

# POSITIVE PLACES OF EUROPEAN MEMORY

Edited by  
Kinga Anna Gajda  
Monika Eriksen



UNIwersYTET JAGIELLOŃSKI  
W KRAKOWIE

# **Positive Places of European Memory**

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Kinga Anna Gajda, Monika Eriksen**



UNIwersytet Jagielloński  
w Krakowie

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Review: Dr Krzysztof Kowalski

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## INTRODUCTION

Andrzej Szpociński, in his article *Lieux de mémoire*, emphasizes that „in recent years, research on memorials have become very popular among the representatives of the humanities disciplines”<sup>1</sup>. It is worth noting that both research projects and teaching concerning places of memory are primarily focused on negative places of memory, and make the period between 1939 and 1945, as well as the legacy of the communist era and the socialist the theme of their deliberations. The shared memory as an element of collective identity builds on many levels: local, national, or transnational, we can speak from different perspectives. Schwan during the debate *Common Europe, Shared History* said that memory „is constantly changing, as a nation, like any affiliation. Therefore, it is entirely possible that the European Commission or the European Parliament will become institutions with whom we identify. Since (...) they play a reasonable role. European memory (...) is the most unthinkable and unimaginable”<sup>2</sup>. And further Schwan says: „It seems to me that we in Europe find a positive common culture of memory (...). If we will once again generate a common ground, a base of shared European values, it will be much more than the story that we’re all for freedom, justice and equality”<sup>3</sup>.

And it is such a positive statement, looking for that what is common, but having the strength of an example and not anti-example, has become the focus of the project Positive Places of European Memory. The project was financed by the program of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education entitled, „University of Young Inventors” carried out under the Higher Education system project „Support for the management of research and its results” No. POIG.01.01.03-00-001/08 on the basis of the financing agreement signed between the Ministry of Science and Higher Education and the Ministry of Regional Development on September 22, 2009. (Priority 1.1. OPIE, Measure 1.1.3.). The aim of the project was an attempt to define, identify and describe positive places of memory in Europe. Presenting the idea of community and unity as worthy of imitation. It has been made by a unique consortium of scientists, students of the Institute of European Studies, high school students from VIII High School in Krakow and junior high school students from School No. 2 in Jaworzno. The project Positive Places of Memory was defined in the accordance to Pierre Nora, as a historiographical places (manuals), geographical locations, cultural and economic, and finally symbolic<sup>4</sup>. An important element of the project was the process of investigation into knowledge by combining elements of formal and informal

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<sup>1</sup> A. Szpociński, *Miejsca pamięci (lieux de mémoire)*, [http://tslmorawa.files.wordpress.com/2012/06/konwersatorium-rs\\_mk\\_szpocinski\\_miejsca-pamieci.pdf](http://tslmorawa.files.wordpress.com/2012/06/konwersatorium-rs_mk_szpocinski_miejsca-pamieci.pdf) (accessed:12.10.2015).

<sup>2</sup> Commentary reprinted in: *Pamięć. Wyzwanie dla współczesnej Europy*, ed. R. Traba, Olsztyn: Wydawnictwo Borussia 2008, p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 30.

<sup>4</sup> P. Nora, *Czas pamięci*, „Res Publica Nowa”, no. 7(154)/2001, p. 37-43.

education, methods of feeding rollers with active teaching methods, and the course on peer mentoring. Participants had the opportunity to independently research, develop their creativity, conduct debates, enter into dialogue and seek compromise. They participated in substantive and methodological seminars, which included lectures by specialists on the issue of memory and memorials, the EU's history read through the prism of places and people, as well as knowledge of scientific research within the humanities, project method, a workshop on writing scientific papers and how to present during a conference. They sought answers to their numerous questions and visited places and non-places of memory while participating in city games. Each game city was discussed in a summarizing seminar. Furthermore, the youth presented the results of their partial research, a scientific debate was held during which the process of peer review also took place. The project ended with a student conference, during which the participants presented the final aspects of their research.

Justyna Poniewska, writes that memory is an inherent feature of each individual, each one is burdened with luggage of memories. Memory therefore plays an active role in creating our sense of continuity and belonging. „Memory is for a man like another sense which allows for settling in the realities of actuality. It helps (...) in learning to assimilate information, create opinions and views, re-living of memories, which becomes in a sense an instrument supporting our survival. The human mind collects information to verify and process, which ultimately in the end results in ready >>pictures<<- a kind of negatives developed by our mind through our imagination. The phenomenon of memory lies in the fact that the mind can reproduce sounds, smells, images; which we do not experience at the moment”<sup>5</sup>. Participants treating memory as an element establishing the unit, also undertook philosophical considerations. A junior high school student, Weronika Kois, defines memory as „an ability to register and re-route sensations, images, and emotions”<sup>6</sup> and deliberates over what happens to the individual, who he becomes as his memory fades. She writes: „People with Alzheimer’s disease (AD) do not remember what happened a few minutes ago, yesterday or this week, but are able to perfectly remember the events of their youth”<sup>7</sup>, and reflects on ways to preserve the memory, such as cognitive stimulation, safeguarding of memory using microchips placed in the brain, or artificial memory. Both Kois and other participants followed the actions of various artists with great interest, who aimed not so much as to characterize thematically the issues related to memory, but also ways to preserve memory. Rightly so, they also treat the biography, as a place of remembrance for the preservation of memory of a particular person. In their essays,

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<sup>5</sup> Quote taken from the essay of Justyna Poniewska (the essay is available online in its entirety, on the project’s website : [http://www.ic.europeistyka.uj.edu.pl/en\\_GB/projekty/projekty-dydaktyczne/pozytywne-miejsca-pamieci/wydanie-podrecznika-on-line](http://www.ic.europeistyka.uj.edu.pl/en_GB/projekty/projekty-dydaktyczne/pozytywne-miejsca-pamieci/wydanie-podrecznika-on-line)).

<sup>6</sup> Quote taken from the essay of Weronika Kois (the essay is available online in its entirety, on the project’s website: [http://www.ic.europeistyka.uj.edu.pl/en\\_GB/projekty/projekty-dydaktyczne/pozytywne-miejsca-pamieci/wydanie-podrecznika-on-line](http://www.ic.europeistyka.uj.edu.pl/en_GB/projekty/projekty-dydaktyczne/pozytywne-miejsca-pamieci/wydanie-podrecznika-on-line)).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*.

they happily bring back memory of not only biographies, but also attempt to find specific places that nurture the memory of the persons concerned. Weronika Sarna for example, writes: „Today, in the era of the internet, anyone can see who the author of the invention is. Every day we use objects that someone invented to, for example, make our lives easier or more enjoyable, we do not think, however, who is their author. Thanks to Franklin we have lightning rods; Edison we have bulbs; the creator of the phone is Meucci; the inventor of the computer is Turing; bicycle was invented by Drais, while the automobile was invented by Nicolas-Joseph Cugnot”<sup>8</sup>. In their essays, they also touch upon the notion of performing of their memory, or memory about themselves. Zuzanna Olesik writes about Facebook as a place of memory, which allows arbitrary creation of a model to remember about ourselves as a form of contemporary narrative or self-narration, narrative identity. The photos posted on a social network can be treated like a commemorative album, in which only select photos are pasted, which can perform a definite image of the profile owner. It is, therefore, an album that demonstrates how one wants to be perceived and remembered.

The project participants understand the positive places of memory as a „space, but also the people, things or events that unite all Europeans. Elements that can be called a common point on the map of our continent”<sup>9</sup>.

This publication is a summary of the project. The included essays have been prepared by experts: academics, PhD students and several students in a form accessible to junior and high school students. The most important information in each chapter, graphically selected, allows students to memorize the most important facts. Students acted as initial reviewers throughout the preparatory stages of this publication. The publication consists of four parts. In the first titled: *Memory – theory*, there is a collection of texts presenting different scientific approaches to memory. In the second part, *the City*, the city’s potential as a space filled with memorials is presented, as well as the relationship of the city with the biography of famous people who contributed to the foundation towards a European community. Another part entitled *the Holocaust – or how to teach about memory*, contains texts illustrating proven methods of teaching about memory. The memory of the Holocaust, urban memory associated with the Holocaust for years, constitute wide range of academic disputes. Research on the Holocaust is also carried out with regards to learning about what happened then, and about the trauma. They become so much more important that slowly, the post-memory generation is shaped which will no longer have an option to listen to witnesses, and will draw the knowledge from the so-called „second-hand”. They have already developed appropriate methods of transmission and consolidation of knowledge, stimulating

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<sup>8</sup> Quote taken from the essay of Weronika Sarna (the essay is available online in its entirety, on the project’s website: [http://www.ic.europeistyka.uj.edu.pl/en\\_GB/projekty/projekty-dydaktyczne/pozytywne-miejsca-pamieci/wydanie-podrecznika-on-line](http://www.ic.europeistyka.uj.edu.pl/en_GB/projekty/projekty-dydaktyczne/pozytywne-miejsca-pamieci/wydanie-podrecznika-on-line)).

<sup>9</sup> Quote taken from the essay of Katarzyna Bujas (the essay is available online in its entirety, on the project’s website: [http://www.ic.europeistyka.uj.edu.pl/en\\_GB/projekty/projekty-dydaktyczne/pozytywne-miejsca-pamieci/wydanie-podrecznika-on-line](http://www.ic.europeistyka.uj.edu.pl/en_GB/projekty/projekty-dydaktyczne/pozytywne-miejsca-pamieci/wydanie-podrecznika-on-line)).

memory, which is worth transplanting into the study about other types of memory - including positive memory. Moreover, these studies show that the commemoration of the negative history may also contain positive aspects. The last part entitled, *Methodology - self-presentation* includes tests concerning self-presentation, including presenting during a conference.

Kinga Anna Gajda  
(Project Coordinator)

## Positive memory and positive places of European memory

The World Heritage List contains a list of protected areas in the world because of their universal, general human value, as well as environmental, cultural or culturally-environmental worth.

For the purpose of the Convention (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization Convention Concerning The Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (16th November 1972), the following shall be considered as “cultural heritage”:

monuments: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science; groups of buildings: groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;

sites: works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view.

Source: [whc.unesco.org/archive/](http://whc.unesco.org/archive/)

Objects on the list are protected by the international organization UNESCO.

A specialized organization of the United Nations established in 1945 in London. Poland is a member since 1946. The organization works to foster international cooperation in the field of culture, art and science, and human rights. Also provides material, technical and human resources in the organization. of education.

Source: <http://en.unesco.org/>

Its members, like members of the World Heritage Committee decided to protect these places in an effort to prevent their destruction and oblivion, proceeding out of an assumption that the deterioration or disappearance of any item of cultural or natural heritage is a destructive disorder of the heritage of all peoples of the world. Protection

of these places is also accompanied by educational processes. The organization cares for not only safeguarding the survival of the place itself, but also the knowledge and the memory of it. UNESCO also deals with safeguarding and sharing of documents such as manuscripts, prints, audiovisual recordings possessing historical and civilization meaning on a worldwide scale. As part of the Memory of the World International Register<sup>10</sup>, operating since 1992, a record of these documents is kept. In 2003 in Paris, UNESCO signed the Convention on the protection of intangible cultural heritage.

Intangible cultural heritage - practices, ideas, transfer of knowledge and skills-as well as stored within it instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural space - that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted generation to generation, is constantly reproduced by communities and groups in relation to their environment, impact of reproduction their history, and provides them a sense of identity and continuity, contributing in this way to increase respect for cultural diversity and human creativity. This heritage is reflected in the following areas:

- traditions and oral history, including language as a vehicle of intangible cultural heritage
- performing arts
- customs, rituals and holiday rites (i.e. Christmas traditions)
- knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe
- skills in traditional craftsmanship.

*Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, signed in Paris on 17 October 2003

Source: <http://isap.sejm.gov.pl/DetailsServlet?id=WDU20111721018>

The organization recognized intangible cultural heritage as a source of cultural diversity and ensuring the sustainable development and protection of traditional culture and folk. In addition, stressed the far-reaching relationship between immaterial and material cultural heritage. To counteract intolerance, degradation, extinction and destruction of the intangible heritage, it has created an additional list. The aim of the Convention has become the protection of intangible cultural heritage, to ensure respect for intangible cultural heritage of communities, groups and individuals and to increase awareness of the importance of this heritage, taking necessary measures to ensure its appreciation.

All of the aforementioned lists include a list of objects of cultural, environmental, as well as tangible and intangible heritage from around the world. Meanwhile, the European Heritage Label<sup>11</sup> was launched in 2007 and appointed in 2011 by the European Union, applies only to those places that lie within the Union. This symbol, according to the principles of international initiatives, is awarded to the places where a significant contribution to European history and culture took place, which also

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<sup>10</sup> <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/flagship-project-activities/memory-of-the-world/register/> (accessed: 23.09.2015).

<sup>11</sup> <http://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/actions/heritage-label/documents/2014-panel-report.pdf> (accessed: 23.09.2015).

includes EU buildings. This label has the task of protecting these places, underlining their importance in building of the Community, but also ensuring the existence of the European dimension and demonstrating accomplishments as well as the work that must still be undertaken in favor of the Commonwealth. The decision of the European Parliament and of the Council from November 16, 2011 states that the purpose of honoring the label is “stressing the symbolic value of a place, which played a significant role in European history and culture, or in the building of the Union, and increasing its profile”. The task, therefore, is to realize citizens’ understanding of the (...) European history and the process of building the Union, and of their common yet diverse cultural heritage, especially in relation to the democratic values and human rights that underpin European integration”<sup>12</sup>.

This label is awarded to cultural property, monuments, natural and urban landscapes and the testimonies of European history. Krzysztof Kowalski explaining the need for marking of significant and strictly European heritage writes, that “the collapse of the Eastern bloc and the gradual enlargement of the European Union means that a strong need for a new representation of the past can be felt throughout the old continent, which on the one hand, takes into account the heterogeneous, multinational and cosmopolitan heritage of Europe, but which - on the other - would attempt to capture its common and irreducible element”<sup>13</sup>. And the aspects of the Community are connected by places situated on all these lists, as well as places are not yet included nor will be, but will nonetheless serve the same function. All of the above can be also referred to as Pierre Nora’s *lieux de mémoire*.

Nora’s concept appears in an important historical moment - a break with the past and a threat memory. For the French historian the creation of *lieux de mémoire* is to foster the ability to remember and create *communitas*. As he writes: “Memory is blind to everything except the group that unites”<sup>14</sup>. He underlines in this way, the social nature of memory and its identity-forming function<sup>15</sup>. Memorial sites are the first incarnation of remembering consciousness, manifesting and creating a sense of community. “They are born with a sense, that there is no spontaneous memory, and that we must deliberately create archives, maintain anniversaries, organize celebrations, deliver a speech of praise and authenticate bills (...). We base our identity on such bastions but if what they defend has been threatened, there would be no need to build

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<sup>12</sup> Decision of the European Parliament and of the Council No. 1194/2011/EU of 16 November 2011.

<sup>13</sup> K. Kowalski, *Między narodową historią a dziedzictwem europejskiej. Kilka uwag o Stoczni Gdańskiej posiadającej Znak Dziedzictwa Europejskiego*, [in:] *Zarządzanie w kulturze*, eds. E. Kocój, E. Orzechowski, J. Szulborska-Łukasiewicz, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 15, no. 3/2014, p. 321.

<sup>14</sup> P. Nora, *Między pamięcią i historią: Les lieux de Mémoire*, „Tytuł Roboczy: Archiwum”, no. 2/2009, p. 5.

