# SCHOOL MEMORY

CONFLICT, IDENTITY, COEXISTENCE (CENTRAL EUROPE)

# **Book of Abstracts**

International Conference 10 - 11 October 2014 Prague, Liechtenstein Palace

Organizing Institutions







**Conference** Partners



The conference is under the auspices of Mr Bohuslav Sobotka, Prime Minister of the Government of the Czech Republic, and of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports.



### CONFLICT, IDENTITY, COEXISTENCE (CENTRAL EUROPE)

### 10 - 11 October 2014

Prague, Liechtenstein Palace

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The conference is organized by the Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes, Faculty of Arts of Charles University in Prague and Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports Czech Republic, under the auspices of Mr Bohuslav Sobotka, Prime Minister of the Government of the Czech Republic, and of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports.

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### Introduction of the Chairman of the Program Committee



#### Dear Ladies and Gentlemen, dear colleagues,

I warmly welcome you to our conference "School vs. Memory" in Prague!

The title of our conference brings together two phenomena: "Memory" – mainly understood as cultural or collective memory, which is, however, not separable from individual remembrance – and school as an institution dealing with the transmission of knowledge (and, in this context, cultural, even national cultural memory contents) as well as the formation of character. The "vs." in our title suggests that between these two concepts considerable tensions can be observed.

Recently, "memory" as a concept describing a plurality of modes of relating to the past has gained ground in both the humanities and social sciences. "Memory" replaced or complemented traditional historical narratives. As it is suggested by its title, this conference deals with memory from a didactic perspective and focuses on the situation in Central European countries. Here, conflicts are likely to arise between views about the past developed in history lessons and those formed in other social contexts (e. g. family, social group or community).

Given this situation, questions to be dealt with include the following: What are the difficulties that result from the use of a memory layer in the traditional interpretative frameworks employed at in schools? How does a memory layer arise and what are its sources? What role does family memory play in the creation of historical consciousness? Where are the frictions between narratives of history formed at home and in the classroom? Under what conditions do they disappear? And last but not least: What does the impact of this memory in the classroom look like?

The conference has been planned most carefully. The Program Committee included a large number of internationally renowned experts and we are happy to announce that several of these will contribute to the conference.

The conference takes place in the beautiful palace of Liechtenstein. I hope you will enjoy it. Throughout your stay, please feel free to use every possible moment for further discussion. I would also like to warmly recommend the very interesting poster section on the Ground Floor.

#### I wish you an exciting and insightful conference and a great time in Prague!

Alter Weisd-

Prof. Dr. Manfred Weinberg

### **Keynote Speakers**



#### Aleida Assmann

Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. Aleida Assmann's home institution is the University of Konstanz (Department of English and American Studies). Her scholarly focus is on History of Reading/History of Writing; Images of Humanity - Historical Anthropology; History of German Memory after World War II; Generations in Literature and Society and Cultural Scientific Research on Memory, Memory Theory.



#### Felicitas Macgilchrist

Dr. Felicitas Macgilchrist is Research Fellow at the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research, Braunschweig, Germany, where she is Deputy Head of the Textbooks as Media Department. She is project leader of the Memory Practices research group, which explores how cultural memory is enacted and contested in contemporary history education. Further research interests include textbook production, educational governance, ethnography and post-structuralist discourse theory.



#### Sirkka Ahonen

Sirkka Ahonen is Professor Emerita of History and Social Sciences Education at the University of Helsinki, and has also worked as a history teacher in Britain and Bosnia-Herzegovina. She has published books on post-communist history curricula in Central and Eastern Europe, on the formation of historical identity among young adults and on the political pursuit of equal opportunity in education in the Nordic countries. Her latest monograph is Coming to Terms with a Dark Past: How Post-Conflict Societies Deal with History.



#### **Peter Seixas**

Dr. Peter Seixas is a Professor at the University of British Columbia (Faculty of Education) and the founding Director of the Centre for the Study of Historical Consciousness. Dr. Seixas' research explores young people's historical consciousness, the relationship between disciplinary and extra-disciplinary approaches to thinking about the past, and the education and professional development of history teachers.



**Conference Program** 

### FRIDAY 10/10/2014

**8:30 - 9:30** Registration **9:30 - 10:00** Conference opening

Panel 1

10:00 - 11:45 Theory

Chair Manfred Weinberg

### Keynote Speaker

Aleida Assmann

Transnational memory and the construction of history through mass media

#### Contributors

Jelka Piškurić (Study Centre for National Reconciliation, Slovenia) The plurality of memory: the Slovenian experience Amy Mackinnon (University of Glasgow / Corvinus University, United Kingdom) Children of the Revolution: Inter-generational historical consciousness of the communist past in the Czech Republic Jakub Mlynář (Charles University in Prague, Czech Republic) Where is the "collective memory"?

### Discussion

11:45 - 12:00 Coffeebreak

Panel 2

12:00 - 14:00 SCHOOL - Theory and research

#### Chair Peter Seixas

#### Keynote Speaker

**Felicitas Macgilchrist** 

Memory Practices: Enacting and contesting the curriculum in contemporary classrooms

#### Contributors

Raffaele Mantegazza (Università Milano-Bicocca, Italy):
A scent of memory. Toward a sensorial education to remembering (and forgetting)
Gitanjali Pyndiah (Goldsmiths University of London, United Kingdom)
Cultural Memoriography: the arts and memory
Maria Georgiou (University of London, United Kingdom)
Memory and History: A parasitic or symbiotic relationship?
Marcel Tomášek (Charles University in Prague, Czech Republic)
Teachers' ways and strategies when dealing with dictated history instruction content in pre-1989 regime and post-1989 processes of individual reconciliation with certain responsibility for persistence of the totalitarian regime
Jocelyn Létourneau (Université Laval, Canada)
Start from memory to get over it. A pragmatic approach to teaching history to kids

### Discussion

14:00 - 15:00 Lunch

### Panel 3

15:00 - 17:00 SCHOOL II - Divided in the classroom?

