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**NEWSLETTER POST-SOCIALIST
AND COMPARATIVE MEMORY STUDIES**

PoSoCoMeS NEWSLETTER

Issue 2, November 2019

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Editors' Note Newsletter #2

Dear readers,

We are pleased to present the second issue of the PoSoCoMeS newsletter. It includes a report on the stream of twelve panels and two roundtables organized by our working group at the MSA conference in Madrid. Arranged thematically and with an eye to specific media and approaches, this review outlines the current areas of the group's research and aims to contribute to structuring the field of post-socialist and comparative memory studies.

We also continue publishing portraits of the group's researchers, organizations, new projects engaging the field of post-socialist memory, and information on recent publications. The new rubric, 'Conversations', includes an essay and reviews which could open up a discussion on the following issues. If you have an idea for a text that would fit this rubric, a response or a follow-up in mind, your contributions are very welcome.

For the next editions (Spring and Fall 2020), we are open to ideas of a special issue which would focus on a topic of one (or a team of) PoSoCoMeS members' current research and would be guest-edited by them. Please send us your proposals before December 25 (for the Spring issue).

And as previously, we are inviting everyone to send in announcements, calls for papers and publications, book, film or exhibition reviews,

and descriptions of academic or public memory projects. These materials should be emailed to the editors: k.robbe@rug.nl, a.zavadski@fu-berlin.de, lovrencicl@gmail.com.

Cordially,

*Ksenia Robbe
Lana Lovrenčić
Andrei Zavadski*

REPORT ON THE POSOCOMES STREAM AT THE MEMORY STUDIES ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE 2019 IN MADRID

Ksenia Robbe

(with contributions by Zuzanna Bogumil, Gruia Badescu, Oksana Dovgopolova, Serguei Ehrlich, Daria Khlevnyuk, Biljana Markovic and Nina Weller)

The conference was a perfect occasion for scholars working on post-socialist memory to meet each other, share insights from their ongoing (collaborative) research and establish new connections. The PoSoCoMeS stream, which ran throughout the three days of conference and included twelve panels and two round tables, allowed the working group's participants to attend each other's sections and facilitated continuity of discussion. We were also excited by the interest expressed by conference participants who attended the PoSoCoMeS sessions and business meeting, and by the number of those who joined the group during and after the conference. We are motivated to work on enhancing these initial dialogues, particularly during **the PoSoCoMeS conference in Chisinau** next year (see the 'Announcements' section).

The following overview of the PoSoCoMeS events is organized along the thematic lines that we traced throughout the programme. We hope these brief summaries will give you an impression of the topics and approaches of the group's current research and will map out the areas that are still lacking and those that can be elaborated, interlinked and expanded.

GLOBAL FRAMEWORKS OF POST-SOCIALIST MEMORY

The PoSoCoMeS stream opened with a **pre-conference round table** in the ‘authors meet critic’ format that focused on the recently published volume *Replicating Atonement: Foreign Models in Commemoration of Atrocities* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2018) edited by Mischa Gabowitsch. The collective of contributors was represented by RALPH BUCHENHORST, LEA DAVID, MISCHA GABOWITSCH and FRANZISKA SERAPHIM, while JASNA DRAGOVIC-SOSO took on the role of a critic. The discussion focused on the book’s major contribution to critical debates regarding the transfer of Western models of transitional justice and ‘coming to terms’ with violent past, mostly based on the experience of Holocaust remembrance, through its typology that captures the ways of ‘translating’ methods across cultural-historical contexts. Mischa Gabowitsch outlined four such strategies of transfer which organize the book’s sections — named by using the metaphors of ‘springboard’, ‘yardstick’, ‘foil’ and ‘screen’. The other authors introduced their theoretical arguments and case studies which, all in different ways and with reference to various contexts — Japan’s (lack of) reckoning with its colonialism, the problems of transitional justice in the former Yugoslavia, Soviet intelligentsia’s mythologization of ‘Germany’s atonement’, Argentina grappling with the Dirty War — interrogate the ideas of a universal norm underlying practices of ‘cosmopolitan memory’. Jasna Dragovic-Soso’s comments on the book’s argument were extremely positive, with an emphasis on the necessity of re-thinking practices of transitional justice. Although the volume overall expresses pertinent critique of transitional justice procedures the way they have been conceptualized and implemented transnationally so far, it also outlines the ‘springboard’ model as a productive way of engaging with other cultural-historical context of memory (with the examples of the Canadian Truth Commission adapting practices of West Germany, South Africa and Argentina, or U.S. anti-racist activists selectively learning from the experiences of West Germans).

The panel on **Memory Practices and Urban Change in Post-Dictatorial Societies**, organized by Lina Klymenko, included two

presentations instead of the three originally planned as the organizer was not able to attend.

The first presentation by ANN-SOPHIE SCHOEPFEL applied the concept of spatial resilience to analyzing the relationship between space and reconciliation in Cambodian society. The presentation focused on a complex relationship between public and private ways of commemorating victims. The example of the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum in Phnom Penh was presented as a site of global tourism industry and related to transnational circulation of memories as an example of official, state commemoration. In opposition to this public space Schoepfel presented a quiet, private way of remembering the victims through religious rituals in Cambodia. The questions following this presentation were considering the ways in which globalized memories of the Holocaust have influenced the visual aspects of Cambodian remembering and the role religion plays in ‘quiet’ commemorations.



The second presentation was exploring the possibilities of comparative analysis of post-dictatorial memories in Ukraine and Taiwan. OLEKSII POLEGKYI showed how these two case studies, although distant in space, have many similarities which are connected to the questions of identity and postcolonial legacies. This presentation focused on the change of narrative, the appropriation of memory and discursive wars which in both cases followed political change. The discussion that followed engaged with ways in which we can constructively and successfully compare different post-colonial and post-imperial memories and how these comparisons can contribute to our field of study.

The panel **Post-Socialist Idiosyncrasies** special session was jointly organized by the MSA working group **Human Rights and Memory** and the PoSoCoMeS, and was also part of the panel stream “Critical Thinking on Human Rights and Memory”, chaired by Gruia Badescu from the University of Konstanz. The main goal of this stream was to examine tensions created by the emergence of a “proper way of remembrance” polices related to normative standards of memorialization stemming from the human rights-oriented “duty to remember”. The panel engaged with the specificities of post-socialist Central and Eastern Europe contexts and brought together discussions of the post-Soviet and post-Yugoslav space, as well as dealing with the past in former Warsaw Pact countries such as Bulgaria.

OLGA ZABALUEVA and EKATERINA MARKOVICH’s presentation “Institutionalization of Memory and False Positivism: The Sandarmokh Memorial in Russia” discussed the memorialization of a site in the Republic of Karelia, Russia, where more than seven thousand people had been executed during Stalin’s Great Purge. While Sandarmokh has become a place of commemoration due to the International Memorial NGO since the 1990s, recent claims of local historians, supported by state institutions, turned the attention to the alleged killings of Soviet prisoners of war by the Finns in 1941–1944, with extensive digging on the site to find these remains. Zabalueva and Markovich argued that the attempt to re-evaluate the commemoration of the victims of political repressions reflects the tendency of hiding the responsibility for human rights violations behind false positivism.

SVEN MILEKIĆ enquired into Croatia's founding myth of the "Homeland War" (the war of the 1990s), which gives an important place to its soldiers, referred to as "defenders". He argued that participating in the Croatian army activities led to the rehabilitation of extremist ideas and crimes committed in previous periods of history. By analyzing the memorial to Croatian soldier Miro Barešić and the memorial plaque commemorating members of the 1990s paramilitary unit Croatian Defence Forces (HOS), Milekić examined how the commemoration of the 1990s war veterans led to the promotion of the World War Two Ustaša fascist movement. He discussed the controversies surrounding the plaque, which included the Ustaša chant "Za dom spremni" (lit. "For the homeland prepared") within HOS's official coat of arms, in a place that is the location of the largest Ustaša concentration camp.

Finally, DANIELA KOLEVA examined the tension between the universalist thrust of the human rights discourse and national frameworks of remembrance through a discussion of coping with the communist past in Bulgaria, focusing on transitional justice measures and societal responses to them. Koleva showed that as a country with 'under-standardized' memory of communism, Bulgaria is a good case for comparison within the 'region of memory' that post-communist Europe has become with the EU enlargement. Her main conclusion was that it is important for the human rights abuses of the regime to be recognized, but also not reified.

The round table **Memories of Socialism Compared**, organized by Mischa Gabowitsch and Ksenia Robbe, brought together researchers engaging with contemporary echoes of past socialist movements and imaginations in Japan, South Africa, and Yugoslavia. The context of the inquiry was introduced by MISCHA GABOWITSCH who moderated the discussion; he mentioned that 'socialism' has meant very different things in different parts of the world, so memories of socialism are also very diverse. At the same time there are many common elements, and a common name, so all these different memories are articulated through their common object, which can lead both to misunderstandings and even conflicts, and to unexpected solidarities. The short interventions by the three speakers outlined the ways in which the round table's

participants approach memories of socialism or ‘socialist memories’ in their research. All presentations, strikingly, engaged with contexts of visual art and culture, which might be indicative of the spheres in which socialist imaginations are being recollected and re-appropriated today, on local, national, and global scales.

FRANZISKA SERAPHIM drew on her research into post-WWII left movements in Japan and the ways in which their voices and those of their more contemporary heirs continue challenging imperialist politics and the memories based on nationalist discourses of victimhood. She stressed the importance of comparative research into the nuances of national memory regarding, for instance, the past of colonialism, imperialism and human rights violations, with the focus on movements that challenge mainstream (often nationalist or colour-blind) ideologies. As an example of creative forms of such research, she mentioned a project she recently conducted with her students, which involved creating a map of the approaches to, and challenges of, transitional justice in selected societies from across the world.



KSENIA ROBBE focused on community arts in South Africa during the late apartheid period as a locus of socialist imaginations and practices, which involved productions of art that mediated specific visual forms alluding to socialist traditions of representation and infused them with local traditions and contexts. Beyond art production as such, community arts centres functioned as spaces for inter-racial contact and for developing practices of non-racialism as well as socializing working-class young people into aesthetic work, which, in turn, resulted in developing new art forms involving their visions and experiences. While during the 1990s and the 2000s, most of these initiatives ceased to exist due to a lack of funding, more recently several projects have engaged with the centres' archives and organized 'remembering exhibitions' that involved reflection and re-elaboration, particularly by younger curators, of the socialist ethos and practices of the 1970–80s oppositional art and politics.

SANDRA KRIŽIĆ ROBAN elaborated on the concept behind the exhibition *Socialism and Modernity* which she had co-curated at Zagreb's Museum of Contemporary Art. The exhibition focused on the products of design and popular culture in Croatia from 1950–1974, with the aim to work out the connections between post-war modernization, modernism and modernity. The idea was not to provide a definite account of Croatian art and visual culture of the period, but rather to pose the question of a proper context of its interpretation, which include different historical (Cold War politics), cultural (modernist mega-culture), and socio-political (Yugoslav self-managing socialism) frameworks.

The discussion concluded with an observation that, when speaking about possibilities of cross-cultural conversations about, and comparisons of, the past and the present of socialism as a marginalized social imagination, practices of *memory* – that is, creative engagement with, and re-signification of, the past – can be a site where links between disparate experiences (e.g., forms of state socialism, political movements or socialist forms of community work and organization) can be staged and elaborated.

HISTORY AND MEMORY POLITICS IN LOCAL AND INTERNATIONAL CONTEXTS

The pre-conference panel **Memory before and after Crimea**, organized by Julie Fedor, opened the stream with the highly topical question of how the theme of the Crimea had changed in memory culture and commemorative practices since the beginning of the war between Russia and Ukraine. All four papers indicated that the Crimean conflict was an important moment for new ideological turns in memory production and for shifts in commemorative practices.

In her contribution, JULIE FEDOR focused on the fact that since the beginning in 2014 of the Russian-Ukrainian war, many writers, filmmakers and historians have felt compelled to write Russia's history anew. Books by Aleksandr Prokhanov, Genady Dubovoy and others contributed to the imaginary renovation of Russia's past through integrating the trope of *Crimea as 'Russian place'* as a key moment for the restorative nation-building process. By obsessively creating national Russian identity, new images of who is defined as enemy appeared, which finally function as 'defected memory'.

