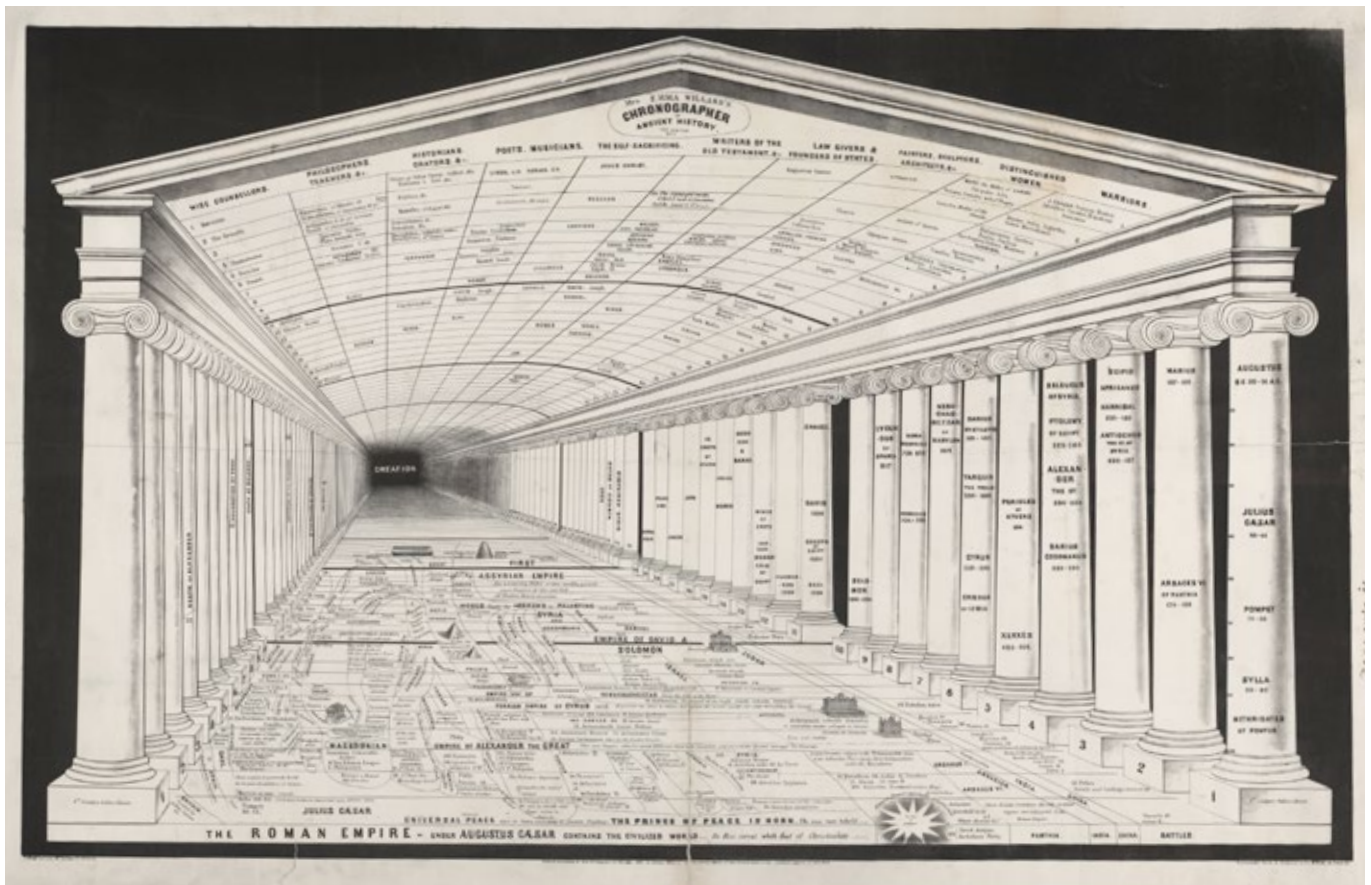
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**F**irst, I would like to thank the *Europe for citizens Forum* and the *Mémorial de la Shoah* in Paris for their invitation. It is a good thing that the time of a commemoration should be not only a moment for remembering the past and pay a tribute to the victims, but also a moment to reflect upon the commemoration itself, its achievements, its failures, its evolution.