### Chair

Miroslav Michela

### Keynote Speaker

Sirkka Ahonen

The Lure of Grand Narratives

### Contributors

Uku Lember (Central European University, Hungary) Rooted or Scattered Belongings: Memories of Russian and Estonian Schools in Soviet Estonia (1960-70s). Based on oral History with Children from Intermarriages Stéphane Lévesque (University of Ottawa), Jean-Philippe Croteau (Sichuan University), Canada French-Canadians, national identity and historical consciousness: Learning from the views of Franco-Ontarians Oksana Myshlovska (Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Switzerland) School history education in Ukraine between Soviet legacies and nationalist narratives. Challenges of history teaching on the example of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists

### Discussion

17:00 - 17:30 Poster Coffee Break

Panel 4

17:30 - 19:00 SCHOOL III - Experience

#### Chair Vojtěch Ripka

#### Contributors

Linda Farr Darling (University of British Columbia, Canada) Remembrance and the voices of children in a rural Canadian community Avi Mizrahi (Foundation for Holocaust Education Projects); Katherine Gorsuch (Foundation for Holocaust Education Projects); Christian Brandjes (Daemen College); Andrew Kier Wise (Daemen College), USA Holocaust Survivor Accounts in the Classroom: The Play "Who Returned My Soul" as a Bridge Between School and Memory Ning Turgen Sorli (Study Centre for National Bacanciliation (Kreni School Centre for Tech

Nina Zupan Sorli (Study Centre for National Reconciliation / Kranj School Centre for Technical Sciences, Slovenia)

A different approach in history teaching: "Grandpa, tell me a story."

### Discussion and Closing of the First Conference Day

### SATURDAY 11/10/2014

| Panel 5 | 9:30 - 11:45 | CONFLICT I - Education |
|---------|--------------|------------------------|
| Chair   |              |                        |

Jan Randák

Keynote Speaker

Peter Seixas

History Meets Life: Historical Consciousness in the School History Classroom

### Contributors

Katrin Kello (University of Tartu, Institute of Social Studies, Estonia)
Contested pasts in divided societies: teacher autonomy and context perceptions
Oleksandr Svyetlov ("Memorial" / Public Institute of Historical Memory /
Museum of Soviet Occupation, Ukraine)
Education and conflict discourses
Sylvia Balgarinov (University of Portsmouth, United Kingdom): Polish perpetrators? Polish history textbooks and the memory of the Jedwabne massacre
Anida Sokol (Sapienza University of Rome, Italy)
War monuments and educational practices in Bosnia and Herzegovina
Catherine Déry (Université de Montréal, Canada)
The links between historical memory and history teaching in schools as they have emerged during the debate on the implementation of a new history curriculum in Quebec (2006-2014)

### Discussion

11:45 - 12:15 Poster Coffee Break

Panel 6

### 12:15 - 14:00 CONFLICT II

Aspects of conflict encounters of memory

Chair Felicitas Macgilchrist

#### Contributors

Michael Shafir (Babes-Bolyai University, Romania)

*Explaining 'Competitive Martyrdom'. The Clash of Memories in Post-Communist Eastern Europe* **Lisa Jenny Krieg** (Utrecht University, The Netherlands)

"When you mention the Holocaust, it's like baaam!" - Power and Danger of the Holocaust in present-day Germany

Katka Volná (Charles University in Prague, Czech Republic)

"Memory is the source and pointer of efforts at rectification." The ambitions and limits of three efforts to interpret post-war history in the framework of one Prague faculty **Martin Tharp** (Charles University in Prague, Czech Republic)

*Counter-Memory, Counter-Culture, Counter-History: Memory of Communism and the Working-Class Experience* 

Cristina Petrescu (University of Bucharest, Romania)

*Remembering Romanian Communism on the Internet: Memories of School Days as Narratives of the Dictatorial Past* 

### Discussion

14:00 - 15:00 Lunch

Panel 7

### 15:00 - 17:00 MEDIA

Chair

Irena Reifová

#### Contributors

Barbora Spalová (Charles University in Prague, Czech Republic)
Sudeten - German question on the stage: The theatre projects as alternative memory
Jaroslav Pinkas (Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes/ Charles University in Prague, Czech Republic)
Family as a constant of Czech pop culture. Changes of representation of the family during the so called normalization era in Czech films since the 1970s to the present
Klára Soukupová (Charles University in Prague, Czech Republic)
Autobiography as a (re)construction of memory
Mykola Makhortykh (University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands): War memories and online encyclopedias: Framing 30 June 1941 in Wikipedia
Xiaoping Sun (Saint Mary's University, Canada)
"Please Go to the History Museum!": Remembering Maoist Land Reclamation in Northeast China
Agnieszka Kajczyk (The Emanuel Ringelblum Jewish Historical Institute, Poland)

Where is the truth? The remembrance of the Holocaust in film, literature vs. personal memory in Poland after the war and now

### Discussion

17:00 - 17:30 Conference Closing

### Aleida Assmann (University of Konstanz) *Transnational memory and the construction of history through mass media*

A 'transnational turn' has been announced by historians and theorists in various subfields of cultural studies. The general challenge of the 'trans' is to go beyond national identification, investments and interests and to explore new forms of belonging, participation and cultural identification in a world characterized by dispersed and displaced populations with different historical experiences and trajectories. Looking beyond the border of nations is a promising methodology; but the term often covers up rather than uncovers important problems that are to be encountered in this new area of research. Given the growing impact of national history constructed in the mass media, this contribution will focus on the German Television Miniseries Our Mothers, our Fathers and its reception, asking whether it stimulates nationalistic narcissism or has the potential to re-image the national past in a more comprehensive European perspective.

### Jelka Piškurić (Study Centre for National Reconciliation, Slovenia) *The plurality of memory: the Slovenian experience*

The plurality of memories about communism, currently present in Slovenia, can be seen as a result of complex history and present time. It is a source of potential tensions between narratives generated on different levels and can also present a challenge when teaching history. My research on everyday life in the period from 1945 to 1991 has showed the importance of family in the transmission of memory and in the process of forming an individual's sense of self. In the recorded interviews one can observe how almost every narrator references back to their family history. The stories went as far back as World War II, to the time of hardship and trial that was also important for establishing family position in the newly formed post-war society. The Yugoslav political system predominantly watched over the interpretations of the past and was therefore reluctant to include memories which were incompatible with the role of National Liberation Army and Communist Party during World War II or which might draw attention to political and ethnic tensions. The transition from communism to democracy changed the perspective again, enabling the formerly silenced memories to become audible and forcing some memories to be redefined. Through all this family memories persevered.

