



RICHIE EUROPA NEWSLETTER

Newsletter d'information sur l'Histoire de la Construction
Européenne

Special Issue :

“European Memories and the construction of a collective European Memory”

Editor : Cristina Blanco Sío-López

Numéro 8, Hiver 2010

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Richie Europa Newsletter est le bulletin trimestriel de l'association Richie (Réseau International de jeunes Chercheurs en Histoire de l'Intégration Européenne) créée pour faciliter les contacts entre jeunes chercheurs européens (<http://www.europe-richie.org/>). Elle paraît tous les trimestres et rend compte de l'**actualité de la recherche sur la construction européenne**.

Toutes les contributions sont les bienvenues : articles théoriques, billets d'humeur, réflexions historiographiques, compte-rendus de colloques ou d'ouvrages, présentations de thèses (*work in progress*), présentation de fonds d'archives, etc. Adressez vos contributions à Émilie Robin Hivert (emilia.robin@free.fr).

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Qu’est-ce que Richie :

L’association RICHIE (Réseau International de jeunes Chercheurs en Histoire de l’Intégration Européenne) vise à **faciliter les contacts entre jeunes chercheurs** pour participer au comblement de cette lacune. Pour cela, elle développe des activités variées : site Web, liste de diffusion électronique, annuaire en ligne, lettre d’information, événements scientifiques ponctuels, grand colloque annuel.

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ACTUALITÉS DE RICHIE

«La construction d'un espace euro-méditerranéen. Genèses, mythes et perspectives» (appel à communications)

Journée d'études – 25 juin 2010 – Paris

Date limite de réponse : 28 février 2010

À l'heure du démarrage de l'Union pour la Méditerranée, il apparaît que l'histoire de l'intégration méditerranéenne reste encore largement à écrire. Si, en France, l'attention des historiens s'est d'abord portée sur la construction européenne, il n'en reste pas moins vrai qu'il est possible de poser la question de la construction, sous toutes ses formes, intellectuelle, politique, sociale, institutionnelle, économique, militaire, d'un espace méditerranéen ou euro-méditerranéen en objet historique.

Si, après 1945, la Méditerranée est un espace divisé, traversé par des frontières politiques ou idéologiques peu perméables à la circulation des hommes et des idées, il est aussi vrai que la période a vu naître, en dépit de la Guerre froide, des crises de décolonisation et du conflit israélo-arabe, plusieurs projets d'intégration méditerranéenne, précisément en réponse au sentiment de division. Ces projets, vains semble-t-il jusqu'au lancement du processus de Barcelone en 1995, sont divers, tant dans leurs motivations que dans leurs dimensions supposées, y compris géographiques.

La journée d'études essaiera de les démêler, du projet d'un pacte méditerranéen de défense initié par le ministre des Affaires étrangères espagnol, Alberto Martin Artajo, dans les années 1950 aux derniers développements de l'Union pour la Méditerranée en tentant, le plus possible, de décentrer le regard et de restituer, au sein de la Méditerranée et des sociétés, le foisonnement des expériences et des points de vue.

Pour la journée d'études, **plusieurs axes de recherche peuvent être envisagés** :

- Une histoire culturelle, de Gabriel Audisio aux Rencontres d'Averroès, de l'idée de «Méditerranée», de «méditerranéité» ou d'«euro-méditerranéité», des conditions de son émergence, de ses promoteurs, de ses relais, de sa circulation, de son appropriation, de ses limites ; bref, il s'agira de réfléchir sur l'histoire des identités et des sentiments d'appartenance en Méditerranée ;
- Une histoire politique voire institutionnelle ou militaire des projets d'intégration méditerranéenne qui doit permettre non seulement de repréciser la chronologie mais aussi de mieux comprendre les motivations initiales, les stratégies en oeuvre, la multiplicité et les implications des acteurs ;
- Une histoire comparative des divers projets d'intégration méditerranéenne ou euro-méditerranéenne (Pacte méditerranéen, Union du monde arabe, etc.) avec d'autres projets d'intégration, européenne ou arabe en particulier, afin de souligner l'apparition de tensions ou de paradoxes entre des projets différents et peut-être concurrents ou, au contraire, de signaler la stimulation provoquée par l'existence de projets plus avancés ;
- Une histoire des relations internationales dans l'espace méditerranéen par laquelle il s'agira de se focaliser sur cet espace comme centre géostratégique et comme objet de convoitise,

courtisé à la fois par de nouveaux acteurs (les États-Unis et l'URSS) et par les anciennes métropoles coloniales ; il sera ainsi possible de souligner l'enjeu qu'est l'espace méditerranéen afin de mieux appréhender les relations des pays de la région avec les institutions européennes, les États-Unis, les États d'Asie ou d'Afrique ; en outre, il s'agira également de préciser le rôle que les pays de l'Europe du Sud ont joué dans les relations euro-méditerranéennes ;

- Une histoire sociale et économique de l'espace méditerranéen ou euro-méditerranéen par laquelle il s'agira de voir s'il est possible de déceler les enjeux socio-économiques de l'intégration euro-méditerranéenne, nous pensons notamment aux interactions des économies et à la gestion des mouvements migratoires.

Pour avancer sur chacun de ces axes, il semble essentiel de privilégier les études de cas tout en insistant sur les perspectives historiques. Le champ chronologique portera sur la période postérieure à 1945.

Nous invitons les jeunes chercheurs, doctorants ou jeunes docteurs, intéressés par l'un ou l'autre de ces axes de recherche à envoyer une **proposition de communication** de 500 mots maximum ainsi qu'un CV avant le 28 février 2010 aux membres du comité d'organisation, Houda Ben Hamouda (houdabh31@yahoo.fr) et Mathieu Bouchard (mathieu.bouchard@no-log.org).

Le **comité scientifique**, présidé par Henry Laurens (Collège de France) et composé de Georges Corm (Université Saint-Joseph de Beyrouth), Robert Frank (Université Paris 1), Yvan Gastaut (Université de Nice), Burhan Ghalioun (Université Paris 3), Jean-Robert Henry (IREMAM, Aix-en-Provence), Antonio Varsori (Université de Padoue), établira un programme définitif sur la base de ces propositions dans le courant du mois de mars 2010.

Les intervenants dont les propositions auront été retenues seront contactés au début du mois d'avril. La journée d'étude aura lieu à dans les locaux de l'Université Paris 1, le 25 juin 2010, avec le soutien, notamment, de l'UMR IRICE et de la Fondation Pierre du Bois. Une participation est prévue pour les frais de transport et d'hébergement, de même que la publication des actes de la journée d'études.

Lien permanent : <http://www.europe-richie.org/Colloques/euro-mediterranee.html>

«Vers une société européenne ? Convergences et divergences dans l'Europe du XX^e siècle (politique, économie, société et culture)» (appel à communications)

École d'été – 4-10 juillet 2010 – Moulin d'Andé (Normandie)

Date limite de réponse : 27 février 2010

Organisation :

- l'Institut Historique Allemand de Paris (<http://www.dhi-paris.fr>)
- RICHIE (<http://www.europe-richie.org>)
- l'Université Paris IV-Sorbonne (<http://www.paris-sorbonne.fr>)

Cette école d'été s'adresse aux doctorant(e)s et étudiant(e)s de Master 2 inscrits en histoire ou en sciences sociales qui travaillent sur l'histoire de l'Europe au XX^e siècle. Nous les invitons à

participer à une semaine de débat sur les changements structurels en Europe. Nous nous interrogerons en particulier sur la pertinence historique des concepts issus des sciences sociales, tels la théorie de la convergence des sociétés européennes, les concepts d'intégration et d'eupéanisation. Nous privilégierons les analyses comparatives et transnationales, l'étude des transferts et les approches de moyen ou long terme.