<sup>15</sup> In some cases memory can be a barrier to the creation of identity. See: K. A. Gajda, M. Eriksen, *The Problem with Memory*, “New Eastern Europe. On Conflict and Reconciliation”, Issue 5/2015, p. 142-152.

them<sup>16</sup>. Collective remembrance creates a collective identity. Barbara Szacka writes: “social memory includes ideas about the past, a particular group, and various forms of physical commemorations”<sup>17</sup>. For every social group, from community, national federations to family, has its own memory. Nora writes that the concept of *lieux de mémoire* is to serve a group as a way to remember and promote major events which cement the group, building its sense of *communitas* and collective identity. “Les lieux de mémoire are remains, the most external form, under which our consciousness might survive through the decades and centuries. It is up to them to refer, because in reality we do not really know the history”<sup>18</sup> - concludes Robert Traba in regards to Nora’s assumptions. Maurice Halbwachs noted that in general, memory is a social phenomenon. “It is in society that man normally acquires memories, identifies and locates them”<sup>19</sup>. And he further writes that social memory “a continuous stream of thought, of a continuity that does not have anything artificial, since it retains from the past nothing but that which is still living or capable of living in the consciousness of the group”<sup>20</sup>. Many theorists point out that the reconstruction of the past and remembering it builds a sense of community. It is important therefore, that memory is articulated, reproduced, duplicated, and represented through language, narration, video or audio. Hence, notes Nora, a place of memory can be public and private archives and banners, libraries, dictionaries, museums and diaries, celebrations and events, and “purely functional space, such as a school textbook, a will or a veteran convention”<sup>21</sup>.

Such an understanding of memorial sites has become an essential part of modern scientific discourse. Andrzej Szpociński stresses in the article *Memorials (lieux de mémoire)* that “in recent years, research on memorials have become very popular across the fields of humanities”<sup>22</sup>. It is worth noting that both research projects and teaching concerning remembrance sites are focused largely primarily on negative places of memory and make the years 1939 - 1945 the topic of their discussion. Meanwhile, there is still a void with regards to projects dealing with positive aspect of memory. Meanwhile, there are more and more voices suggesting, it is worth talking about positive places- those that carry the European Heritage Label, a reminder of the shared history of creating a federation of states in order to ensure peace, or even highlighting common historical, natural or cultural world heritage. Marcus J. Prutsch, the author of the *European Historical Memory*, highlights, that from the beginnings of the European

<sup>16</sup> P. Nora, *op.cit.*, p. 6.

<sup>17</sup> B. Szacka, *Pamięć społeczna*, [in:] *Encyklopedia socjologii*, t. 3, Warszawa: Oficyna Naukowa 2000, p. 52.

<sup>18</sup> R. Traba, *Historia – przestrzeń dialogu*, Warszawa: Instytut Studiów Politycznych Polskiej Akademii Nauk 2006, p. 31.

<sup>19</sup> M. Halbwachs, *Spoleczne ramy pamięci*, Warszawa: PWN 1979, p. 4.

<sup>20</sup> M. Halbwachs, *La mémoire collective*, Paris: Albin Michel 1997, p. 131.

<sup>21</sup> P. Nora, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>22</sup> A. Szpociński, *Miejsca pamięci (lieux de mémoire)*, [http://tslmorawa.files.wordpress.com/2012/06/konwersatorium-rs\\_mk\\_szpocinski\\_miejsca-pamieci.pdf](http://tslmorawa.files.wordpress.com/2012/06/konwersatorium-rs_mk_szpocinski_miejsca-pamieci.pdf) (accessed: 20.03.2015).

Union the topic of memory becomes a subject of discourse integration. He outlines three main issues related with this memory:

1. Generic notions of 'European heritage' that stress the role of a common culture as the crucial element of European identity, while abstaining from focusing on one particular element or any specific historical period;
2. Two World Wars, the horrors of which gave momentum to set up 'Europe' as a supranational peace project designed to avoid similar culminations of radical nationalism in the future;
3. European Integration itself, the historical achievements of which function as a source of self-legitimacy for the Union and are corroborated by its official symbols (European flag, European anthem and Europe Day)<sup>23</sup>.

And he stresses that the memory mainly recalled is regarding war and destruction. Nora in his writing considers, why only such issues, and no other areas of the past are remembered. In the case of memory which deals with what is negative, this most likely happens because memory of negative past, functioning as a 'anti-formula' memory - a warning, it has become the foundation of a united Europe. In 1946, at the University of Zurich, Winston Churchill gave his famous speech in which he advocated the concept of a "United States of Europe", built on the basis of memory as a warning. He said then: we must all turn away from a horrible past. We must look to the future, we cannot afford it, to drag behind him through the years ahead hatred and revenge, which was created with the wrongs of the past. If Europe is to be saved from infinite misery of poverty and the final curse, it is necessary that an act of faith and trust between the family of European countries and this act of oblivion against all the crimes and follies of the past<sup>24</sup>. As noted by Aleida Assmann, criticizing the cultivation of only such memory, "a new culture of memory meant that remembering is presented as a cultural asset, which means the progress of civilization, as well as means of preventing the outbreaks of violence. Whether it is good or bad, it is nevertheless determined by the context of remembrance, because - as we all know - it can also revive resentment and trigger destructive energy"<sup>25</sup>. But the documented responsibility of remembering, within the Community, aimed at preventing further extermination is very strong. Prutsch emphasizes that the most common memories, which even compete with each other in recent times, are the memory of the Holo-

<sup>23</sup> M. J. Prutsch, *European Historical Memory. Policies, Challenges and Perspectives*, Directorate General for Policies Department B, Structural and Cohesion Policies culture and Education 2013; [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/note/join/2013/513977/IPOL-CULT\\_NT\(2013\)513977\\_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/note/join/2013/513977/IPOL-CULT_NT(2013)513977_EN.pdf) (accessed: 12.08.2015).

<sup>24</sup> Quote: A. Assmann, *Wprowadzenie: o krytyce, popularności i adekwatności terminu „pamięć”*, [http://www.wuw.home.pl/ksiegarnia/dodatki/Miedzyhistoria\\_wprowadzenie.pdf](http://www.wuw.home.pl/ksiegarnia/dodatki/Miedzyhistoria_wprowadzenie.pdf) (accessed: 10.09.2015).

<sup>25</sup> A. Assmann, *Wprowadzenie: o krytyce, popularności i adekwatności terminu „pamięć”*, p. 11; [http://www.wuw.home.pl/ksiegarnia/dodatki/Miedzyhistoria\\_wprowadzenie.pdf](http://www.wuw.home.pl/ksiegarnia/dodatki/Miedzyhistoria_wprowadzenie.pdf) (accessed: 10.09.2015).

caust, National Socialism and Stalinism<sup>26</sup>. Peter Novick<sup>27</sup> writes, even the memory of the Holocaust is a myth founding united Europe. Much of the work relating to the history of the Union refers precisely to those events. Margaret Pakier and Bo Strath<sup>28</sup> in a self-edited book *A European Memory?*, illustrate elements of historical events of various European countries, which we must remember, but as a warning. In addition to the Holocaust and Communism, they also mention European colonial movements.

The European Parliament describes the Holocaust and socialism as the main events which have led to the formation of the European federation. The memory of these events allows for the cultivation of the past and building of a common future. It treats European values such as humanism, tolerance and democracy as important, it opens a wide discussion on mutual understanding and reconciliation as well as historical truth, commemorating also the uncomfortable, unpleasant events of European history. Importantly, it introduces the aspect of building a union on historical facts and research. The latter also establishes rare studies seeking other common foundations of Europeanness, highlighting various historical, cultural and intercultural aspects, and the existing links between memory and identity in Europe. Etienne François and Thomas Serriera in *Lieux de mémoire*<sup>29</sup>, editors of the three volumes *Europäische Erinnerungsorte*<sup>30</sup> or editors of *Europäische Erinnerung als verflochtene Erinnerung*<sup>31</sup> present, following Nora's concept, places, character, objects of everyday life, myths, quotes, tags, case studies as an integral part of the consciousness of contemporary Europeans, referring to the genesis of Europe and Europeanness. Culture of Remembrance and memorials have been illustrated in different spatial scales, both in urban and global levels.

The introduction of a new trend of talking about memory space is also associated with the change of narrative. Places of memory are no longer coming to terms with the past or overcoming the past, and become places building positive awareness of community, a cultural memory of a metaphoric nature. Jan Assman, who coined the term cultural memory, says that this memory is comprised of memories essential for the memory of a social group.

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<sup>26</sup> M. J. Prutsch, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

<sup>27</sup> P. Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life*, New York: Mariner Books 2000.

<sup>28</sup> M. Pakier, B. Strath, *A European Memory? Contested Histories and Politics of Remembrance*, New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books 2010.

<sup>29</sup> E. François, T. Serrier, *Lieux de mémoire européens (Documentation photographique n° 8087)*, Paris: La Documentation française 2011. See: T. Serrier, O. Lazzarotti, *Lieux de mémoire en Europe, lieux de mémoire de l'Europe*, 2013, <http://cafe-geo.net/wp-content/uploads/lieux-memoire-europe.pdf> (accessed: 10.06.2015).

<sup>30</sup> *Europäische Erinnerungsräume*, eds. K. Buchinger, C. Gantet, J. Vogel, Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag 2009. See the review: <http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/rezensionen/2009-4-076.pdf> (accessed: 12.09.2015).

<sup>31</sup> *Europäische Erinnerung als verflochtene Erinnerung. Vielstimmige und vielschichtige Vergangenheitsdeutungen jenseits der Nation*, eds. G. Feindt, F. Krawatzek, D. Mehler, F. Pestel, R. Trımçev, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck&Ruprecht 2014.

Cultural memory - combines a characteristic of each community and era resource of previously used texts, images and rituals, which nourishes, stabilizes and transfer an idea of itself, a shared collective knowledge usually (but not necessarily) about the past, upon which a group's awareness of its unity and specificity is based.

Quote from Assmann by R. Traba, *Historia – przestrzeń dialogu (History – space for dialogue)*, Warszawa: Instytut Studiów Politycznych 2006, p. 33.

It is a „a normative and primary force in social life. It takes on a form of tangible and intangible, which [can be] both real and mythical characters and events, buildings and monuments, institutions and concepts, books and works of art – they also be called icons of memory. Places of memory (...) become so, not because they have a material form, but because of their symbolic function”<sup>32</sup>.

The concept of European memory appeared relatively recently. Aby Warburg<sup>33</sup>, a German historian of art and cultural studies, in 1927, assumed the existence of a European cultural memory. Giorgio Agamben then described him as “a kind of gigantic condenser that gathered together all the energetic currents that had animated and continued to animate Europe’s memory”<sup>34</sup> and who believed in the mystery of the spirit of the times and its role in community building. Ernst Hans Gombrich<sup>35</sup> claimed that Warburg found a panacea for cultural amnesia that torments Western civilization. Warburg maintained because there is *Engramm*, which has a certain energy charge exerting influence on matter and leaving a trace<sup>36</sup>. “>>Engram<< (...) do exist, and exist before our eyes. They are wrought in marble, written on paper, welded in sound. In one word, they are symbols”<sup>37</sup>. His assumption of the symbols aimed at commemorating, were close to Nora’s theory. In the case of European memory, which is an artificial creation, and which *de facto* does not exist as such, but merely as a synthesis of the national memory. Thus, European remembrance appears rather as a project of realization, a project to construct memory of the Community. Gerard Delanty, a British sociologist, argues that identity should be based on common values. He writes: “European civilization, the attachment to common values and principles, the increasing convergence of attitudes of life, the awareness of having specific interests in common and the determination to take part in the construction of a united Europe, all

<sup>32</sup> R. Traba, *Historia – przestrzeń dialogu*, Warszawa: Instytut Studiów Politycznych 2006, p. 33.

<sup>33</sup> A.M. Warburg, *Der Bilderatlas: Mnemosyne, Gesammelte Schriften* II.1, eds. M. Warnke, C. Brink, Berlin: Akademie 2008; A. M. Warburg, *The Renewal of Pagan Antiquity: Contributions to the Cultural History of the Renaissance*, ed. K. W. Forster, Los Angeles: Getty 1999.

<sup>34</sup> G. Agamben, *Potentialities: Collected Essays in Philosophy*, Stanford: Stanford University Press 2000, p. 95. [http://monoskop.org/images/6/6e/Agamben\\_Giorgio\\_Potentialities\\_Collected\\_Essays\\_in\\_Philosophy\\_2000.pdf](http://monoskop.org/images/6/6e/Agamben_Giorgio_Potentialities_Collected_Essays_in_Philosophy_2000.pdf) (accessed: 12.03.2015).

<sup>35</sup> E.H. Gombrich, *Aby Warburg: An Intellectual Biography*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press 1986, p. 242.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 326.

<sup>37</sup> Quote from: E. H. Gombrich, review of Aby Warburg *Die Erneuerung der heidnischen Antike*, [in:] *A bibliography of the survival of the classics*, London, no. 1/1938, p. 4-5 for: K. Mazzucco, *The work of Ernst H. Gombrich on the Aby M. Warburg fragments*, <https://arthistoriography.files.wordpress.com/2011/12/mazzucco-gombrich.pdf> (accessed: 15.07.2015).

give the European identity its originality and its own dynamism”<sup>38</sup>. Anthony D. Smith<sup>39</sup> emphasized that the project can only succeed if, in the consciousness of Europeans a communal memory will appear, they will feel *communitas*, which are connected in sharing common memories, traditions, and symbols. The latter are generated by the European Union. Gesine Schwan, the German political scientist, during the debate *Common Europe, shared history*, said that memory “is constantly changing, as a nation, like any affiliation. Therefore, it is entirely possible that the European Commission or the European Parliament will become institutions with whom we identify. Because they (...) play a reasonable role. European memory (...) is quite thinkable and imaginable”<sup>40</sup>. Schwan further says: “It seems to me that we in Europe find a positive common culture of memory (...). If we will once again, generate a common ground, a shared European values base, it will be much more than a story, that we’re all for freedom, justice and equality”<sup>41</sup>. This would make it possible to build a positive memory of European transnational civil society. As Kowalski writes: “Europe (...) lacks a single unified account of its past. It is better characterized by division rather than unity and crucial to any understanding of Europe is, paradoxically its borders. The problem of a European *lieux de mémoire*, also stems from the lack of spontaneous “incarnation of the spirit of Europe, European culture, European identity”<sup>42</sup>.

Studies on the positive memory of Europe should therefore be marked, to quote Robert Traba, “trans-local and transnational provenance”<sup>43</sup>. It is obliged to relate the history of European integration, aspirations for solidarity, tolerance, and the building of community spirit. Such perceived European remembrance, similar to European identity appears to be a project or per formative concept. It is memory, which should be constructed. Its primary purpose is not only teaching a common history, but also to build a future. To co-create the idea of Europeanness by promoting and celebrating Europe’s values and achievements, and by preserving the memory of them. As pointed out by Halbwachs, to preserve a group’s identity, shared memory of the past is necessary, but also the common thinking about the future. This memory can be constructed through socialization and education. Schwan makes a similar observation, which stresses that memory “for both, individuals and for the community - [is] the basic material of what we call identity”<sup>44</sup>. Hence is the insistent need to create collective ideas about the past, stimulating knowledge and highlighting transnational historical canon.

<sup>38</sup> G. Delanty, *The European Heritage from a Critical Cosmopolitan Perspective*, LSE ‘Europe in Question’ Discussion Paper Series, „LEQS Paper”, no. 19/2010; <http://www.lse.ac.uk/europeanInstitute/LEQS/LEQSPaper19b.pdf> (accessed: 22.09.2015).

<sup>39</sup> A. D. Smith, *National identity*, London: University of Nevada Press 1991, p. 152.

<sup>40</sup> See: *Pamięć. Wyzwanie dla współczesnej Europy*, ed. R. Traba, Olsztyn 2008, p. 29.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 30.

<sup>42</sup> K. Kowalski, *Inventing a Common European Memory: Reflection on the „European Heritage Label” Initiative*, [in:] *The Limits of Heritage. The 2nd Heritage Forum of Central Europe*, eds. K. Jagodzińska, J. Purchla, Kraków: International Culture Centre 2015, p. 630.