### Amy Mackinnon (University of Glasgow / Corvinus University, Great Britain) Children of the Revolution: Inter-generational historical consciousness of the communist past in the Czech Republic

This research examines the ways in which the historical consciousness of the post-communist generation (aged 18-28) is constructed. With no personal memories of the communist era, their historical awareness of the period is entirely shaped by family memories, schooling, culture, politics and the media. Untainted by personal memories, their views provide a unique insight into the historical discourse regarding the communist period in the Czech Republic.

This paper presents the preliminary findings of research conducted in towns and cities across the Czech Republic in August 2014. Interviews and focus groups were conducted with Czechs from all generations, to enable comparison between the views of those with personal memories of the period, and those without.

# Jakub Mlynář (Charles University, Faculty of Arts, Department of Sociology, Czech Republic)

### Where is the "collective memory"?

The ambiguity of the definition of the term "collective memory" and its overuse in the contemporary socio-scientific sphere leads not only to doubts surrounding the analytical value of the term but also to protracted disputes and discussions that frequently stem from diverse understandings of what is actually meant by collective memory. In my paper, I outline in essence two different ways of under-

standing collective memory that can, along with J.K. Olicek, be labelled individualistic and holistic approaches. In the first case, the individual, whose memory works in a social context and is shaped by social influences, is the subject and bearer of memory. In the second, society itself is understood as the subject and bearer of memory and the term memory becomes a metaphor – we also perceive "something like individual memory" in groups and collectives. In my view, it is possible to link both of these perspectives and, to a certain degree, to overcome their antithetical reductionism when we comprehend the collective memory in its linguistic dimension as a result of social communication processes (in media, educational and political discourses, as well as in everyday linguistic interaction). In this light, the collective memory proves to be, on the basis of a clear definition, not a misleading term but rather a useful concept for the analysis of the mnemonic aspects of social actions – the ways that people share, construct and negotiate ideas of the past for the purposes of the present and future.

### Panel 2 / SCHOOL - Theory and research

# Felicitas Macgilchrist (Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research, Braunschweig, Germany)

# *Memory Practices: Enacting and contesting the curriculum in contemporary classrooms*

History textbooks have long been the focus of study for memory scholars interested in how formal education, including policy curricula, aims to shape what counts as worth remembering, and thus not only shape childhood but also the future of a given society. To date, however, very little research has explored how textbooks and other educational media are actually used in classrooms. This paper outlines initial findings from the 'Memory Practices' research group which draws on memory studies and curriculum studies to investigate how school-based media use is entangled with cultural memory in today's Germany. We ask, for instance: How is cultural memory enacted, reproduced and interrupted by teachers and students in their everyday practices in the classroom? What role does officially sanctioned 'textbook knowledge' play? How are new/mobile/popular media and private/family memories used in the enacted curriculum to shape, extend or contest officially mediated forms of collective remembering and knowing?

In this paper, we sketch the project's theoretical background in media studies, discourse theory and practice theories. We outline the mixed methods approach used to investigate memory practices (school ethnography, quantitative survey, and qualitative interviews with teachers, textbook authors, curriculum designers and policy-makers). And we present initial findings on the ways 'dominant' cultural memories of (i) the progress of western civilization, (ii) history as singular rather than plural, and (iii) history as linear and causal rather than messy and contingent, are enacted through everyday classroom practices such as initiation-response-feedback (IRF) communication, assessment-orientation and an emphasis on students production of 'products' such as class papers, posters and summary texts. We identify moments in which this set of cultural memories are extended and strengthened by, for instance, a teacher's use of film, and by students who make the implicit message explicit (e.g. in response to the interviewer question, "What do you think you should remember from the previous lessen?", one student replies ironically "That Germany has always been the best country"). However, we also identify moments in which this set of cultural memories is interrupted by students' creative interpretations of textbook input, and by students' drawing on family stories, migrant experiences and other (non-formal) media.

### Raffaele Mantegazza (Università Milano-Bicocca, Italy) A scent of memory. Toward a sensorial education to remembering (and forgetting)

Memory in school can be a sort of obliged item, something that pupils have the duty to use and to develop; a mechanical memory involved in dates and formulas: in this case the memory of the Holocaust (and generally memory as the core of historical studies and conscience) can be something to use in order to get high notes and to be let apart after the text or the exam. It is impossible to imagine a new citizenship without an active orientation to memory as an ethical and political item. In school it is of course important to remember dates, names, geographical settings and historical

facts: but memory can also be a taste, a color, a scent, something physical, linked to the bodies and the experiences of children and teenager. What sort of strategies and devices we can use to show memory to our pupils as something fascinating, interesting, to make them feel the thrill and the shiver of remembering? And furthermore: it is always compulsory to remember? How can memory be used and what are the associated risks? How should one go about remembering? To what extent should one remember? When and how does oblivion come into play? Which is the link between memory oblivion and forgiveness?

### Gitanjali Pyndiah (Goldsmiths University of London, Great Britain) *Cultural Memoriography: the arts and memory*

One of the aims for the subject of History, taught in schools, as stipulated from the Framework document of the National curriculum in England is to teach 'changes within living memory [and] events beyond living memory that are significant nationally or globally'. However very specific events are selected and projected to children in an approach which sanitises and renders 'abstract' terms like 'colonialism', 'Empire', 'Holocaust', 'Slavery' to fit in the meta-narratives of British History.

Many children from different cultural background learn about their personal histories via oral transmission from parents as well as in objects, rituals and social practices which are representatives of their history. There is also an important element of forgetting or amnesia in the transmission for survival reasons and prospection to engaging with the future.

This paper will reveal my empirical research and observation of the rigidity and linearity of truth commissions, museum narratives and language policies based on state memorial frameworks and historiographies. My continuous analysis of literary works and visual culture will also disclose the dynamism and fluidity of 'memoriography' compared to institutional historiography and therefore becomes a valid reference for the shift needed to approach the transmission of diverse histories in European schools.

### Maria Georgiou (University of London, Institute of Education, Great Britain) *Memory and History: A parasitic or symbiotic relationship?*

The purpose of this paper is to address the problematic relationship between memory and history, and discuss some of the implications of this relationship for school and history education.

By drawing on memory and history as theoretical concepts, I seek to inform history education, both at policy level and classroom practice. This paper is especially relevant to Central European countries, which often experience an "overload of history" (Papadakis et al. 2006), and where memory replaces or complements history.