The need to understand the past and to provide a collective representation of History is all but a recent phenomenon, nor it is only a European one, of course. Nevertheless, something probably changed in the last four or five decades in the way contemporary societies deal with the past. The place of the past in the present, the kind of events which are the most celebrated, the reasons why there is such a public investment in the field of history have progressively changed.

In this perspective, the most spectacular evolution has been the emergence of “memory” as a major political and moral value, a kind of a new human right promoted all over the world, far beyond the European scene where it is born in the 70’s. But what was at stake was not remembering the past in a general and traditional way. This new claim addressed specifically the black spots in history, and its forgotten or unwritten pages, beginning of course with the Holocaust and the Nazi past as a whole whose permanent and official remembering became a core element of the building process of a European identity, before and after the fall of the Berlin Wall. In a more general way, apologizing for the wrongdoings of the past, recognizing the victims of collective traumas of any kind (wars, dictatorships, now even major accidents or natural catastrophes), suing the perpetrators of genocides and other mass crimes, became progressively part of states’, parties’, or groups’ political agendas. This necessity – this duty – to remember and commemorate these aspects



stakeholders: international institutions and NGO, central states and administrations, regional and local institutions, private or public players, associations of all kind, and it covers a various range of fields. Let me describe them very briefly, by pointing the achievements and sometimes the problems this trend raised.

### 1) In the field of research.

As everybody knows, there has been in the last decades a “memory boom” in historiography and social sciences and humanities as a whole. Historians changed their way to work, paying more attention to the perception of time by the contemporaries of a given historical period. Following Foucault, Ricoeur or Koselleck, philosophers paid more attention to the past as a representation and a social construction than to the traditional philosophy of history. Psychologists have deeply invested the field of trauma and victimization, to give here very few examples.

Nevertheless, we must pay attention to some possible problems.

If the concept of “collective memory” has been a major theoretical tool in analyzing the present of the past in the last two decades, it can not be allowed to subsume other concepts which can help to describe the link between past and present. To understand the recent past and its long-standing shadow one must take in account the role and place of political traditions, social heritages, filiations, and anthropological invariants. The current concept of collective memory is too closely linked to the psychological notion of trauma to be able to provide the only possible framework for a collective representation of the past, especially as the traumas of the XXth century begin to lose their original impact, at least at a collective level. In other words, “memory” can’t describe all the complexity of the presence of the past.

In the last two decades, for example, the

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historical production on the two world wars has known a paradoxical development. On the one hand, thanks to the great investment done by public agencies or foundations, researches became more and more sophisticated, using an impressive range of tools, methods, concepts which had an impact far beyond the world of specialists. On the other hand, there have been a parallel growing preoccupation in the public for these issues, leading to the use or even the creation of multiple sources of information by ordinary people: databases, websites, local researches, genealogic works – what is known in North America as “public history”. This is an interesting phenomenon because it is part of the above mentioned “memory boom”. But at the same time, this is a real challenge because the “democratization” of historical knowledge could be either a real progress to sensitize about the past as well as a vector for all manipulations of the past, as we can see it with the influence of Holocaust deniers.

## **2) Teaching.**

Everywhere in Europe, teaching contemporary history became a challenge, sometimes a permanent battle, especially in primary and secondary schools. Then, there has been an important investment in programs and textbooks as well as in exploring the relevant methods to reach a young audience. Nonetheless, there are plenty of questions in this field regarding what needs to be done:

- To sensitize young kids about the historical traumas, especially on episodes for which they don't have any kind of direct link, do we need to use emotion and to what extent? What is the real impact on teenagers of the use – and sometimes the abuse – of the “Auschwitz trips” or similar initiatives? How do we fight against the unavoidable trivialization or the artificial effect of what has become a form of “catéchisme mémoriel”? Teaching vivid issues in the recent past doesn't mean abandoning any form of critical view on the past.