MISCHA GABOWITSCH's paper presented some outcomes of his comparative research on celebration of 8 May and 9 May and the interaction between Soviet war memorials and local communities throughout the former Soviet sphere of influence. He stressed the importance of analyzing commemorative practices beyond national or state contexts. In many cases, state influence has diminished, and activism from below has increased. The same tendencies characterize international or trans-local commemorations (in Madrid or Berlin), including the 'Immortal Regiment' marches. These commemorative activities are possibly the largest social movement in the post-Soviet world today.

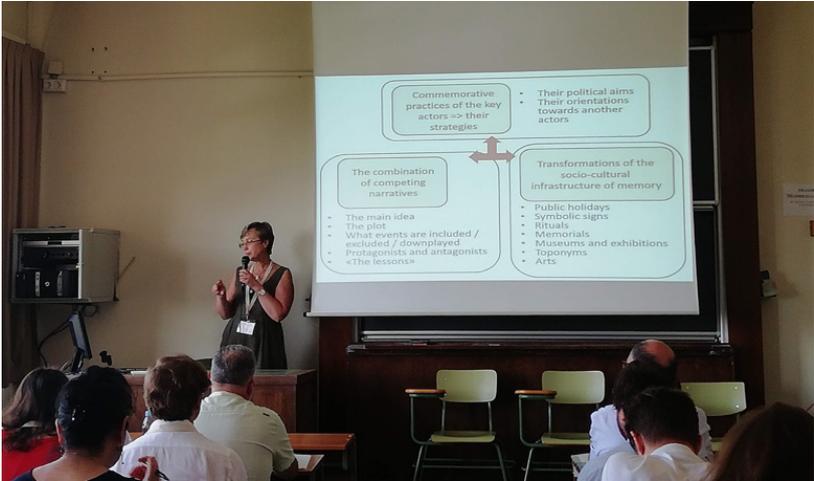
ANNA GLEW, too, stressed the fact that most war memorials in Ukraine are a result of private initiatives. Her contribution analyzed the impact of monuments to Ukrainian soldiers killed in the Russia-Ukraine war. Noticeable changes in physical objects of historical memory, she argued, came from the combination of the state's policies and

independent actions of ordinary people. Comparison of these memorials in the Poltava region with WWII and the Soviet–Afghan War memorials shows the importance of location. Furthermore, the Donbass war memorials emphasize that the memory of the youngest war victims is at least as important as the memory of the victims of the Great Patriotic War. At the same time, these new memorials emphasize the singularity of the current war experience.

Zooming into the practices of memory in Poland, EWA OCHMAN asked to what extent the Crimean crisis had an impact on current Polish political dynamics and to what extent we might be overestimating the transnational scope of memory. The Polish case represents a politically and ideologically charged dynamic of decommunization, antagonistic to Russia. One example is the controversial “Memorial law” from 2018, fuelled by the decommunization laws in Ukraine. While during the first post-socialist decades, some local communities accepted their historical topography, including Soviet monuments, now we witness practices of dismantling and redesigning monuments, the renaming of streets and squares. These changes seem to be less ideologically than politically motivated, with the fixation on local and national Polish history playing a more important role than trans-local influences of current events in Eastern Ukraine.

The panel **Memory Politics in and around Russia**, organized by Alexey Miller, zoomed into the paradoxes, conflicts and (dis)continuities of memory politics in Russia set in comparison to Europe, including the East-West differences in history politics within the EU. It opened with OLGA MALINOVA's analysis of public commemorations of the centenary of the February and October revolutions in Russia. The analysis of key symbolic strategies and narratives of the commemorations reveals the domination of the field by several ‘mnemonic warriors’. The official project to celebrate ‘conciliation and concord’ of the Reds and the Whites, however, is facilitated by the fact that almost all major mnemonic actors (with exception of the Yabloko Party) share the ‘patriotic’ and anti-Western discourse of the incumbent elite. Nevertheless, in the context of the fragmented memory regime, oppositional actors can impede a public demonstration of ‘conciliation and concord’ even without

large resources, as demonstrated by the case of local opposition to the construction of the memorial to Conciliation in Crimea.



ALEXEY MILLER's presentation, in turn, placed the discussion of Russia's current historical politics in a broader European context. The paper outlined the dynamics of memory politics in the EU – from the shaping of 'cosmopolitan memory' in Western Europe during the 1990s to the 2009 declaration equating the Nazi and Communist crimes, which reflected the nationalist memory politics of Central and Eastern European countries. This contextualized Russia's development of nationalist memory politics as having been triggered by the establishment of state institutions responsible for 'historical memory' in the Baltic states and Poland. The symmetrical institutions in Russia include the Ministry of Culture as well as, increasingly, the so-called NGOs funded by the state.

Analyzing the politics of memory in the Soviet Union during different periods, DMITRY V. EFREMENKO addressed the difficulty encountered by projects of forming supra-national collective memory. The discussion was furthermore enriched by a comparison to the more recent attempts at building supra-national identity in the European

Union as well as the use of Soviet-style historical narratives in Post-Soviet space (Russia, Belarus and non-recognized states).

The papers in the session **The Politics of Historical Symbols and Narratives: Late Soviet and Post-Soviet Evolutions** were dedicated to internal, local cleavages in seemingly monolithic national memories. EVGENY MANZHURIN presented a case where such fragmentation of representations could be least expected: Soviet towns' coats of arms. One would assume that in such matters the centralized state would control every little detail. However, as Manzhurin showed in his paper, local artists, bureaucrats, and sometimes entrepreneurs had some extent of freedom in choosing their towns' symbols. Thus, Kyiv's coat of arms of 1969 includes a hidden bow and arrow that refer to the Polish symbolic system.

NIKOLAY MITROKHIN also studied Ukraine, but focused on its current historical policy. He is interested in the aftermath of the Euro-maidan in Ukraine in 2013 and, specifically, of the events in Odessa on May 2, 2014, where after a violent clash between pro-Maidan and anti-Maidan activists several people were burnt alive during the fire in the Trade Unions House. Mitrokhin discussed how memory of WWII was used by anti-Maidan activists online and offline and how rhetoric of the war against fascism was incorporated into youth educational programs and propaganda organized by these activists.

SERGUEY EHRLICH's paper focused on a divided national memory in Moldova. Similar to Ukraine, the society is split into groups expressing pro-Russian and pro-Romanian attitudes. Consequently, some communities are nostalgic for the Soviet, and specifically Brezhnev's, times, while others see the USSR as an aggressor who shaped the Moldovan identity to separate the people in Moldova from their historical ancestors — Romanians. The paper outlined the ways in which both stands of historical politics are problematic and lead to conflict and social cleavages.

The panel **Memories of Revolutions and Civil Wars** was devoted to the paradoxes of commemorating the 1917 Revolution's centennial in Russia.

The first paper revealed different aspects of State–Church competition in the anniversary celebration. TATIANA VORONINA observed the dramaturgy of the mutual dependence of the Russian State and the Church during the post-Soviet period. After the collapse of state atheism, the identity-building potential of religion became evident, which resulted in the Church acting as a natural ally of the State. The presentation further mapped the complicated partnership between Putin’s State and the Church as well as their competition for authority; it also outlined ways of interpreting the Church’s role in key events of the 20th century.

ZUZANNA BOGUMIŁ continued by exploring the potential of micro-historical optics in researching the Russian State–Church relations during the last two decades. The example of commemoration shifts in the village of Borovskoje was used to demonstrate the peculiar features of social life in post-Soviet rural territories, where a sharp turn to the commemoration of new martyrs meant not necessarily a shift of religious feelings, but the appearance of the Church as a new (and the only) memory agent after the symbolic emptiness of the 1990s.

MARIA MATSKEVICH presented a sociological observation of the 1917 Revolution’s centennial and its place in Russia’s contemporary memory landscape. While several political agents (including the Communist party and the Orthodox Church) attempted to use the anniversary as a resource, the society remained mainly indifferent to their messages. Pointing to a difference between ‘commemoration’ and ‘celebration’, Matskevich emphasized an anti-revolutionary consensus in the Russian society today and uncovered a wide conviction that celebrations of the anniversary were inappropriate.

The panel was successful in juxtaposing different research optics. If the micro-historical optics demonstrates the institution of Church as extremely successful in utilizing the anniversary’s potential, the wide sociological perspective reveals the inefficacy of the Church’s attempts to position itself as the sole identifying agent in contemporary Russia. This effect was emphasized by the panel’s disputant Boris Kolonitsky. The multiplicity of research optics pushed the discussion on the memory agents’ nature and on the implications of selected research concepts and perspectives.

POST-SOCIALIST MEMORY IN MUSEUMS AND MONUMENTS

The idea of the panel **The Hardware of Memory: New Approaches to the Materiality of Monuments** was introduced by Mischa Gabowitsch with the argument that Alexander Etkind's terms, the "hardware" and "software" of memory, and his study of the 'software' part with its focus on symbolism, neglects the materiality of monuments. It glosses over the constraints and unintended outcomes that result from the material monuments are made of and the process of their production. It also omits the non-symbolic ways in which material objects interact with their surroundings. Against the theoretical background of approaches such as the new materialism in historiography, pragmatic sociology, and the notion of non-human/distributed agency, this panel focuses specifically on the materiality of monuments.

MISCHA GABOWITSCH's own paper evolved around the argument that the common term "monumental propaganda" (Lenin), meaning top-down memory politics, does not fully correlate to the Soviet reality, since many of the war memorials were constructed through local initiatives. These had resulted in a few thousand grassroots war memorials including a few hundred monuments to the Holocaust victims. Moreover, the paper argued about the importance of studying the monuments' building material and its potential for developing new techniques. The permanent material deficit of the Soviet society forced "recycling", when bronze, marble and granite from old graves were reused.

ANA KRŠINIĆ-LOZICA's focused on the strategies of Croatia's new generation of artists to the challenges of nationalist remembrance of WWII and the destruction of many socialist era monuments during the 1990s. In her study of arthouse documentaries, she discussed how they highlight the materiality of monumental works and represent them as a part of surrounding landscapes. A non-discursive monumental turn explicitly renounces the heroic approach to the memory and induces to visitors a strong emotional reaction in the name of individual approach to the victims.



SANDRA KRIŽIĆ ROBAN's contribution, in turn, engaged with non-material “impossible monuments”, which have appeared since the 2000s and which have predecessors in post-WWII history. Some of the “anti-monuments” constructed during the 1960s in Yugoslavia were conceived not only as places of memory, but as areas of environment protection and public recreation. The contemporary examples, mediating counter-memory of WWII, are represented by temporary installations such as *The Shadow of Synagogue* in Zagreb alluding to the building's demolition by the Ustasha regime in 1941.

The first session of the two-part panel **Post-Socialist Museums of Memory**, organized by Daria Khlevnyuk, started with VLADISLAV STAF's paper on the Gulag museums in Russia. Vladislav surveyed nine museums in different regions of Russia, with a focus on the history of their creation. As it turns out, the majority of these museums were ‘bottom-up’ initiatives, often started by activists with no historical education or curatorial knowledge.

This comes in sharp contrast to the local lore (*kraevedcheskie*) museums which were the subject of SOFIA GAVRILOVA's paper. These

museums were often initiated by the state or local administrations; they have a rather rigid construction with a number of topics that had to be addressed. There are a number of rules to such exhibitions; however, even within these rules, there are gaps. The paper compared the representation of political exiles — a topic that does not have a unified interpretation and thus is presented very differently in various museums, either focusing solely on political exiles of the pre-Soviet period or on the deportations of Stalin's period.

ANNA TOPOLSKA also discussed the intersection of bottom-up and top-down memory initiatives on the basis of her case, the memorials of WWII in Poznan. The study showed that the top-down projects bear strong traces of communist aesthetics and ideology, while bottom-up memorials are more focused on the commemorated people and emphasize martyrdom.

The second part was opened by TAMAS KENDE with the paper "From places of memory to places of commemoration/representation". He discussed the way in which the old and the new museologies understand the role of the museums. He used the case of the Hungarian museum *House of Terror* to show the limits of the museums following the rules of the new museology and to defend the old museology's approach to displaying the past.

The theoretical reflection on museums was continued by ANDREI ZAVADSKI, who proposed the concept of "mnemonic counterpublics"—counterpublics that emerge around shared feelings of exclusion with regard to particular ways of remembering a fragment of the past. He analysed the memories of the Russian 1990s actualized by the Boris Yeltsin Museum in Yekaterinburg. According to him, the museum represents the decade in a way that differs sharply from the official narrative, thus giving rise to a mnemonic counterpublic. However, because the museum (and the Yeltsin Center in general) was founded and is largely funded by the state, which makes it vulnerable to the authorities' political will, the mnemonic counterpublic in question can be regarded as co-opted by the regime.