The question I will attempt to answer is whether memory and history are parasitic to each other or whether they can co-exist. The paper will be divided in three parts. Firstly, I will address the distinction between history and memory; and, following, I will take the stance that memory and history are not only dissimilar but they clash.

Secondly, I will consider the implications of this clash for students' understandings and history education in general (Wertsch 2000; Carretero 2011). Thirdly, for all the clashes between history and memory, I will argue that history and memory can co-exist in a symbiotic model: that is, through an inclusive form of historical consciousness (Seixas 2004; Rüsen, 2004).

# Marcel Tomášek (Charles University, Faculty of Humanities, Historical Sociology, Czech Republic)

Teachers' ways and strategies when dealing with dictated history instruction content in pre-1989 regime and post-1989 processes of individual reconciliation with certain responsibility for persistence of the totalitarian regime

Often hidden balancing between avoidance and acknowledging of certain responsibility for persistence of the totalitarian regime and certain undertaken personal view change along with the shift in post 1989 realities is probably the most serious paradox and revelation uncovered among history teachers who had taught before 1989. Precisely from the point of view of presupposed "indoctrination function" of teachers in pre-1989 regime it was intriguing to come to reflection of life and work of history teachers in real socialism and research teachers' ways and strategies when dealing with dictated history instruction content. The research identified three categories of these ways

and strategies: ,and that schizophrenia has been actually learned up along, I have been teaching and I know that I has been consciously lying', if marked in vivo ; the next one could be summed up as ,teaching to think' and the last one could be characterized as avoiding-skipping the sensitive periods. The focus groups based research on historical consciousness among elementary and high school level history teachers was conducted in four cities in the Czech Rep. in the spring 2011

### Jocelyn Létourneau (Université Laval, Canada) Start from Memory to Get over it. A Pragmatic Approach to Teaching History to Kids

The aim of the talk is to propose a pragmatic approach to teaching the past to kids in the context of a strong presence of community memories everywhere in society, assuming that kids learn history in and out of the classroom. The proposed approach comes from a study effectuated in Quebec (www.tonhistoireduquebec.ca) which consisted in gathering short narratives (N = 5000) and phrases (N = 3423) produced by students responding to two questions: 1) "Tell me the story of Quebec as you know it;" 2) "If you had to summarize in one sentence the historical experience of Quebec, what would you write personally?" Analysing this corpus is fascinating in that it brings us to where students are in terms of their knowledge of the past. Instead of addressing the question of history teaching from the perpective of the «abstract kid», we are more in tune with how kids make sense of the world, including past worlds, in amalgamating informations from different sources. This presentation must be seen as a contribution to explore a more practical way to come to terms with the difficultness of the historical thinking approach, a method hard to implement in the classroom due to the strong presence of memories (family and community) in and out school.

### Panel 3 / SCHOOL II - Divided in the classroom?

### Sirkka Ahonen (University of Helsinki, Finland)

### *The Lure of Grand Narratives. History teachers' dilemma in countries in transition*

The traditional grand narratives of nationalism and marxism were assumed to have died in the aftermath of the drastic political changes of the 20th century. However, Vladimir Putin's Russia and Victor Orban's Hungary provide examples of political leaders resorting to grand nationally tuned stories of the past when seeking unity and shared identity for their peoples. In both cases, history teachers have reacted to the leaders urge of one history for all and defended peoples' right to their memories, as these appear in "history from below".

The speaker refers to the comparative experiences of Bosnia-Herzegovina and South Africa in order to sort out different strategies of accommodating contradicting stories of the difficult past to the post-conflict civic life, like public memory and school education. She argues against a possibility of a successful construction of one history for all and, instead, defends a multiperspectival form of historical discourse and a dialogical mode of classroom didactics. She discusses the prevailing theories of history as the source of identity on one hand and as a critical craft on the other hand.

#### Uku Lember (Central European University, Hungary) Rooted or Scattered Belongings: Memories of Russian and Estonian Schools in Soviet Estonia (1960-70s). Based on oral History with Children from Intermarriages.

The number of Russian-speakers in Estonia increased from 5% (in 1945) to 35% (in 1989) due to the internal migration within the USSR. In the presentation, I compare the memories from the Estonian and Russian language schools in late Soviet Estonia (1960-70s). Based on the oral history interviews, I look at the memories of children from the inter-marriages between "Estonian locals" and "Russian newcomers." I show that whereas the Estonian schools imposed a strongly national sense of belonging then the Russian schools offered more ambiguous and multiple patters of identification. The former pupils of Estonian schools claim to have "learned" (often through their peers) the Estonian national interpretation of the past and they got a clear sense of "being Estonian" regardless of the official curriculum. Today, they share their memories confidently, even if these sometimes diverge from the dominant national narrative. The children who went to Russian schools have more multiple and mixed social identifications. These range from "being Estonian" to "being Russian," and often they claim to be situationally "in-between." Today, they have more difficulties of expressing the former school experiences as these do not "fit" with what is expected in the Estonian discursive realm.

# Stéphane Lévesque (University of Ottawa), Jean-Philippe Croteau (Sichuan University), Canada

### *French-Canadians, national identity and historical consciousness: Learning from the views of Franco-Ontarians*

In the last 50 years, French-Canada has faced an acceleration of changes: fragmentation of identity along provincial boundaries; mobility of population, technology and globalization, and increased immigration. These complex changes have prompted education authorities to redefine the relevance of history in school. French-Canadians from the province of Ontario (Franco-Ontarians) represent an illustrative case study. As a historical minority within English-Canada they have maintained separate schools which promote the transmission of a unique "identity project". In the current circumstances, what do students and teachers think of their community? This paper presents the results of a study conducted in the federal capital of Ottawa. Participants (n=75) had to produce a written narrative account of the history of their provincial community. Findings highlight the particular content of their stories as well as their narrative orientations. For the first time ever, we also present findings revealing the impact (correlation) of identity on students' narrative visions, showing that a "strong" sense of collective identity seriously affects the ideological vision of the narrative. The discussion looks into parallels/contrasts with French-Canadians in other communities and examines the collective memory of French-Canada. Finally, the paper considers the broader implications of the study for works in the fields of narrative thinking, historical consciousness, and memory studies in divided societies.