- Is the school a place where different memories have to be emphasized, in order to respect each religious, ethnic or cultural minority, or is it a place able to create a feeling of a shared history?

And how to create this feeling without inventing an artificial consensus? One of the solutions adopted in French schools has been to teach at the end of the secondary degree some elements on the history of memory as such in order to explain that a historical event may have several interpretations and meanings in time, space, social groups, etc. Teaching the history and memory of WWII give to the students some fruitful elements not to take any historical narrative for grant.

## **3) Commemorations.**

Everywhere, the number of commemorations has increased, and their nature has profoundly changed. The main phenomenon to my opinion is the invention of “negative commemorations” in countries where the past was traditionally a source of proud, like in France where, for the first time in its History, was created in 1993 an official ceremony not to celebrate a victory or a national martyrdom but to remember the crimes committed by the State against the Jews during the Holocaust (July 16th) and another one, in 2006, to commemorate the crimes committed against the slaves.

At a European level, the problem is different because the recent “negative commemoration” of the Holocaust of January 27, established in 2000 by the Task force, and in 2005 by the UN has been much more popular and visible than the older 9th of May, the Europe day, established in 1985, who had no real impact to forge any shared memory or history.

The problem here is to find a balanced policy between a negative view of the past, which is necessary to avoid any oblivion about the crimes committed in the recent past, and a positive view which has to be reinvented. Here and there, we can see either a kind of exasperation about the exclusive focusing on the dark side of recent history, or a trend to rehabilitate national heroes who are hardly consensual figures at a European level.

## **4) Law and justice.**

What seemed rather exceptional in the 70's – judging war criminals thirty years after the facts – became like a norm afterwards with the belated trials



The Algerian War. Menimusant ut illoreperum, officim iducips > [LINK](#)

in Germany, France, Italy against former Nazis and Collaborators. At the same time, the various policies of purges and lustrations in Eastern European countries launched after 1989 reinforced the idea that either the law or a judicial process could be major vectors for memory, even if the impact of the post-communist trials never had the importance of the post-war trials.

At the same time, there has been a growing trend to promote normative views upon the past, even in countries where the freedom of speech is a strong tradition. In France, the “lois mémorielles”, those texts that defend an official interpretation of a given historical episode (The Algerian War), or defining it in the framework of criminal law (Western slavery as a crime against humanity), rose tremendous polemics and an intense activity among scholars and politicians. One can see a similar development at the European level: recently, the European Commission recommended to all the EU members to promulgate laws repressing all forms of denying any kind of genocide or crime against humanity, in the model of the laws against the Holocaust deniers.

This evolution is highly controversial. Finding a good balance between the necessity to fight against “revisionists” trends or political oblivions, on the one hand, while respecting the freedom of speech and the freedom of research, in the other hand, is probably one of the most important challenges for a near future.

This evolution is **highly controversial**. Finding a good balance between the necessity to fight against “revisionists” trends or political oblivions, on the one hand, while respecting the freedom of speech and the freedom of research, in the other hand, is probably **one of the most important challenges for a near future**.

# Some reflections about the future of memory

In the recent past, public initiatives, under the initial pressure of the civil society, have played a major role to promote research, commemorations, museums, policies of apology, trials, etc. In a near future, I think that local authorities, private stakeholders or autonomous citizen organizations will play a more important role for different reasons. At a local level, there is still and there will be a strong economical interest to develop “memorial activities”, like the “tourisme de mémoire”, as we can see it today in the building of new museums or sites of memory all over Europe, apart their political agendas. Another reason will be the fact that local or private initiatives, even modest one, will probably have more money to finance various projects than central states trying to solve their colossal public debts.

There is also another reason. The more the process of remembrance (i.e. the memory of the Holocaust) has been considered as “universal”, addressing to every citizen of a given nation or to the entire European citizen, the more the central level (the different states or the EU) was involved. If the future, I do believe that debates over the past will concern more specific groups and more specific historical episodes, then private institutions, organizations, associations or foundations of diverse kinds will play a more important role, as I already mentioned it by talking about the raising movement of “public history”.