OKSANA DOVGOPOLOVA's paper provided an extensive overview of WWII museums in Ukraine. She has shown that differences occur not so much between private and national museums, but in the ways in which the museums approach the past. This difference is especially visible in how these museums define and present victims. A broader goal of the paper was to show which museums represent the past that was tabooed during the Soviet times.

DARIA KHLEVNYUK's presentation continued the discussion of victimhood by focusing on the way in which Stalin's repressions are displayed in Russian museums. She engaged in particular with definitions of the subject in museums' narratives. As there is a tension between the victim and hero topoi in these exhibitions, there has emerged a new type of the subject: 'a hero-victim'.

In his commentary to the panel, Daniel Levy continued the theoretical reflection on the way the post-Socialist museums construct the past. He stressed that museums are a complex phenomenon which is continually changing. They are products of the influence of different discourses (global, national, local) which influence these museums differently, depending on which memory regime (democratic or authoritarian) the museums function in.

MEMORY AND CULTURAL IMAGINATIONS IN LITERATURE AND FILM

Several panels of the stream inquired into the role of literature, film and other media representations in (re)shaping memories of historical turning points. The panel **Post-Socialist Transitions through Children's Eyes**, organized by Ksenia Robbe, brought into dialogue research on recent novels, films and exhibitions from the former Yugoslavia, Romania and Russia, whose narratives are framed through children's perspectives. The papers analyzed the diverse (and often contradictory) functions of these perspectives and the effects they produce, from ideological manipulation to the creation of more complex visions of the past and the future.

BILJANA MARKOVIĆ's presentation explored the configurations of child narrator's voice in post-Yugoslav literature by emigrant writers, contrasting it to childhood perspectives in earlier, socialist Yugoslav writing. Where during the post-WWII period, childhood perspectives served to shape a community and direct it towards a better future, post-socialist memory re-mediate this gaze and creates a safe distance from the ideological practices and from the trauma of the Balkan wars. Michael Rothberg's concept of implicated narrator was demonstrated as being useful in elucidating this perspective.

The paper by ANDREEA MIRONESCU and SIMONA MITROIU zoomed onto auto-fictional texts by Romanian authors, written in the late 1990s and the 2000s, to consider the narrative and ideological implications of using a child(-like) perspective. Drawing on Boris Buden's consideration of 'childhood' as political metaphor in narratives of Eastern European 'transition', the authors ask whether post-socialist fiction re-appropriates the space of childhood in similarly political ways. Against the possible scenario of evading responsibility, they argue that the novels in focus involve critical engagement with the past by challenging the Romanian readership and its relative reluctance to accept a shared historic responsibility.

KSENIA ROBBE's paper, then, focused on Russophone novels and films of the last few years by emerging women writers and directors, which recollect and re-frame literary and film imaginations of the transitional period in Russia. While not avoiding portrayals of destitution and trauma effects, along the lines of perestroika and 1990s productions, these works employ autobiographical childhood perspectives to re-imagine and, using Eve Sedgwick and Marianne Hirsch's term, 'repair' connections between generations. These narratives are gendered (positing women's perspectives) and perform 'everyday' aesthetics and lyrical styles, which distinguishes them from recent mass-cultural projects of re-branding the 1990s.

The panel concluded with MAJA VODOPIVEC's critical reading of the recently opened War Childhood Museum in Sarajevo. Having developed from the semi-biographical book *War Childhood: Sarajevo 1992–1995* (2012), which did not include any accounts of the war childhood

on the 'other side' of the conflict, by using 'new museum' practices, the project created a space for counter-hegemonic memory and a dialogue between different sides of similar experiences. Though striving towards dialogue, the exhibition, however, still shows cracks of exclusive identities in its methods of selection and narrating the conflict.

Through these case studies, the panel explored the dynamics of trauma and repair, innocence and responsibility, disruption and connectivity that characterize memories of the transition across Eastern Europe, and started a discussion about how these dynamics can be analyzed.

The theme of **De/Fictionalizing the Past: The Role of Literature and Film in Post-Socialist Memory Cultures** interconnected the work of two panels organized by Nina Weller and Matthias Schwarz. The discussion focused on identifying the literary and film devices and narrative modes used to remember the past in post-socialist fiction. The key themes included translation between the global, the national and the local, and remediation of memories as they 'travel' from page to screen and from earlier novels and films to more recent ones, and generational dynamics of memory.

JUSTYNA TABASZEWSKA's paper inquired into the writing of 'alternative histories' in post-1989 Polish literature, focusing on their elaborations of 'futures past' which, following Brian Massumi, often serve as an affective justification of (violent) actions in the present. Drawing on the example of the novel *Victorious Republic*, which narrates a story of Poland's Soviet colonization after WWI and its independence movement during the 1980s, it charted the ways in which such works attempt to fill in the ideological void since the 1990s.

ENEKEN LAANES followed by presenting her research on literary and film productions that deal with local socialist experience but address primarily an international audience. The paper proposed to examine such adaptation to transnational forms of commemoration in terms of translating and, using Lawrence Venuti's terms, examined instances of 'domesticating' and 'foreignizing' translation, while also considering how the translated narratives are then re-territorialized in local/national reception.

NEVENA DAKOVIĆ's reading of trans-medial adaptations of a diary written during WWII focused on the related questions of reshaping local histories and experiences into transnational/ cosmopolitan frameworks of memory. Her case study examined the use of multi-directional memory in recent productions based on the diary of Diana Budisavljević, an Austrian humanitarian who led a major relief operation to save Serbian women and children from concentration camps, to show how they fit the earlier story into the current political contexts of remembering the Balkan wars.

The question of configurations of cosmopolitan memory was further engaged by SIMON LEWIS in a paper that, however, traced the emergence of transnational imagination within the Polish-Belarusian "contact zone". It read the first Polish novel to feature a Belarusian protagonist, Ignacy Karpowicz's *Sonka*, with the focus on the text's meta-fictional reflection on the (im)possibilities of conveying the voice of a colonized 'subaltern' in a colonizer's language and through the perspective of a culturally privileged narrator.

NINA WELLER's continued the discussion of memories of WWII involving the war's traumatic after-effects as expressed in contemporary Belarusian film and writing. Her paper inquired into the continuities and differences of writing/filming the trauma of the burnt down village of Khatyn across the Soviet and post-Soviet generations of Belarusian writers and film-makers. The observed shifts in the "generations of postmemory" include the focus on perpetrators whose representations involve more nuance, but also in some cases entail "normalization" of perpetrator positionality and homogenization of perpetrators and victims' experiences.

IOANA LUCA's presentation charted the dynamics of post-socialist Romanian life writing, particularly as represented by omnibus collections published since the early 2000s. It identified and examined a shift from decisively apolitical revivals of everyday life in the earlier collections, which are continued in some of the recent publications, towards attempts of creating common knowledge about late socialist period and, through it, a new sense of community.

CONVERSATIONS

Vladislav Staf

A Visit to the Valley of the Fallen, Spain

I had known about the Valley of the Fallen (Valle de los Caídos) in Spain for a long time and wanted to see it very much because my grandfather had been a Swedish veteran of the Spanish Civil War and fought against Francoism. The Valley of the Fallen tells the story of the events of 1936–1939 and is the most famous memorial complex in the country today. So, I was really glad to be able to go there as a participant of the Memory Studies Association Annual Conference 2019.

The Valley of the Fallen is located near Madrid and has the largest cross in the world (150 m!). Its huge basilica – larger than St. Peter's Basilica in the Vatican – was hollowed out in a rock under the cross. The construction of the complex in 1940–1959 involved forced labor of twenty thousand republican army personnel.

It serves as the resting place for about thirty-four thousand soldiers and officers who died during Spain's Civil War, on both sides. Francisco Franco believed that burying Republicans and Nationalists in one place would conduce reconciliation, but people's remains were brought to the valley from all over the country without establishing their identities and without their relatives' consent. Moreover, both José Antonio Primo de Rivera, who headed the Falangists and who was killed in 1936, and Franco himself were buried at the basilica's main altar. I find it rather strange, as the memorial is dedicated to those who died in the Civil War, to its victims. Franco was not a victim: on the contrary, the



war brought him into power. He was buried in the Valley of the Fallen only after his death in 1975.

When we came to see the valley, a couple of newlyweds arrived there as well – they wanted to have some pictures taken with the cross and the basilica’s entrance in the background. I don’t know how appropriate it is to be photographed against the background of a mass grave, and on the territory of such a memorial complex in general. In my opinion, this clearly shows that the Valley of the Fallen is not perceived by many people as a place of remembrance. Discussions around the possibility of taking Franco’s ashes out of the basilica went on for decades and pointed to the absence of a consensus regarding the events of 1936–1939 in the country.

In September 2019, Spain’s Supreme Court ruled that Franco could be exhumed from his mausoleum. On October 24, the Spanish authorities carried out the task. The dictator’s remains were relocated to the Mingorrubio state cemetery in El Pardo, twelve miles north of Madrid.

Serguey Ehrlich

**From National Pride to Global Compassion and Admiration.
Current and Future Memory of the Second World War**

Abstract: The first type of memory of the Second World War is the memory of pride. It is a memory of industrial society, which is limited by the container of the nation-state. Its foundation is the heroic myth. Its main objective is the conditioning of young minds to be ready for the future wars. Therefore, during the era of nuclear weaponry, the heroic myth and the memory of pride became a direct threat to humanity. The second type is the memory of compassion. It does not fit into the container of the nation-state. Compassion towards the victims of the Holocaust was the first “icon” of the transnational memory. Since then, it has expanded significantly by including victims of colonialism, Gulag, wars, genocides and mass terror. The memory of compassion, which commemorates all victims together, is a direct challenge to the heroic myth of the nation-state, which prescribes to sacrifice “strangers” for the sake of “our own”. The memory about victims of wars, genocides and terror is a deconstruction of the memory, identity and ethics of industrial society, which inhibit the transition to the global information civilization. The identity of the transnational community cannot be based exclusively on the traumatic experience. We need an inspiring dream, on the foundation of which a transnational memory, identity and ethics should be constructed. It is necessary to dismiss political heroes such as Stalin, Churchill, Roosevelt and so on, who are still dividing us, from the national memory’s pantheons. The common pantheon of the transnational memory must include great cultural figures of the past that have always united us. Dante, Dickens and Dostoevsky are ours! Compassion for all victims of violence and admiration for cultural heroes should become the mainstays of memory, identity and ethics of the global humanity.

Key words: World War Two, victims of the Holocaust, Gulag and colonialism, victims of wars, genocides and mass terror, industrial society, the nation-state, the heroic myth, the memory of pride, information civilization, the global humanity, the myth of self-sacrifice, the memory of compassion and admiration.

There are two conflicting types of memory of the Second World War: the memory of pride and the memory of compassion, which are based on different mythic narratives.

1. The Memory of Pride

This type of memory presents the pride of heroic ancestors who, sacrificing their lives, won the war against the Axis powers. The memory of pride is not only supported by the nation-states that were on the winning side, the United States, Great Britain and former Soviet republics. The same type of memory is promoted in the former Nazi puppet states and even in Germany by using the narrative of Resistance¹.

The memory of pride is based on the narrative of the heroic myth of industrial Modernity, which is the ideological pillar of the nation-state. The structure of the heroic myth includes firstly our heroes and our martyrs. Our victims — mostly children, women and elderly people — play a secondary role. The heroic myth views things in a black-and-white logic. In opposition to our holy heroes, martyrs and victims are demonized and/or seen as foreign enemies. It is not surprising that the battle of Saint George against the dragon is a common Christian symbol of the heroic myth.

In many European cities, there are monuments combining memories of the First and Second World Wars. In France, there is a tradition to commemorate all people who “*died for France*” since the First World War until now including the participants of colonial wars and controversial invasions in Iraq, Afghanistan and Libya². That tradition was adopted in other francophone countries such as Belgium, Luxembourg and Canada.

¹ Berger, Stefan. “The Power of National Past: Writing National History in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Europe.” *Writing the Nation: A Global Perspective*, edited by Stefan Berger, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, p. 48.

² “Les monuments aux morts.” *Ministère des Armées*, République Française, 21 Apr. 2018, <https://www.defense.gouv.fr/memoire/memoire/sepultures-et-monuments-aux-morts/les-monuments-aux-morts>.