# Oksana Myshlovska (Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Switzerland)

### School history education in Ukraine between Soviet legacies and nationalist narratives. Challenges of history teaching on the example of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists

Teaching of national history in Ukraine is a highly centralized process controlled by the state which approves standard single curricula and textbooks used throughout the country divided by conflicting historical memories and legacies. History education has a strong normative and ideological component by pursuing the purpose of patriotic education of citizens and legitimization of the Ukrainian state. The paper focuses on the example of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), a nationalist organization created in the interwar period in Western Ukraine which became part of the official school history narrative, to illustrate difficulties and dilemmas related to the accommodation of personal memories and beliefs conflicting with the official narratives and teaching of controversial issues faced by teachers in different regions of Ukraine.

First, the paper studies the process of "nationalization" of history in the post-Soviet period. Second, it analyzes the formal processes established by the Ministry of Education related to the national school history curricula and textbook development. Then the paper examines how the OUN has been portrayed in the fourteen official school textbooks approved by the Ministry of Education since 1991. The last part relies on the results of the focus groups with history teachers in several regions of Ukraine carried out in 2011 and 2012 in the framework of two international projects. It discusses difficulties faced by history teachers when there is a clash between textbook narratives and memories of pupils' families or general negative attitude to the OUN and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).

The research for this paper was carried out as part of an international (DACH) project on "Nation, Region and Beyond. An Interdisciplinary and Transcultural Reconceptualization of Ukraine" directed by Professor Ulrich Schmidt, University of St. Gallen.

### Panel 4 / SCHOOL III - Experience

### Linda Farr Darling (University of British Columbia, Canada) Remembrance and the voices of children in a rural Canadian community

Doukhobors are descended from Russian Christians whose unorthodox beliefs forced their migration from Siberia to western Canada, including several rural valleys in British Columbia c.1900. Secondary students who attend a small community school in one such valley studied archives with their teachers, consulted historians online, and explored historic sites to uncover Doukhobor values and practices that have left local traces. With professional guidance the students also produced films for public screening in the village hall. At the project's heart were interviews with Doukhobor elders still living nearby. They shared their childhood memories of this community, many of which were disturbing to hear.

The project opened space in which to consider ethical dimensions of remembrance as it unfolds within rural contexts. Students confronted the complex moral and psychic demands made by what Deborah Britzman called difficult knowledge, knowledge that's often resisted. Elders' stories were calls to bear witness to past suffering that was caused by deliberate human action. As Roger Simon noted, to hear such stories is to be implicated in knowledge that arrives far too late for intervention. My paper follows the winding path students and community members traveled as they encountered the past and each other through troubling memories.

### Avi Mizrahi (Foundation for Holocaust Education Projects); Katherine Gorsuch (Foundation for Holocaust Education Projects); Christian Brandjes (Daemen College, Theatre/Visual Arts); Andrew Kier Wise (Daemen College, History & Political Science Department), USA

# Holocaust Survivor Accounts in the Classroom: The Play "Who Returned My Soul" as a Bridge Between School and Memory

A unique project funded by the Foundation for Holocaust Education Projects centers on the use of memory in the classroom in the form of a play ("Who Returned My Soul"). Based on her interviews with Survivors in 2008, playwright Kelly D. Brock wrote the play to facilitate student engagement with historical memory in combination with traditional historical narratives. It is important to note that this group of Survivors had previously been reluctant to record their stories. As Avi Mizrahi observes, "this play guarantees that these Survivors' stories will last in perpetuity." We will provide an assessment of the play as a tool to facilitate active student engagement in the learning process. Our evidence indicates that students engaged in the dramatic reading of the play become "immersed" in their roles . They consequently seek to learn more about the Holocaust in traditional coursework, and they also develop a sense of responsibility to preserve the memories of Survivors. Holocaust education in the U.S. and Poland can be significantly enhanced through the inclusion of dramatic readings and theatrical productions of the play as an innovative approach that transcends disciplinary boundaries and bridges the gap between "school and memory."

# Nina Zupan Sorli (Study Centre for National Reconciliation / Kranj School Centre for Technical Sciences, Slovenia)

### A different approach in history teaching: "Grandpa, tell me a story."

The misuse of history education was common in the recent past, in the authoritarian and totalitarian regimes. Myths and stereotypes have quite often formed the themes of history textbooks. Controversial issues have not been dealt with, as they could spoil a desired image of the past. People identified as 'different', have usually not been represented or have been depicted as enemies. One of the most important goals of history education has been helping young people to understand the present. But on the other hand controversial and sensitive topics are a useful tool which enables students and pupils to understand the basic nature of history as a science: almost every historical event, process, personality could be interpreted differently. The truth is not revealed by itself. History does not exist until it is created. Human life is constant changing and within this process history and knowledge about the past have been changing as well. In cooperation with the Study Centre for National Reconciliation (SCNR) my students and I practise collection and analysis of oral history of the 20th century. By collecting family stories unique threads between past and present are created. We also took part in making of a short film on forcebly mobilised Slovenians during WWII into the German Army, students interviewed some of the survival ex-soldiers and found out new facts for discussion, analysis and interpretation.

### Panel 5 / CONFLICT I - Education

### Peter Seixas (University of British Columbia, Canada) History Meets Life: Historical Consciousness in the School History Classroom

In 2012, the government of Canada committed some \$25 million towards celebrating the bicentennial of the War of 1812 as the origin of Canada. In 2017, 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary commemoration of the British North American Act (1867) will be celebrated as...once again...the origin of Canada. There is a heavy drive among politicians of a certain stripe to promote a national or imperial collective memory as an avenue towards social solidarity, nation building, and the minimizing of communitarian diversity and difference. Celebration and commemoration of mythic origins play a key role in these memorial narratives. The past is shaped and mobilized for contemporary national political ends.

This approach to the past bears considerable similarity to the way school history has been conceived throughout the Anglo-American countries. Nevertheless, there has also been a strong contrary position, particularly in the United Kingdom with the Schools History Project, which promoted disciplinary historical understandings through an emphasis on "procedural concepts" like primary source evidence, accounts, causation and change. Recently, analyzing historical sources has become more of a staple in many American history classrooms. (The new developments resulted from the Common Core Standards' emphasis on disciplinary literacy, and the work of Sam Wineburg and the Stanford History Education Group.) Over the past eight years in Canada, the Historical Thinking Project successfully promoted "doing the discipline" as a basis for history teaching and learning. In its scientific approach, the promotion of disciplinary understandings of history often aims for a distance—temporal, emotional and ideological—from the past. While this can be strength, it also threatens to leave unmet the hunger for cultural identity and social solidarity that are fed by celebration and commemoration.