Cette école d'été offrira l'occasion à tous les participants de présenter leurs travaux en cours, qui seront discutés par leurs pairs, jeunes docteurs et chercheurs confirmés. Elle sera également un moment privilégié pour faire connaissance et débattre avec des chercheurs spécialistes des questions européennes dans un cadre informel. L'école d'été se donne pour objectif de faire le lien entre les travaux individuels des jeunes chercheurs et les perspectives plus générales ouvertes récemment en histoire politique, économique et culturelle de l'Europe au XX^e siècle.

À titre d'exemples, les questions suivantes pourront être abordées :

- Eupéanisation des partis politiques, des administrations, des armées, des diplomaties, influence des organisations non-gouvernementales, etc.
- Mondialisation et marché européen, internationalisation des entreprises, modèles de croissance, coopérations transfrontalières...
- Modèles sociaux européens, évolutions démographiques, systèmes éducatifs, action syndicale, société civile, opinions publiques...
- Médias, cultures populaires, tourisme, questions mémorielles...

L'école d'été se déroulera au Moulin d'Andé (un bâtiment classé monument historique au cœur de la Normandie). Le transfert entre Paris et le Moulin d'Andé, l'hébergement, les repas et les excursions sont à la charge des organisateurs. Les coûts de transport jusqu'à Paris seront remboursés dans la limite de 80 € pour les résidents français et 150 € pour les autres participants.



Les organisateurs sont Christian Wenkel, Émilie Robin Hivert, Matthieu Osmont, Katja Seidel et Mark Spoerer. Des universitaires de renommée internationale participeront également à l'école d'été, notamment les professeurs Éric Bussière (Paris IV), Reiner Marcowitz (Metz) et Fabrice d'Almeida (Paris II).

Si vous souhaitez participer à l'école d'été, merci de nous envoyer un email à summerschool2010@dhi-paris.fr

avec les pièces suivantes (au format Word ou PDF) : une proposition de communication (800 mots maximum), un résumé du projet de recherche en doctorat ou en master 2 (s'il diffère de la communication), un curriculum vitae et le nom d'une personne susceptible de vous recommander (par exemple votre directeur de recherche). Vous serez informé du résultat de votre candidature mi-avril 2010. Les langues de travail sont le français, l'allemand et l'anglais.

«Towards a European Society ? Convergence and Divergence in 20th Century Europe (Politics, Economy, Society and Culture)» (call for applications)

Summer School – 4-10 July 2010 – Moulin d'Andé (Normandy)

Deadline : 27th February 2010

Organizers :

- German Historical Institute, Paris (<http://www.dhi-paris.fr>)
- RICHIE (<http://www.europe-richie.org>)
- University Paris IV-Sorbonne (<http://www.paris-sorbonne.fr>)

This summer school invites doctoral and advanced masters' students in history or related social sciences working on 20th century European history to discuss structural change in Europe across a range of themes. In particular we wish to explore if and how historians can benefit from social science concepts, for example on the convergence of European societies, Europeanisation processes and European integration theories to analyse medium- and long-term developments in European political, economic, social and cultural history.

The summer school aims to provide postgraduate students with the opportunity to present and intensively discuss their research projects. It will offer a perfect occasion to meet and exchange ideas with peers as well as with established scholars in the field. While discussing individual projects the summer school aims to link these to more general currents and developments in 20th century European history. Hence, emphasis will be placed on discussing key driving forces. Young researchers working on topics that explore medium- and long-term developments, comparative or transnational themes are particularly welcome to apply.

Among the issues that could be explored are :

- Europeanisation of politics, political practices and political parties, diplomacy, non-governmental organisations...
- Globalisation, patterns of economic growth, transnational business cooperation, internationalisation of enterprises...
- European social models, demographic developments, educational systems, trade unions, civil society...
- Media, heritage, memory, popular culture, tourism...



The summer school will take place at the Moulin d'Andé, a listed building in the heart of Normandy. Accommodation, meals, transfers from Paris to Moulin d'Andé and excursions will be covered. Travel costs up to a maximum of 150€ (participants travelling from outside France) or 80€ (participants travelling within France) will also be covered.

Organisers : Dr Christian Wenkel, Matthieu Osmont, Dr Émilie Robin Hivert, Dr Katja Seidel, Dr Mark Spoerer.

Leading academics in the field such as Professors Éric Bussière (Paris IV), Reiner Marcowitz (Metz) and Fabrice d'Almeida (Paris II) will participate in the summer school.

For paper proposals please email your application to summerschool2010@dhi-paris.fr, including a 800 word (max.) paper proposal, including a short abstract of the doctoral or masters' research project (if different), the name and contact details of a referee (for example the director of studies), and a curriculum vitae. Applicants will be notified about the outcome by mid-April. Working languages are French, German and English.

“Auf dem Weg zu einer europäischen Gesellschaft? Konvergenz und Divergenz im Europa des 20. Jahrhunderts (Politik, Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft und Kultur)” (Call for Papers)

Sommerkurs – 4.-10. Juli 2010 – Moulin d'Andé (Normandie)

Bewerbungsschluss : 27. Februar 2010

Organisiert vom Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris (<http://www.dhi-paris.fr>), RICHIE (<http://www.europe-richie.org>) und der Universität Paris IV-Sorbonne (<http://www.paris-sorbonne.fr>)

Der Sommerkurs richtet sich an Promovierende und fortgeschrittene Master-Studierende aus dem Bereich der Geschichtswissenschaften und verwandter Sozialwissenschaften, die zu Themen der europäischen Geschichte im 20. Jahrhundert arbeiten und soll dem Austausch über strukturelle Veränderungen in Europa dienen. Gefragt wird dabei insbesondere nach der Anwendbarkeit sozialwissenschaftlicher Konzepte — wie etwa der Theorie der Konvergenz oder Konzepten von Integration und Europäisierung — auf die Interpretation mittel- und langfristiger Entwicklungen in Europa — auf politischer, wirtschaftlicher, gesellschaftlicher und kultureller Ebene.

Der Sommerkurs möchte Nachwuchswissenschaftlern die Möglichkeit bieten, ihre Forschungsvorhaben zu präsentieren und ausgiebig mit anderen Promovierenden, Postdoktoranden und etablierten Wissenschaftlern zu diskutieren. Ein wichtiges Anliegen des Sommerkurses ist es, diese Forschungen in den Kontext allgemeiner Entwicklungen der europäischen Geschichte einzubinden. Nachwuchswissenschaftler, die sich in ihren Forschungsvorhaben mit vergleichenden oder transnationalen Fragestellungen beschäftigen, werden bevorzugt.



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Mögliche Themen sind zum Beispiel :

- Europäisierung von Politik, politischer und diplomatischer Praxis, Einfluss von Nichtregierungsorganisationen, ...
- Globalisierung, gemeinsamer europäischer Markt, Internationalisierung von Unternehmen und transnationale Wirtschaftskooperation, Wirtschaftswachstum, ...
- Europäische Sozialmodelle, Gewerkschaften, demographische Entwicklungen, Bildungssysteme, ...
- Medien, kulturelles Erbe und Erinnerung, Volkskultur, Tourismus, ...