Such equation of wars that significantly differed in their intentions indicates that the struggle against the Nazis does not play the main role in the context of the national memory of pride. It is only one of many manifestations of the heroic myth that suggests sacrificing your own life for your own country. The memory of pride is not just information about the past; it is a “sacral pattern”, that is, an instruction for future actions, encouraging new generations to repeat the heroic deeds of their ancestors.

The heroic myth does not permit compassion towards “foreign” victims, who are the same as “our” children, women and elderly people. It would be an obstacle in the fight against foreign enemies. There is a confession of Curtis E. LeMay, an American air force high-ranking officer, who participated in the “carpet bombing” of Germany:

“You drop a load of bombs and, if you’re cursed with any imagination at all you have at least one quick horrid glimpse of a child lying in bed with a whole ton of masonry tumbling down on top of him; or a three-year-old girl wailing for Mutter. . . Mutter. . . because she has been burned. Then you have to turn away from the picture if you intend to retain your sanity. And also if you intend to keep on doing the work your Nation expects of you.”³

The “our Nation” means the nation-state of Modernity, the ideology of which permits casualties of foreign children, women and elderly people for the sake of achieving victory. It is noticeable that not one of the state-winners in the Second World War has apologized for such actions as the “carpet bombing” of Dresden and other German cities without any significant military infrastructure and nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, which evidently had an aim to terrify the enemy and, as a result, most victims were civilians.

The current situation proves that the aggressive nature of the heroic myth transforms the memory of pride about the Second World War into a provocative source of the nuclear war, which would be a

³ LeMay, Curtis and Kantor, MacKinlay. *Mission with LeMay: My Story*. Doubleday, 1965, p. 425.

collective suicide of humankind. In Putin's Russia there is a popular slogan "We Can Do it Again", which is an obvious antonym to the famous "Never Again". Donald Trump's campaign slogan "America First" is a clear allusion to "Deutschland über Alles". It is a typical comment of Konstantin von Notz, a Green Party parliamentarian in the German Bundestag, who tweeted, "**America First is an update of Deutschland, Deutschland über alles.**"⁴ Those mad "instructions" of the heroic myth aggravated the American-Russian tensions over Syria and put the world on the edge of a nuclear catastrophe in the spring of 2018. To stop that self-destruction of humankind we must find a narrative of memory, which provides a real alternative to the heroic myth.

2. The Memory of Compassion

The memory of compassion is an alternative to the memory of pride. In that type of memory victims play the main role and most of them are victims of the nation-state. In the framework of the memory of compassion, a division of victims into "our ones" and "foreign ones" does not exist. From that perspective, all the victims of violence are "our ones" and we have a sincere compassion towards them. Thereby, the memory of compassion transcends the container of the nation-state to the transnational level. In that framework the national identity loses their dominance. For the memory of compassion to be human is more important than to be a Russian or an American. Its narrative is the myth of self-sacrifice, which is based on compassion and love to all human beings. It has a long and influential tradition originated by Prometheus and Christ, who sacrificed themselves because they felt compassion and love not only to the Ancient Greeks and Jews, but to the entire humankind.

The first "icon" of memory of compassion, which has reached the global scale, is the memory of the Holocaust.⁵ Victims of the Jewish na-

⁴ Gross, Daniel. "'Deutschland über Alles' and 'America First,' in Song." *The New Yorker*, 18 Feb. 2017, <https://www.newyorker.com/culture/culture-desk/deutschland-uber-alles-and-america-first-in-song>.

⁵ Assmann, Aleida. "The Holocaust — a Global Memory? Extensions and Limits of a New Memory Community." *Memory in a Global Age. Discourses*,

tion, who traditionally played the role of paradigmatic “strangers” and “scapegoats” for all Christians, became “our ones” and received a sincere compassion from Germans and others. It was a long process. President Jacques Chirac publicly took responsibility for Vichy regime crimes against Jewish citizens of France only in 1995.⁶ In Poland, Lithuania, Ukraine and other Central and East European countries the transnational memory of the Holocaust still conflicts with the national memory of pride. The one of many examples of that conflict is a decree of president Poroshenko, which awarded the status of “Heroes of Ukraine” to the members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and Ukrainian Rebel Army, many of whom were Nazi collaborators and took part in mass murder of Jewish and Polish people.⁷

Not only Central and East European countries have problems with elaboration of the memory of the Holocaust. I am sure you remember the decisions of the Evian Conference of 1938, which were a clear sign to Hitler that **“no help would be given by the democracies”** to German Jews. It led to the rise of anti-Semitic activities in Germany and it is not surprising that the “Crystal Night” pogroms happened a few months after the Evian Conference. Did you hear any news related to formal apologies from Western democracies for that shameful behavior? I have met only shameful ‘justification’ that the delegates of that conference **“did not foresee Auschwitz, then they were not alone. No-one in 1938 could have done so”**⁸. I think that argument is a little too hypocritical, because five years after the Nazis seized the power it was impossible not to notice the German Jews’ desperate situation.

Practices and Trajectories, edited by Aleida Assmann and Sebastian Conrad, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, pp. 97–117.

⁶ Simons, Marlise. “Chirac Affirms France’s Guilt In Fate of Jews.” *The New York Times*, 17 Jul. 1995, <https://www.nytimes.com/1995/07/17/world/chirac-affirms-france-s-guilt-in-fate-of-jews.html>.

⁷ Umland, Andreas. “The Ukrainian government’s Memory Institute against the West.” *New Eastern Europe*, 7 Mar. 2017, <http://neweasterneurope.eu/2017/03/07/the-ukrainian-government-s-memory-institute-against-the-west/>.

⁸ Bartrop, Paul R. *The Evian Conference of 1938 and the Jewish Refugee Crisis*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2018, pp. 102, 103.

I also could not find any information indicating formal apologies of the US and Great Britain officials for restrictions in accepting Jewish refugees from Nazi occupied Europe. As you know Anne Frank's family since 1938 until 1941 unsuccessfully tried to get permission of the US authorities for immigration.⁹ I am sure you also know that December 15, 1941 around 800 Jewish refugees from Rumania, who were passengers of MV Struma, arrived at Istanbul, but British officials refused to admit them to Palestine. February 24, 1942 a Soviet submarine torpedoed and sank Struma in the Black Sea after Turkish authorities had towed her out to sea and cast her adrift.¹⁰

The Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau delivered a formal apology for the fate of the Jewish refugee ship MS St. Louis. In the 1939 Canada, the US and Cuba turned away 907 German Jews seeking asylum.¹¹ I hope the noble example of Canadians will encourage Americans and Britons to give formal apologies for the indifference of their authorities towards the Jewish refugees prior to and during the War.

There is another serious obstacle to the progress of the memory of compassion. I am referring to the attempts to give to the Jews the status of the main victims of the Second World War. The main reason of such a point of view is that **“only Jews were killed because they were Jews”**¹². As a Jew I cannot agree with such an argument. Firstly, it is immoral to divide victims into categories. Such an approach perversely imitates the logic — “We are the best!” — of the memory of pride and destroys the values of the memory of compassion. The implicit concept of first and

⁹ Erbeling, Rebecca and Broek, Gertjan. “Bombs and US Bureaucrats: How Escape Lines from Europe Were Cut Off.” *US Holocaust Museum*, 6 Jul. 2018 <https://medium.com/@HolocaustMuseum/german-bombs-and-us-bureaucrats-how-escape-lines-from-europe-were-cut-off-1b3e14137cc4>.

¹⁰ Ofer, Dalia. *Escaping the Holocaust — Illegal Immigration to the Land of Israel, 1939–1944*. Oxford University Press, 1990, pp. 149–171.

¹¹ “Trudeau to offer formal apology in Commons for fate of Jewish refugee ship MS St. Louis.” *CBC News*, 8 May 2018, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/trudeau-apology-st-louis-1.4654516>.

¹² Kosharovskiy, Yuli. *‘We Are Jews Again’: Jewish Activism in the Soviet Union*. Syracuse University Press, 2017, p. 45.

second grade victims creates permanent misunderstandings and clashes of national memories. People are obviously asking the question: “Why should we have compassion to your victims, if you do not pay any attention to ours?” Secondary, there is clear evidence that not only Jewish people were killed because they were Jews and the same applies to Roma people.

The German academic journal *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* has published a document “Comments and suggestions concerning the Master Plan East (Generalplan Ost)”, which was composed by Alfred Rosenberg’s adviser Erhard Wetzel. This document confirms that Nazis discussed the fate of Russians after the victory. They thought of two options: **“The complete extermination of Russians or alternatively to Germanize the part of the population with obvious Nordic Race features.”**¹³ It is clear that even the second option led towards extermination of most Russians just because they were Russians. According to the same document Poles, Czechs, Belarusians and, very surprisingly, Western Ukrainians would be subjected to harsh repressions and mass deportations. It is clear that Nazis had genocidal intentions towards many of the Slavic nations. Aside from the Master Plan East, which should have been carried out in full scale after the Nazis’ victory, there was the Nazis’ Hunger Plan (der Hungerplan) to starve 20–30 million “useless eaters” — Byelorussians, Jews, Poles, Russians and Ukrainians — immediately after the beginning of the German invasion to the Soviet Union.¹⁴

It is obvious that the killing of six millions Jews, the murder of around two millions Poles, slaughtering through starvation more than three millions of the Soviet POWs, around a million civilians dying during the blockade of Leningrad, more than ten thousand Belorussian,

¹³ Heiber, Helmut. “Der Generalplan Ost.” *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, vol. 6, no 3, Jul. 1958, pp. 281–325, http://www.ifz-muenchen.de/heftarchiv/1958_3.pdf.

¹⁴ Gerhard, Gesine. “Food and Genocide: Nazi Agrarian Politics in the Occupied Territories of the Soviet Union.” *Contemporary European History*, vol. 18, no 1, 2009, pp. 45–65.

Russian and Ukrainian villages, which were burned, on many occasions including their residents, and other Nazis' mass crimes were the links of the same genocidal chain.¹⁵ The extermination of "racially inferior nations" was in full correspondence with the essence of the Master Plan East, which "**anticipated and was directly linked to the so-called Final Solution**".¹⁶ For Nazis all those people equally deserved to die, so why should we not lend our compassion equally to them all? To stop mutual clashes of national memories, which are permanently fraught with the international conflicts and even wars, we should not divide the Second World War victims of many nations, most of whom were children, women and elderly people, through "positive discrimination" in favor of Jewish victims; on the contrary, we have to mourn all victims together.

As Europeans we must not limit our memory within European borders. It is highly necessary to commemorate the victims of the Second World War from North Africa and the Asian victims of the Japanese aggression.

In order to be effective, the memory of compassion should embrace not only Jewish and Roma victims but victims of all countries occupied by the Axis Powers. Eighty years after the Second World War began, we should make the decisive step and include German and Japanese civilians and POWs in the common list of the Second World War victims. Most American high-school textbooks have still depicted the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki almost as a humanitarian mission "**to save the lives of US service people**" and Japanese civilians as well.¹⁷ Fortunately, outside of the US another look at that event is prevailing and it has an impact on the American public opinion, as Obama's

¹⁵ Berkhoff, Karel. "The Mass Murder of Soviet Prisoners of War and the Holocaust: How Were They Related?" *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, vol. 6, no 4, 2005, pp. 789–796.

¹⁶ Fritz, Stephen. *Ostkrieg: Hitler's War of Extermination in the East*. University Press of Kentucky, 2011, p. 94.

¹⁷ Crawford, Keith. "Re-visiting Hiroshima: The Role of US and Japanese History Textbooks in the Construction of National Memory." *Asia Pacific Education Review*. 2003, vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 108–117.

speech in Hiroshima on May 27, 2016 shows. The shadow of Hiroshima should not hide the sufferings of German civilians and POWs. Joint American-British “carpet bombing” of German cities, which in many cases had no significant military infrastructure, as well as robberies and rapes of German civilians by Soviet soldiers both were crimes against humanity. We must remember the awful fate of German POW in the Soviet camps, including that of about a hundred thousand captured after the Stalingrad battle as only five thousand returned home after the war.¹⁸ We must not forget robberies, rapes and murders of German civilians during their postwar deportation from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and other countries, when at least twelve million people were evicted from their homes and about half a million of them lost their lives. Perpetrators were neighbors of deported Germans.¹⁹ Last but not least, the list of victims should include Japanese Americans, Soviet Germans and other people, who were subjected to the internment during the war.