What, then, are the elements of a school history program that recognizes the existence of and, even the need for, mythic belief and memorial celebration, but also mobilizes the achievements of critical, disciplinary history, as being particularly appropriate to the globalizing, multinational, multicultural social and political world we now inhabit? The paper seeks answers in recent initiatives in Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden.

### Katrin Kello (University of Tartu, Institute of Social Studies, Estonia) Contested pasts in divided societies: teacher autonomy and context perceptions

This presentation focuses on teachers' dealing with contested pasts in 'mnemonically divided' societies. Based on interviews with Estonian and Latvian history teachers, I discuss teachers' perceptions of their autonomy as well as of the broader contexts of their work, as connected to different approaches to history teaching.

The study illustrates the complexity of challenges that shape teachers' dealing with the various demands they perceive. Teachers navigate between socio-political, academic and educational factors and identities. Open and multiperspective approaches that are often proposed both as the intellectually honest approach, and as the solution to memory conflicts in the classroom, face sociopolitical and psychological challenges and are disadvantaged in the situation of teacher- and fact-centred pedagogical traditions and time pressure. The presentation points out the need for more focus on the emotional and political challenges that power and social memory issues bring to the classroom.

### Oleksandr Svyetlov ("Memorial" / Public Institute of Historical Memory / Museum of Soviet Occupation, Ukraine) *Education and conflict discourses*

Today Poles and Ukrainians seek a new relationship in a common European house. Never before have the conditions for this been so favorable. I would like to focus on addressing the 1943-47 ethnic conflict events during the communist period in both countries and after 1989/91 with the emphasis on the current media's, politicians' and historians' discourses on the Polish-Ukrainian history. My aim is the exploration of media content reflecting different stakeholder groups both in Poland and Ukraine. It will be done, among other, through comparative analysis of various media and educational system coverage of these tragic events which took place in the Polish-Ukrainian border regions during and after the WWII (1939-1947). In order to compare how symbolic values and history are interpreted after the events of the WWII and after 1989/91, various aspects are employed, for instance, the content analysis of available material.

### Sylvia Balgarinov (University of Portsmouth, Great Britain) Polish perpetrators? Polish history textbooks and the memory of the Jedwabne massacre

The murder of the Jewish population in 1941 in a small town of Jedwabne had been long forgotten in Poland. The memories of the burning of Jewish women, children and men in a barn were reawakened when Jan Tomasz Gross in 2000 published his book "Neighbours: The Destruction of Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland". The book triggered the domestic debate about Polish-Jewish relations during the Second World War. Narratives about Polish victimhood and martyrdom have been challenged and the questions of Poles being not only victims and heroes, but also bystanders or even perpetrators in the war, arose. The memory of the massacre polarised Polish society into those deciding to explore the 'dark past' and those trying to protect the traditional narrative of the nation. This paper's objective is to analyse how Polish history textbooks have treated the divisive memory of *Jedwabne. First of all, I will discuss whether textbooks portray Poles as victims and heroes, or also* as bystanders or perpetrators. Secondly, I will show that recent Polish history textbooks contain a variety of narratives about the massacre and Polish-Jewish relations. This diversity of narratives can be seen as a result of the influences of dominant societal groups competing for their different stories of the past to be embodied in history textbooks. Finally, I will explore to what extent history textbooks attempt to use family memory of the Jedwabne or similar massacres. Is there a place for reflection on how the Jedwabne massacre and Jewish-Polish relations are remembered by families, societal groups or regions?

### Anida Sokol (Sapienza University of Rome, Italy) War monuments and educational practices in Bosnia and Herzegovina

The aim of this paper is to analyze the official narratives about the First World War, the Second World War and the war of 1992–95 in Bosnia and Herzegovina comparing war monuments erected in public spaces with educational practices. Monuments and ceremonies sustaining the three main mutually exclusive nationalist Bosniak, Serb and Croat narratives will be analyzed and compared with history textbooks and school curriculum. How are divisive memories dealt with in school practices and what are the similarities and differences between memory on the street and memory in school? Special attention will the given to the counter-memorials, which are very rare, but which commemorate the last war in a non-nationalist way, looking for similar practices in education. With the analysis of monuments and educational practices, the final aim is to seek for alternative methods of memorialization, which today is divided along ethno-national lines and obstructs the reconciliation process in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Vincent Boutonnet (Université du Québec en Outaouais); Jean-Francois Cardin (Université Laval); Marc-André Ethier (Université de Montréal); David Lefrancois (Université du Québec en Outaouais); Catherine Déry (Université de Montréal); Alexandre Joly-Lavoie (Université de Montréal), Canada

The links between historical memory and history teaching in schools as they have emerged during the debate on the implementation of a new history curriculum in Quebec (2006-2014)

The Quebec national history curriculum for upper secondary has provoked lively debate until today since its first publication in 2006. Like other programs of the vast educational reform undertaken in 2000, this program is structured around competencies. For its opponents, the new history program sets a dangerous precedent by placing historical knowledge (dates, important historical figures and events) under vague, ambiguous competencies. They also argue that the program presents itself as a negation of the traditional collective memory of the francophone majority. Amongst others, supporters of the program argue that the document is rather in continuity with the previous program and that the competencies it offers allow a better understanding by students of the historical phenomena studied, while promoting a certain political socialization that can "enlighten" students perceived here as adult citizens in training.

Enrolling in the panel "Memory as conflict field" this paper will focus on the links between national collective memory, the curriculum focused on competencies development (including critical thinking) and, more generally, the aims of learning history in school. It will do so through an analysis of discourses as they developed in the debate, which seems highly indicative of representations that different actors have about collective memory and school history.

### Panel 6 / CONFLICT II - Aspects of conflict encounters of memory

### Michael Shafir (Babes-Bolyai University, Romania) Explaining 'Competitive Martirdom'. The Clash of Memories in Post-Communist Eastern Europe.