<sup>43</sup> R. Traba, *op. cit.*, p. 60-61.

<sup>44</sup> G. Schwan, *Potrzeba uczciwego rozrachunku*, one of three interviews in an article *Czy Europa istnieje*, „Gazeta Świąteczna”, 11-12.08.2007.

It seems that this was the intention, among other things, of the founders of the Museum of Europe. In 2004, Krzysztof Pomian in an interview for “Gazeta Wyborcza” said: “It will be a museum dedicated to the history of European integration recognized as the centuries-old process. This is its peculiarity. There are museums of European history, for example the German Historical Museum in Berlin will soon open its new exhibition, which will present the history of Germany in the framework of European history. In Marseilles museum formed the Mediterranean culture and European culture. However, there is yet a museum that would represented the history of European integration. (...) We will enjoy the hospitality of the European Parliament on the basis of a privileged tenant, but we are a private institution. We are neither an institution belonging to the European Parliament nor the European Commission, and we are not financed by them. We are an independent institution of civil society, and not an emanation of any bureaucracy. It provides us complete freedom with regard to our program”<sup>45</sup>. The aim of the museum arising from the social initiative was to shape and disseminate European historical consciousness, and had to “show the formation of Europe as a community of historical and cultural *sui generis*”<sup>46</sup>. Its creators came out of a very important foundation, stressing that the history of Europe is not part of national history, but the history of a higher level of integration, build upon national integration. It’s the story of “the emergence, maturation and degradation of certain level of supranational integration, as well as interfaith, transnational, supranational and supra-ideological level”<sup>47</sup>. They emphasized that this is a story of unity. The museum had to uphold the idea of community and respond to the fact that “the study of European integration would not be a guaranteed success”<sup>48</sup>. A similar assumption was accompanied by an initiative of the European House of History. European Parliament President Hans-Gert Pöttering, during the keynote speech on February 13, 2007 emphasized: “I would like to initiate development of the memorial and space devoted to a future in which the European idea will be able to continue to grow. I would like to propose the creation of a “House of European History”<sup>49</sup>. It cannot be boring and uninteresting museum, but a place to cultivate our memory of European history and European work of unification, and at the same time, open to further development of European identity by all citizens of the European Union - present and future”<sup>50</sup>. The aim of creating this place was to overcome nationalism, dictatorship, as a proclamation of the idea of living together in peace. The house had to mediate between science and the public. The same

<sup>45</sup> The entire text: tekst: [http://wyborcza.pl/1,97599,6314092,Profesor\\_Krzysztof\\_Pomian\\_o\\_powstajacym\\_w\\_Brukseli.html#ixzz3p006zzTL](http://wyborcza.pl/1,97599,6314092,Profesor_Krzysztof_Pomian_o_powstajacym_w_Brukseli.html#ixzz3p006zzTL) / (accessed: 12.09.2015).

<sup>46</sup> K. Pomian, *O muzeum Europy*, [http://nimos.pl/upload/wydawnictwa/Muzealnictwo/muzealnictwo48/muz\\_48-15.pdf](http://nimos.pl/upload/wydawnictwa/Muzealnictwo/muzealnictwo48/muz_48-15.pdf) (accessed: 12.10.2015).

<sup>47</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>49</sup> Anticipated opening in 2016.

<sup>50</sup> Komitet Ekspertów, *Dom Historii Europejskiej, Założenia koncepcyjne Domu Historii Europejskiej*, [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2004\\_2009/documents/dv/745/745721/745721\\_pl.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2004_2009/documents/dv/745/745721/745721_pl.pdf) (accessed:12.09.2015).

objective also prevailed in the 2011 opening of the Parliamentarium, presenting the history of European integration, the functioning and role of the European Parliament and other EU institutions. A similar function was to serve the European handbook. Its creation was proposed in 2007 by the German Minister of Education, Annette Schavan. However, the idea was met with an equal amount of criticism, as support.

All of these ideas relate to the educational function and role in building a common European memory positive. As emphasized by Prutsch in *European Historical Memory. Policies, Challenges and Perspectives*: “Education plays a fundamental role in our gaining information about history and promoting historical consciousness, thus making it a key broker for any memory policy”<sup>51</sup>. It is therefore important to promote learning and openness of mind, conscious and critical reading of history in order to “increases awareness of the diversity of cultures, histories and memories in Europe, and promotes mutual respect; provides students with the necessary knowledge and skills to assess their own local and national past unbiasedly in comparison and relation with other European as well as global realities; and thus encourages young Europeans to become active critical thinkers and participants of ‘historical remembrance’”<sup>52</sup>. Thus, following Andreas Huyssen<sup>53</sup>, teaching can be called articulation, re-presentation of the past. The repetition, recording of certain facts is, as Traba notes interpreting Assmann’s thoughts, over time has a power crystallizing “symbolic figures”, on which memory is based. “Therefore it ceases to be unreal, it becomes a reality that has normative and causative force in the society”<sup>54</sup>. The shaping of memory and identity, therefore, can be treated by Jürgen Habermas as a learning process. Delanty<sup>55</sup> citing Habermas points out, that it is possible to speak about the process of collective learning.

For this purpose, Europe needs its *lieux de mémoire*, “not as mnemonic measures - says Pim de Boer - for building identity (...), but in order to promote understanding, remembering and forgetting”<sup>56</sup>. Positive European memory, therefore, still appears as a vision, a project, a mobilizing memory. It becomes an important and powerful tool in the pursuit of knowledge, understanding, and sense of community<sup>57</sup>. *Lieux de mémoire* cease to be a symbol of the past and become a social image of consciousness, a binder of community, the image of the past in the present.

Władysław Bartoszewski notes in the text entitled, *Przeciw wybiórczej pamięci* (*Against selective memory*) that “forms of remembrance should be adapted to the requirements of the twenty-first century, the community of the Union and the future

<sup>51</sup> M. J. Prutsch, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 30-31.

<sup>53</sup> A. Huyssen, *Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia*, London: Routledge 1994, p. 3.

<sup>54</sup> R. Traba, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

<sup>55</sup> G. Delanty, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>56</sup> Quote: A. Assmann, *Europe: A Community of Memory?*, “GHI Bulletin” no. 40 2007, <http://www.ghi-dc.org/files/publications/bulletin/bu040/011.pdf> (accessed: 20.09.2015).

<sup>57</sup> Por. I. Hacking, *Rewriting the Soul: Multiple Personality and the Science of Memory*, Princeton: Princeton University Press 1998, p. 3.

path of the young and middle generation”<sup>58</sup>. Well-invested memory allows for stimulation of emotions “sense of relationship with those who lived here and used to walk on the same pavement, touched the same handles and doors, read the same author, with people who are long gone and about whom we no longer know anything. (...) They allow the reliving of the past”<sup>59</sup>.

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<sup>58</sup> W. Bartoszewski, *Przeciw wybiórczej pamięci*, [in:] *Pamięć europejska czy narodowa. Spór o Centrum przeciwko Wypędzeniom*, eds. P. Lisicki, J. Haszczyński, Warszawa: Redakcja Rzeczpospolitej 2003, p. 11.

<sup>59</sup> A. Szpociński, *Miejsca pamięci (lieux de memoire)*, „Teksty Drugie”, no. 4/2008, p. 18-19.

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## Identity and memory in relations between ethnic minority and majority

### Introduction

The presence of minorities in society, in particular national and ethnic minorities in Europe is closely connected with its political and economic history<sup>60</sup>. It is associated with the formation and disappearance of States and changes in their boundaries, annexation and the assignment of territories, the processes of colonization as well as economic and political migration. The process of European integration, which begun in the mid-twentieth century, has helped to regulate the status of minorities and their relationships with majority groups.

Among the historical and cultural conditions of the treatment of minorities in EU Member States are included the following:

- principle of nationalism as an important rule of political organizing and delimitation of European countries,
- the role of minorities in the construction of most of the national identity,
- familiarity / strangeness of minorities, or cultural distance between national minority and majority,
- historical experience in contacts between European nations (the effect of the treatment of minorities such as the V column)
- vernacularism (long-term presence on the territory of the majority)
- migration of minorities.

Among political and legal conditions of treatment of minorities in the EU are included the following:

- deployment and self-organized minority,
- the importance of the home country of minorities in majority state policy („Proximity of” and „strategy „ of minorities)
- principle of State sovereignty and integrity
- principle of self-determination of peoples.

<sup>60</sup> This article contains the analysis results conducted in the framework of a research project „In the Footsteps of memory. Strategies for remembering Jewish culture and Galicia” funded by the National Science Centre (decision no. DEC-2012/07/B/HS3/03464).

European integration extends the sphere of public space, shared by societies participating in this process. It allows for nations that do not have physical mutual contact to engage in complicated arrangements of dependency. Decisions taken in individual countries have strong impact on economic, political, social and cultural reality in other countries. Such a glaring manifestation of the relationship between societies participating in the integration process are the EU coordinated common policy. They cover these areas of social life that, through the act of the will, were accepted by all Member States as important and simultaneously subject to Community regulations, regardless of the individual interests of the Member States in this regard. One could say that common policies are a sign of reconstruction in the traditional sense of sovereignty of European nation states. The independence of decision-making has been replaced by a shared responsibility for the consequences of all societies involved in the integration process.

The emittance of some aspect of social life outside the Community regulations means in practice its national, state „jurisdiction”. In other words, what is not subject to the Community is at the discretion of the Member States of the Union. In this regard, they have in practice the freedom of action that is compatible with the historical, cultural, political or economic specificity. Among elements which remain outside the Community’s policy, which are of particular interest to us in this article, among others, is the treatment of social minorities, in particular ethnic or national, and their relationships with majority groups.

### **Relations between dominant and subordinate groups, and identity.**

Social minority - a group of people who because of their physical and / or cultural features are treated differently than others, and this diversity is perceived by members of this group as discriminatory.

See: More: *The situation of minority and identity*, eds. Z. Mach, A.K. Paluch, “Scientific Papers Jagiellonian University”, Kraków 1991.

In the case of ethnic or national minority it is primarily about cultural diversity, however for groups who are also at the same time of different race, physical characteristics as easily recognizable play an equally important role<sup>61</sup>. Recognition of any ethnic group as a minority has nothing to do with its size, the area of residence, or if it remains concentrated or dispersed. It is determined by the representation of different ethnic culture other than a majority in a given area, and the resulting impairment in treatment by the dominant group. As we can observe in the very definition, a minority’s position of inferiority exists in comparison to the majority group. With the essence of occurring social relations every minority, including ethnic or national is

<sup>61</sup> We dealt with a similar situation for example in the case of people migrating to European countries from Asia or Africa, carriers of different cultures, belonging simultaneously to other racial groups.

in a position that to a greater or lesser extent, restricts the freedom of its members in undertaking economic, social, political or cultural activities.

This specific situation is in the first part a consequence of the emergence of a Europe of nation states. An attempt to implement this process with the idea of nationalism, understood as the principle of overlapping of the spatial extent of ethnic culture with sovereignty on a given territory, led to certain consequences. In the context of our interest here, the most important is to convince the nation, which is the sovereign of the country, of the right to organize reality according to their own rules. At the same time, the attempt to implement *the idea of nationalism in nation-building it has proved in practice impossible to execute*. The first reason was the inability to delimit the territorial scope of ethnic groups. This is because they were, during the emergence of the modern nation-states, thus in the nineteenth century, mixed especially within their borders, creating in them national borders. The second reason that the process of national building imposed itself on a certain existing political order in the form of existing states and empires in Europe. As a result, the borders of nation-states to a greater extent were the result of political processes, decisions taken in the context of international relations, sometimes with minimal participation of the nations concerned<sup>62</sup>. This resulted in the creation of ethnically heterogeneous nation-states, or the emergence of ethnic and national minorities in European countries. These are historical minorities, whose status and position in the majority society is usually better than minorities who are a consequence of migration processes.

The aforementioned belief of the national majority of its central role in the country, makes the minority, no matter what is the genesis of their inception, limited in the ability to implement the principle of national sovereignty. This state of affairs has a twofold effect. First, in the treatment of minority generally involves the syndrome of an ideal member of the majority population. This means that from an ethnic minority representatives arises an expectation to confirm their loyalty to the state and the society in which they live, to a higher degree than in relation to the representatives of the national majority. Secondly, regardless of the type of official policy of including a minority into the majority society, and minorities are always subjected to assimilation undertakings. These processes of mutual interaction are related to the construction, reenactment of social identity. What interests us here with regards to the relationship between the majority and the minority, it would be appropriate to refer to the two ways this concept is understood<sup>63</sup>. The interactive model of identity is perhaps the richest, most internally diverse type of understanding of the concept<sup>64</sup>. To a large extent this is a consequence of the existence of many distinct ways of understanding the symbolic interactionism as perspectives of theory and research. Nevertheless, one can

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<sup>62</sup> We had to deal with such as case, for example in the case of demarcating Hungarian borders during the agreements of Trianon after World War I or Poland after World War II.

<sup>63</sup> See: A. Piotrowski, *Pojęcie tożsamości w tradycji interakcjonizmu symbolicznego*, "Kultura i Społeczeństwo", vol. 29, no. 3/1985, p. 53-74.

<sup>64</sup> See: *ibidem*.

reconstruct some issues common to the representatives of this trend<sup>65</sup>. First, identity is a interactive phenomenon, because social self-identification takes place through symbolic resources available within a given culture including in particular, language, a harvested interaction with others. Secondly, assuming of identity occurs during interaction, sending, receiving and interpreting of messages. Thirdly, exploring of ways of identification is not only the analysis of current direct interaction of people. It also requires answering the question about the course of interaction in the biographical dimension, taking into account the way people participate in culture and society. In the model of world-outlook, social identity is understood as „a set of fixed properties characterizing the ways of self-perception formed among the members of a sufficiently large population, where the perceptions of themselves are derived from the features of the social structure or holistically, anthropologically understood culture properly considered community”<sup>66</sup>. Its essence lies in the search for identity in the context of psychosocial situation of people in the contemporary world and existing lifestyles, patterns and standards of conduct.

In the case of relations between the majority and the minority, what interests us in particular is the collective identity. It is a construct comprising of group self-perception, the perception of others and relationships linking with other groups, which is based on a conceptual model of the world<sup>67</sup>. There is no doubt that this identity is constructed within specific cultural conditions, including conditions in the community of ideas and cultural trends as well as social transformation taking place. In the case of the analysis conducted here, composition of society plays a key role in which collective identity is being build. It is, on the one hand, the scope of cultural diversity, which is the distance between the majority and the minority, on the other hand, about the relationship of power between dominant and subordinate groups. It is these factors that determine for the aforementioned minority position in relations with the majority, which are translated into their standards of treatment in European countries. Cultural and spatial factors are also important in this context, namely the position of groups within the scheme of the center - peripheral dimension of political, economic and cultural relations.

An extremely important role in the construction of collective identity of dominant and subordinate groups plays temporal change. The methods of self-identification and identification of others are firmly embedded both in the present, future and past. This is indicated by Manuel Castells<sup>68</sup>, whose typology of collective identities, although formally based on the author (who?), and purpose (why?) of constructing identity, clearly indicates its temporal aspect. We can even point to their temporary orientation. The legitimizing identity serving the dominant groups to maintain the *status quo* is primarily based on the justifications referring to the past. The identity of resistance constructed by subordinate groups is aimed primarily at limiting the marginalization

<sup>65</sup> See: Z. Bokszański, *Tożsamość - interakcja - grupa*, Łódź: University of Łódź Publishing 1989, p. 32.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 34.

<sup>67</sup> See: E. Litak, *Pamięć a tożsamość. Rzymskokatolickie, greckokatolickie i prawosławne wspólnoty w południowo-wschodniej Polsce*, Kraków: Nomos 2014, p. 35.