The full-scale development of the memory of compassion regarding the Second World War includes three consecutive steps of widening of the transnational memory: 1. Jewish and Roma victims; 2. Victims from all countries and territories, which were occupied by the Axis Powers; 3. Civilians and POWs of all Axis Powers and interment people. From the perspective of the memory of compassion, those three elements represent not *a hierarchy* of victims but *an equation*. Unlike the egoistic memory of pride, the memory of compassion “**is not zero-sum game**”; it provides space to all victims and excludes the immoral “**competition of victims**”.²⁰ Commemorating all victims of the Second World War as equal ones for their suffering and harrowing death would mean that the humanitarian values of the memory of compassion prevail the war-triggering heroic myth of the nation-state. By now, only the first step was

¹⁸ Ellis, Frank. “Dulag-205: The German Army’s Death Camp for Soviet Prisoners at Stalingrad.” *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, 2006, vol. 19, no 1, pp. 123–148.

¹⁹ Douglas, Ray. *Orderly and Humane: The Expulsion of the Germans after the Second World War*. Yale University Press, 2012.

²⁰ Rothberg, Michael. *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the age of decolonization*. Stanford University Press, 2009, pp. 11, 54.

partially completed and the other two still have to be done. It would prevent any political manipulations of memory, called the “memory wars”, which can lead towards the real wars.

3. The Memory of Admiration

The main function of the memory of pride is the preparation of new wars. The memory of compassion has the opposite objective to prevent any wars and provides a reasonable criticism of the aggressive heroic myth as the harsh reality of the modern World, which is divided by the rival nation-states. But compassion to victims by oneself is not enough to ensure the dominance of the self-sacrificing myth's narrative. To inspire people we need a dream! In order to achieve that, we should acknowledge that the heroic myth is a narrative of political memory and the myth of self-sacrifice is a narrative of cultural memory. Not surprisingly, the national memory pantheons, which include politicians as the national heroes, create boundaries that divide nations.

For instance, we can mention recent protests in India against the Oscar-winning British movie *The Darkest Hour*, which glorifies Churchill conform the memory of pride standards. There is a typical quotation from Indian press's reviews of that movie: “**Churchill was no different from Adolf Hitler or Josef Stalin or Mao Zedong when it came to sanctioning the deaths of millions [of Bengal famine of 1943 victims].**”²¹ Using the logic of *The Darkest hour* creators, we could glorify Stalin in Russia, who played not less an important role than Churchill in defeating the Nazis. I am proud to announce that significant part of the Russian society believes that Stalin's personal input towards victory over Nazis does not justify his crimes against humanity. I hope in Great Britain there will soon appear a significant group, which would be able to make an influential protest against the glorification of Churchill, who was an obvious racist and who as the Prime Minister bears full

²¹ Guruswamy, Mohan. “History remains elusive as India battles violence over fictional movie.” *Asia Times*, 25 Jan. 2018, <http://www.atimes.com/india-battles-violence-fictional-movie-history-remains-elusive/>.

responsibility for crimes against humanity during the British Holodomor (Bengal famine of 1943) and the British Gulag (detention camps in Kenia during 1950s).²²

This evidently shows that politicians, who always divide people, must be excluded from memory's pantheons. Who should replace the politicians in the common pantheon of the transnational memory? Shakespeare and Dostoyevsky always were "our own" for Russians, English and other nations. Our admiration of those geniuses of Humankind has never been influenced by the political goblins, which rule our countries and aim to divide us. Americans expressed sincere admiration for Sputnik and Gagarin in the same extent as Russians admired American astronauts who landed on the Moon. Commemorating those significant events all people have a common emotion of admiration ("A man in the Space!" and "People on the Moon!") for a common victory of the Humankind.

The real alternative to the memory of pride and the heroic myth narrative is a combination of the memory of compassion and the memory of admiration, which both are based on the narrative of the myth of self-sacrifice. That narrative teaches us to feel compassion towards all victims of violence and express sincere admiration of the heroes of the World culture, who from Antiquity unite people to Humanity, and make us humans in the full sense of that word. Myth of self-sacrifice meets a lot of obstacles in the present situation of ubiquitously growing ultra-nationalism, but if we do not persevere in a right direction, we will not move forward.

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WHEN MONUMENTS REVIVE — AN EXHIBITION REVIEW

Gallery Nova / Prosvjeta, September 16-November 30, 2019, Zagreb
Davorka Perić, curator of the exhibition

The exhibition *When Monuments Revive* is a part of the wider project *Refreshing Memory*, which engages with anti-fascist monuments and the contemporary artistic and academic practices, through which their dignity is preserved. Central to the exhibition are questions of time, which are related to the politics memory and temporality in a time of historical amnesia. The exhibition takes up the troubled issue of revisionism and the normalisation of fascism in the Croatian society today. Thus, in the art works presented at the exhibition various approaches to the theme of monuments are interwoven, particularly the poetic and meditative approach, the inscription of collective memory into public space, physical space and that of the media, and a radically critical approach. Through the visual constructs created by devastation, the image of the destroyed world visually and mentally represents the identity of the space and time in which we live.

In the first part of the exhibition *When Monuments Revive* in the Gallery Nova, the works on show speak about the values of society and work, of the human rights guaranteed by the Constitution, and particularly the right to freedom of thought and expression. Among featured artists, Tanja Dabo presented her work named *Repairing the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia*. With red pen she is changing the text of the Croatian Constitution by emphasizing its human and civil rights aspects. In that way, her work is posing an idea that in fact, the work of an artist is diametrically opposed to the work of the State,

with the latter enriching society by creating new and encouraging social context.

The question of antifascist monuments' demolition was addressed in several works and was physically reinforced by including the remains of the Monument to Stjepan Filipović (1978), by Miro Vuco and Stjepan Gračan, demolished in 1991 and ejected from its native city and the history text books. This blown-up image of universal values of courage and freedom is an image of the society in which we live. One of the first works ever questioning the destruction of antifascist monuments in Croatia was also exhibited. The work of Siniša Labrović, *Bandaging the Wounded* was created in 2000. Presented video shows a performance in which the author treats a demolished monument in his birth town of Sinj. The monument was blown up in the 1990s, and Labrović is literally cleaning and bandaging its wounds. The exhibition included one other work by Labrović, *Sonata for Friar Satan*, which was created in response to the revisionism in Croatia today. The installation was introduced by a quote from an essay by Viktor Ivančić, "Monuments of Un-brothering" from *Behind the Seven Camps*, which proposes that cruelty is the production of a sick society and not of a sick individual.

Historical revisionism is also in the focus of Marko Marković's work *Stone Flower* in which the author refers to the presence of the politics of revisionism, a model that systematically gets down to social structures, justifying crimes. *Stone Flower* is a cast "done from the model" of Bogdanović's monument dedicated to the victims of the Ustasha reign of terror in the concentration camp of Jasenovac. As this replica was created as a negative, it becomes synonymous to the inversion of historical facts.

Questions of memory and remembrance is the focus of photographer Darije Petković. He exhibited a thousand-kuna banknote together with a photograph of the Uvala Slana / Slana Bay. This seaside resort is actually a place of a WWII concentration camp, and it is not paired with the contemporary Croatian currency kuna but with the banknote of the puppet fascist Independent State of Croatia.

On the other hand, in her work *Review of the Family Library*, Božena Končić-Badurina is questioning the overall cultural and educational revisionism connected to everyday life. She exhibits her childhood books accompanied by a radio voice that discussed the criteria for the selection of the exhibited books. The selected books that once formed generation of children are in one way or the other cast away in the 1990s — deleted from school reading lists, discarded and thrown in the trash.

While the first location is an independent gallery in the city center, the space where the second part of exhibition was held is an extremely important part of the strategy the exhibition stands for. An all-girl school owned by the Serbian community prior to WWII, this space was confiscated according to racial law by the puppet fascist Independent State of Croatia. After WWII, up until the 1990s, it was a printing hall of *Borba*, official gazette of the Yugoslav Communist Party²³. After years of decay, it has recently been returned to its owners. By holding the exhibition right there, we continue to point out the importance of the struggle for spaces such as bookstores, cinemas, galleries and other spaces for culture that are rapidly disappearing from the cities.

The artistic actions of Igor Grubić from the cycle *366 Rituals of Liberation* were exhibited in both spaces. His rituals of liberation are a sensitive reply to social injustice, transformed into artistic act. Igor Grubić in his works problematizes what has been deliberately obliterated and removed from public spheres. In cases of encounters with the state he does not back down, as an intimate ritual of tattooing *disobedient* on his arm shows.

Other artist featured in the exhibition are Dalibor Martinis, Mladen Stilinović, Željko Badurina, Zoran Pavelić, Luiza Margan, Sanja Potkonjak, Tomislav Pletenac, Pasko Burdelez.

²³ The meaning of the word 'borba' is combat, struggle. After 1948 *Borba* was issuing two newspapers — the *Beograd Borba* in Cyrillic and the *Zagreb Borba* in Latin.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Conference

Studies of Memory in Poland and about Poland. The 2nd Polish Conference in Memory Studies

5–7 December, 2019

Warsaw University Library, ul. Dobra 56/66, Warsaw

The conference aims to present the newest research conducted in the rapidly growing field of Polish memory studies. Although researchers in this area are internationally recognized for their work, there is a noticeable lack of a suitable national platform for presenting the results of studies, discussions on methodology and challenges in conducting research. The interdisciplinary nature of memory studies (practised by sociologists, cultural studies researchers, historians, anthropologists, philologists, psychologists and other specialists) is among its greatest assets, and it underscores the need for activities aimed at bringing the community together, enabling the sharing of experiences and planning innovative, collaborative research projects. The conference is a continuation of meetings of Polish memory studies researchers, of which the largest, organized by the Social Memory Laboratory (at the Institute of Sociology of the University of Warsaw) and the Research Center for Memory Cultures (at the Jagiellonian University) took place in September 2018 in Krakow. It is intended to become a cyclical event, hosted by a different research institution each year.

The programme of the conference (in Polish) is available here: <https://ru.scribd.com/document/433853375/Studies-of-Memory-in-Poland-and-about-Poland-The-2nd-Polish-Conference-in-Memory-Studies>

Organizing committee:

Zuzanna Bogumił (Maria Grzegorzewska University),

Małgorzata Głowacka-Grajper (Institute of Sociology of the University of Warsaw),

Anna Wylegała (Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences).

Conference Secretary: Małgorzata Łukianow (Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences).

Organizers: Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Institute of Sociology of the University of Warsaw Maria Grzegorzewska.

Workshop

“History goes Pop”? On the Popularization of the Past in Eastern European Memory Cultures

December 10–12, 2019

Europa-Universität Viadrina Frankfurt O.

Popular cultural media today play an important role in the reconstruction of collective imaginations of history. Mainstream films, novels, comics, multimedia messaging apps, television series, computer games and music videos generate, revise, perpetuate, dismantle or question common notions of the past and, thus, contribute to an affectively charged visualization and virtualization thereof. The popularization of historical images and narratives shapes and reassembles collective memory cultures to an even greater extent than state politics, school textbooks or museum exhibitions do.

Ten years ago, a volume edited by Barbara Korte and Sylvia Palteschek titled “History Goes Pop” dealt exclusively with similar phenomena in Western popular media and genres. Our workshop aims at continuing this approach by analyzing such representations from a comparative perspective focusing on examples from Belarusian, Russian and Ukrainian cultures of collective memory. We are interested in the role of globalized popular media in the post-Soviet space and the way in which they relate to national forms of remembrance and state policies

of historiography: Do they reinforce or undermine the competition in memory politics that arose between the three countries after the collapse of the Soviet Union? In particular, we will discuss which historical events are in the center of attention and which media formats contribute the most to revising representations of the past in Eastern Europe. What strategies of dramatization, emotionalization and personalization of historical events do these media products offer, and to what extent do they manage to update older Soviet or even pre-Soviet (national) narratives and imaginations? Conversely, we need to ask what the marketing and commercialization of historical discourses suggest about a changing approach to the past in times of increasingly globalized media cultures.

The workshop is organized by Nina Weller (EUV Frankfurt O.) and Matthias Schwartz (FU Berlin/ The Leibniz Zentrum für Kultur- und Literaturforschung, Berlin), in collaboration with the BMBF research project “Designing the Past. Imagined History, Fiction and Memory in the Belarusian, Russian and Ukrainian Cultures” (head: Nina Weller, European University Viadrina Frankfurt O.).

The workshop will be held in English. To register please send an email to Matthias Schwartz (schwartz@zfl-berlin.org).