Der Sommerkurs findet in der Moulin d'Andé, einer historischen Wassermühle an der Seine, statt. Übernachtung, Verpflegung, der Transfer von Paris sowie Exkursionen werden von den Veranstaltern übernommen. Darüber hinaus werden die Reisekosten nach Paris in Höhe von max. 80€ für Teilnehmer aus Frankreich und 150€ für Teilnehmer aus anderen Ländern übernommen.

Die Organisatoren sind Dr. Christian Wenkel, Matthieu Osmont, Dr. Emilia Robin-Hivert, Dr. Katja Seidel, PD Dr. Mark Spoerer. Weiterhin werden an dem Sommerkurs international renommierte Wissenschaftler wie Éric Bussière (Paris IV), Reiner Marcowitz (Metz) und Fabrice d'Almeida (Paris II) teilnehmen.

Bewerbungen mit einem Exposé (max. 800 Wörter) inklusive einer Beschreibung des Dissertations- oder Mastervorhabens (sofern abweichend) und einem Lebenslauf im Word- oder PDF-Format bitte an folgende Adresse : summerschool2010@dhi-paris.fr. Zudem wird um die Benennung eines möglichen Gutachters gebeten. Die Bewerber werden bis Mitte April über das Ergebnis des Auswahlverfahrens informiert. Arbeitssprachen sind Französisch, Deutsch und Englisch.

European Memories and the construction of a collective European Memory

Introduction

(Dr. Cristina Blanco Sío-López¹– Centre Virtuel de la Connaissance sur l'Europe)

“– ¿La querías?
– ¿La libertad?
– Sí, la memoria.
– ¿La libertad o la memoria?
– La libertad, la memoria.
– Oh, no es lo mismo. La memoria aprisiona.
– ¿La querías?
– Aprisiona.
– ¿A qué has venido pues?
Ya no recuerdo. Me trajo el aire”.²

Whenever we analyse the nature and definition of historical memory, we usually encounter a reference to the dilemma of the synonymity or opposition between memory and freedom. This constitutes, in fact, one of the most fundamental debates concerning our understanding of historical time. Our own classifications of historical time depend on the coordinates we choose to situate the so-called turning points or moments of pure potentiality in which historical change is visible or possible. Such periodisations very often entail a choice, or a massively communicated preference for either the idea of “starting from scratch”, of keeping the memory of the past as the main identifying element for our successive presents or a combination of those.

The notion of European Memories and the construction of a collective European Memory is not exempt from these political, social and cultural temptations and therefore, the debate between freedom and memory – the idea of memory as a prison that prevents us from accomplishing new identifying achievements or the opposite idea which regards memory as the guarantee of an identity continuity in new collective ventures – is also a constant in this field.

In this very specific case, and taking into account how the European integration process has changed the purposes and uses of this debate, we could distinguish some important analytic trends.

¹Cristina Blanco Sío-López obtained her Ph.D. and Master of Research Degree (MRes.) in History and Civilization (History of European Integration) at the European University Institute of Florence (EUI), where she analysed the induction of transitional time perceptions in the political communication of the EU's Eastward enlargement. She holds a MA in European History and Politics at the University of Edinburgh (UK) and a B.A. Degree in History at the University of Salamanca (Spain). She has also studied at the universities of Heidelberg, the Freie Universität Berlin, the George Washington University, the BKVGE, San Andrés University of La Paz, etc. and took Space Exploration Studies and an Astronaut Training at the “U.S. Space and Rocket Center” of the NASA.

Dr. Blanco Sío-López has worked for the DG Enlargement of the European Commission in Brussels, for the U.S. Congress (Capitol Hill) in Washington, D.C and taught European Studies for Georgetown University. In addition, she has also worked as Research Associate at the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies (RSCAS) and for the European Parliament project “50 Years of the EP”. Currently, she is a Member of the Steering Committee of the History of European Integration Research Society (HEIRS) and works as Researcher in European Integration Studies at the Centre Virtuel de la Connaissance sur l'Europe (CVCE), a public institution dedicated to the creation and transfer of knowledge on European Integration Studies under the auspices of the Luxembourg Ministry of Research.

²DIESTE, R. (ed. 1985, originally edited in Buenos Aires in 1943), “La peña y el pájaro”. *Historias e invenciones de Félix Muriel*, Madrid : Cátedra, p. 187.

In the first place, we find a tendency to study the construction of a common European memory based on **constantly interacting histories**, thus superseding the pre-eminence of national histories and their politically motivated sense of isolation from neighbouring realities. In this sense, the conscious presence of historical memory in the education curricula and the making of a common European History as an institutional objective, challenges traditions but, above all, it challenges the exercise of selecting contents which deliberately show interactions which have been largely neglected to serve now a new kind of propaganda : the evidence that interdependence and collaboration at the European level have a long history. This consciously ignores the contextualisation of such actual phenomena in a more realistic (but more complex) global level, remarking, hence, the constructive features of this institutional operation, which is maybe not so different from merely national ones even when it tries to cover part of a continent.

However, as we know, turning points, reinvented memories and self-appointed new eras are in constant creation and it is the task of historians to show the motivations and objectives present in their ambiguous scaffolding. For instance, the new necessity to evidence the intertwined European and national legacies responds to the urgency to generate a sense of community at the social level, once the economic (and political) exchanges have been consolidated and have proved their productivity for an elite project. It is also well known that if you want to create an economic union, it will be enough with the dedicated support of an elite of believers but a growingly political union can only be legitimised, and could only perdure, with the consciously chosen support of the "citizens". And that is why there is a sense of urgency in the construction of a common European identity by fixing, and therefore, very instrumentally selecting, a set of European fundamental memories, defined as "commonly identifying".

The issue of a European memory is also very much related to the theme of **European exiles and of memory as a constructed healing trace**. In addition, the critical examination of instrumental memories and of denials of historical memory, constitutes a very valuable compromise with questioning, research and field work as the main means to discern a documented reality.

We should not forget also the very interesting line of research which relates memory, globalisation and localisation from a European perspective, implying a feeling of complementary identities which reflect either more individual realities or, still, a political hunger for flexibility to adapt subsequently legitimating identity propagation needs to a changing agenda of priorities.

From a more general perspective, "memory does not make us travel to the past, quite the opposite, it brings the past to the present"³, converging in what Barash has called "the metaphysics of presence"⁴. This entails a process of recuperation of the past by the present which cannot avoid passing through the sieve of worldviews which are constantly changing due to their constantly self-proclaimed (or politically/socially imposed) turning points. In many instances, an imposed oblivion tends to be substituted by the search for a liberating conscious identifying memory to differentiate, in an urgent manner, from former practises. In other cases, as Rousso⁵ has emphasized, "memory could be regarded as an intellectual reconstruction that implies a selective representation of the past", which makes not very straightforward a satisfactory anamnesis at the social level, since individuals tend to consider themselves free but are, however, co-opted by the fickle political wills which revise memory in the most short-term convenient and useful manner.

The process or reconstruction of the historical memory has also originated the propagation of plenty of errors, as Filloux reminds us, for the past experiences are gradually transformed in an echo of the social memory in which "not to forget the past is equivalent to the construction of a

³BERGSON, H., in TEJEDOR CAMPOMANES, C., *Introducción a la Filosofía*, Madrid : SM, 1995, p. 102.