Borrowing from Holocaust literature and from Collective Memory studies, the presentation focuses on the "Competitive Martyrdom" between Holocaust and Gulag in the former communist countries of East Central Europe. This competition is less due to a "clash of history" than it is to be attributed to a clash of memories. As such, it is highly important to focus on how memory in general, and collective group memory in particular; is formed, maintained and changed. While my paper utilizes Maurice Halbwachs pioneering studies on collective memory, it also employs conceptualization derived from Holocaust studies on "post-memory" and raises the question to what extent works such as those of Jeffrey Alexander, Robert Bellah and his associates, or Yael Zerubavel can aid in comprehending the way "counter-memories" were formed and are maintained among those who call for granting the victims of the Gulag the same status as that officially granted at international community level to those of the Holocaust. The paper discusses also the dangers inherent in these demands, regardless of intention, and traces the road from the "Double Genocide" approach to "Holocaust Obfuscation" via the 2008 Prague Declaration and its aftermath.

### Lisa Jenny Krieg (Utrecht University, Department of Cultural Anthropology, The Netherlands)

# *"When you mention the Holocaust, it's like baaam!" - Power and Danger of the Holocaust in present-day Germany*

The paper is going to discuss the different experiences of discomfort among young German adults, museum tourguides and students from Cologne, in encounters with the Holocaust in their daily lives, and their responses toward it. These encounters – at school, in a museum, in the media, or in conversations – are prone to be highly uncomfortable. Their charge is elucidated by a focus on the twofold structure of experience (Carr 2009), and on how the Holocaust is perceived as a powerful and strange matter that can strongly impact various situations. I will analyze encounters with the Holocaust as a dynamic relation between distance and proximity towards the Holocaust, framing

it in terms of Douglas' pollution, Freud's uncanny, and Ahmed's strangeness (Douglas 1966; Freud 1919; Ahmed 2000). Shedding light on the entanglement of the two types of experience and on the role of discomfort stresses the significance of a Holocaust education that does not intentionally introduce discomfort into encounters with the Holocaust.

### Katka Volná (Charles University, Faculty of Social Sciences, Czech Republic) "Memory is the source and pointer of efforts at rectification." The ambitions and limits of three efforts to interpret post-war history in the framework of one Prague faculty.

This paper focuses on the memory of "conflict groups" in Czech history and their petrification in the micro-environment of one educational institution, a leading Czech humanities faculty, and attempts to outline and explain the differences in a number of historical conceptions of that period. The paper's starting point is three particular texts of importance to the local academic community that were written at the Arts Faculty of Charles University during several decades in the last century. These are a Rehabilitation Report from 1968; an Analysis from 1971; and another Rehabilitation Report from 1992. All the texts reflect the social and institutional past, as well as the personal histories of their authors and their colleagues and students. In interpreting the previous historical period, each of them naturally places a different emphasis and takes a different tone in connection with the current political situation in the country (not to mention in neighbouring states). Using these three particular texts, put together for the most part by professional historians and faculty staff, the paper will analyse the employed methods of victimisation and heroisation, as well as methods of the legitimisation of power and the influence of social expectations on how recent history is interpreted. The paper will also examine the interaction between the historical interpretations that were created.

# Martin Tharp (Charles University, Faculty of Humanities, Department of Historical Sociology, Czech Republic)

# *Counter-Memory, Counter-Culture, Counter-History: Memory of Communism and the Working-Class Experience*

The purpose of the contribution is to examine the current state of fragmentation in both post-Communist collective memory (memories) and the societies in which these memories exist: the continuing disputes over historical memory between governments, academics and journalists, and the disintegration of major features of twentieth-century modernity: mass industrial employment and the linguistically-culturally homogeneous nation state. In turn, this process affects the common understanding of the recent past: the emergence of a broader elitist-vs.-populist dynamic refusing of both cultural and economic liberalism.

The paper examines the emergence of a new range of working-class identities, and how shared social conceptions of the past can be used as self-justification for class identity. It asks if the populist narrative of a "counter-memory" reflects genuine popular moods, and if its presence is reflected in the debates of the shapers of memory-policy. The paper suggests that attention focus on anti--Communist opposition that emerged from outside of intellectual-dissident circles, in the form of working-class sub- or counter-cultures, which would communicate a more complex impression of past social orders, and take the working-class experience into account as more than a passive, directionless entity.

### Cristina Petrescu (University of Bucharest, Faculty of Political Science, Romania) Remembering Romanian Communism on the Internet: Memories of School Days as Narratives of the Dictatorial Past

Conflicting memories about communism arose in Romania long after the regime change of 1989. Instead, public debates were dominated by a historical narrative that underlined solely the criminal and illegitimate nature of the former regime. This tragic narrative relied on memories of repression and surveillance by the Securitate, which two generations outliving communism expressed. Around Romania's entry into the EU, the public remembrance of the recent past diversified due to a third generation, which began recalling its pre-1989 experience as pre-adulthood individuals. Thus, these memories refer mainly to school and related activities. Unlike older country-fellows, this generation

conveys nostalgic memories, but cast in self-ironical narratives of everyday life. Unlike peers from East-Central Europe, the Romanians remember hardships as well, for the 1980s they recall were a time of profound economic crisis and modified daily routines. Accordingly, they reiterate not only types of chocolates or beloved books, but also the deprivations of their childhood: the lines, the frozen apartments, the gas and electricity cuts, etc. Unlike peers from older democracies, the Romanians assumed a mission by remembering their past: to convey to the next generation their dual experience of both dictatorship and democracy. As this paper illustrates, that they did not long for communism, but for the by-gone time before the Internet, for the time of intense reading of books and in-depth social relations.

### Panel 7 / MEDIA

### Barbora Spalová (Charles University, Institute of Sociological Studies, Czech Republic)

#### Sudeten - German question on the stage: The theatre projects as alternative memory

According to the historiographers of Czech historiography, Michal Kopeček & Pavel Kolář (2007), the so called Sudeten - German question became after 1989 the most discussed topic in the scientific as well as in the public spaces. Majority of Czech historians situate themselves in the "defending" position, a minority of them are the "critics of Beneš decrees".