CALLS FOR PAPERS

**First PoSoCoMeS conference
Post-Socialist Memory in a Global Perspective: Postcolonialism,
Post-transition, Post-trauma**

**September 24–26, 2020
Chisinau, Moldova**

The Post-Socialist Comparative Memory Studies Working group is part of the Memory Studies Association. Our goal is to bring together researchers, activists, and practitioners working in and on post-socialist countries. We call for trans-regional comparative studies that connect Eastern Europe and Africa, Southern America and Asia, and result in broad conceptualizations of post-socialist memories.

The PoSoCoMes group was constituted in 2018 in order to establish a platform of thought and ideas exchange for scholars coming from different disciplines who work on post-socialist memory studies. During the third annual MSA conference in Madrid we organized 14 panels, which attracted a broad audience. We have already published two newsletters informing about our activities, and now we are organising the first PoSoCoMes conference. It will take place on September 24–26, 2020, in Chisinau, Moldova. One of the purposes of this conference is to allow scholars and practitioners from the post-socialist countries of Europe and Eurasia to discuss common issues and exchange ideas. Travel to Moldova is visa-free for citizens of over 100 countries. Applications from those living outside the former socialist world and working in comparative memory studies involving questions of (post)socialism are also very welcome.

We invite submissions of panels, sessions, round tables, workshops, and individual papers covering different aspects of post-socialist memories. We are especially interested in papers using comparative approaches and studying cases from different regions.

We also invite proposals for panel and poster sessions for early-career researchers (Ph.D. and advanced MA students), including discussions of thesis proposals. Alternative formats are welcome as well.

Possible topics of submissions include:

- Post-socialist writing/ writing memories of (post)socialism
- (Post)socialism in art, film and visual culture
- Museums and memories of socialism
- Nostalgia and Ostalgie
- Difficult memories of post-socialist pasts
- Memory activism connecting post-socialist countries
- Post-socialist and postcolonial entanglements of memory
- Politics of memory and memory wars in post-socialist countries
- Media and Internet shaping memories in and across post-socialist regions
- Theorizing comparative memory studies
- Post-socialist memory in Global South
- Non-alignment and memory
- Ideology and everyday life of (post)socialism
- Memory and oral history
- Transitional justice in post-socialist contexts
- Memories of transitional periods

We are organizing a stream on the adaptation of cosmopolitan Holocaust memory culture in Eastern Europe. Please note if you are applying to this stream.

Paper proposals should include abstracts of no longer than 250 words and information about the presenter (affiliation and short biographies). Panel and roundtable proposals should include an abstract of no longer than 250 words and a complete list of participants, titles of their papers,

and names of discussants and/or moderators. Please, send your submission through the google form or to posocomes@gmail.com.

Submissions are due January 15, 2020.

Program committee:

Zuzanna Bogumił, The Maria Grzegorzewska University, Warsaw, anthropology

Diana Dumitru, Ion Creangă State University, history

Oksana Dovgoplova, Odessa National University, history / philosophy

Aleksei Kamenskikh, Higher School of Economics in Perm, history/philosophy

Wulf Kansteiner, Aarhus University, history/memory studies

Daria Khlevnyuk, Higher School of Economics, Moscow, sociology

Lana Lovrencic, Zagreb, heritage studies / history of art

Olga Malinova, Higher School of Economics in Moscow, political science

Ksenia Robbe, University of Groningen, literary & cultural studies

Bin Xu, Emory College of Arts and Sciences, sociology

**Special Edition of *Holocaust Studies: Culture and History*:
Holocaust Memory and Education in the Digital Age**

Digital media are playing an increasing role in Holocaust memory and education. These include digital mapping projects like www.danskejoederitheresienstadt.org, VR representations of former concentration and death camps, such as the one of Sobibór, viewable at Camp Vught in the Netherlands, interactive online archives that give researchers and learners the skills necessary to interpret documents at the Arolsen Archives (International Tracing Service), and three-dimensional and holographic survivor talks in the United States and the United Kingdom. This special edition seeks to take stock of the wide range of digital projects in these fields and to consider the impact,

challenges and potentials of such technologies for the future of Holocaust memory and education.

Given the increasing presence of Neo-Nazi, alt-right and Holocaust denial rhetoric in online spaces, and debates about the corporate responsibility of organisations like Google and Facebook, and platforms such as 4Chan and 8Chan, it seems particularly timely to address the roles that digital technology can play in informing cultural and collective memory of the Holocaust and educating about this past. These issues raise a multitude of questions that we invite potential contributors to explore, including but not limited to:

- To what extent do digital Holocaust memory and education projects reiterate historical (pre-digital) practices of memorialisation, museology and pedagogy?
- To what extent can digital practices disrupt traditional ways of remembering and educating about the Holocaust? What are the challenges and opportunities of such disruptions, should they exist?
- Do digital technologies raise new questions regarding the ethics of Holocaust representation?
- What role can social media platforms and other digital forms play in democratizing Holocaust memory and education?
- How do algorithmic and surveillance capitalism risk complicating efforts for informed Holocaust education and memory?
- What are/should be/ could be the priorities of Holocaust memory and education for the future, through the use of digital technologies?
- Do we indeed really need digital technologies to help us to teach about and to remember the Holocaust?
- Is it the responsibility of those working in Holocaust museums, memorialisation and education to tackle digital forms of contemporary hate crime, antisemitism and Holocaust denial? If so, how might such fights be mobilised in productive ways? If not, whose responsibility is it?
- What are the limitations of different digital technologies and projects in the context of Holocaust memory and education?

- How does the digital open up new spaces for Holocaust memory and education, with new audiences?
- How do the tensions between techno-utopia, technological determinism and techno-scepticism play out in Holocaust memory and education?
- How do digital technologies offer potentials for radically rethinking our definitions of the Holocaust memorial, Holocaust memorial museums, and Holocaust education?

Please send abstracts of 200–300 words with a clear title and author bio (no more than 100 words) to Victoria Grace Walden at: v.walden@sussex.ac.uk by **November 20, 2019**. Completed articles of 8,000–10,000 words should be submitted by the end of March 2020.

Seminar

Spaces in Transit: Literary and Cultural Responses to Mnemonic Landscapes

The European Society for the Study of English (ESSE)
15th ESSE Conference
August 31–September 4, 2020, Lyon, France

This seminar aims to look at issues of memory and spatialization. By space in transit we refer to the dynamic and malleable nature of space, which becomes apparent in configurations linked to collective memories about the past, subjected as they are to ongoing negotiations and interpretations (e.g.: monuments, memorials, architecture, ruins, topographic features). Can inter-medial representations of space contribute to illuminate the complex dynamics of memory? Do literary and cultural artefacts have the potential to function as sites of memory themselves, in the absence or failure of material sites? Our particular focus is on literary and cultural representations of urban space associated with collective memories, but we will also consider explorations of memory and space from a broader perspective.

Seminar convenors:

Lourdes López-Ropero (University of Alicante, Spain) Lourdes.lopez@ua.es and Marzena Sokolowska-Paryz (University of Warsaw, Poland) m.a.sokolowska-paryz@uw.edu.pl

Please, send 200–250 word abstracts to both convenors by **15 January 2020**. Preliminary inquiries are welcome. Conference website <http://www.esse2020lyon.fr/fr/pages/esse-2020-home>

PoSoCoMeS RESEARCHERS

Gruia Badescu is a Balzan Prize Research Fellow at the University of Konstanz, where he is part of the “Reconstructing Memory in the City” research group led by Jan and Aleida Assmann. His research examines how interventions in urban space relate to societal and political processes of dealing with a difficult past, specifically war and political violence. He holds a PhD from the Centre for Urban Conflicts Research, Department of Architecture, University of Cambridge, where his dissertation analyzed the relationship between post-war urban reconstruction and coming to terms with the past in Belgrade and Sarajevo. Before Konstanz, he was a Departmental Lecturer and a research associate at the School of Geography at the University of Oxford. Moreover, he has been a visiting fellow at the Centre for Southeast European Studies at the University of Graz and at the Center for Advanced Studies (CAS) Southeastern Europe at the University of Rijeka, as well as a visiting lecturer at the National School of Political Science and Public Administration in Bucharest.

He has researched the relationship of (urban) space and memory processes in Southeastern Europe, also in dialogue with other regions, specifically South America and the Middle East. He has been part of a number of research projects, including UEFISCDI-funded “Politics and Policies of Heritage-Making in Post-Colonial and



Post-Socialist Contexts”, the Franco-British AHRC/Labex Les Passés dans le Présent-funded ‘Criminalization of Dictatorial Pasts in Europe and Latin America in Global Perspective’, and SSHRC-funded “Rijeka in Flux: Borders and Urban Change after World War II”.

His publications have examined the relationship between memory, forgetting and the city in post-war and post-authoritarian contexts and have appeared, among others, in journals such as *History and Anthropology*, *Nationalities Papers*, *Südosteuropa*, *Journal of Religion & Society*, *Revue d'études comparatives Est-Ouest*, as well as several book chapters. He is one of the co-editors of ‘Curating Change in the Museum’, the special issue of the anthropology journal *Martor*. His most recent publication is ‘Entangled Islands of Memory: Actors and Circulations of Site Memorialisation Practice Between the Latin American Southern Cone and Central and Eastern Europe’ (*Global Society*, 2019, 33 (3), pp. 1–18). He is currently completing a book on post-war architectural reconstruction and dealing with the past.



Simon Lewis works on the intersections between nationhood, cosmopolitanism, memory and identity in Central and Eastern Europe, in particular in the literature and culture of Poland, Belarus, Ukraine and Russia.

He researches a range of topics including: the emergence of separate national identities in the aftermath of the partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at the end of the eighteenth century; relations between narrative, space, power and identity in this region; postcolonialism and orientalism in the East-Central European context;

memory, representation, displacement and border shifts; and ideas of Europe and cosmopolitan belonging. His principal primary sources are works of literature and visual culture dating from the early nineteenth century to the present day.

Lewis is currently a DFG “Eigene Stelle” Research Fellow at the Institute for Slavic Studies, University of Potsdam, where he is conducting a research project entitled “The Cosmopolitan Imagination in Polish Literature, ca. 1800–1939.” This project aims to retrace genealogies of Polish cosmopolitanism, and thereby to provide a dual corrective: first, to the methodological nationalism that has characterized the majority of studies on this region; second, to the notable absence of Central and Eastern European perspectives in wider scholarly debates on cosmopolitanism as a simultaneously global and vernacular phenomenon.

His monograph *Belarus – Alternative Visions: Nation, Memory and Cosmopolitanism* (Routledge, 2019), based on a PhD dissertation defended at the University of Cambridge in 2014, analyses competing memory discourses about Belarus using a multilingual and multi-perspectival method. Lewis is also a co-author of the book *Remembering Katyn* (Polity, 2012) and has published several articles and book chapters on memory, narrative and identity in Central and Eastern Europe.

Sandra Križić Roban graduated from the Departments of Art History and of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb. She holds a PhD in art history and is a critic, curator, and writer. She has worked at the Institute of Art History in Zagreb since 1992 and acted as the editor-in-chief of the art journal *Život umjetnosti* (2000–2017). Her research topics are contemporary art, history and theory



of photography, post-war architecture, public space discourse, and contemporary war memorials in Croatia.

She is the author of the only two comprehensive studies on contemporary photography and contemporary painting in Croatia: *At Second Glance. The Positions of Contemporary Croatian Photography* (2010), and *Croatian Painting from 1945 until Today. Responsibility of Image at the Time of Impatient Look* (2013). Besides, she published several book chapters, scientific papers and catalogue essays, among them: “A Lost State of Plenitude. Commemorating the Homeland War in Public Spaces in Croatia”, in: Ann Murray (ed.), *Constructing the Memory of War in Visual Culture since 1914. The Eye on War*, New York: Routledge, 2018; “Discontinuity and/or shelter? Monuments of the Homeland War in public space”, in: Željko Heimer, Marin Sabolović (eds.), *Znanstveno-stručni skup Simbol, identitet i Domovinski rat: zbornik radova*, Zagreb: Hrvatsko grboslovno i zastavoslovno društvo, 2016; “Characteristics of Modernity in the Architecture, Urbanism, and Interior Design after the Second World War”, *Socialism and Modernity. Art, Culture, Politics 1950–1974*, Ljiljana Kolešnik (ed.), IPU&MSU, Zagreb, 2012 (co-author of the book and exhibition concept).