⁴BARASH, J.A., "The sources of memory", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 1997, p. 709.

⁵ROUSSO, H., in CUESTA, J., *Historia del Presente*, Madrid : Eudema, 1993, p. 41.

solid and conscious future"⁶. Nonetheless, as Halbwachs has affirmed, "memory is usually distorted in the act of reconstruction"⁷ and therefore, we should be aware of the risk of turning to memory as an interpretative sieve.

This could be the case of the recuperation of historical memory in Central and Eastern Europe, a process in which Brossat describes the post-communist landscape as "an incandescent world"⁸, in which the liberation from the dogmas of the official history constitutes a counter-myth which could contain the same degree of distortion of the reality despite this one is supposedly built in freedom. This would imply a reactivation of the common heritage within the strategies of the "nationalisation of the truth"⁹ followed by some of these countries. In any case, despite all the challenges and contradictions present in this research field, we should keep in mind that memory is also an inalienable conquest and, as Le Goff stated, "if neither people without identity exist, nor a democracy without free memory"¹⁰.

In conclusion, the objectives of this growingly dynamic approach also correspond to the compromise of giving voice to those condemned to an inescapable historical silence, and therefore, it provides a liberating testimony for actors contextually reduced to subaltern considerations. In fact, if we can make such silenced voices emerge through time, we would have already achieved the fruits of the rebellion implied in the act of writing history.

Survey of current research

More recently, research on the topic of historical memory in Europe has dared to explore new sources and methodologies, following innovative trends such as that of the so-called "New Cultural History". This is the case of José M. González' article on "Spanish Literature and the Recovery of Historical Memory"¹¹ and S. Schwartz' contribution "The paradoxes of film and the recovery of historical memory : Vicente Aranda's works on the Spanish Civil War"¹². In these cases, they use literature and cinema as sources to assimilate and diffuse very precise procedures of recovery of historical memory.

On the other hand, G. Bischof departs with critical arguments directly pointing at the ambiguities of the construction of a historical memory in his work "Victims ? Perpetrators ? 'Punching Bags' of European Historical Memory ? The Austrians and Their World War II Legacies"¹³. In addition, the key topic of exile is getting enlarged parallel to the enlarging of the European Union and analyses regions of the growingly adopted as part of the European defining community : see Ballinger's *History in Exile*¹⁴.

The largely studied topic of historical memory in Central and Eastern Europe, which counts with classic works like J. L. Jedlicki's "Historical memory as a source of conflicts in Eastern Europe"¹⁵ is now being renewed with contributions such as those of J. Kubik's "Historical Memory and the End of Communism"¹⁶, which emphasises the intrinsic value and role of historical memory

⁶FILLOUX, J.-C., *La Memoria*, Madrid : Debate, 1984, p. 69.

⁷HALBWACHS, M., *On Collective Memory*, Chicago : UCP, 1992, p. 182.

⁸BROSSAT, A., *À l'Est, la mémoire retrouvée*, Paris : La Découverte, 1990, p. 14.

⁹RODISON, M., "De la peste communautaire", *Le Monde*, 1st of December of 1989, p. 24.

¹⁰LE GOFF in BROSSAT, *À l'Est, la mémoire retrouvée*, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

¹¹*European Review*, Cambridge University Press, 2009, n° 17, p. 177-185.

¹²*Film History*, 2008, vol. 20.

¹³*German Studies Review*, Feb. 2004, vol. 27, n° 1.

¹⁴BALLINGER, P., *History in Exile : Memory and Identity at the Borders of the Balkans*, Princeton : PUP, 2002.

¹⁵*Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, September 1999, vol. 32, n° 3.

¹⁶*Journal of Cold War Studies*, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Spring 2007, vol. 9, n° 2.

and its use in the generation of fundamental turning points in history. Finally, with should refer to the implementation of a global history perspective in the new studies about historical memory. For instance, M. Valverde with his essay "Europe and Its Ghosts : Historical Memory and Postcolonial Justice"¹⁷ highlights the need to examine also the memory of the consequences of the European expansion worldwide.

It is now my pleasure to show the most current developments in this field exemplified in a group of selected abstracts of ongoing and recently finished theses as well as of new research projects. These high quality projects are, in themselves, a paradigm of challenging and innovative approaches which will surely mark the future evolution of this research field in European studies.

Dr. Tessa Hauswedell (University of St. Andrews) explores, in her recently finished PhD thesis, the link between memory and identity and reaches very relevant conclusions regarding the intermittent character of European identity and the rescue of such idea during periods dominated by a shared sense of crisis. **Britta C. Jung's** project (University of Groningen) focuses of the fundamental question of how the globalization of memory could lead to its gradual simplification by examining the case study of juvenile literature on National Socialism and the Holocaust. **Yannik Porsché**, PhD (Université Franco-Allemande), analyses how cultural knowledge and memory are constructed in intercultural and transnational contexts through the example of a French-German Exhibition on Representations and Identities of Immigrants. **Ilse Raaijmakers** (Maastricht University) works on an ongoing project regarding the subject of commemoration of the Second World War in the Netherlands from an international perspective. **Zehra Aziz-Beyli** (Research Institute of Law, Politics & Justice, Keele University) approaches the issue of memory by exploring the possibility of an alternative culture of commemoration based on coexistence, peace and reconciliation in Cyprus. **Lorraine Ryan** (University of Limerick) studies in her PhD thesis, completed in 2008, the innovative issue of the empowerment of the memory of the Spanish II Republic through Alfons Cervera's Tetralogy *El ciclo de la memoria*. **Oriane Calligaro** (European University Institute, Florence), focuses in the topic of the role of history and memory in the European integration process in an important section of her PhD thesis and, last but not least, **Aline Sierp's** PhD thesis (University of Siena) analyses the modalities of remembrance of WWII in different European countries by tracing back discussions on how the Nazi/Fascist past should be remembered and by investigating disputes centred around the question of which memories should be evoked by establishing a specific calendar of official remembrance days.

“The Formation of a European Identity through a Transnational Public Sphere? The Case of Three Western European Cultural Journals, 1989-2006”

(Dr. Tessa Hauswedell – University of St. Andrews)

This recently concluded PhD thesis analyses processes of discursive European identity formation in three cultural journals through the prism of the European public sphere model : *Esprit*, from France, the *British New Left Review* and the *German Merkur* during the time periods 1989-92, and, a decade later, during 2003-06.

Through a qualitative analysis of key debates in these cultural journals, this enquiry seeks to outline the strategies by which identity is expressed, and secondly assess when, and to what extent, “shared” notions of European identity emerge which move beyond national presuppositions and viewpoints. It seeks to understand how articulations of a European identity are formed and

¹⁷Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Law and Society Association, TBA, Berlin 2007.

articulated, and to what extent these are based on a shared European history and collective memory. In doing so, it seeks to answer to what degree European memory is a relevant factor for identity formation in current discourses.

On this point the analysis finds a wide divergence in the extent to which the theme of European memory is considered a pertinent vector for European identity formation. For example, *Esprit* has, especially in the wake of the events of 1989, argued for a greater “rehistoricization” of Europe’s shared legacy. Now, more than ever, it continues to press the need for a greater European historical awareness in order to deduce from this shared European values towards the formulation of a European identity. The journal *Merkur* has adapted such a correlation between a shared memory and the gradual synthesization of a European identity only much more recently, especially in the wake of a perceived European crisis to forcefully define its historical legacy and sense of identity vis-à-vis foreign countries and cultures. Meanwhile, the *New Left Review* remains unconvinced about the necessity for a shared European culture of memory and its relevance for the articulation of a European identity.