As a matter of fact, the future of remembrance activities will change because the model of “memorialization” which has developed since the 1970s, mainly through the tremendous challenges of the Holocaust legacy, will change for at least two main reasons:

1° - the first one has been expected for a long time: the last of the Nazi era will disappear in the

next decade. Their absence will dramatically change the narratives of the recent past. Historians, social scientists, film-makers, designers working on these topics will have to work “alone”, without the since 1945. Historical narratives, museums, films will have to find new ways to represent the history of this tragic moment.

Meanwhile, even if it will be a major change, I don't think that we'll have to cope something like a gap between two periods of memory. First, the relationships between survivors, researchers or politicians have been all but harmonious in the last decades. There were many conflicts and controversies about the different ways to represent or to transmit such an experience like the Holocaust. So, it won't be a complete new situation. Second, we have now the example with the centenary of WWI: the absence of survivors stimulated the research for new documents, written testimonies, and new interpretations.

2° - The second one is directly related to the last. The remembrance of the Holocaust has played the role of a model, even a paradigm since the late 70's, and it is now more or less a major element in the on-going construction of a European identity. But this cannot remain unquestioned.

- In the 1980s and the 1990s, most of the European countries faced the largest collective anamnesis ever undertaken in recent history, leading to policies of apology and reparation, major trials, new commemorations, and a strong involvement of teaching and transmission, as mentioned above. Did the process come to an end? Did it achieve its goals and is there even any possible evaluation of its efficiency? To take only one example, one can observe that the large investment in the remembrance of recent totalitarian experiences (Nazism and Communism) had a rather small

impact on contemporary European politics. It didn't prevent the rise of movements carrying xenophobic or racist ideas, whether we call them "populists" or "neo-fascists". In the French case, the Front National rose in parallel with the implementation of official policies of remembrance, and it reached its peak quite at the same time when the French state recognized its own responsibility during the Vichy period, in the mid 90's. Therefore, there is an urgent question about the role played by the recent so-called "policies of the past" or "policies of history" not only in a moral or ethical perspective but also in terms of democratization.

– After the fall of the Berlin wall, one could believe that the same methods used to recognize and repair the crimes committed during the Holocaust could be used to resolve other traumatic pasts: Slavery, Colonialism, and above all Communism. Twenty years later, this belief seems partly irrelevant. Specific concepts and practices of memorialization have developed for dealing with the past in Eastern and Central Europe, raising new and specific challenges: the legacy of two competitive totalitarian experiences; the conflict between policies of memory which aim to improve human rights and those discourses of the past which have led to a rebirth of nationalist feelings; and the weakness of the juridical dimension, which has been major force in shaping historical memory in Western Europe since 1945.

– Therefore, it is all but sure that the Holocaust paradigm will be still the only one relevant in the near future, neither it is sure that there will be anymore any comparable paradigm. The model built for the Holocaust remembrance, important though it is for this unprecedented experience, cannot just be copied. On the contrary, coming to terms with the Communist legacy will also change the ways in which we narrate and remember European history in general, including in the Western part of the continent (Bloodlands of Timothy Snyder). The memory of other traumas will have more and more to find their own expressions, even if what has been done for the Holocaust will serve here and there as a reference. Even if the communist experience was a

pan-European one and even if the magnitude of the crimes committed in its behalf was a tremendous one as well, there is no sign that this collective experience could play the role played by the Holocaust legacy. As far as I can see it, there is not any sign indicating that the communist experience could be seen as a comparable universal experience as it was for the Holocaust. As a consequence, I think that the place given to the communist experiences, in their varieties and their complexity, both in the East and in the West is probably one of the a major challenge for any European policy of remembrance in the following years.