She hosted a number of retrospective exhibitions, as well as extensive thematic exhibitions, both at home and abroad. She led the project *Postmedia and Non-institutional Art Practices from 1960s*, within which she organized two international conferences on contemporary arts, in collaboration with Leonida Kovač. In 2013, she has established Office for Photography, a non-profit association dedicated to contemporary photography. As part of the Office, she has been a project manager of the international project *Forgotten Heritage – European Avant-Garde Art Online*.

She has been teaching the course “Culture of Memory – Memorial Sites, Monuments, Anti-monuments and Counter-monuments” at the Academy of Fine Arts in Zagreb from 2018. She has participated in numerous international conferences and received numerous research grants (latest Warsaw, Krakov, Łodz, May 2015; CAA Getty International Program, Los Angeles, February 2018).

Varvara Sklez is a PhD candidate in the Department of Theatre and Performance Studies at the University of Warwick and a research fellow in the School of Advanced Studies in the Humanities at the Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration. She also teaches at the Moscow School of Social and Economic Sciences. Varvara specializes in the fields of theatre and performance studies, public history, and memory studies. Her current research focuses on history, memory and trauma in contemporary Russian theatre.



Her PhD research project, *The Aesthetics of Effort: Performing the Difficult Past in Contemporary Russian Theatre*, aims to put experiments in contemporary Russian theatre into the context of other performative commemoration practices in the country. While the performative dimension seems to become more and more important for participating in these practices, theatre practitioners tend to explore this mode in their work redefining the notions of collectivity, memory and political action.

She is a co-editor of *Politika affekta: muzei kak prostranstvo publichnoi istorii* [Politics of Affect: Museum as a Space of Public History] (Moscow: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 2019) and a participant of the *Memories of the Soviet Peasant Rebellions of 1920–1921* project (warandpeasant.ru, 2018). Being one of the Public History Laboratory (publichistorylab.ru) founders, she is on the organizing committee of the annual *Public History in Russia* conference. She also participates in the activities of Theatrum Mundi Research Lab (theatrummundi.ru).

ORGANIZATIONS

DRA – German-Russian Exchange, Germany

The DRA (Deutsch-Russischer Austausch e.V. / German-Russian Exchange) is an international non-governmental organization founded in 1992 and based in Berlin. It supports a pluralistic democratic society in Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus by cooperating with different civil society actors as well as with mass media, local and state authorities. It provides common programmes, projects, seminars and conferences on issues of social and political development, human rights, ecology, civil society structures and participation, volunteering, intercultural relations, and others. The DRA coordinates projects funded by the EU, consults endowments, political and other actors about cooperation with countries in Central and Eastern Europe, and helps active young people from Western and Eastern Europe to volunteer for NGOs.

One of the projects in which the DRA is currently engaged is called “Transition Dialogue 2019–2021. Dealing with Change in Democratic Ways.” It employs a participatory approach to dealing with transition in



*Teaching Transition. Geschichte(n) des Wandels nach 1989:
Ein europäischer Vergleich. Photo provided by DRA e.V.*

post-89 Germany and Eastern Europe, with new concepts for the European civic education. The countries involved in the project are Bulgaria, Croatia, Germany, Poland, Russia, Ukraine and the Baltic states. This is how the DRA describes the project:

“In 2019, parts of Europe are marking 30 years since the beginning of transition from communism and the fall of the Berlin Wall. In two years from now in yet other parts of Eastern Europe, the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the war-torn collapse of former Yugoslavia will be marked. Witnesses and drivers of those events are still actively shaping the social, political and cultural life. In the meantime, a generation has come of age that has no direct memory neither of communism nor of transition. Their knowledge and perceptions of this recent past is mostly based on stories of the older generations and on politicized and instrumentalized discourses.

Against this background and as practitioners of history and civic education, we are taking a closer look at two of the areas that mostly contribute to the formation of knowledge and perceptions of that recent past: the public discourse and the teaching of transition. We work: nationally (in a number of partner countries), locally (in each of the countries outside of the large cities into the rural areas), internationally (exchange, share knowledge and compare our findings). At the end of this process, we hope to have a more multifaceted and nuanced understanding of the impact of transition on societies in Eastern Europe and how history and civic education can be used to help deal with it.”

The DRA partners in the project are: the Sofia Platform, Bulgaria (co-lead); the Foundation Wissen am Werk/ znanje na djelu, Croatia; the Center for Citizenship Education, Poland; the Perm Centre for Civic Education and Human Rights, Russia; and the Congress of Cultural Activists/ Association of Active Citizens, Ukraine. The project is realised with the support of the German Federal Agency for Civic Education (bpb).

European College of Liberal Arts, Belarus

The European College of Liberal Arts in Belarus (ECLAB, eclab.by) was launched in 2014 as an informal alternative to the Belarusian system of higher education. The latter, having inherited a number of Soviet features, remains rigid and inflexible despite the changes that have taken place over the past 30 years. ECLAB, in turn, allows its students to obtain additional education within the liberal arts tradition. In 2019, applicants can enroll in six courses (“concentrations”): *Critical Urban Studies*; *Contemporary Art and Drama Studies*; *Contemporary Society*; *Ethics and Politics*; *Mass Culture and Mass Media*; and *Public History*. Each course takes one year and places critical thinking, free discussions among students and lecturers, and the absence of hierarchy or the “right” point of view at the centre of the learning process.

ECLAB’s “Public History” concentration, the most relevant for PoSoCoMeS, aims at helping students understand what historical knowledge is and how it functions. According to Alexei Bratochkin, the concentration’s head, history in today’s Belarus is still strongly defined by positivist and neo-positivist ideas, which is enforced by the existing intellectual tradition. However, “a more critical approach to historical data is necessary,” Bratochkin argues. The course focuses on the usage of



Photo by Alexandra Kononchenko. Courtesy of ECLAB

history – and the past more broadly – by various individual and group actors in the country. It analyses historical practices outside of specialised academic settings: in the media, museums, cinema, literature, and other art forms.

Led by Bratochkin, the programme has also ventured into the practical dimension of public history. In 2018, it participated in organizing the exhibition “100 Years after the Great War: Heritage and Memory of WWI (1914–1918) in Belarus and Europe,” with support of the Embassy of Germany in Belarus. Two years earlier, ECLAB’s “Public History” concentration created the exhibition “From Dehumanization to Murder: Fates of Persons with Mental Illness in Belarus (1941–1944),” which was supported by the German foundation “Remembrance, Responsibility and Future” (“Erinnerung, Verantwortung und Zukunft”).

NEW PROJECTS

Exhibition

AN ARCHIVE AS A MEMORY CONSTRUCT

Sandro Đukić

Spot Gallery, Zagreb, Croatia

21 October – 14 November 2019

Curator Lana Lovrenčić



Sandro Đukić, Self-portrait, 1989

Mentioning an archive generally implies the assumption of its material embodiment, the ability to locate its elements that may or may not be connected in an organized whole. We are far less likely to question the reason why an archive was created or whether the way it is arranged conditions the way in which we use it. The question of an archive as a construct is a question of how we accumulate historical knowledge and forms of remembrance (Charles Merewether) and, thus, the title *An Archive as a Memory Construct* casts doubt on the material aspect of the archive itself. If an archive was created by reconstructing memories of individuals, can it then meet the demands of data accuracy and veracity (which we somehow presume when holding a document from the corresponding period)?

The end of the 1980s marked the beginning of the former state's dissolution which triggered a serious socio-political change. The disintegration of old structures and relationships, with walls literally being torn down, was welcomed with open arms — the rejection of old ideologies opened the space for utopia. In a situation where the further course of action is unknown, all options are open.

The starting point of Sandro Đukić's project *An Archive as a Memory Construct* is his own artwork realized and destroyed in the early 1990s. Namely, just before the outbreak of the Homeland War (1991–1995) in Croatia, Đukić's first objects were created. They consisted of photographs ("self-portraits" in an atypical form) applied to three-dimensional structures made of ultrapas with added electronics. These objects were theoretically based on the texts by Jean Baudrillard, Gilles Deleuze, Slavoj Žižek, as well as on psychoanalysis and antipsychiatry. They strongly focused on the position of the subject in a post-ideological society. The uncertainty of the time when the objects were produced was emphasized with use of ultrapas, a material that mimics natural materials, in addition to the meticulous design of objects which were made to appear as industrial products rather than unique objects.

Almost thirty years later, Đukić has returned to his lost work by creating an archive of materials that cover the process of the object's creation and destruction. He gathers and reconstructs certain elements

with a forensic precision, examines the initial artistic intent as well as the time when the work was realized. Ultimately, by revising what seemed possible back then in relation to what really happened, Đukić approaches the reconstruction (making a replica) of the work itself as to open up new levels of meaning.



Sandro Đukić, Object, 1991, reconstructed 2019

Sandro Đukić (born 1964, Zagreb) graduated from the Academy of Fine Arts in Zagreb, where he studied in the class of Đuro Seder. After that, he studied at the Academy of Fine Arts in Dusseldorf, at the Video Art Department, in the class of prof. Nam June Paik and completed Nan Hoover's master workshop. He has participated in numerous solo and group exhibitions in Croatia and abroad. As a lecturer, he has taken part in several Croatian and international symposia. He has received a number of awards for his work (ArtsLink Independent Projects Award, USA, etc.) and has participated in a number of residency programs (Kaleidoscope of Pacific Standard Time – KPST; Montalvo

Art Center, Saratoga, California, USA; Workshop at the Icelandic College of Art (DAAD Stipendium, KD), Iceland, etc.). His works are part of public and private collections. He lives and works in Zagreb.

Platform

TERRA OBLITA

Sofia Gavrilova

Dear Friends and Colleagues,

We are happy to introduce our project *Terra Oblita: Open Memory Map* and call for contributions. The project was organized by the Berlin-based association KONTAKTE–KOHTAKTbI e.V. (Verein für Kontakte zu Ländern der ehemaligen Sowjetunion) in collaboration with students from Bremen University (Bremen, Germany), National Research University Higher School of Economics (Moscow, Russia), Southern Federal University (Rostov-on-Don, Russia), and Oles Honchar Dnipro National University (Dnipro, Ukraine). In the course of last year, students and their tutors had four field trips and meetings in the host universities, where they discussed the politics of memory in their home countries, including the question of which groups of victims of National Socialism are under-represented and why. As a result, we came up with a list of ‘forgotten’ victims of National Socialism and have designed a crowdsourcing platform to gather information about them. The platform (terraoblita.com) has been launched recently, and it is now time to spread the word about it. There are several things that can be done to help us, if you are willing. First of all, please spread the word about the platform within universities, NGOs and schools in your country. Second, if you aware of any interesting place, monument or memory practice that fits into the project’s scope – please feel free to add it to the website. And finally, we are always happy to have volunteers help us with translation and editorial work.

For any inquiries and for more information please feel free to email me: gavrilova.sofia@gmail.com.

MNEMOSYNE

Mnemosyne is a project inspired by the biographies of two women, Lenka Reinerova and Eva Grlić, who ran away from their respective European home cities in the 1930s and 1940s to save their lives. Lenka left Prague for Mexico, and Eva left Zagreb and joined Partisans to fight against the Nazis, fascists and quisling forces. Mnemosyne is dedicated to the history of Europe during the reign of Fascism, history that is being rendered vague due to revisionist practices in Croatia today.

Mnemosyne is a collaborative, research-driven and educational as well as an advocacy platform that brings together academics, activist and expert organizations and NGOs, and independent researchers with significant experience in the field of cultural and artistic production and in the tradition of social engagement in the societies of Southeast Europe.

The platform's activities are strategically conceptualized, thematically profiled and organizationally unified, so that they can enable functional linking of particular formats of project activities in research,



Performance In/Visible, Praška St, Zagreb, 2011

educational, practical and performative, as well as advocacy domains. They are also aimed at enabling the sustainable and continuous collaboration of the partner organizations on the level of further conceptualization, methodological elaboration and practical implementation of those formats.

Mnemosyne was developed in 2010 by the Association for Interdisciplinary and Intercultural Research (AIIR), an organization dedicated to research and acting upon cultural interstices, while emphasizing production of urban, social, artistic and scientific platforms for inciting long-term interdisciplinary, intercultural and inter-sectoral cooperation.