<sup>68</sup> See: M. Castells, *Sila tożsamości*, Warszawa: PWN 2008, p. 23-24.

of the here and now, and so the dominating orientation is focus on the present. Finally, the project identity, as its name suggests, is constructed by groups interested in changing the future, hitherto existing social structure and the resulting relationships between dominant and subordinate groups.

The present time in the construction of identity is interactive time, during which a building of self-identification process of mutual interaction with the other takes place. The past is comprised of experience, knowledge and cultural competencies acquired in previous interactions, and components used in the form of elements of symbolic culture in subsequent interactive situations.

The importance of the past seems to be crucial in the context of constructing identity in relations with „significant others”, which are other nations or ethnic groups perceived as a threat to the nation, its diversity, authenticity, autonomy and independence<sup>69</sup>. It should be remembered that „significant others” are not only groups generating a threat, but also potentially positive inspiration and motivation. Some of these may often be groups whose system of values and norms is the subject of aspirations. „Significant others” are often ethnic groups and national neighbors in the spatial dimension. They can also be a component of a culturally heterogeneous society and this role potentially serve ethnic minorities. In addition, a minority of a historical nature may appear more commonly, than those constituting the effect of migration processes.

## History and Memory

For the relations with the „significant others” the experiences of the past are important. Being less important is here the actual course of events. Definitely more important is a subjective belief, an idea of how it was. This means that human attitudes and actions related to the construction of identity and building relationships with others are associated not so much with history, as with memory. This distinction is crucial, because both concepts show a different way of relating to the past<sup>70</sup>:

History is presenting the past in a objectified way. The basis for its creation are the sources presenting the phenomena and processes of the past. Its content is all known facts, which can be reached through intellectual action based upon analysis and critical discourse. At the same time its primary function is to provide facts about the past. History refers to linear time, and organizes events and processes of the past in accordance with timing. Consistently cultivated, it tries to discover any of the so-called white stains in history of a particular social groups. In this context, history is a universal phenomenon, its elements in the cognitive dimension are available to all wishing to familiarize themselves with the findings of historical researchers. It is worth noting also that history presents the events of the past multifaceted. In the

<sup>69</sup> See: A. Triandafyllidou, *National identity and the ,other'*, "Ethnic and Racial Studies", no. 4/1998, p. 594.

<sup>70</sup> See: J. Nowak, *Spoleczne reguly pamietania. Antropologia pamieci zbiorowej*, Kraków: Nomos 2011, p. 34-38.

framework of discovered and analyzed sources, it presents different descriptions of analyzed phenomena and processes. This provides the opportunity to assume different ways of interpreting the past.

Memory in turn, although it relates to the past, is in fact a phenomenon of the present. The key is in fact is the current state of the community and its present needs in recalling past events. It is primarily of emotional and mythical nature, because it counts only those facts that meet the current psycho-social needs. The consequence of this is selecting through memory of historical facts, assorting and storage of some and omitting and forgetting of others. This means that memory is a presentation of the past in a subjective manner. In addition, it presents historical events in a clear manner, without taking into account the aspects enabling alternative interpretations. The memory is set in a mythical time, because only then past events can be invoked in the present without taking into account their historical context. In this way, different characters from the past can be invoked at the same time, regardless of the significant time periods separating their life and activity.

Between history and memory, there is obviously a strong relationship, a kind of tension that illustrates well the two phenomena. Firstly, the testimony of their interaction are the so-called places of memory<sup>71</sup>. They represent a form of vicarious spontaneous memory that fades and limits our awareness of the important events of the past. Monuments, museums, archives, ceremonies, festivals, cemeteries, collections, etc. are specific relics of the past. They serve the community, a group a role of a sense of permanence and identity. They allow, on the basis of a careful selection of historical commemorated events, to create the illusion of eternity<sup>72</sup>. Secondly, the game between history and memory reconstructions of social identity take place. Whenever a group moves from memory to history, this requires a change to the method of self-identification and identification of others. Moreover, the process of finding ones roots and building on the canvas of identity in practice seems to be characteristic for each social group. And that means reaching out to the findings of history and selectively alerting them of such content, which in a given situation, meets the needs of intergroup connections and builds relationships. It can be seen in this context that the relationship between history and memory is analogous to the relationship between language of reporting, analytical (typical of history), and a poetic and metaphorical (denoting memory)<sup>73</sup>. This means that memory is not falsification of history but rather, it is like a poetical act which allows for emotional and evaluative experiencing of the past.

Each group feels the need to have a memory of the past, and in the name of the group's continuation to pass it along within the framework of intergenerational

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<sup>71</sup> P. Nora, *Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire*, „Representation”, no. 26/1989, Special Issue: Memory and Counter – Memory (Spring), p. 18-19.

<sup>72</sup> See: J. Nowak, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

<sup>73</sup> See: A. Szpociński, *Formy przeszłości a komunikacja społeczna*, [in:] *Przeszłość jako przedmiot przekazu*, eds. A. Szpociński, P.T. Kwiatkowski, Warszawa: Institute of Political Science PAN, Scientific Press Scholar 2006, p. 20-24.

transmission. In writing about this, Maurice Halbwach<sup>74</sup> stressed that in fact this memory is a result of creation and in each case depends on specific social context and the dominant thought structures. This context and structure make it so that some content from memory are rejected and others accepted. In other words, the past of a group is not a state of reality that as an entity remains in an unchanged form. It is, above all, the structure of memories formed during the interaction between members of the community, which takes version of an overview of the past in accordance with the interests of the group in a given situation. This change of memory is to preserve the internal balance of the group by removing from it anything that might divide individual units, and remove them from the community. This in essence is collective memory<sup>75</sup>.

Of course, the key question is what in essence is intergenerational transmission? Answering this question requires a reference to the distinction between communicative memory and cultural memory<sup>76</sup>. The first concerns the memories of an immediate past. Its emanation is generational memory, which is the basis for the formation of the generation understood in the Dilthej tradition of defining this concept, which is characterized by common destiny determining the specificity of cultural attitudes and human behavior<sup>77</sup>. A generation, in this tradition of thought, is a group of people with attitudes appointed by the mutually lived historic event. Because of its importance to ways of thinking, the types of attitudes and behaviors presented can be described as a generational experience<sup>78</sup>. One should guess that this memory is formed and is being developed by members of a generation, and passes with the extinction of its members, meaning the carriers of this memory. Of course, at least in part it is passed in a relaxed, usually informal form in daily contact between generations. Most often this happens as oral communication in small informal groups. After some time, the communicative memory fragments are part of the cultural memory. It is a sign of a sense of connection with previous generations, the ancestors possessing an objectified character, abstractive from direct ties with them, characteristic of communicative memory. Cultural memory is an important factor in shaping the collective identity. This happens because, being collective memory includes the beliefs about the past and all forms of its commemoration<sup>79</sup>.

<sup>74</sup> See: M. Halbwachs, *Spoleczne ramy pamięci*, Warszawa: PWN 1969.

<sup>75</sup> See: *Ibidem*, p. 421-422.

<sup>76</sup> See: J. Assmann, *Pamięć kulturowa. Pismo, zapamiętywanie i polityczna tożsamość w cywilizacjach starożytnych*, Warszawa: University of Warsaw Press 2008; K. Kaźmierska, *Współczesna pamięć komunikacyjna i kulturowa. Refleksja inspirowana koncepcją Jana Assmana*, [in:] *Kultura jako pamięć. Postradyjonalne znaczenie przeszłości*, ed. E. Hałas, Kraków: Nomos 2012, p. 43-62.

<sup>77</sup> M. Ossowska, *Koncepcja pokolenia*, "Studia Socjologiczne", no 2/1962, p. 47-51.

<sup>78</sup> See: J. Garewicz, *Pokolenie jako kategoria socjologiczna*, "Studia Socjologiczne", no. 1/1983, p. 77.

<sup>79</sup> See: B. Szacka, *Spoleczna pamięć polskiej przeszłości narodowej w latach 1965-1988*, [in:] *Czas przeszły i pamięć społeczna. Przemiany świadomości historycznej inteligencji polskiej 1965-1988*, eds. B. Szacka, A. Sawisz, Warszawa: Insitute of Sociology, University of Warsaw 1990, p. 8-19.

The analysis of memory often emphasizes the entity responsible for its creation<sup>80</sup>. This distinction seems to be important in the context of a collective memory of majority and minority groups. Collective memory is the domain of institutions of power in the social system. They can of course be located at different levels from the local community, to the central government. In the case of a heterogeneous society, ethnically or religiously, it applies to both leaders and institutions of power of dominant groups and group subsidiaries. It is in the context of this kind of memory that it comes to shape the identity legitimizing the dominant group and marginalizing the minority group. Social memory however, is a product of the civil society, different actors usually operating on local and regional levels of collective life. It may possess an alternative nature towards collective memory as a functioning civil society aims at reducing and replacing institutions of power in meeting the needs of the community. It seems that it may play a key role in shaping the memory of dominated groups who are trying to build identity of resistance or an indemnity which projects against the identity of the majority group. Finally, biographical memory is formed by small informal groups, circles of acquaintances, friends, even family. Often, it gives a basis for shaping social and collective memory. As the communicative memory, it may in the process of objectification promote the construction of cultural memory by civil society or institutions of power.

For analysis of memory with regards to the relations between majority and minority groups, it is important to identify the actors responsible for the design of memory policies. It can be said that people in the construction of collective identity are dependent on those who help them decide about forgetting and remembering. Choosing, which of the experience to let go into the past, and which and how to remember, meaning what interpretation they should undergo<sup>81</sup>. The search for shared memories is, on the one hand, necessary for building your one's own collective identity, on the other hand, it requires the selection of the past. In this process it naturally comes down to the emergence of the leaders of memory who are responsible for agreeing, and negotiating the meanings of the past in the context of current interests of the community.

### **The role of memory in relations between dominant and subordinate groups**

From the previous considerations it can be inferred that a significant function of memory is the participation of its meanings in the construction of collective identity of the majority and minority ethnic groups. In the case of both groups this applies to both, convictions relating to the phenomena and processes of the past, as well as the forms of their commemoration in the form of various memorial sites. Interpretations of the past can play an important role in shaping of content constituting the cultural basis for the process of self-identification and identification of others. Among other

<sup>80</sup> See: M. Ziółkowski, *Pamięć i zapomnienie: trupy w szafie polskiej zbiorowej pamięci*, "Kultura i Społeczeństwo", no. 3-4/2001, p. 3-22.

<sup>81</sup> See: D. Thelen, *Memory and American history*, "Journal of American History", vol. 75, no. 4/1989, p. 1117-1129.

things, they seek to build an invented tradition<sup>82</sup> by teaching people in the rituals or symbolic values and norms, through constant repetition suggesting a continuation of the past. In the case of dominant groups, constructing a legitimizing identity can aim to strengthen the justifications for the duration of the existing institutional and social relations. In the case of subordinated groups, the motives rather relate to the construction of the project identity, which is seeking justifications for the changes in the prevailing *status quo*. Memorial sites which are a form of commemoration of the past are mainly the domain of the majority groups. This is because they are in the hands of legal and economic mechanisms in the social space to place institutional and material signs of the past in the form of museums, monuments, plaques etc.

For the majority groups that dominate the past in the form of collective memory, it is an important element determining the boundaries of the community. It is these participants that belong full-fledged to a group, who are carriers of the elements of a common culture rooted in memories of the past. It is therefore primarily about the limits of symbolic community. The others may exist in the physical space of its functioning, but their status and position, as understood in social terms, is marginalized. Memory often determines the rules enabling others to become a part of the societal majority, thus it defines the rules of crossing of borders. It is worth noting that the formal basis of citizenship in the European nation-states is often knowledge of the history of the country and the nation being a sovereign state. It would be more appropriate to say that in fact it is about the knowledge of the past, since it is a „version of history” widely recognized by the nation. It is often subjective history of interpretations of the past, a characteristic phenomenon of collective memory.

There is no doubt about the fact that the memory is used by the majority groups as an instrument of cultural homogenization. In the case of Europe, its turbulent history makes the lands belonging to the modern nation-states have had periods of completely different cultural development. This means that only the interpretation of the past, which is the collective memory enables connection of values and norms shaped by different historical phenomena and processes. The most important culturally homogenizing instrument is historical policy. Despite its name, referring to an objectified world history contains a number of subjective elements of the past, which is characterized by collective memory. It is implemented in accordance with the principle of dealing with cultural decline, taking into account the contents of the material and symbolic communication (what is passed on?), as well as the treatment of this heritage, a kind of testament (how should it be passed on?). This causes, in the first place, that we are dealing with selective treatment of heritage, and secondly, with its interpretation serving certain current interests of the community. It is worth noting that the historical policy creates a collective memory understood, as already noted, as the domain of institutions of power.

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<sup>82</sup> For more about the subject see. E. Hobsbawm, T.Ranger, *Tradycja wynaleziona*, Kraków: Jagiellonian University Press 2008.

Collective memory for dominant groups is also undoubtedly an instrument of shaping relations with minorities. Firstly, it serves to define the cultural distance that separates the two communities. Keep in mind that historical experience between minority and majority are a key factor in the position of the first in the societal majority. These experiences, because interpreted in accordance with the principle of the collective memory, suggest the extent of majorities and the manner of admission of minorities, to the public sphere, in the country where it is sovereign. Secondly, collective memory helps to determine the ideal member of the majority group. In this case, too, it is important that this standard is met by members of that community. It is expected, however, that it should be fulfilled by any representative of a minority who wants to be incorporated into the dominant group in an equal manner.

As already mentioned, the collective memory is of paramount importance in building self-identification of an ethnic minority, and as means of identifying others. Moreover, in their case, a greater importance has the identity context of the significant other. Typically, this role is undertaken by a majority ethnic group. This means that selective and subjective assortment of historical phenomena and processes, an essential component of constructing identities must take into account the collective memory. In this set of selected and commemorated past events of the past, only those must be recognized of course, that will justify their own existence. And this existence in the context of that dominant group.

Created by ethnic minority identity of resistance is in fact, an attempt to defend against assimilation. In this way subordinate groups are trying to keep their own distinct culture, an important element is adapted to the interpretation of the past. It can be assumed that the memory of minorities play a key role in this process. It can provide historical minorities a sense of identity, despite prolonged exposure to the culture of the majority group. In the case of an ethnic migratory minority, it leads to the respect of values and norms of their own culture in a more categorical manner, than it does in the home communities of origin. In rare cases, it even leads to the revitalization of the culture of origin in exile<sup>83</sup>. This is required for maintaining of one's own identity in a situation where, a dominant group pursues to assimilate the subordinate group.

Minority groups also use memory to justify their own subjectivity and the possession of related rights in the majority society. Engagement in this area forms a continuum of action<sup>84</sup>. The most defensive of them are unconscious or not fully conscious „ethnic practices” in the areas missed by the dominance of the majority, and withdrawal to areas where expansion of the ethnic majority culture has not been reached. Next we should act within the framework of cultural syncretism, which is open

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<sup>83</sup> See: F. Van Tubergen, *Religious Affiliation and Participation among Immigrants in a Secular Society: A Study of Immigrants in The Netherlands*, "Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies", vol. 33, no. 5/2007, p. 747-765.

<sup>84</sup> See: J. Mucha, *Dominacja kulturowa i reakcje na nią*, [in:] *Kultura dominująca jako kultura obca. Mniejszości kulturowe a grupa dominująca w Polsce*, ed. J. Mucha, Warszawa: Oficyna Naukowa 1999, p. 26-53.

participation in the cultural practices of the majority and hidden in their own, as well as a critique of the culture of the dominant group, while attempting to advance within it. Finally, among the most offensive would be the creation of an alternative minority culture related to the revitalization of their own ethnicity, and creating countercultural ideology on ethnic grounds. In all of these types of activity, the possession and use of collective memory by a minority group is a prerequisite for achieving efficiency. At the same time, the described a continuum of actions illustrates the evolution of the identity of a minority group, from resistance identity to the project identity, in which reconstructed collective memory plays a key role.