The topic of the transfer/ expulsion of Germans attracts from 1989 the numerous artists who try to avoid both historical discourses and create a new social relation with the problematic past. My paper will describe several Czech or transborder theatre projects from the point of view of anthropology of art. Especially I will pay attention to projects of so called radical theatre which doesn't want to merely represent some situations but it wants to change them actively. Many of these theatre projects describe themselves as research projects or documentary projects: Miroslav Bambušek's Porta apostolorum or Divadlo Feste's Be free and VOSTO5's Dechovka (Brass music). It explicitly rely on some particular memories of individuals, families or other social groups. Do these projects really create a new discourse avoiding the trap of the opposite historical narrations?

### Jaroslav Pinkas (Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes / Institute of Czech History, Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague, Czech Republic) Family as a constant of Czech pop culture. Changes of representation of the family during the so called normalization era in Czech films since the 1970s to the present.

In my paper I explore the representation of the family in Czech film production in the so-called normalisation period and the reflection of family life during normalisation in post-1989 productions. I compare approaches to the construction of the family space, the question of gender and inter-generational relationships and values. Alongside a description of the "heart of the family" in the normalisation period and its transformations, I also focus on the issue of family relations and the public sphere (state institutions, schools, places of work, etc.) in that era. I compare similarities and differences in the depiction of this subject before and after 1989. I define narratives of the "normalisation" family in pop culture and also address the issue of the contemporary reception of both models in the public arena, primarily on the internet and social networks.

In normalisation production, the family was already represented as an apolitical milieu of self-realisation. In the post-revolution era, the image of the family became one of essential expository figures enabling the interpretation of this period, either in a moralising mode (withdrawal into privacy) or in a revising mode (the family as autonomous territory). These "academic" considerations of the family have also penetrated into the pop culture that reproduced them (Cosy Dens, Pupendo).

Alongside an analysis of motifs referencing the method of storytelling, I explore audience reactions to these products that indicate their resonance in the public arena. My chief source has been audience discussions on specialist websites (the sites of those products and film and television sites).

# Klára Soukupová (Charles University, Faculty of Arts, Center of Czech Literature and Comparatistics, Czech Republic)

### Autobiography as the (re)construction of memory

The paper explores the representation of past events in autobiographies, i.e., narratives that on one hand document real events in the contemporary world and on the other examine the past through the subjective view of the writer who is reminiscing. Autobiographies represent a broad group of memoirs that play a role in the shaping of the collective memory of a given society. At the same time, these literary works reflect period norms of perception of the past. How a person remembers their own past is influenced by the culture of which he is part. Our Czech, respectively Central European, culture dictates a certain number of models that are mediated to a person in the course of their development. We do not always create anew the plots according to which we create our own life stories; instead we frequently draw on the plots of works produced in literature or orally from the repertoire of our own culture. Autobiographies as broad, publicly received texts have a strong influence on the shape of collective sharing of ideas of the past, both in the case of texts that correspond to the dominant narrative and in storytelling that contradicts the prevailing view of the past. The paper aims to show how authors in writing about themselves grasp the past in the framework of the heterogeneous narratives of the Central European space in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, i.e., what story a given society tells about the past and what narrative and artistic means it employs to do so.

### Mykola Makhortykh (University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands) War memories and online encyclopedias: Framing 30 June 1941 in Wikipedia

In this presentation I consider the impact of new media - in particular, online encyclopedia Wikipedia - on World-War-II memory in Central Europe. Since 2001 Wikipedia evolved from ordinary online encyclopedic project to "the largest work of digital history" (Rosenzweig, 2006), which is commonly refered by students of different education levels. According to 2010 survey 88% of students use Wikipedia and many of them turn to the project even after being deliberatedely told not to do so by their instructors. However, our understanding of Wikipedia's impact on teaching and/ or remembering about conflictual past is still far from being complete.

In order to explore how World-War-II memory is shaped through Wikipedia I analyse Wikipedia articles that describe the capture of the city of Lviv by German army on 30 June 1941. This event constitutes both an important milestone of the Second World War in the Eastern Theater and a complex case of ethnic violence that produced a number of controversies among national historiographies in Ukraine, Poland and Russia. Using cross-cultural analysis and web content analysis I compare how the event is framed in several versions of Wikipedia and what kind of memory is produced by them.

### Xiaoping Sun (Saint Mary's University, History Department, Canada) "Please Go to the History Museum!": Remembering Maoist Land Reclamation in Northeast China

This paper will take the Beidahuang Museum as a case study to examine the making of public memory as a means of patriotic education and to reveal the tensions between the public memory shaped by state efforts and individualized memories emotionally aroused by popular media. Beidahuang, the "Great Northern Wilderness," is a popular nickname for the land reclamation area in the northeastern corner of China along the Russian border. The dominant landscape has been changed from wetlands in the 1940s to farmlands since the 1970s. The "wilderness" is now preserved in the Beidahuang Museum, which was established in 2005 and designated as a patriotic education site. Organized student tours constitute the major flow of museum visitors. While the Museum highlights human victory over nature, popular media, for example the TV series "Love of Beidahuang" issued in 2009, stresses human endurance and sacrifices in building modern socialist modernity. Drawing on interviews and archives, this paper will analyze the educational intentions of the Beidahuang Museum and "Love of Beidahuang" to untangle the politics behind the intertwined and conflicting memories about land reclamation in Beidahuang.

### Agnieszka Kajczyk (The Emanuel Ringelblum Jewish Historical Institute, Poland) Where is the truth? The remembrance of the Holocaust in film, literature vs. personal memory in Poland after the war and now

The totalitarian system, which took control of the after war Poland, significantly impacted the way in which the personal memory was appropriated by the collective memory. The latter one was official and shaped predominantly by the means of the government owned mass media. This process is particularly evident in the example of the Jewish Holocaust in the occupied Poland.

In the first years after the war the subject matter of the Holocaust was being pushed aside into oblivion. In the subsequent years, the new strategy of the authorities can be described best not as a total elimination of the subject but rather as one that was shifting emphasis within the frames of the subject matter at hand, blurring its meanings, a behavior which led to the manipulation of history.

The situation changed after the year 1989, the official collective memory became definitely more open to negotiations. Within the public space, more diversified recollections began to function, which were oftentimes dissimilar. This frequently aroused much controversy in the political discourse. Overcoming the image of the Holocaust created in the collective memory by the means of film and literature from the communist era, is not impossible anymore, nonetheless it remains difficult.