In October 2019 last Mnemosyne activity took place: Ana Kršinić-Lozica, a curator and critic, and Sonja Leboš, an anthropologist and the initiator of the project Mnemosyne organized “Mnemosyne: Jasenovac on film”. The program contained lecture by Leboš about the project Mnemosyne, while Kršinić-Lozica gave a short overview of the history of film about the Jasenovac concentration camp in the context of different representations of the subject in other media such as literature and visual arts. On the second day of the program workshops were held with the goal of drafting possible answers to the questions on the methods of framing the history of Jasenovac camp in the cinematic time, on the relationship between history and presence i. e. different regimes of historicity in the films about Jasenovac, as well as on the performative aspects of the film in the society. The films discussed during the works by prominent authors of Croatian and Yugoslav cinematography such as Bogdan Žižić, Gojko Kastratović, Vladimir Tadej, Vatroslav Mimica. The program was completed with the round table under the title “Document, Film, History” with participation by Nataša Mataušić (Croatian Historical Museum), Bogdan Žižić (the author of the films “Jasenovac”, 1966 and “Jasenovački memento”, 2015) and Dado Ćosić (the actor in the theater piece “Eichmann in Jerusalem”, Zagreb Youth Theater 2019).

Please follow the link for details: <http://uiii.hr/pages/mnemosyne>

NEW PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS AND SPECIAL ISSUES

Polesia: Modernity in the Marshlands. Interventions and Transformations at the European Periphery from the Nineteenth to the Twenty-First Century. Ed. by Anna Veronika Wendland, Diana Siebert & Thomas M. Bohn. *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropaforschung / Journal of East Central European History*, 68 (2019). Marburg: Verlag Herder Institut. <https://www.zfo-online.de/index.php/zfo/issue/view/351>

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Anna Veronika Wendland, Diana Siebert, Thomas M. Bohn: Polesia: Modernity in the Marshlands. Interventions and Transformations at the European Periphery from the Nineteenth to the Twenty-first Century, pp. 319–343

Katja Bruisch: The State in the Swamps: Territorialization and Ecosystem Engineering in the Western Provinces of the Late Russian Empire, pp. 345–368.

Diana Siebert: Landscape Interventions? The Draining of Wetlands and Other Modernization Initiatives in West Polesia from 1921 to 1939, pp. 369–399.

Artem Kouida: Land Melioration in Belarusian Polesia as a Modernization Factor in the Soviet Periphery, pp. 401–417.

Thomas M. Bohn and Aliaksandr Dalhouski: *Nature Conservation in the Belarusian Marshland: The Pripjat National Park as Timber Source and Hunting Paradise*, pp. 419–443.

Svetlana Boltovska: *Local Identities in Ukrainian Polesia and Their Transformation under the (Post-)Soviet Nuclear Economy*, pp. 445–477.

Natalia Otrishchenko, Iryna Sklokina, with Anna Balázs, Lívía Gažová, Yulia Harkusha, Lea Horvat, Ksenia Litvinenko, Daryna Ozhyganova, Daryna Pyrogova, and Jordan Skinner: *Slavutych: Urban Practices, Memories and Imagination*. Research Report of the Studio at the Summer School “The Idea of the City: Reality Check”, pp. 477–499.

Specifically, PoSoCoMeS member Svetlana Boltovska’s essay “Local Identities in Ukrainian Polesia and Their Transformation under the (Post-)Soviet Nuclear Economy”

deals with the transformation of local identities between 1965 and 2015 in three regions in rural Ukrainian Polesia where the USSR built nuclear power plants, each with its own satellite city. These included the Chernobyl NPP and the city of Pripjat (1970–1986) in Kyiv Polesia, the Rivne NPP and the city of Kuznetsovsk (since 1973)/Varash (since 2016) in West or Great Polesia, and the Khmelnytskyi NPP and the city of Netishyn (since 1980) in so-called Little Polesia. The essay is based on data from field work carried out in these regions from 2016 to 2018, which primarily involved interviewing eyewitnesses and experts and doing research in local museums, archives and libraries within the Chernobyl Exclusion Zone and in Kyiv, Varash and Netishyn. The author analyzes the local identities in these three regions during the early stages of nuclear industrialization and their transformation during the nuclear modernization. She also looks at the formation of new urban identities in the monoindustrial cities, which were situated in rural areas, and at the construction of new self-images and images of others among the new urban and old rural local

populations. The common history of these three regions came to an end with the Chernobyl catastrophe. The author examines the impact of the catastrophe, the trauma of the following involuntary resettlement and how it affected local identities in Polesia after 1986. The essay also deals with the impact of the Ukrainian post-Chernobyl anti-nuclear movement, the following moratorium on the construction of new nuclear power plants, the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the role of Ukrainian independence in the transformation of urban identities in Kuznetsovsk/Varash and Netishyn, where the nuclear power stations are still in operation. Lastly, the author investigates how new identity-forming factors as Ukrainization, decommunization, and social inequality, have played an important role in post-Soviet identity building.

Research data of Svetlana Boltovska's project "Ukrainian Polesia as a Nuclear Landscape and the Transformation of Local Identities, 1965–2015" is available online:

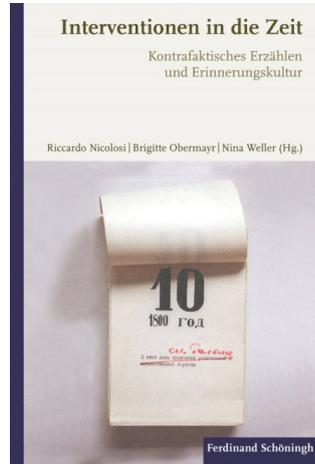
The stock includes digital data, mainly digital interviews with 34 interviewees, their transcriptions and about 70 photographs taken in the Chernobyl Exclusion Zone, in Kyiv, Varaš, Netišyn, in the surrounding regions, and also in Berlin and Paris in 2015–2018. The project examined the history of Ukrainian Polesia as an intervention story in the context of the (post-) Soviet nuclear industry. In the 1970s-1980s, three nuclear power plants with their associated infrastructure were built there: Chernobyl, Rivne and Khmelnytsky. Thus, the "atomic city" (atomograd) as an urban municipality new type of entry into the wetland. The project describes the novel relationships that have emerged and the transformation of local identities. The research is based on interviews with experts and contemporary witnesses from the nuclear cities and their rural environment as well as on visual sources, museum presentations, the local press and "gray literature." The all 34 data packets are available at the Herder institute in Marburg. One of the highlights of the collection, the date packet of the interview with the Chernobyl priest Nikolai Yakushin (transcript and audio in Russian language) is fully available online.

Herder Institute: <https://www.herder-institut.de/holdings/index.php?hol=HI000013&lang=de>

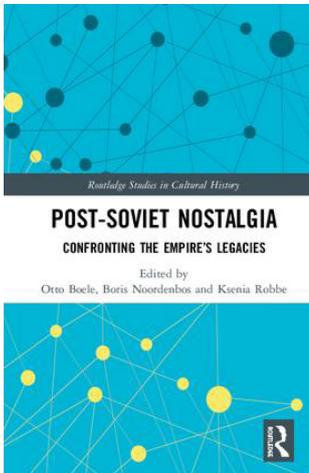
DARAH-DE repository: <https://repository.de.dariah.eu/1.0/dhcrud/21.11113/0000-000B-D 552-8>

Interventionen in die Zeit. Kontrafaktisches Erzählen und Erinnerungskultur. Ed. by Riccardo Nicolosi, Brigitte Obermayr & Nina Weller. Paderborn: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 2019.

“What would it be like if...?” is at the heart of all the essays gathered in this new volume “Interventionen in der Zeit. Kontrafaktisches Erzählen und Erinnerungskultur,” which translates to “Interventions in Time: Counterfactual Narratives and Remembrance Culture.” Especially in times of upheaval, such as the collapse of the Soviet Union, counterfactual narratives have been widely popular. Well known facts are presented in a different light and forgotten or forbidden ideas appear as facts. The volume presents contributions about counterfactual narrations from a comparative perspective and from different disciplines such as literature studies, media studies and history. Special emphasis is placed on post social cultures in Eastern Europe and on the question on how counterfactual narratives function as constitutive or dynamic elements of remembrance cultures. Counterfactual narratives can make what didn’t happen happen, i. e. invent history and extend options for action. Thereby it runs the risk of building an alliance with political restorative forces.



Post-Soviet Nostalgia: Confronting the Empire’s Legacies. Ed. by Otto Boele, Boris Noordenbos and Ksenia Robbe. New York & London: Routledge, 2019.



Bringing together scholars from Russia, the United States and Europe, this collection of essays is the first to explore the slippery phenomenon of post-Soviet nostalgia by studying it as a discursive practice serving a wide variety of ideological agendas. The authors demonstrate how feelings of loss and displacement in post-Soviet Russia are turned into effective tools of state building and national mobilization, as well as into weapons for local resistance and the assertion of individual autonomy. Drawing on novels, memoirs, documentaries, photographs and Soviet commodities, *Post-Soviet Nostalgia* is an invaluable resource for historians, literary scholars and anthropologists interested in how Russia comes to terms with its Soviet past.

erary scholars and anthropologists interested in how Russia comes to terms with its Soviet past.

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ARTICLES

Kende, Tamás. Jewish Communism versus Bolshevik Antisemitism or the Quest for the Right Adjective. In: Raul Carstocea & Éva Kovács (Eds.), *Moderne Antisemitismen an der Peripherien Europas und seine Kolonien 1880–1945 / Modern Antisemitisms in the Peripheries of Europe and its Colonies 1880–1945*, pp. 237–265. New Academia Press, 2018.

The study seeks to highlight the historiography, political-history, and philology of the formation of the “proverbial” Soviet antisemitism’s “memory.” This “memory” is a fundamental part of the (anti-)totalitarian school’s greatest comprehensive works on the USSR and “Communism,” including works by such outstanding historians as Sir Antony Beevor (*Berlin: The Downfall 1945*) and Timothy Snyder. In these and other otherwise great historical works anti-antisemitism became a “cultural code” that is used to describe (instead of understanding) the phenomenon of “Communism.” The article constitutes the historiographical chapter of Tamás Kende’s upcoming book *Antisemitism and Inner Fronts of the USSR during WWII*. *European Review of History*, 2019 (in press).

Klymenko, Lina. Forging Ukrainian national identity through remembrance of World War II. *National Identities*, 2019, pre-published online. DOI: 10.1080/14608944.2019.1590810

This paper explores how the collective remembrance of a specific historical event shapes the national identity that underpins a state’s foreign policy objectives. By drawing on multidisciplinary insights, the paper explains how political actors frame past events in order to promote a certain conceptualization of a national community. Taking Ukraine as a case study, the paper demonstrates how Russia’s intervention in Ukraine in 2014–2015 prompted Ukrainian policy-makers to re-define Ukraine’s relations with the EU and Russia by re-evaluating the experience of Ukrainians in WWII.

Litvinenko, Anna & Zavadski, Andrei. Memories on demand: Narratives about 1917 in Russia’s online authoritarian publics. *Europe-Asia Studies*, forthcoming [the Accepted Manuscript is publicly available on the authors’ website: <https://www.mediating-authoritarianism.net/2019/05/09/new-article-accepted-for-publication-narratives-about-1917-in-russia-s-online-authoritarian-publics/>].

This article analyses the digital remembrance of the Russian Revolution in the year of its centenary. It examines what memory narratives about 1917 were constructed by leading Russian online media in 2017, in the absence of an overarching narrative about the event imposed by the state. The authors reveal a multiplicity of digital memories about the Revolution and discuss their implications for the regime's stability. The flexible nature of digital remembrance, they argue, does not necessarily challenge authoritarian rule but can work in its favour by allowing one to target — and satisfy — various sections of a fragmented society.

Vuckovic Juros, Tanja. 'Things were good during Tito's times, my parents say': How young Croatian generations negotiated the socially mediated frames of the recent Yugoslav past. *Memory Studies*, 2018, pre-published online. DOI: 10.1177/1750698018790122 [the Accepted Manuscript is publicly available on the author's website].

How do new generations in a society negotiate different perspectives of a controversial past available from various sources? How do they use the past to make sense of their lives? Using in-depth interviews with 72 young members of the first two Croatian post-Yugoslav generations, this study analysed how these young people acquired elements of their repertoires on the recent Yugoslav past from family members, school and the media, how they assessed these elements in terms of plausibility and legitimacy, and how they appropriated or questioned them. The study's findings suggest that the credibility of the socially mediated perspectives of the past was increased by the emotional bond with the sources who adopted the role of witnesses, and by the fit with the personal concerns of the meaning-making audience. As a result, the most successful were the frames transmitted by the communicative sources through social interaction, rather than by the institutionalized sources.