## Conclusion

I have no doubt that collective memory as a specific set of beliefs about the past and the forms of its commemoration, play an important role in relations between dominant and subordinate ethnic groups. For it is an extremely important factor in shaping and reconstructing their identities, and thus, building of boundaries, justifying their status and social position, shaping relations as well as internal and external relationships. Subjectively reconstructing memory of the past allows for finding in the group's history, instruments of action in the present, as well as seek answers to the challenges of the future. Even if particularly the latter are not sufficiently effective, at least it allow for the ability to maintain a sense of continuity serving as the basis of the subjective sense of security. Consequently, regardless of the changing contemporary forms of socialization of collective life, I am convinced that the past in the form of collective memory will play within them, an important role.

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## Memory and identity as social constructs

We know who we are since we remember whom we were. That is the way in which we can describe relationship between social memory and social identity. Self-awareness of whom we are is one of the existential needs of both individuals and social groups. Individual as well as collective feeling of security is conditioned by how strong is our conviction of who we are. Jakub Pieńkowski and Radosław Zenderowski following Jan Szmyd and Barbara Szacka explain this correlation in the following way:

Answering the question: who are we? is preconditioned by the character of an attitude towards our own past (whom we were?). According to Jan Szmyd, a history of particular community, common experience, imagined mainly literature (less documented by critical historical investigations), “shape profoundly collective consciousness, character and psychological type, cultural and national peculiarities, ethos and life styles, and in consequence a feeling of collective identity.” While analyzing particular cases of national identities one needs to emphasize that irrespectively of how distant and rich a history of a given national group is, accentuating own past and constructing a its meaning is a common phenomenon. Collective memory in times of dynamic and ever changing political, cultural and economic relations seems to be more and more important as a certain point of reference, a kind of ‘anchor’, something which is not a subject of arbitrary change and questioning. Unlike the future and the question of ‘whom we wish to be?’, the past is ‘collected material’ and not so much a postulated, uncertain one<sup>85</sup>.

The influence of memory on identity construction has been recently one of the major leads within social science broadly understood, as well as the so called historical policy aimed at constructing a certain model of national identity in the context of globalization of culture and renationalization of international politics. This motive is summarized by Paulina Rychlewska, who analyses the role of tradition in an interplay between memory and national/local identity, referring to research conducted among others by Marian Kempny, Andrzej Szpociński, Jan Szmyd and Joanna Kurczewska:

Tradition constitutes a mechanism of enduring a culture, it guarantees cyclical character of structures, patterns of behaviour and thinking. It bridges the past

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<sup>85</sup> J. Pieńkowski, J. Zenderowski, *Wyszehrad i jego pamięci zbiorowe, Visegrad.info Internet Magazine*, p. 2; [www.visegrad.info](http://www.visegrad.info) (accessed: 12.09.2015).

and the present. This interplay between the present and the past is an opportunity for survival of culture (...). This canon being a backbone of identity tides up subsequent generations 'safeguarding their identification around historical destiny of nation' (...). Tradition is in a way „a power of the past over subsequent generations living within their realms [since] (...), habits imposed by tradition become instincts” (...). Regional culture determining both individual and generational beliefs leads to ever stronger sense of belonging of an individual to society as well as its sense of independence (Szulżycka, 2000). Drawing from patterns of tradition enables both, individual and collective identity construction (...). If these kind of bonds disappear 'a society (...) – a kind of long-lasting reality (...) disappears as well' (...). Consequently, we can include widely shared pictures and knowledge of social events from the past (subjectively perceived and valued) into category of collective memory (...). That is why when answering a question 'whom we are?' we need to relate ourselves to the past (whom we were?)<sup>86</sup>.

Memory and identity belong to the canon of social and human sciences in the sense that they denote multiplicity of meanings and interpretations that is why they attract attention of sociologists, anthropologists, historians and political scientists who try to grasp the meaning that is attached to these notions both as a result of social interactions and scientific investigation.

Jacek Nowak offers an interesting anthropological conceptualization of the very sense and scope of collective memory as related to social identity construction:

I argue that memory constitutes foundation of individual and social identity. I believe that each individual and collective identity is retained by remembering and forgetting. Self-perception and social consciousness, which enable us to identify ourselves with the group, are constructed on the basis of our memory precisely. Memory is not in-printed in human mind as copy or document of daily experience. Instead, it is rather its interpretation.

This means that our memory is constructed and that identity depends on the character of narrative connecting the past, the present and the future. This is related to transformation of existing memory as well as its deformations and selective forgetting and remembering. The memory of the past is being permanently adjusted to our identity and identity processing is contextualized to social class, ethnicity or power relations, which in turn determine what is being remembered and what is being forgotten by who and for what purpose. Thus, I believe that identity and collective memory are social constructs. I argue that we are overwhelmed by memory. On the other hand, social world cannot exist without memory. Social groups, families, friends, governments and all sorts of institutions cannot relate to each other without memory just like they would not be able to cooperate with one another. Beginning with simple daily tasks and

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<sup>86</sup> P. Rychlewska, *Różnice w pamięci zbiorowej mieszkańców warszawskiego Młynowa i podwarszawskiego Pomiechówka*, "Kultura i Historia", no. 16/2009, p. 1.

ending up with complex problems we face, we rely on our memory in order to know whom we are, what we need to do, what kind of group we belong to, and finally, how we should establish our relationship with one another. Remembering is constant and dynamic process, which becomes an arena of permanent struggle of our memories. Remembering is also selective. It is based on either on subjective images or intersubjective collective discourse<sup>87</sup>.

In order to grasp the full complexity of dynamic relationship between memory and social identity it seems essential to differentiate between two fundamental forms of memory, which in anthropological and sociological perspective are referred to as generational and cultural memory. This categorization is frequently associated with works of Jan Assmann<sup>88</sup>.

According to Assmann generational memory is a result of personal messaging and subjective experience being passed to next generations. Cultural memory, on the other hand, is an outcome of memory institutionalization in the form of a ritual and symbolization. Cultural memory is, in this sense, more enduring as compared to generational memory since it plays the role of a foundation of collective memory integrating social groups such as nations organized in the form of state<sup>89</sup>. As Jelena Jerochina explains this problem:

Assmann defines 'generational memory' in terms of a modus of biographical memories connected to direct experience, which comes out of natural communication processes. Unlike generational memory, which is accessible to all, cultural memory is not possible out of the figure of the carrier (a spiritual leader, a fortuneteller in traditional societies or an expert in modern societies). Cultural memory is placed in the modus of foundational memory connected to the source, pre-existence and that is why it has mythological roots. It requires an official tradition (handbooks, monuments). It is based on constitutive systems of signs (myths, rituals, habits, ceremonies). It is petrified in institutional forms: public holidays, anniversaries, anthems, national symbolism<sup>90</sup>.

Barbara Szacka explains this phenomenon in similar vein by emphasizing metaphorical character of cultural memory construction process:

People do not remember what has happened one hundred years ago (...) in the same way they remember what has happened in their lives a few years ago or a few days ago. They 'know' about it from somewhere. However, as this knowledge is related to the past, which is framed by our memory, it is legitimate and useful to describe it in terms of 'memory'. However, this description has mainly metaphorical meaning<sup>91</sup>.

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<sup>87</sup> J. Nowak, *Spoleczne reguly pamietania. Antropologia pamieci zbiorowej*, Kraków: Nomos 2011, p. 12.

<sup>88</sup> See: J. Assmann, *Pamiec kulturowa. Pismo, zapamietywanie i polityczna tozsamosc w cywilizacjach starozytnych*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 2008.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>90</sup> J. Jerochina, *Pamiec i wiedza o przeszlosci jako formy bytowania swiadomosci historycznej*, "Sensus Historiae", vol. XI, no. 2/2013, p. 63.

<sup>91</sup> B. Szacka, *O pamieci spolecznej*, "Znak", no. 5/1995, cited after: M. Saryusz-Wolska, *Pamiec zbiorowa i kulturowa. Wspolczesna perspektywa niemiecka*, Kraków: Universitas 2009, p. 18.

This interplay is used especially in research on interpretations of history of European nations<sup>92</sup>. The metaphor of God's playground, for example, was adopted by Norman Davies to explain historical meaning of Polish reason of state defined in terms of geopolitical determinism - an imperative to struggle against two imperial powers, Germany and Russia, building their hegemony in Europe by expanding at expense of Poland since 18th century<sup>93</sup>.

Metaphorical character of cultural memory found its special reflection in Pierre Nora's concept of *lieu de mémoire*. Innovative character of Nora's concept relied on explanation of correlation between symbolization of phenomena and cultural processes within *lieu de mémoire* and social identity construction. The very understanding of *lieux de mémoire* in Nora's perspective goes beyond designation of the place as material object. As he clarifies:

My project offered in-depth analysis of 'places' - in each and every meaning of the word - where collective memory of the French nation would be condensed, mirrored or crystalized instead of being a subject of chronological and linear research<sup>94</sup>.

An interesting application of Nora's concept in contemporary research on collective identity construction of European nations and the impact of *lieux de mémoire* is a debate on the *lieux de mémoire* of the First World War. Łukasz Gałuska in an interview with prominent historians: Jacek Purchła, Andrzej Chwalba and Robert Trąba this question finds its reflection:

Searching for Central European *lieux de mémoire* related to this war we immediately find the two of them - Sarajevo and Trianon. The first is already completed. The place where the war begun finds its reflection the city under siege in the 1990s. Some even tend to argue that history of Europe in the 20th century is a history from Sarajavo of 1914 until Sarajevo during the Yugoslavian civil war. Trianon, on the other hand, is still an open narrative, especially for Hungarians who consider it to be a major national trauma. What are the other important *lieux de mémoire* related to the First World War for Central Europeans? Robert Trąba: Versailles. It is the Treaty of Versailles that opened up a room for the Polish independence. I believe that a historian should not pretend to be a prophet. This is not what is intend here, but observing what is happening within the process of memory construction - although I do not like to overuse this notion very much - or in historical policies of Central European countries, except for Serbia, I have the impression that memory of the First World War has been marginalized to such an extent, that even its one hundred anniversary does not change very much. For those in their thirties or forties, the years 1989/1990 were what influenced their historical memory the most<sup>95</sup>.

<sup>92</sup> N. Davies, *Boże igrzysko. Historia Polski*, Kraków: Znak 2010.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>94</sup> P. Nora, *Zwischen Geschichte und Gedächtnis*, 1998, cited after: M. Saryusz-Wolska, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

<sup>95</sup> *Wojna i pamięć, Z profesorami Andrzejem Chwalbą, Jackiem Purchłą i Robertem Trąbą rozmawia Łukasz Gałusek*, 10 HERITO, no.16(3)/2014, p. 19.

One needs to emphasize at this point that it is *lieu(x) de mémoire* of the Second World War rather than the First World War, that constitutes the backbone of collective identity of contemporary Poles. Katyń and Monte Cassino cemeteries have permanently been present in memory discourse in contemporary Poland. Martyrology of Poles fighting 'for your freedom and ours' is a key motive to understand specific character of the Polish memory discourse as set against the background of the memory discourses of other Central European countries. This has been particularly visible in the case of memory of August 1980 mass movement and the symbolism of Gdańsk Shipyard, as well as Solidarity ethos manifestating Polish spirit of freedom, which in Polish collective memory - more than the collapse of the Berlin Wall - contributed to the Fall of Nations of 1989.

It is worth emphasizing here that Central European nations differ substantially in the way they apply their lieux de mémoire in national identity construction.

The research conducted by Jakub Pieńkowski and Radosław Zenderowski on the impact of reconstruction of *lieux de mémoire* for collective identity construction of the Visegrad Group countries, seems to be of high value<sup>96</sup>. Contrary to common understanding and the various myths depicting assumed similarities of national characteristics of Poles, Hungarians, Czechs and Slovaks, we see rather deep differences both in terms of the form, contents and meaning of *lieux de mémoire* and their impact for collective identity construction in the Visegrad region. It is also important to note that stereotyping and mythological reasoning are still present in mutual perception and communication of the Visegrad region countries. As authors of this research argue

If names of streets reflect something, which could be described in terms of 'national character' it is culture and art, which seem the only serious 'common denominator' even though we may find certain significant differences resulting from different national histories. Findings presented here illustrate how dynamic the process of transformation of the very hierarchy of social life categories has been elevating some and downgrading others.

Those categories do not determine our attitudes completely. They only identify places from which we perceive each other. They finally enable us to identify obstacles in international communication and avoid misunderstandings. Understanding historical construction of a given collective memory we should be less inclined to irrational behaviour, misinterpretation and stereotypical judgements<sup>97</sup>.

The differences with regards to national character or more precisely national identity of the Visegrad region nations are to be seen in national anthems understood in terms of Pierre Nora's *lieux de mémoire*.

Jakub Pieńkowski and Radosław Zenderowski point at the differences of constitutive features of Central European nations states' collective identities by relating to heterogeneity of collective historical experience, and its contemporary meaning. By

<sup>96</sup> J. Pieńkowski, J. Zenderowski, *op. cit.*

<sup>97</sup> *Ibidem.* p. 18.

doing so they analyze the national anthem of Poland through conceptual lens of its symbolism and metaphorical meaning. Pieńkowski and Zenderowski emphasize the messianic character and heroism and more specifically the identification of the State with the nation, understood as a community of fate and collective imperative:

The Polish anthem is heroic. It expresses brave character of Poles and their determination to fight for the independence ('by sword'). Poland and Polishness are related here to *genos* and 'human potential' – Poland did not die as we live', as well with *topos* – We cross the Vistula river and the Warta river, we will become Poles." These passages express also ethnic-cultural and politico-civic character of the Polish nation, which seems pretty unique in the scale of the whole Europe. The Polish anthem seems most dynamic among all Visegrad countries anthems<sup>98</sup>.

Unlike the heroism and the imperative for state independence as designated in the Polish national anthem, the Czech national anthem is filled with affirmation of Czech *topos*, understood as daily life joy. In the Czech anthem:

There is no trace of fight or struggle with other nations to maintain national identity as well as a fight for the state territory. It is the beauty of natural landscape that dominates. The Czechness is expressed in mildness, affirmation of the Czech land and natural environment. „The river flows..., the forest whispers..., the flower blossoms.... This *topos* is earthly paradise for Czechs. This anthem is exceptionally mild and optimistic<sup>99</sup>.

The national anthem of Slovakia expresses historical dilemmas of Slovaks in their search for national identity as set against the background of the national history of its neighbours. According to Pieńkowski and Zenderowski:

The national anthem of Slovakia (...) embodies elements typical for Polish and Czech anthems. We find here reference to nature (Tatra Mountains), which is typical for the Czech anthem, however not so much in terms of its mild character but rather in terms of its wild majesty ('Thunder is coming over Tatra Mountains'). Like the Polish anthem, the Slovak anthem calls for national awakening. We need to remember, however, that a passage referring to the need to 'stop them' (meaning thunders over Tatra Mountains) is present only beginning with Slovakian independence. Before independence, this passage was phrased along the lines 'let us stop brothers', which indicates defensive character of Slovak national character. Second part of Slovak anthem requires special attention. Slovakia is portrayed here as 'sleeping beauty', who needs to be awoken for the collective good of Slovaks. The 'sleeping' motive is characteristic for Slovak identity as Slovak identity is considered to be hibernated from Middle Ages until first half of the 19th century. In this sense Slovak national identity was overshadowed by strong national identity of two neighbouring nations – Hungarian nation and Czech nation<sup>100</sup>.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 8.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 9.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibidem*.