The enquiry concludes that the link between European memory and identity is, despite the often proclaimed commitment towards a European viewpoint, largely rooted in national cultural contexts with their specific prejudices, historical taboos and sensitivities. Interestingly these cleavages are, however, overcome in times of perceived crisis (such as the European crisis in the wake of the American-led Iraq invasion of 2003) when all three journals attempted to emphasize the strength of Europe’s historical legacy to its current day identity. This suggests that European identity will not emerge through a gradual convergence of views, but in intermittent, haphazard back-and forth movements that are triggered by a shared sense of crisis.

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“Renewing Germany’s Memory : The Representation of National Socialism and the Holocaust in Contemporary Juvenile Literature”

(Britta C. Jung – University of Groningen)

This project aims to discuss how the era of Nazism – its structures and crimes – is remembered within German society. The legacy of the so called “Third Reich” has often stood as the most prominent and central experience of living in post-war Germany. However, in the last six decades every generation has dealt with the German past in its own way; those strategies included exteriorization, moral dissociation, and historicization. To satisfy the changing needs of each generation, the memorial narrative of both, National Socialism and the Holocaust, has been altered tremendously over time.

In recent years, however, critics lament on a globalization – sometimes even an “Americanization” or “Disneyfication” (Levy and Sznajder, 2001 :18 & 152) – of memory, in which national readings and modes of interpretation are supposedly immaterial. Yet, contrary to this criticism, the globalization of memory cannot be equated with a simplification of memory. The “national” does not dissolve or become obsolete, but is rather rephrased in correlation with the universal perspective. Aside from that, globalization goes often hand in hand with an anthropologically led reading of the past (Diner, 2007 :13).

This latest development parallels also the European unification process that coins – with the introduction of the Citizenship of the European Union (1992) and a single European currency

(2002) -- more and more daily life. By endowing a mutual perspective on Europe's darkest chapter in recent history, while -- simultaneously -- allowing national readings and modes of interpretation, the current universalization and anthropologicalization of memory facilitates the construction of a shared, European memory and identity.

The national structures within the universal narratives are especially distinct when one takes a closer look at literature for juveniles. Being considered as part of the literary, social, and educational systems (Shavit, 1986 :35), juvenile literature on National Socialism and the Holocaust has traditionally been a focal point of national interests. By analyzing more recent examples of German juvenile literature, in which these extra-literary considerations are increasingly neglected, and juxtaposing them to examples from other countries, this project wants to shed light on the constants and innovations of the current memorial narrative and how this volatile memory is inscribed into today's cultural memory.

Mentioned references :

- [1] Diner, Dan, *Gegenläufige Gedächtnisse. Über Geltung und Wirkung des Holocaust*, Göttingen : Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007.
- [2] Levy, Daniel and Sznajder, Natan, *Erinnerung im globalen Zeitalter : Der Holocaust*, Frankfurt/Main : Suhrkamp, 2001.
- [3] Shavit, Zohar, *Poetic's of Children's Literature*, Athens : University of Georgia Press, 1986.

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“Interactive Knowledge and Memory Constructions in Transnational Space. Intersections of Institutional, Academic and Public Discourse in a French-German Exhibition on Representations and Identities of Immigrants”

(Yannik Porsché, PhD – Université Franco-Allemande)

Curators and academics in Europe are increasingly discussing how to deal with phenomena of migration, collective memory and identity constructions in museums. Debates on migration and museum show that questions about the constitution of memory and identities in processes of cultural transmissions are of growing importance due to cross-cultural interactions and diversity in times of globalisation. Immigration provides an interesting approach in questioning essentialist concepts of cultural identity and how boundaries are transcended in the construction of multiple and dynamic identities. How are national and European images of the “self” and the “other” produced in times of globalisation and what effect do they have on the political recognition and the integration of immigrants in European society?

Using a transnational exhibition presented by museums of history and migration in Paris and in Berlin as an example, this comparative case study examines the various discursive levels which are involved in the construction of intercultural identities. Those being : museums in the two countries as institutions, the EU institutional initiative “European Year of Intercultural Dialogue 2008” which constitute the political context of the exhibition and scientific conferences that influence the choice of objects for the exhibition, which aims to transmit its concepts into wider public debates. This sociological study investigates how knowledge about the identities of immigrants,

and how they are represented today and in the past in France and in Germany, is constructed through identity attributions in the production and reception of the exhibition and the educational program connected to the exhibition. This discourse analytical study focuses on the discursive processes, mechanisms and conditions involved in the construction of the debate about identity (re)construction and transformation.

By means of discourse and interaction analyses based on ethnographic observation of guided tours of the exhibition, focus group discussions with visitors and the organisers of the exhibition, as well as of interviews carried out by journalists and media broadcasts, the analysis focuses on the interaction between the museum as an institution and the general public. How do written texts, films, posters and other objects of the exhibition as well as the surrounding programme receive meaning? Does the reception of the same exhibition vary in different kinds of interaction in one country? Which differences are apparent between interactions in France and in Germany? The key-issues are how scientific knowledge influences the construction of identities and memory and how the (scientific, political, institutional, etc.) context both makes enunciations possible and simultaneously constrains what can be said.

Considering methodological and ideological issues, the study aims to investigate how the global and the local intertwine when meaning, cultural knowledge and memory are constructed, translated and negotiated in intercultural and transnational contexts. In particular constraints, norms and asymmetries in communication are analysed in order to examine possibilities for critique and alternatives to mainstream discourses. For instance, how immigrants are given a voice and are involved in the processes of the construction of knowledge about intercultural identities is investigated. The study aims to investigate how cultural knowledge and memory are constructed in intercultural and transnational contexts.

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“Identity and memory of the Second World War in the Netherlands. A cultural history of the 4th and 5th of May from a local, national and international perspective”

(Ilse Raaijmakers – Maastricht University)

The importance of the memory of the Second World War for the Netherlands is irrefutable; the war has increasingly become a moral gauge in present-day society. Historiography has paid extensive attention to the Second World War, but left the subject of commemoration largely undiscussed. Shortly after the end of the war, the Netherlands adopted two remembrance days: on the 4th of May all Dutch war victims are commemorated; on the 5th of May liberation from German occupation is celebrated. In my research, I want to provide a cultural-historical analysis of these Dutch remembrance days from a local, national and international perspective.

Every generation searches for the meaning that the past has for their own times, and thus cultural and social developments affect memories of the past. The memory of the Second World War is dynamic; it has continuously been revisited. This becomes apparent during the commemorations on the 4th and 5th of May. Therefore, a research into commemorations reveals more about the time in which one commemorates than about the remembered past. I perceive the commemorations as reflections and agents of socio-cultural changes in Dutch society.

My research focuses on such questions as: in which ways are the war victims and the war's end remembered? Which aspects of the memory of the Second World War are highlighted and

which are (consciously) forgotten? Special attention is given to the actors in the commemorations. Which groups are involved and what mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion do they instigate? How did these groups functionalize the memory of the Second World War to confirm their own identity, and did they succeed? The relationship between memory and identity is an important assumption in my research. The memory of the Second World War has become an elementary part of who the Dutch are. But the developments in the Netherlands can be found elsewhere in Europe. Especially over the last twenty years, the memory of the Second World War has got an increasingly international, European or even universal character. The memory of the Holocaust in general has become a global reference point. How did the “globalization of Auschwitz” affect Dutch memories?