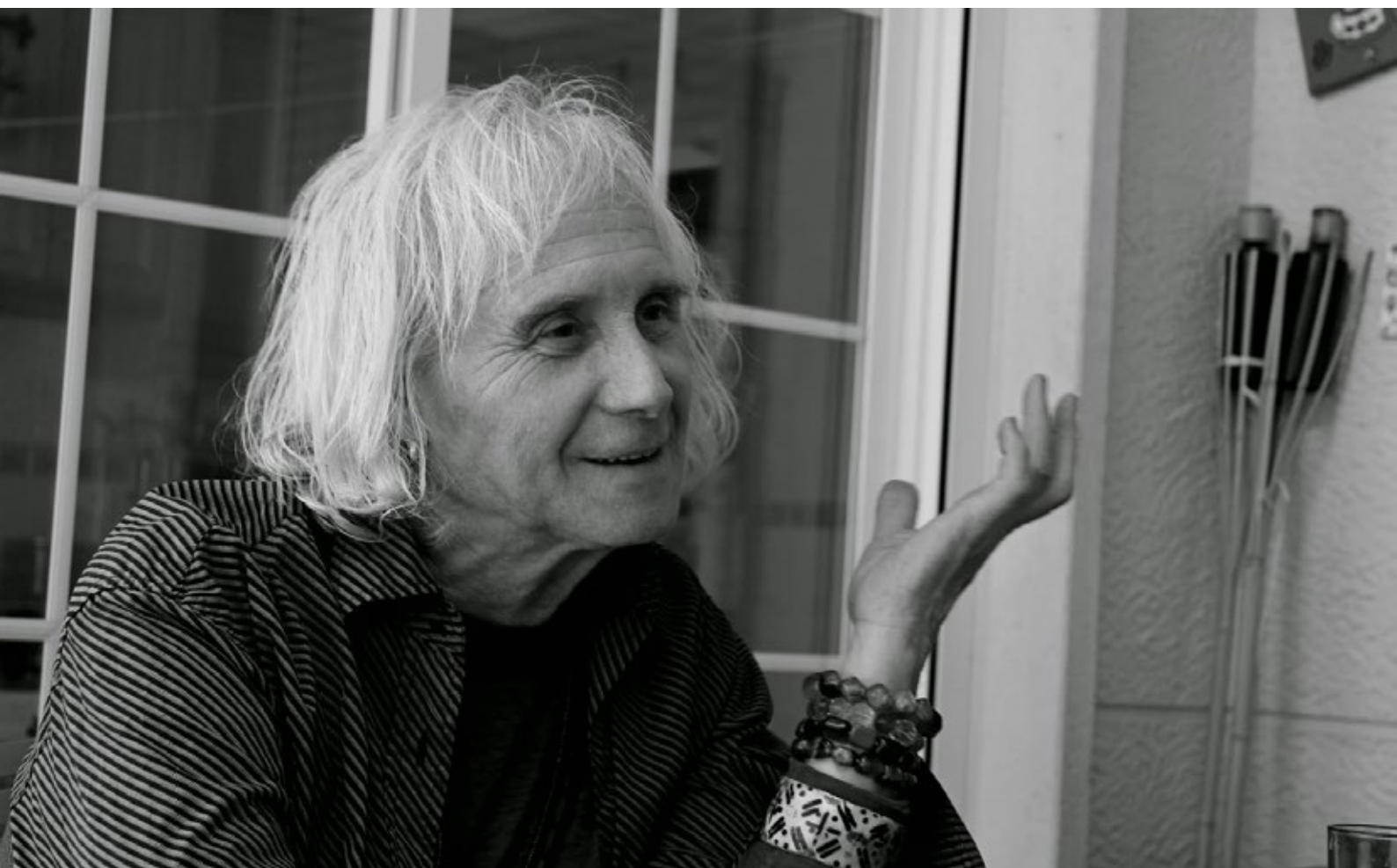
As a very short conclusion, I would say that any activity in the field of remembrance should go beyond a moral perspective. It should provide a political vision by trying to understand how a remembrance activity could concretely improve our democratic systems. It should contribute as well to create a new knowledge on the past itself and on the way to cope with it and to memorialize it. Above all, one must think about the real purpose of a remembrance policy, that is sharing a common legacy of the past rather insisting upon the differences. There have been recently too many competitive forms of victimization not to think how they could be and should be overpassed.