The Hungarian anthem seems to be determined by national trauma of lost greatness. National trauma, specific feeling of historical punishment for historical mistakes made, but also hope for turning over the bad luck card of national history, constitutes the backbone of the Hungarian anthem, which makes it somewhat unique among all Visegrad countries' anthems. As Pieńkowski and Zenderowski argue:

Hungarian anthem unlike other Visegrad countries anthems is overwhelmed by deep sorrow: 'Fate that humiliated Hungarians for so long' as well as 'put down their sorrow, which paralyses them'. There is also a specific invocation to God in Hungarian anthem, a prayer to God for consolation and new opening in national history. Further on, we find references to national glory and pride but still counterbalanced by the motive God's punishment for historical mistakes. Hungarian identity is seen in this perspective as struggle against all odds as well as longing for positive change<sup>101</sup>.

By way of concluding, it needs to be emphasized that memory and identity have been, and remain closely interwoven constructs of social life, shaping fate of nations both those who have and do not have a political roof for themselves, referring to Gellner's famous metaphor<sup>102</sup>. Presently, we observe a certain kind of revival of the very problem of memory and identity among sociologists, anthropologists, historians or political scientists, who try to provide a convincing answer on why it is so important to know who we are, what do we have in common and how we differ. This seems particularly important in times of political, cultural and economic globalization.

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<sup>101</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>102</sup> E. Gellner, *Narody i nacjonalizm*, Warszawa: PWN 1993.

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## *Lieux de mémoire* in the philosophical perspective

### Introduction

At the beginning of civilization, an important problem for people was location, finding a place for hunting, recreation, or residence. Johann Gottfried Herder says that man is always in place, and from that perspective tries to relate to what he meets. Determination of the place is a special reference that influences our perception of reality. The place is not just a point, this is an environment, the horizon and space of openness. With the passing of time, man realized that the place not only connects him with the present, but also reminds of the past. The process of recalling caused man, in his noticing the repetition of certain situations, to realize that he could avoid new dangers. Thanks to memory he also began to develop. He produced the first tools, paintings presenting him in relation to the world in which he lived. Over time, man creating paintings, drawings, portrayals contributed to the emergence of a new dimension - the world of spirit, the world of the psyche. This process was slow, but systematic. It resulted not only from a desire to awaken the imagination, but also to leave behind some achievement. Successive generations discovered anew the reality of ancestors, who left behind tangible objects, which presented a world and the man inside it, but also everyday objects that could be used to keep a man alive. It created a culture that has a material, physical dimension but also the intangible, not physical. Philosophy tries to delve into culture and civilization. The place of memory can be the rock painting but also a thought. Philosophy focuses more on what is immaterial, metaphysical. This world which transcends beyond the physical, material realm, today results in us talking about human awareness and his heritage. Metaphysical view of the world has made memory more important, especially memory relating to culture, tradition, thus being collective nature. However, also in an attempt to understand the process of reaching the truth, within knowledge there is a problem of individual memory. Is our knowledge innate or do we acquire it? According to one theory, the man had the knowledge, but during birth he lost it and must regain it back, he must remind himself of it. For centuries, the understanding of the heritage evolved, but also the individual awareness. Man began to think of himself as a rational and free being, but also as a being who can retain his traditions and culture. Therefore, the place of memory influences our identity and sets out a source-based experience of values, to

which we are open. That's why the problem regarding a place of memory appears as an opposition to German historiography.

Place of memory is the place of our reference to a common source, to the roots, to the tradition that creates our world. Place of memory is very different from history, which is understood through the prism of past events, by reducing the time to the past.

In the nineteenth-century historical sciences were dominated by German historiography, which was created by Leopold von Ranke. Ranke and Humboldt are the creators of individual historicism, in which history is understood as an erudite science. In opposition to historicism arises French thought, introducing the history to positive sciences, including sociology, and the domination of society over the individual. The history of past events is replaced by a *history of practices* and *spirit of nations*. The *Annales School* demands, to include into historical research, method and language of other disciplines, e.g. economics, geography and history of art. Pierre Nora belongs to the *Annales School*, who analyses the phenomenon of compulsion to commemorate the past, as well as the enlargement process of category of the present. The process of globalization, a process of cultural change is accompanied by an altered perception of the present and the past. As a result of the transition from history, from past to present, the place of memory has become a surrounding reality that accompanies our lives, our existence. Memory takes us back to the past, but it is understood from the perspective of the present. More connects us with our awareness of cultural heritage than with reminding of what is past. Place of memory is a place where our collective awareness is formed.

The concept of *mémoire collective* appears in Maurice Halbwachs, who studied Bergson's philosophy and also Durkheim's sociology. He pays attention to the problem of collective memory (*memoire collective*) in a confrontation with an individual memory (*mémoire individuelle*). He states that history can't be the history of the individual, but it has to be recognized in the collective context, the collective memory. History thus understood is the history of common sense of identity. In 1978, Pierre Nora in the article *Mémoire collective*<sup>103</sup> published in the encyclopaedia *La Nouvelle Histoire*, tries to show how is collective memory based in the new trend. In the aforementioned article, he presents historical memory in the context of a place, topography: archive, library or museum, in the context of the monumental place as a cemetery or architecture, as well as symbolic places such as the commemoration of special events, or symbols and signs of identification, and in the context of a functional place as the action or autobiography. Memorization has its own history, which transforms the memory of the place into a place of memory. It concerns not only what is in the past, but also its impact on our understanding of the world and our identity, of our identification with the *group*. Memory has become an important subject of analysis for the humanities,

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<sup>103</sup> P. Nora in article *Memoire collective* published in *La Nouvelle Histoire*, ed. J. Le Goff, Paris 1978, p. 401.

especially historians and sociologists. It leads to reflection on the history, the problem of anthropological understanding of their own identity on the social and political basis.

Later, Nora published *Les Lieux de mémoire* which focuses on cultural and political aspects of the history of France, where place of memory arises in a specific context, i.e. France<sup>104</sup>. The basis of the place of memory is not so much of the past but of present understood in different ways. An important element that distinguishes a reflection of representatives of the *Annales School* is focusing historical research on the experience of symbols, images which have historical relation in the context of the present. Not only is the past understood from the perspective of the present, but also future is reduced to the present. Therefore, Helga Nowotny or Stephen Bertmann, talk about the category of *extended present*<sup>105</sup> and *now-ist culture*<sup>106</sup>.

Place of memory is the subject of research, not only in sociology and history, but also in philosophy from which derived sociology and history understood as a discipline dealing with the reflection on the meaning and essence of human history. The philosophy recognizes this problem on the basis of the truth about man and his cognition. Therefore, the truth does not have a historical dimension and doesn't concern sociological research. Modern philosophy recognizes the problem of place of memory from the perspective of a man and his opportunities to recognize himself and the world that surrounds him. Philosophy deals with individual memory, a process of damming impressions and collective memory, which is synonym with the question of national, social identity. Place of memory in this context means a collective memory. This is a kind of responsibility for the historical truth in the collective awareness. This is the source for Roman culture with its *lieux de mémoire* and Anglo-Saxon tradition. German tradition tells us to define a place of memory as reminding [*Erinnerung*], referring to the waters of Mnemosyne, from which we can learn the truth about ourselves. The Latin equivalent of Mnemosyne is *memoria*, or memory. In French, the place of memory is expressed through *lieux de mémoire*, while in German - *Erinnerungsorte*. The first term refers to memory, the second to reminding. Especially in twentieth-century the problem of collective memory became important, emphasized its historical, social, psychological, or political aspect.

Contemporary philosophical thought, on the one hand critically relates to the historicism of Leopold von Ranke, and on the other hand to the *Annales School*. In my article, I will focus on the first issue. With the return to historicism and its criticism presented in the twentieth-century by neo-Kantians, and later Heidegger, we come to the point where the man doesn't appear as a third person, like the world of objects, but

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<sup>104</sup> *Les Lieux de mémoire* is a collective work edited by Pierre Nora. Authors concentrate on the history of France including the issue of freedom. See: P. Nora, *Les Lieux de mémoire*. vol. 1-3. Paris: Gallimard 1984-1992. In first volume *Les Lieux de mémoire* entitled *La République* at the beginning there is *Entre Mémoire et Histoire. La problématique des lieux*, where Nora presents place of memory. See: P. Nora, *Les Lieux de mémoire*. Paris: Gallimard 1984, t. 1., p. XXIII i XIV.

<sup>105</sup> H. Nowotny, *Time. The Modern and Postmodern Experience*, Cambridge: Polity Press 1994.

<sup>106</sup> S. Bertman, *Hyperculture. The human cost of speed*, Westport, London: Praeger 1998.

as I. The source of experience is his understanding of himself and the world that gives sense to our existence. The key issue which is undertaken by the philosophy is the truth about ourselves. Based on this question we can analyze the problem of place of memory. This is the primary reference, within which memory appears. Therefore, it is necessary to illustrate memory on the grounds of a question about truth, posed by philosophy.

### 1. Philosophy sees a place of memory in its relation to the truth

The truth can be understood in different ways, on the one hand, from the perspective of its existence, the opportunity of its perception (epistemological character of how man comes to the truth), on the other hand from the perspective of a question about the source of truth, a place from which it comes (an ontological character). Both of these perspectives have a long history.

#### a. The ability to retain and explore insights

In ancient Greek philosophy, there are different concepts of how man can discover the truth about the world and himself. The man had had knowledge that effaced with birth, with coming to earth. Plato believed that the human soul has knowledge about the world of ideas, about perfect world, because it previously lived in this world. Man taking on a body lost some knowledge he had possessed, but can acquire it again, and remember what he previously forgot. Therefore, learning is reminding, *anamnesis*<sup>107</sup>.

The process of reminding, *anamnesis* has three periods: the first is the sensory perception of a thing, the second is the recognition and association with another thing, in the third period the thing that comes to mind, which is reminded, becomes the object of our knowledge.

Longing for the world of ideas is called Eros. For Plato, the most important is to focus on oneself in seeking memory of the true ideas. Here could be useful upbringing, getting knowledge on the basis of dialogue between master and student. Plato says, there is recognition, which isn't the result of acquiring experience, which proves that the mind possessed it earlier, and now has been reminded of it. The knowledge that we have is not given to us from the outside, but we acquire it on the basis of deduction and *anamnesis*. *Anamnesis* is proof for existence of an *immortal* soul, which appears in European culture in Orphic beliefs, in Pythagoreans, as well as in Socrates and Plato. Plato in the dialogues through Socrates' speech expresses his conviction about the existence of a world beyond the physical, material world. Socrates notices that for him, death and remaining alive are not something alien, but an opportunity of associa-

<sup>107</sup> In *Phaedo* Plato presents process of *anamnesis*. See: Plato, *Dialogi*, Kęty: Wydawnictwo Antyk 1999, vol. 1, p. 651-657.

ting with those who he appreciated and admired; a kind of reward. In addition to the mechanism of anamnesis, Plato discusses another issue, which is the relation between soul and the body. The body is a prison for the soul, and releasing soul from the body is releasing man from his limits, from what stops him before moving into the world of ideas. This opinion concerning the relation between the soul and the body appears later in the philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas. Plato's concept leads to the fact that the philosophical thought begins to focus on man and his recognition of himself and the world. The philosophy becomes a reflection of people on themselves and their behaviour. Christian thought brings to European culture the problem of good and evil. Previously, good was presented from the perspective of self-improvement and aesthetic values. From Plato and Aristotle's perspective, an important part of the human world is good and mankind.

St. Augustine in his *Confessions* incorporates retrospection – he goes back to the time when he was a child, and when he embraced evil. In this reflection of himself and relationship to God, memory appears. It is understood here as a reminiscence of past times based on the concept of time as *kairos*, challenge, time that is yet to come<sup>108</sup>. St. Augustine mentions memory from the perspective of returning to what has passed, what irretrievably stayed in the past. „For what literature and logic are, and what I know about how many different kinds of questions exist—all these are stored in my memory as they are, so that I have not kept the image and left the object outside. It is not as though a sound had sounded and passed away like a voice heard by an ear, which leaves a trace through which it can be called into memory again, as if it were still sounding in mind while it no longer did so outside. Nor is it the same as an odor which, even after it has passed and vanished into the wind, affects the sense of smell—which then conveys into the memory the image of the smell which is what we recall and re-create; or like food which, once in the belly, surely now has no taste and yet does have a kind of taste in the memory; or like anything that is felt by the body through the sense of touch, which still remains as an image in the memory after the external object is removed”<sup>109</sup>.

As we said earlier, in St. Thomas Aquinas' *Treatise on man (Summa Theologiae)*<sup>110</sup> an issue appears of mutual relation between soul and body. He distinguishes four inner senses: common sense, imagination, judgment and memory<sup>111</sup>.

Memory as a *reminiscentia* is similar to the imagination, but with the difference that imagination holds images and the memory properties of the images.

He shows the difference between memory as a *reminiscentia* and as a *memoria*. Memory as a *memoria* is common for man and animals and relates to the sense-sphere. St. Thomas also sees a difference between keeping an image of reality that happened

<sup>108</sup> St. Augustine, *Wyznania*, Warszawa: Pax 1987, p. 230, 224.

<sup>109</sup> St. Augustine, *Confession*, p. 132, <http://faculty.georgetown.edu/jod/augustine/conf.pdf> (accessed: 28.08.2015).

<sup>110</sup> St. Thomas Aquinas, *Traktat o człowieku*, Kęty: Wydawnictwo Antyk 1998, p. 228.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 256.

in the past and reminding what was forgotten, erased. Without a sensual memory we can't keep each impression and images, only after placing them in time in a comprehensive approach, allows us to see the pictures and hear melodies. St. Thomas derives memory and reminiscencia from consideration of the soul.

Kierkegaard mentions memory in *Rotation of Crops* and *Repetition*. In „Rotation of Crops” he shows the desire to forget what is unpleasant and distressing. According to Kierkegaard, you need to learn to forget. The ability of forgetting depends on memory and experience of our reality. Kierkegaard points out that on the one hand, any moment can't have such importance for us to not be able to forget it when we want, on the other hand, any moment should allow for it to be forgotten. He sees the forgetting dependence on memory. He says, forgetting need to be learned, you have to possess it. „The more poetically one remembers, the more easily one forgets, for to remember poetically is actually only an expression for forgetting”<sup>112</sup>. Kierkegaard says that he does not know where the river *Lethe* flows, but he knows that the art of forgetting can be developed.

In *Repetition* Kierkegaard presents the process of repetition, which is the equivalent of the ancient Greek reminiscence. He says, Greeks understood knowledge as a reminiscence. Nowadays, new philosophy introduces repetition to the understanding of life. Man had some knowledge he had gained and remembered watching the world of ideas in a previous life. When he came into the world, this knowledge has been forgotten. A man doesn't gain knowledge again but he reminds himself of it. Kierkegaard, citing Leibniz notes that reminiscence and repetition are the same, but with one difference - reminiscence directs us to the past, to memory of what was unpleasant, while repeating directs us toward the future<sup>113</sup>. Kierkegaard notes that this dialectic between reminiscence and repetition, shows the interconnection of the past and the future. Repetition is a process that starting from what has already happened, restores its new life, new hope. „When the Greeks said that all knowing was recollecting, they were also thus saying that all of existence, everything that is, has been. When one says that life is repetition, one also says that that which has existed now comes to be again. When one lacks the categories of recollection and repetition, all of life is dissolved into an empty, meaningless noise. Recollection is the ethnic view of life, repetition the modern”<sup>114</sup>. For Kierkegaard, repetition has a religious character.

Friedrich Nietzsche also undertakes the problem of memory on the basis of discovering truth. He criticizes memory referring to morality. Nietzsche sees in it danger of keeping bias, because “forgetting belongs to all action”<sup>115</sup>. This argument is a critique of culture of presence, the phenomenon of memory, historicity. Nietzsche

<sup>112</sup> S. Kierkegaard, *Repetition and Philosophical Crumbs*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2009.

<sup>113</sup> S. Kierkegaard, *Powtórzenie*, Warszawa: Fundacja Aletheia 1992, p. 50.

<sup>114</sup> S. Kierkegaard, *The Rotation Of Crops. A Venture in a Theory of Social Prudence*, p. 58; <http://www.sorenkierkegaard.nl/artikelen/Engels/145.%20THE%20ROTATION%20OF%20CROPS.pdf> (accessed: 28.08.2015).