The above-mentioned questions will be answered for a national and for different local memory cultures. Furthermore, the tension between national and local memory culture will be studied in an international context, resulting in an analysis of the dynamics of these interactions.

Ongoing project : 1/11/2009 – 31/10/2013

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“The Empowerment of Republican Memory in Alfons Cervera’s Tetralogy *El ciclo de la memoria*”
(Lorraine Ryan – University of Limerick)

During the Dictatorship of General Francisco Franco, the defeated Republicans were effectively excluded from Spanish society by both physical repression and their vilification in the social sphere. The memory of the Spanish Civil War legitimised this discrimination, as its conceptualisation as a Crusade allowed the Franco Regime to impute a malignity, lack of patriotism, and deviance to the defeated Republicans. Republican memory failed to flourish during the Transition to democracy, and it was not until 1996 that a critical assessment of the past began in the political sphere. Grounded in the sociology of memory, this thesis seeks to ascertain the individual Republican reaction to the collective memory narrative. Moreover, it explores the existence, the modes of, and the factors which influenced the emergence of Republican mnemonic resistance. In order to achieve this objective, this thesis uses Alfons Cervera’s tetralogy *el ciclo de la memoria* as a trauma text, that is, a text which can be read literally because of its importance to memory debates (Radstone, 2008). Jo Labanyi has identified the urgent need to explore the dynamics of memory in Spain (2007). Accordingly, this thesis uses the mnemonic dynamics uncovered in Holocaust scholarship to elucidate the dynamics of this burgeoning memory culture. It is conceived as a micro-social examination of the familial and inter-generational dynamics of Republican memory during the period 1939-2005.

Concerned as it is with uncovering new perspectives and, hopefully, overturning a priori assumptions, it corresponds methodologically, to Beverly Southgate’s “history of the future”, which involves “looking no longer exclusively at what is, or has been, but reopening vistas of what might be, questioning present assumptions and making something new” (2007 : 188). In intention, it conforms to Hayden White’s notion of a “progressive history”, which is motivated by “a concern for the future of the [Republican descendants and community]” (qtd. in Domanska, 2008 : 18). It aims to answer the following questions :

- How did the Francoist memory narrative and the individual Republican memory interact?
- Can collective memory, even in authoritarian societies, be described as omnipotent?

- How did the Republicans formulate and preserve their own counter-memory?
- How was Republican mnemonic resistance (resistance to the dominant memory narrative) enacted?
- Did Republican counter-memory influence the collective memory?
- Did generational shifts enable Republican counter-memory to enter the public sphere?

However, controls are established on the emerging textual evidence by contextualising it within a detailed examination of the Spanish collective memory narrative, 1939-2007. Hopefully, this approach will shed light not only on Republican mnemonic culture during the aforementioned time-period, but also, contribute to the construction of the image of the Republican defeated as individuals with agency, dignity and a separate memory culture.

Thesis Completed : 2005-2008

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“Which Memories for the European Union ? The Role of History and Memory in the European Integration Process”

(Oriane Calligaro – European University Institute, Florence)

Since the end of World War II, the European integration process has increasingly united nation-states which very often share a contentious past. The memory of these fierce conflicts played a central role in the identity-building process of the European nations. Considering the strong link between collective memory and national framework which has been highlighted by a vast scholarship and the limited political and symbolical power of the European institutions, the emergence of a common memory of the European Union (EU) appears as highly problematic. However, this contribution aims to demonstrate that memory is at the very heart of the European integration process. Indeed, I will argue that two places of memory represent the symbolical foundation of the European unification project : Europe and war. I intend to determine here the respective role of these two places of memory in the integration process. As places of memory, they are partly constructed, with the aim of legitimizing the European project and fostering the identification of the citizens. In this perspective, it is crucial to study the symbolical and political usage of these places of memory by the European institutions in so far as it is ultimately the emergence of a European identity that is at stake.

To define “Europe” as a place of memory of the EU seems to be a truism. However, the link between Europe as a concept and the European integration project has to be investigated. The Community for Steel and Coal created in 1951 was a strictly economical association uniting only 6 countries of the continent, but was immediately defined as European. Europe as historical and cultural concept has been from the very start the overarching mental reference of the integration process. As such, Europe can be considered as a place of memory of the EU, being in the same time symbolical foundation and ultimate objective of the unification project. I will first analyse how the promoters of the unification have constructed Europe as a place of memory encompassing a series of philosophical, spiritual, political traditions of which the Union is supposed to be the heir. In order to be politically efficient, this concept of Europe has to be embodied, made sensible and visible to the eye of the European citizen. Therefore, the different forms through which the concept of Europe has been symbolically represented in EU initiatives will be studied. The EU programmes in favour of the “European cultural heritage” is an important aspect of the attempt to “incarnate” Europe. It consists mainly in highlighting the European dimension of historical places

and buildings. This process of adopting a European view on history, in order to foster the emergence of a European memory, can also be seen in projects of history-writing promoted by the EU. These projects are of two kinds : they can aim at the production of a “European history of Europe” as a whole but can also concern the limited history of the European integration, constructing thus the integration itself as a place of memory with its own myths and figures such as the founding fathers.

The place of memory “Europe” can be described as positive, in so far as it is meant to produce identification. The place of memory “war” could be thus considered as its negative equivalent. War and violence, as old-age European plagues, serve as foil for the European identity. It is moreover a catalyst of the European unification process. At a very early stage, federalist projects presented the European unification as the only way to put an end to the persistent conflicts between Europeans. It is still the case for the integration process initiated after World War II. Indeed, it will be shown that the evocation of war is present in the preambles of all the funding treaties of the EU, being thus integrated in the institutional order of the Union, as “*acquis historique communautaire*”. This institutionalization of the memory of war has had political and diplomatic consequences for the EU. However, I will describe the late involvement of the EU in the enhancement and the transmission of the memory of war. It started mainly under the impulsion of the European Parliament, which proposed in 1993 to define the Nazi concentration camps as European historical monuments. This was the beginning of a process which led to the integration of the bellicose and violent aspects of the European history in the general concept of “European cultural heritage”. This will be underlined as a major evolution in the conception of the European memory at EU level. Indeed, the concept of “European cultural heritage” was first designed to represent the positive place of memory “Europe”. The EU funding attributed to numerous projects highlighting the periods of war, violence and dictatorship in the European history bespeaks a complexification of the EU self-definition. In this recent tendency, memory is not fostered for the only purpose of producing identification with Europe. The enhancement of “dark” places of memory and the promotion of trans-national narrations on traumatic episodes of the European history could indeed contribute to the creation of a space of dialogue and to the emergence, if not of a European memory, which seems unrealistic, but at least of a more Europeanized approach to memory.

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“Cultures of Commemoration in Cyprus”

(Zehra Aziz-Beyli – Research Institute of Law, Politics & Justice, Keele University)

This research investigates the processes and practices of commemoration in Cyprus and how they impact on Cypriot politics. It is therefore concerned with the study of the politics of memory specifically on how the past is collectively remembered, shaped and revised under the guidance of the ruling class and how can the politics of memory be critically engaged. The central questions of the research include how practices of commemoration are used and misused by the political regimes in Cyprus for nationalist purposes and propaganda? And how can we develop an alternative culture of commemoration based on co-existence, peace and reconciliation?