Meanwhile, the choice and the answer are not easy : should we insist again on the idea that remembering the Holocaust has a universal dimension, despite the fact that this is all but consensual, or should we try to invent new means of remembering that will take in account the diversification of historical experiences? In a certain sense, we should probably disconnect the question of memory and the question of identity. The Holocaust doesn't concern only the Jews, while Slavery and Colonialism doesn't concern only the ethnic minorities. There are many other components in an social identity than sharing the dark memories of a traumatic past. And what is true for communities, is also true for nations and for the European union.

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# AUTORS



AUTOR

**Nom Cognom**

Càrrec o posició

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# RECOMMENDATIONS

## Books, exhibitions, movies



### **EL TOTALITARISMO: TRAYECTORIA DE UNA IDEA LIMITE**

**SIMONA FORTI**, HERDER,  
2009

#### DATOS DEL LIBRO

Nº de páginas: 192 págs.

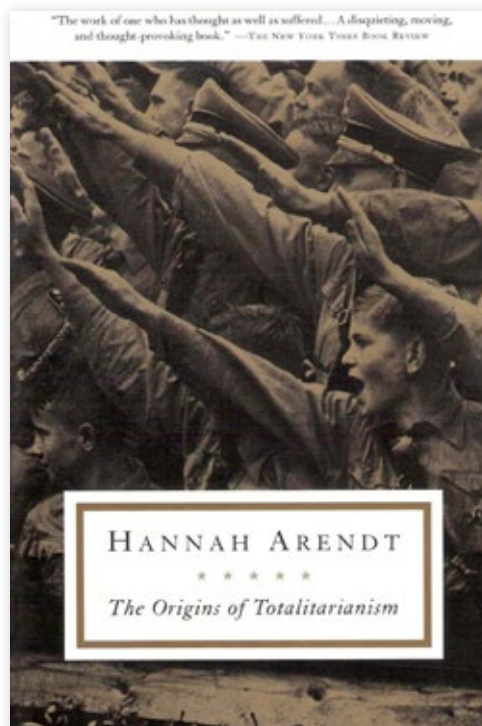
Encuadernación: Tapa blanda

Editorial: HERDER

Lengua: CASTELLANO

ISBN: 9788425425677

*¿Qué significa que un régimen político se vuelva totalitario? ¿Cuándo empieza a hablarse de totalitarismo, y por qué? ¿Podemos tratar el fenómeno totalitario como un trágico episodio del siglo que apenas acaba de terminar, o es algo más complejo que un simple paréntesis histórico?*



### **THE ORIGINS OF TOTALITARIANISM**

**HANNAH ARENDT**, HERDER, 2009

#### DATOS DEL LIBRO

Nº de páginas: 192 págs.

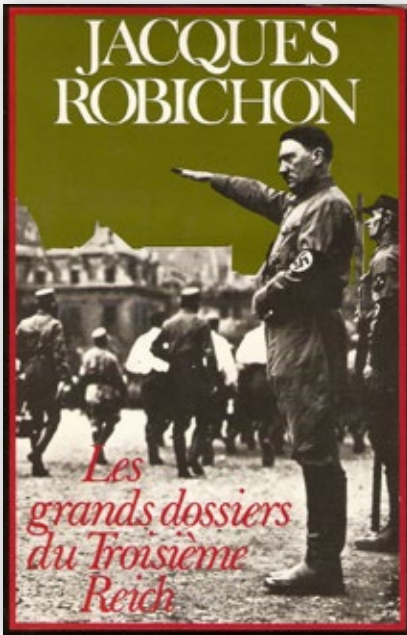
Encuadernación: Tapa blanda

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Lengua: CASTELLANO

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## LES GRANDS DOSSIERS DU TROISIÈME REICH

JACQUES ROBICHON,  
HERDER, 2004

DATOS DEL LIBRO

Nº de páginas: 192 págs.

Encuadernación: Tapa blanda

Editorial: HERDER

Lengua: CASTELLANO

ISBN: 9788425425677

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## MOVIES

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