<sup>115</sup> F. von Nietzsche, *Untimely Meditations* 1874. *On the Use and Abuse of History for Life*, p. 3, <http://la.utexas.edu/users/hcleaver/330T/350kPEENietzscheAbuseTableAll.pdf>, (accessed: 28.08.2015).

criticizes Jewish and Christian morality for being based on resentment, spirit of revenge. The spirit of revenge is the spirit of memory, which as in Kierkegaard's *Repetition*, becomes a recollection of what is unpleasant and builds a world of values on foundations of that experience, makes value judgments based on what is past. In *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* Nietzsche mentions three forms of spirit: camel, lion and child. That last form of spirit shows that memory must be eliminated, which does not allow us to surrender to *ananke*, to surrender destiny and affirm pain and suffering. Nietzsche says, Christianity from those experiences breeds ground for all ethics, all morality. Ethics must form a world of values based on the creation of what is new, what is not a reaction to a stimulus, it must be as Dionysus and Apollo. Nietzsche emphasizes the negative side of memory, which is the closing of man to create and build a world of own values. Niklas Luhmann<sup>116</sup>, as well as Elena Esposito<sup>117</sup> refer to Kierkegaard and Nietzsche, pointing to the forgetfulness [*Vergessen*] and reminding [*Erinnern*] and their significance to our thinking about culture and society. Memory in the social sense here is not only a reminder, but also action in the present and comparison of events happening now, with what has been already known<sup>118</sup>.

Bergson understands memory differently. In the work *Matière et Mémoire*<sup>119</sup> he analyses memory in response to a question about dualism in philosophy.

Bergson has presented different functions and forms of memory. He distinguishes two forms of memory:

1. simple memory - restoring what is past but without grasping what is past. It corresponds to the imagination
2. pure memory - memory of reminding.

Source: H. Bergson, *Materia i pamięć*, Kraków: Vis-a-vis/Etuda 2012, p. 80nn, 171.

He undertakes the problem of the relationship between body and soul - the same one that appeared in Plato, St. Thomas, then at the Descartes (extended substance and thinking substance), Kant (pure theoretical reason and pure practical reason), or Kierkegaard. With regards to the criticism of dualism, Bergson was led by his concept of time as duration (1889) and the polemics with Theodule-Armand Ribot<sup>120</sup>, who propounded reduction of memory to the nervous system. Ribot states that the ability to remember is positioned in the nervous system and has a material character. Bergson opposes Ribot and states that memory has a spiritual character. The aim of his book *Matière et Mémoire* is to present, attenuate and eliminate the contradictions between

<sup>116</sup> N. Luhmann, *Die Gesellschaft der Gesellschaft*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 1997, p. 12-43.

<sup>117</sup> E. Esposito, *Soziales Vergessen. Formen und Medien des Gedächtnisses der Gesellschaft*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 2002.

<sup>118</sup> Esposito pays attention that in contemporary society – in contrast to world of culture – there is no need to remind what is past. Our thinking is boiled down to *time now*. Despite of gathering more information, memory is reduced to comparative function, to what has impact on our now. But Nietzsche focuses on pragmatic function of memory and need of forgetting.

<sup>119</sup> H. Bergson, *Matière et mémoire. Essai sur la relation du corps à l'esprit*, Paris: Alcan 1896.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 122 (Polish translation).

body and soul<sup>121</sup>. The human mind is focused on what is currently given and turns it into memory contents in the process of human action. Therefore, it performs a practical function and is located in the body. When human mind undergoes perdition, memory is not switched off (the process *incarnatia*). Man in a specific situation is not able to recall memory. Therefore, he can't practically perform his work for which he is appointed.

For Bergson, the function of memory is taken over by duration. This is an important element because it allows human consciousness to persist. It is a repetition of what is past.

At the turn of 19th and 20th century, Husserl's thought and that of his students was formed. Husserl opposes the reduction of human thinking to psychology and logic. For Husserl, memory along with observation is the base of pure human thinking.

In *Ideas Pertaining to a Pure Phenomenology and to a Phenomenological Philosophy – First Book* Husserl mentions memory from the perspective of reminding.

The ability to keep awareness of what has passed, but was close to the current now, Husserl called retention. The man learns the world thanks to its natural attitude, on which he can only make a reflection.

He distinguishes two types: primary and secondary reminding. In primary reminding actually *lived experience* may be what reflects on something that is either present at the time as *now*, but it is not realized, or something what has just happened. Besides primary reminding there is also secondary reminding that differs from the primary attitude, that is not damming awareness, but renewed embodiment of what has passed. Referring to the retention and secondary reminding, Husserl mentions forward self-awareness [*Vorerinnerung*]<sup>122</sup>, which is defined as the expectation. It is not just about damming in the awareness what is past and then renewed embodiment, but also about the expectation, a realization of what will come on the basis of what is perceived. Husserl also considers the issue of duration and stream of experience that accompanies intentional acts. For Husserl, as shown by the concept of *before, now and then*, it is necessary to link these aspects of time in a pure I. Therefore, the position of Husserl differs from the views of aforementioned researchers who studied the problem of place of memory. Husserl argues that the most important feature of memory is its continuity<sup>123</sup>.

In the *Cartesian Meditations*, as well as in *Ideas I*, Edmund Husserl uses the term *reminding* [*Erinnerung*], and the *renewed reminding* [*Wiedererinnerung*]<sup>124</sup>. Through these terms we aware what was previously experienced and perceived. Husserl says, life

<sup>121</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 11.

<sup>122</sup> E. Husserl, *Idee czystej fenomenologii i fenomenologicznej filozofii, Księga pierwsza (Idee I)*, Warszawa: PWN 1975, p. 229.

<sup>123</sup> Husserl in *Ideas I* focuses on duration and stream of experience where appears problem of memory exactly reminding (*Ibidem*, p. 256), and the issue of *before, now, then* is presented on p. 260. In *Ideas II* appears pure I, which will be analyzed and will go to personal I.

<sup>124</sup> E. Husserl, *Medytacje kartezjanskie*, Warszawa: PWN 1982, p. 171.

is always embedded in the world, which I experience and am reminded of<sup>125</sup>. In a work entitled *Ideas Pertaining to a Pure Phenomenology and to a Phenomenological Philosophy – Second Book*, he focuses on capturing the pure I, a source capturing oneself, including the opportunity of modifying self-understanding by reminding oneself of itself, or imaging of oneself<sup>126</sup>. Husserl says: “The essence of self-remembrance obviously includes the fact that pure Ego, remembering itself, is conscious of itself as bygone, and the fact that, on the other hand, a shift of focus is possible in virtue of which the pure Ego *can* grasp itself as the pure Ego of the act of remembering, and consequently as self-perceived actual presence, and, similarly, the fact that it grasps itself as something temporally enduring from the past now to the actual flowing now of the present”<sup>127</sup>. For Husserl, remembering plays an important role – it combines the experience of what is past, or has not been previously reflected, what is now, with expectation of what takes place in time.

Roman Ingarden moves in a similar direction as Husserl. Particularly noteworthy is his *Little Book About Man*, in which he undertakes the issue of responsibility based on duration. Only through duration, man can be responsible for his intentions and action. Consciousness and memory are necessary for the continuity of consciousness. For Ingarden – like Husserl – it is not about consciousness in a psychological sense, but the opportunity to know the man himself and the world that surrounds him.

Husserl and Ingarden’s phenomenology based on transcendental *I*, which occurs to Husserl, is based on the philosophy of Descartes and Kant. Husserl’s phenomenology arises in particular time during the development of neo-Kantian thought – when it undertakes the problem of dualism of philosophy, pure theoretical reason and pure practical reason. A significant contribution to Husserl’s thought is brought forth by Rickiert, Heimsoeth. Husserl attempts to overcome in science, the reduction what is human to the mathematical, or aka the environmental method. It resulted in reflection based on the language of biblical exegesis – hermeneutics. For some philosophers – for example Heidegger – the fundamental question is the question of the source, of the foundation. This means that philosophy must abandon thinking based on the principle of cause and effect and ask about the source of truth. Heidegger wants philosophy to focus on what precedes all theoretical and practical cognition. For him, such a sphere is ontology, in which truth at the source appears, in its constituting. To this end, Heidegger goes back to the ancient Greek term of truth as *uncovering*. The truth thus understood is not based on the contrast that is *not true*, but it is based on forgetting and remembering. This truth differs from the classic definition understood as compatibility of things with the intellect. The transition to the truth as *uncovering*

<sup>125</sup> See: E. Husserl, *Medytacje kartezjanskie, op. cit. Erinnerung* (p. 171), *Erinnerung, Wiedererinnerung* (p. 27, 29, 39, 47, 56, 59, 61, 65, 68, 73, 87, 95, 100, 150, 171, 190).

<sup>126</sup> E. Husserl, *Idee czystej fenomenologii i fenomenologicznej filozofii, Księga pierwsza, op. cit.*, p. 144nn.

<sup>127</sup> E. Husserl, *Ideas Pertaining to a Pure Phenomenology and to a Phenomenological Philosophy – Second Book: Studies in the Phenomenology of Constitution*, Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers 1989, p. 108.

allows new interpretation of time and historicity, attitude to theory of history, historicity in Ranke.

## b. Source of Truth

In addition to the problem of knowing and being in relationship to the truth, there is also an important question that puts philosophy in relation to the source of truth. In the first case it was mostly about the process of understanding the cognitive and memory in this context. As we indicated in the introduction, philosophers at the turn of the century undertake a serious problem that is history, historicity. They want to consider the issue of historicity in relation to anthropology, to philosophy of man. Kant's ideas along with neo-Kantianism, as well as Dilthey's hermeneutics had a profound impact on philosophers' thought. Thanks to Dilthey that a reflection arises that deals with the man from the perspective of his understanding. It insists on the understanding that precedes the cognitive process of learning based on subject-object relations. Martin Heidegger is one of those people who gave hermeneutics a new shape and propagated it. It draws attention to the ratio of *I* to himself and his understanding. It changes the attitude of philosophy towards the problem of truth, which is obstructing the discovery, and it is the truth as understood in the ancient Greek sense of *a-letheia*. The truth in the sense of not-secret does not have a negation in the ordinary sense of the word, as the negation of the first sense of the word, but is forgetting. For Heidegger, the truth is not (as a state of being), but it occurs (takes place), it continues. Over time, Heidegger sees truth as a non-secrecy at the level of thinking. For Heidegger, the main problem however, is that a man engrossed in technique has stopped thinking. Heidegger points out that modern man reduces the world to a technique, at the same time failing to notice what the source of thought is.

In this context Heidegger's return to the truth as *Aletheia* is interesting. The truth does not appear as the compatibility of things with intellect, but as forgetting and reminding. One of these aspects which is the connection between truth and memory merits special attention. Therefore, referring to the ancient Greek culture, we will say what memory and reminding are in the classic sense of the truth. We'll use the Greek goddess of memory Mnemosyne, history of Hyrieus building the chamber in Boeotia, as well as the origin of the writing, whose aim was to help man in reminding. With these three examples we will show, what memory was for the ancient Greeks and what it is today. Memory is not the accumulation of events, but something more. Mnemosyne represents it.

Who is the goddess of memory? Well, she is the daughter of Gaia (earth) and Uranus (sky), the mother of 9 Muses. Therefore, memory is treated as the mother of art and beauty. In ancient Greece beauty is associated with truth and good. Therefore, what is beautiful is true and it is good. So, there is memory in the ethical sense: good and truth. However, good does not occur in the context of good and evil, but in valor,

i.e. ability to use own predispositions and self-improvement. Good appears in the context of virtue and immortality of the soul. In the nineteenth century, Nietzsche returned to this conception of the good, criticizing good and evil in the moral sense. He paid attention to the fact that man heads into benefit and own good, not values or truth. He uses truth only when it is beneficial for him. In referring to Greek sense of truth, significance of memory and its hermeneutic character appears. The truth is a continuous concealment (forgetfulness) and covering (reminding). In the Greek culture you don't hear the truth, but you see it, like memory, it is reminding of images. Greek forgetting and reminding as a source of truth is clearly presented by Trophonius, an architect from Boeotia, who built with his brother treasury chamber for King Hyrieus. This event is related to the legend, showing the interdependence of truth, forgetting and reminding. In the place where died Trophonius' brother, swallowed up by the earth, there created a deep gap. That's where those who want to know the truth about themselves go. People who want to know their future, go down the ladder at night led by two boys. The one who want to ask a question to oracle must first drink from the water of oblivion (Lethe), to forget everything what he previously thought, and only then can he drink water Mnemosyne, so he could remember everything he will see and hear inside the oracle's cave. People learning the truth, entering the water of oblivion and reminding, will not become happy, but rather burdened with the knowledge about what is going to happen. The water of oblivion and water of reminding is mentioned by Virgil in *Aeneid*, Ovid in *Metamorphoses*, Dante in his *Divine Comedy*, as well as H.U.V. Balthasar<sup>128</sup> recalling the words of Dante.

Finally, the third important act of truth - writing, a gift for the king of Egypt from the Egyptian god. Plato in *Phaedrus* made a critique of knowledge existing in writing<sup>129</sup>, mentioned memory. Plato referring to one of the old gods, Theuth (who invented algebra and arithmetic, the game of checkers and dice and alphabet), and the king of Egypt, Thamus, observes that the writing given by god to strengthen memory, weakened it, infecting it with oblivion. When Theuth talks about his inventions, he comes to the alphabet<sup>130</sup>. He states that giving Egyptians the ability to write will give them bigger and better memory, because writing has to support wisdom and memory. But the king Thamus believes that this invention will bring the opposite, i.e. oblivion, because people will no longer practice their memory. He says that Theuth discovered the antidote not for memory, but for forgetting. People will no longer trust their memory and will entrust writing. Because of writing, man rejects memory and build his knowledge on a continuous reminding. On the one hand writing is a means to reminding, especially for those who lose their memory, for forgetful, helps poor memory, on the other hand is poisoning the good memory. Writing does not belong to human

<sup>128</sup> H. U. von Balthasar, *Chwała. Estetyka teologiczna, vol. 2. Modele teologiczne. Part. 2. Od Dantego do Peguya*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo WAM 2008.

<sup>129</sup> Plato, *Fajdros*, Kęty: Wydawnictwo Antyk 1999, *Dialogi*, vol. 2. p. 179-184.

<sup>130</sup> Derrida notices, explaining what is *Pharmakon*, that writing isn't medicine for memory but the mean for reminding. Writing isn't understood in positive sense but in negative.

nature, it is an artificial product. It is a threat for those who have poor memory and for those who have a good one. Presentation of memory and reminding appears in Plato when he speaks about Eros, who is love of truth.

Jacques Derrida refers to *Phaedrus* in his essay *Pharmakon*. One of the key questions posed by Derrida is the importance of writing and character. Derrida's views are consistent with the position of Plato in *Phaedrus*: writing is not conducive to memory, but perverts it, i.e. man instead of seeking the truth through wisdom, attempts to be smart. "Writing is only apparently good for memory, seemingly able to help it from within, through its own motion, to know what is true. But in truth, writing is essentially bad, external to memory, not producing of knowledge but of belief, does not reveal the truth but appearances"<sup>131</sup>. This truth is the apparent truth. Plato wrote that the writing allows to read truths by people familiar with the problem, and those who know nothing about it. Truth in writing is exposed to danger and therefore still needs care from its author. Writing, however, does not give us that opportunity. Instead of knowledge of the truth it focuses merely on the notion, on appearance. Derrida focused on the difference between inner life, i.e. thinking and its expression in speech and external sign. In addition, he criticizes Plato, accusing him of seeing memory so perfect that he does not see its relationship with the written character.