Mainly qualitative research methods are used in this research. The case study is pursued in Cyprus, specifically looking at how processes and practices of commemoration and official discourse on “the past” are used by the Turkish and Greek Cypriot political regimes. The research is composed of six parts. First part focuses on literature review on the politics of memory and commemoration in general. Second part focuses on politics of memory and commemoration specifically

relating to Cyprus to understand how memory and commemoration have been used in the Cypriot context. Official and unofficial commemoration ceremonies and days that are commemorated by the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot communities are analysed here. Third part focuses on poetical commemoration and the use of poetry in commemoration explaining the relationship between poetry and politics in Cyprus. Fourth part focuses on landscape memory and the case of Ledra Street. Ledra Street is divided into two in 1963 until 2008. It is a very significant landscape as it holds memories of the long-gone good old days as well as the memories of the violent fighting in 1950s. The partition of Ledra Street symbolised the partition of the island. Fifth part focuses on web-memorialization and virtual memory. Virtual memory is the memory that is operated through computer technology that allows a user to interact within a simulated environment of memory. Memorial web sites, public web-memorials are all part of virtual memory (i.e. web sites of missing persons in Cyprus).

The findings of this research contributes to the academic debate and growing body of work that examines the social and political effects of commemoration practices, especially their links to inter-ethnic and international conflicts. It raises awareness about the relationship between different commemoration practices and identity politics with reference to Cyprus. The possibility of an alternative culture of commemoration based on coexistence, peace and reconciliation would decrease the effects of the ethno-nationalist propaganda in Cyprus and beyond. This is a major challenge in developing peace and reconciliation.

Ongoing PhD Project

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Constructing the Past – Shaping the Future The Politics of Memory and Identity in Western Europe (Aline Sierp – University of Siena)

Since the end of WWII, controversies surrounding the question of the right format of remembrance and public commemoration of the experience of Fascism/Nazism have troubled politics and society in Europe. Until today the difficulty of doing justice to different categories of victims and the conscious selection of what has to be publicly remembered and celebrated, is a thorny issue and seems to be a reflection of the general divisions present in society in most European countries. As the last eye witnesses of WWII are dying and the need to identify with the past is receding, the question of the “future of the past” arises with increasing urgency. What few years ago had been part of a living individual memory that depended largely on the willingness of individuals to face it, has become a long-term cultural memory that finds its normative expression in public policies of official remembrance and is increasingly acquiring besides the national also a European dimension.

In this project I am analysing how different public memory cultures that have shaped public commemoration policies in Europe since 1945, have changed over the years. The main research questions to be answered in this context are :

- Has the memory framework in the different European countries changed over time and, if so, what has determined this change?
- Has there been a move away from a purely national towards a more European public memory discourse?

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- Which role does the European Union play in this perspective? Are there signs of the development of European-wide public commemoration practices?
- How do the individual countries react to the framing efforts of the EU?

The analysis is twofold : By tracing back discussions on how the Nazi/Fascist past should be remembered and by investigating disputes centring on the question of what should be evoked by establishing a specific calendar of official remembrance days, I am scrutinizing the way different European countries have dealt publicly with the memory of WWII. The direct comparison of different European countries then opens up a second level of analysis, allowing the investigation of the question if we can observe some kind of convergence of dealing with the past on the European level. This includes the exploration of the EU's efforts to frame this development and the following examination of the way individual European countries have reacted to this. Due to the evident link between memory and identity, this analysis might furthermore shed some light on the European identity debate from a new angle.

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POUR UNE HISTOIRE DE L'EURO-SCEPTICISME

Cette rubrique est coordonnée par Christophe Le Dréau (chargé de cours à l'IEP de Paris et à l'Université de Paris 1–Panthéon Sorbonne), qui anime également le groupe de travail Richie sur les militantismes pro- et anti-européens.

┃ Anti-européen et gaulliste de gauche, Jacques Dauer

– **Un gaulliste de gauche** – Jacques Dauer (1926-2008) est un des grands noms du gaullisme de gauche en France. Engagé dans l'armée à la Libération, il a participé à la Résistance et est devenu gaulliste. Avec Pierre Lefranc, il prit en charge le mouvement de jeunesse du RPF, le RPF-Jeunes, en 1951. Cela lui donna l'occasion de rencontrer le général De Gaulle à plusieurs reprises. Fidèle parmi les fidèles, il fonde le Mouvement de la Communauté en 1959 afin de défendre les options algériennes du général alors que l'OAS conteste la politique de ce dernier. Il condamne de plus en plus le conservatisme des gaullistes et dans un livre qu'il publie en 1962, *Les orphelins du gaullisme*, qu'il a co-écrit avec Michel Rodet, il répète son attachement à De Gaulle mais sa défiance à l'égard des partis gaullistes de gouvernement. Il se dit alors gaulliste de gauche. En 1964, Jacques Dauer et Michel Rodet mettent en place une petite formation politique, le Front du Progrès. Il condamne Georges Pompidou et sa politique qu'il qualifie de «dulpompisme», soutient Jacques Chaban-Delmas, critiqua Jacques Chirac, abhorre Nicolas Sarkozy... En 1994, toujours actif, il fonde une Académie du Gaullisme qu'il souhaite voir devenir un pôle de renaissance intellectuelle de sa famille politique qu'il juge trahie par les siens.

– **Un opposant à la construction européenne** – Jacques Dauer fut aussi un adversaire constant du processus de construction européenne. Dès 1950, avec ses RPR-Jeunes, il combat la CED. Il regarde avec suspicion la naissance de la CEE et encore plus la grande trahison pompidolienne que fut l'accord donné en 1973 à l'élargissement de la Communauté Européenne à la Grande-Bretagne. Il retrouve à cette occasion son camarade des jeunesses du RPF, Pierre Lefranc, l'un des plus farouches partisans du «non» au référendum organisé par Georges Pompidou. Jacques Dauer repart en résistance contre le traité de Maastricht¹⁸.

On peut sans exagération considérer Jacques Dauer comme l'un des pères du mouvement souverainiste qui apparaît en France, entre les combats autour de Maastricht (1992) et l'opposition au traité d'Amsterdam (1997). Il contribue ainsi à la fondation de l'Alliance pour la Souveraineté de la France, en décembre 1997, avec un autre gaulliste de gauche, Francis Choisel, alors conseiller général RPR dans les Hauts-de-Seine¹⁹. Celle-ci est alors l'une des plus importantes, acclimatée et popularise le terme de souverainisme. Jacques Dauer met à contribution son Académie du gaullisme et sa Lettre de l'Académie du Gaullisme²⁰ au service de cette nouvelle Alliance.

– **Ses archives** – L'histoire des mouvements d'opposition bute toujours, comme toute histoire immédiate, sur la question des archives. C'est la raison pour laquelle la science politique étudie depuis très longtemps ce champ de recherche tandis que les historiens tardent à considérer cet aspect de la construction européenne.

¹⁸Jacques Dauer(en collaboration avec Philippe Lévy et Stéphane Giocanti), *Une France vivante dans une Europe libre*, Paris, Albatros, 1991.

¹⁹Christophe Le Dréau, «L'Alliance pour la souveraineté de la France et l'émergence du militantisme souverainiste (1997-2002)», *Cahiers de l'IRICE*, n° 4, 2009. Disponible sur : <http://irice.cnrs.fr/spip.php?article520>

²⁰Devenue *La Lettre du 18 Juin* en décembre 1998.

Jacques Dauer, décédé en 2008, a laissé un lot significatif d'archives qui sont déposées au Centre d'histoire contemporaine de l'Institut d'études politiques de Paris²¹. Il s'agit pour l'essentiel de dossiers consacrés au Front du Progrès, les collections complètes des journaux que Jacques Dauer a dirigé : *Paris-Jeunes* (1952-1955); *Le télégramme de Paris* (1955-1977); *Démocratie Combattante* (1964-1971); *Note d'Information* (1961-1976). Ces multiples revues permettent de suivre sa perception de l'Europe. Une partie des Lettres de l'Académie du gaullisme ont été numérisées²². On se reportera aussi à son livre d'entretiens²³.



– **Pistes de recherche** – L'itinéraire singulier de Jacques Dauer mériterait en lui-même une étude générale. Nous nous contenterons de donner ici quelques pistes qui pourront susciter des travaux universitaires, des articles... «Jacques Dauer et l'Europe gaullienne (1950-2005)» est évidemment une première voie. Une telle étude permettrait de mettre en valeur les permanences, ou les ruptures, du discours gaulliste face à l'Europe, celle de la CECA, de la CED, de la CEE, de l'UE... sans tomber dans le travers qui consisterait à résumer la problématique des relations complexes du gaullisme et de l'Europe aux seuls discours du général. L'Europe gaullienne par un de ses fidèles militants...

Une deuxième perspective serait, à partir de la personnalité de Jacques Dauer, de bâtir des études prosopographiques afin de mettre en valeur des milieux eurosceptiques, des logiques d'engagement contre l'Europe. Il est significatif que J. Dauer est avant tout représentatif de certains groupes homogènes, plus qu'il n'est original dans ses choix partisans. Il est ainsi clair que si le gaullisme de gauche a toujours été secondaire sur la scène politique française, il s'est révélé être particulièrement sur-représenté au sein des mouvements souverainistes qui émergent après 1992.

On pourrait ainsi prendre pour point de départ le Front du Progrès, considérer ses prises de position face à l'Europe communautaire (notamment les candidatures britanniques), puis, après la disparition du Front du Progrès, suivre l'itinéraire militant de certains de ses dirigeants : Jacques Dauer mais aussi Étienne Tarride que l'on retrouve au sein des États Généraux de la Souveraineté

²¹On trouvera un premier inventaire sur : http://centre-histoire.sciences-po.fr/archives/fonds/jacques_dauer.html

²²<http://acadgaul.free.fr/Choixlettresdossier/Choixlettres/index.html>

²³Jacques Dauer, *Le Hussard du général, entretiens avec Stéphane Giocanti*, Paris, La Table Ronde, 1994.

Nationale fondés en 1998 avec un autre gaulliste, Alain Bournazel²⁴. Ces gaullistes de gauche sont aussi singulièrement présents dans le Conseil National Souverainiste mis en place par Francis Choisel, avec l'aide d'un autre gaulliste de gauche, Georges Gorse, ancien membre de la SFIO qui compte parmi les fondateurs, en 1968, d'un éphémère Mouvement pour l'indépendance de l'Europe, peut-être la première association souverainiste en France. Association qui, elle aussi, n'a toujours pas trouvé son historien...

Un autre portrait de groupe pourrait comparer l'itinéraire des gaullistes qui ont participé à la grande manifestation étudiante du 11 novembre 1940. Ce fut, pour Jacques Dauer, un événement marquant : «Je suis devenu gaulliste le 11 novembre 1940. Nous manifestions sur les Champs-Élysées. Les Allemands nous ont tiré dessus et la grâce m'a touché»²⁵. Aux côtés de Jacques Dauer, on retrouve, ce 11 novembre, Pierre Lefranc et Alain Griotteray²⁶, deux gaullistes qui ont fortement contribué à faire émerger un militantisme souverainiste en France : «Du 11 novembre 1940 au 29 mai 2005 : engagements autour de l'Europe d'une génération gaulliste, Pierre Lefranc, Jacques Dauer, Alain Griotteray». Cette génération a une certaine vision de la France, de l'Allemagne, de l'Europe avec une grille de lecture gaulliste²⁷.

Autant de pistes qui sont un appel à investir ce nouveau champ de recherche qu'est l'euro-scepticisme. Car l'histoire de la construction européenne ne peut se limiter à celle de ceux qui furent «pour».

²⁴Alain Bournazel et Étienne Tarride, *L'Europe des réalités*, Paris, François-Xavier de Guibert, 2002.

²⁵Éric Dior, «Non, le gaullisme n'est pas mort!», *Marianne*, 2 février 1998.

²⁶Alain Griotteray et Étienne Tarride, *Non à la Constitution*, Monaco, Éditions du Rocher, 2005.

²⁷Alain Griotteray, *Voyage au bout de l'Allemagne*, Monaco, Éditions du Rocher, 1999. Alain Griotteray, *Ne l'appellez plus jamais France*, éditions de Paris, 2007. Alain Griotteray est mort en 2008, tout comme Jacques Dauer : Philippe Goulliaud, «Décès d'Alain Griotteray, hussard de la droite», *Le Figaro*, 1^{er} septembre 2008.

Charte RICHIE

1. Missions de RICHIE

Développer les contacts entre les jeunes chercheurs en histoire de l'intégration européenne (*cf.* point 3) à l'échelle internationale en facilitant la circulation de l'information et en organisant des événements scientifiques qui favorisent la promotion de jeunes chercheurs.

Approfondir les échanges intellectuels entre les diverses approches historiques ou nationales existantes.

2. Organisation de RICHIE

RICHIE (Réseau International de jeunes chercheurs en Histoire de l'Intégration Européenne) est une association de droit français loi 1901 fondée en 2004. Elle est gérée par un groupe de chercheurs de différents pays qui désignent un président au cours de l'Assemblée générale annuelle. RICHIE est une association indépendante de toutes les universités et de tous les centres de recherches. Dans le cadre de ses événements scientifiques, elle établit des liens ponctuels avec des Professeurs et des universités en fonction de leur orientation thématique.

3. Domaine d'étude

Le domaine d'activité de l'association est l'histoire de l'intégration européenne au sens large, c'est-à-dire l'histoire de toutes les formes d'échanges et de coopération qui se sont développées sur le continent européen principalement au XX^e siècle.

Elle s'intéresse aux spécificités des processus de coopération en Europe sans se limiter à l'histoire diplomatique intergouvernementale. Elle prend également en considération les interactions avec les espaces et acteurs extra-européens.

L'association ne soutient aucun choix politique ou idéologique.

4. Activités de RICHIE

L'association organise plusieurs types d'activités. Son principal événement est un colloque RICHIE régulier qui répond à des modalités spécifiques détaillées au point 5. Elle organise également des journées d'études et des conférences seule ou en coopération. Elle entretient une liste de diffusion et publie une lettre d'information.

5. Colloque RICHIE

Les colloques RICHIE sont organisés principalement par des jeunes chercheurs.

Les papiers sont présentés par des jeunes chercheurs et sont sélectionnés par un comité scientifique *ad hoc*. Le comité scientifique *ad hoc* est déterminé par le Comité d'organisation du colloque.

Le thème du colloque doit être large afin d'attirer des participants provenant de nombreux pays et de champs de recherche variés.

Le président de RICHIE assiste au colloque et y représente l'association.

Les actes du colloque sont publiés.