Let us return to the issue of Mnemosyne and Heidegger. Heidegger says that theater, music, dance and poetry are of the womb of Mnemosyne. Through art we can get to the truth. Heidegger understands memory not as "ability to retain a mental representation, an idea, of something which is past"<sup>132</sup> - as we presented in the first part, but considers that "Memory- from Latin *memor*, mindful - thinks about something that is thought about, thought"<sup>133</sup>. Our thinking is not something external, to which we can approach with a certain distance, but is an ongoing process that occurs even when we ask for something. Heidegger in line with Husserl's statement from *Logical Investigations* - focuses on the question about the source of our thinking, on truth in the original sense of the word. Thinking about the truth is prior to the epistemological truth. Heidegger says about openness to the same thinking that accompanies us constantly. It is not a thinking, which is characterized by indifference to the content, but is grounded on what has been already understood. Any thinking about the objects is located at the level of our original understanding. Heidegger states: "Memory is the gathering and convergence of thought upon, what everywhere demands to be thought about in the first place. Memory is the gathering of recollection, thinking back"<sup>134</sup>. Heidegger's *Andenken* is close to Plato's thinking in *Phaedrus* and *Phaedo*, but also to Bergson and Derrida, who see a place of memory at the level of thought and speech.

<sup>131</sup> J. Derrida, *Dissemination*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1981, p. 103.

<sup>132</sup> M. Heidegger, *What is called thinking?*, New York: Harper Collins Publishers 1976, p. 11.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibidem*.

In German thinking back means *Andenken* that we can translate as being next to the thought. Thinking about something means we are next to the thought.

The collapse of Western civilization - says Heidegger - lies in the fact that it is desolated (not destroyed), is Mnemosyne's exile. Heidegger says that "we are still not thinking"<sup>135</sup>. He pays attention to the fact that man brings thinking to what he calls technical, to what is real. It isn't a way to reach the same thinking. Science forgot about the truth, which appears in the lumen of being, it's afraid to undertake the issue of nothingness. That is why truth can best emerge by presenting *techne* of thinking, in poetry, art, in the retinue of thinking.

The postulate of Heidegger, who wants to show thinking, differs from the schema of cognition theory, in which we want to present how it is possible for man to learn on the basis of subject-object relation. For Heidegger, this means abandoning thinking on the basis of *episteme* and turning to *aisthesis* into the sphere of what precedes cognition. If we want to know an object, we first need to understand it. You can't see the object without first understanding the whole being. Heidegger points out that the man doesn't recognize the world from the perspective of distance, but his own reference to being, to himself. To hear and see something we should first be open to the world, we must allow our hearing and seeing. Hearing and not-hearing are presented in the *noein*. In responding to the world, man tries to speak, to express himself in his understanding of the world. In the tension between *legein* (speak) and *noein* (think) constitutes the truth, which is a process of reminding and forgetting. Philosophers such as Hans-Georg Gadamer, Paul Ricoeur, Emmanuel Levinas present the problem of truth on the basis of speech, expression and thinking. Especially Levinas will want to show that a place of memory is a relationship between man and a man, which abandons Heidegger's thinking, limited to the relationship between I and my being. Therefore he will propose that in the speech, discourse, dialogue the source of all thinking appears.

In place where the truth constitutes, there is memory and reminding. Truth and memory reside in our thinking. Place of memory in this sense is thinking, in it the truth is presented about ourselves and our world.

## 2. Philosophy at the crossroads

As we have shown, in philosophy there are different forms of memory, but two trends in particular.

Forms of memory relate on the one hand to human cognitive capabilities, to memory, thanks to which we can bind together images from the past, we can talk about the continuity of memory, on the other hand to a place of memory that is our understanding.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 28.

Among the philosophers who undertook the problem of memory was Plato, St. Augustine, St. Thomas, the British empiricists, and Bergson. Plato in relation to the concept of truth concludes that we knew the truth, which fell into oblivion at the time of our birth. Truth from the perspective of cognitive was analyzed by Hume, Berkeley, Locke. The basic question for them is: how does man get to know and how does he reach the knowledge; with the help of reminding truths, or learning the world through the stimulation of the senses doesn't refer to terms he has already been familiar with? Memory interpretation includes Bergson's theory of knowledge, or earlier, Kant's philosophy, based on pure theoretical reason and pure practical reason. He believes that the intellect is not capable of holistic recognizing, man needs intuition. In addition to this, Kant emphasizes the importance of awareness and time, which flows in it. Memory is an essential part of our thinking, our awareness. Not to mention the duration as an important part of our thinking, which combines content and images of cognition. Memory plays a very important role in the process of thinking. Aforementioned philosophers precede psychology analysis, which aim is to examine the ability of remembering sensual impressions, terms and symbols, but also keeping the contents of one's own awareness. Memory is one of the functions of the mind to store, stop, and reproduce content stemming from experience, but also one's own experiences, own thinking based on the creation of the internal world. In this sense, St. Augustine recalls memory in his *Confessions*, describing his process of coming to God and to the meeting with God. Any thinking about reminding is a return to the past, it is necessary to realization, to reminding of our past, a retrospection that shows us the different types of images, terms, events, feelings.

Reflection on memory points to two main trends<sup>136</sup>, where memory appears. The trend based on the question, based on the ancient thought as well, indicates a place of memory that goes beyond the process of cognition, which was earlier mentioned by the British empiricists, or Descartes, and reaches the level of understanding. Between understanding and cognition there is a connection, but understanding outlines a horizon, which we can then understand on the cognitive level. To be able to learn and define using terms we need the understanding, Greek *logos*. This was recognized by philosophers of life (including Nietzsche and Bergson) and phenomenologists (as Husserl) or hermeneutists (as Dilthey). Heidegger and the philosophers of dialogue such as Levinas, are included among those who undertook the problem of understanding or pre-understanding, we can include. Heidegger seeks pre-understanding on the level of the question about one's own being "whether something is or is not?", meanwhile, as Levinas says, only meeting another man anticipates any ontological thinking.

The memory is a kind of embodiment of what has passed. Therefore, it is necessary to distinguish *lieux de mémoire* and *lieux d'histoire*.

<sup>136</sup> Trends of reflection on memory: the first is based on the theory of cognition, on understanding of consecutive events, which are ordered by our consciousness, scheduled and kept. The second one is based on the question of the place of the happening the truth, of understanding the truth.

*Lieux d'histoire* - indicates the places that we understand as events separated from our present awareness.

Place of memory is the past, which designs the present and the future.

Memory spheres are:

- Past (heritage, tradition, events)
- Present (care about myself, care about closest family)
- Future (expectation).

It has its basis in philosophical and theological thinking. It is on the ground of phenomenology and hermeneutics where a problem of historicity appears. Historicity differs from history because it includes our past, future, a way of understanding the future and awareness of the present. As Bergson previously mentioned, in relation to memory speaks of two forms of time: about what is past and what is present. Bergson talks about memory and its function in relation to Descartes' position and his division into *res extensae* and *res cogitantes*. As noted by Bergson, this classification does not have a spatial nature, two separate spheres, but only time.

## Summary

The issue of memory and the place of memory has been undertaken from the beginning of European culture. Evolution of the significance of memory occurred because of the change of expectations towards science, and philosophy. The position that distinguishes philosophy from science is quite interesting. It derives from the fact that science, including the history and sociology, understands place of memory as a collective memory, which is present in history and social life, preserving and transmitting heritage. Philosophy recognizes the importance of these sciences, but also emphasizes the need for reflection, which shows the place of memory from the perspective of human thinking. A place of memory for philosophy is in fact thinking. In it the truth occurs. Critique of scientific attitude shows that the place of memory is dynamic and can be discovered in the dialectic. Hegel in the *Phenomenology of spirit*, already talks about historicity going beyond the historiography. For centuries the understanding of the meaning of philosophical thought was based on continuity, duration. Contemporary thinking about the place of memory takes time and history as a particular spot, with no continuity. In philosophy, it has made the transition, similar to that in sociology noticed by Pierre Nora and the *Annales School*, but in philosophy place of memory is constituted in thinking. Modern thought refers to Ranke and Humboldt and critically attempted to return to a new outlook at reality.

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KINGA ANNA GAJDA

## City game as a teaching method of memory

“A public space, where everyday life goes on, creates a necessary element of our existences, joins emotions and images, and stays in memory for long. There are main public places in a city which on account of designing and composing principles – scale, harmony proportions, order, rhythm as well as the richness of historical layers, character and attractive functions – become safe, generally accepted spaces for building social bonds and all kinds of activities”<sup>137</sup> – the significance of cities as places participating in the creation of collective identity, in the process of educating and activating of citizens is emphasized by Beata Malinowska-Petelenz and Anna Petelenz in article entitled zatytułowanym *Przestrzeń publiczna jako ekspresja pamięci (Public space as an expression of memory)*. Cities as mirrors of civilization are products of many centuries of stratification which result from a commixture of culture, ideas and values- stated Jacek Purchla opening the 3rd Heritage Forum of Central Europe. Simultaneously recalling the words of Italo Calvino, that “the city, however, does not tell its past, but contains it like the lines of a hand, written in the corners of the streets, the grating of the windows, the banisters of the steps, the antennae of the lightning rods, the poles if the flags, every segment marked in turn with scratches, indentations, scrolls”<sup>138</sup>. The city as a place bearing the marks of history, the socio-cultural memory seems to be an important element in creating identity and collective memory. It is filled with monument-sites of memory, memory of streets, neighborhoods, but it also abounds in non-places of memory - places that the city wants to forget, of which it is ashamed, places which it deconstructs in order to once again reconstruct its identity. As is stated by Anna Karwińska, a sociologist and a panelist of the Forum, “cultural heritage enchanted in building monuments tradition provides evidence of the continuity of the history”<sup>139</sup>. It is the historical heritage of the city that constitutes a unique element of its narrative, it is part of the history of the city and its

<sup>137</sup> B. Malinowska-Petelenz, A. Petelenz *Public spaces as expression of memory*, “Architecture. Technical transactions”, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Politechniki Krakowskiej, issue 6, year 107, p. 28, [https://suw.biblos.pk.edu.pl/resources/i2/i4/i9/i6/r2496/MalinowskaPetelenzB\\_Przestrzen-Publiczna.pdf](https://suw.biblos.pk.edu.pl/resources/i2/i4/i9/i6/r2496/MalinowskaPetelenzB_Przestrzen-Publiczna.pdf) (accessed: 10.09.2015).

<sup>138</sup> I. Calvino, *Invisible Cities*, San Diego, New York, London: A Harvest Book A Helen and Kurt Wolff Book Harcourt Brace & Company 1974, p. 11; [http://monoskop.org/images/0/0e/Calvino\\_Italo\\_Invisible\\_Cities.pdf](http://monoskop.org/images/0/0e/Calvino_Italo_Invisible_Cities.pdf) (accessed: 10.09.2015).

<sup>139</sup> A. Karwińska, *Historical heritage and the process of creating the „tale of the city”*, 3rd Heritage Forum of Central Europe. The City, Kraków 16-18.09.2015, p. 71.

inhabitants. It is the process of remembering and forgetting, constructing and deconstructing, covering and uncovering that turns the city into a tale, weaving its personal narrative which is simultaneously a cultural, historical and political narrative. It is a space for dialogue with the past. Like a stroke of a brush on canvas, the traces of past history are left upon the city's space, along with the imprinted traces of people still living within it.

“Towns become museums, the present constantly becomes the past”<sup>140</sup> - writes Stefan Stroux in an article *Traces of People*, included in a catalog of an exhibition bearing the same title, presented at the International Cultural Centre<sup>141</sup>. Agata Pawlik Wąsowicz in the catalogue's introduction writes about the city as a trace left by man on earth. Traces as remains of the past, elements perpetuating the past, constituting the residues after that which has past, are present all around us. And that is exactly what was done by the artists whose works were shown in the International Cultural Centre, during an exhibition entitled „Memory. Registers and territories”. One of the exhibition halls was filled with Mirosław Balka's sculpture-installation called Common Ground. The installation consisted of door mats which were placed one on top of the other.”The abrasions and signs of wear embedded in the door mats are also a kind of specific recording, >>a log << inputs and output, are stored traces of memory”<sup>142</sup>.

Musealization - is the growing interest in interacting with the monuments of the past, an interest in the past.

Source: H. Lübbe, *Musealization. The combination of our present with the past*, [in] *Aesthetics in the world*, vol. 3, ed. M. Gołaszewska, Krakow: Jagiellonian University Press 1991.

„Lübbe broadly understand the scope of musealisation, extending it also to strive for restoration of entire cultural landscapes, for example old mills, sometimes even entire villages, moors, coasts, etc. Musealization in a broad sense also includes the rapid spread of flea markets and growing demand for antiques, dating back to a realm of nature: the relics of natural history are subjected to common maintenance, assuming national parks, and caring for monuments. Lübbe explains the progress of musealisation, referring to broader phenomena relating to the relationship to time in modern civilization. Here a phenomenon is given special notice, named by him a >> shrinking of the present <<. The metaphor is intended to express a reduction as a result of the influence of increase in new number of years, which is a retrospective look at the outdated and even alien past. The shrinking of the present means not only an increase in the amount of cultural innovation, but also an increase in the amount of relics. As he writes: >> With the increased number of new (things) at the same time a quantitative growth takes place of all that is outdated, and the more dynamic cultural evolution takes place, the greater becomes the relative contribution of the cultural heritage, which now no longer includes the whiff of history << “.

Source: B. Korzeniewski, *O sposobach obchodzenia się z relikami przeszłości*, "Sensus Historiae", vol. VI, no. 1/2012, p. 42; <http://www.sensushistoriae.epigram.eu/index.php/czasopismo/article/view-File/54/51>

<sup>140</sup> S. Stroux, *Tacos Dos domens, Traces of People Cristiano Mascaro Sławomir Rumiak*, Kraków: International Cultural Centre 2015, p. 8.

<sup>141</sup> 28.03.2015-07.06.2015

<sup>142</sup> *Memory. Registers and Territories*, Kraków: International Cultural Centre 2013, p. 90.

The door mat has been treated by the artist not only as an object of daily use, but also as a trace of human existence, the record of past steps left after the people stomping on it with their feet, but also stomping after a time which has left its mark on the mat - slightly damaged, ragged, with faded colors. In addition there were photographs taken by Wojciech Prazmowski from a series entitled *Traces*. The photographs contained images of flooring in houses of: Herbert in Lviv, Clara Sachs in Wrocław, Miłosz in Vilnius, Schulz in Drohobych, and finally Prazmowski's mother in Vilnius. The flooring was a trace of a given time, of distinguished personalities, but also of people expelled. These are alleged traces of the places where people lived, where their private and often their public stories took place. The flooring or the door mats are innate, silent carriers of someone's memory and evidence about remembering. The exhibition at the International Cultural Centre constitutes a museum exhibit. At the same time there are objects located in many cities. They are therefore part of the city and at the same time a museum exhibit, may be evidence of musealization of the city. There may be traces of humans, their activities, but also historical events. Finding them and classifying them into themes or subject matter is associated with a universal need - as noted by Marek Krajewski - „commemoration of what is essential. (...) The presence of human traces in big cities, and regardless of their geographic scope, proves that a battle is being fought within them for the right to remember, for materializing of its presence in their space and eventually also the recognition of one's own humanity . It is a struggle reminiscent of ancient dramas and although much less exalted, because woven into the everyday life of the metropolis, it is also cruel”<sup>143</sup>. “Remembering, forgetting and reminding is an essential component of the urban space, where buildings, elements of facades, lawns, but also floors and door mats are exhibits in the space of city-museum. All of these „exhibits” serve as commemorative function: they remember, remind, and re-reminisce. Therefore, they become an important element of urban narratives, stories about its past, often uncovering of this past in order to understand the present and prepare the ground for the construction of the future. They shape the present and the future memory. City museum becomes a site meeting with history which is commemorated on every corner not only by monuments, commemorative plaques, monuments, but also the streets where former inhabitants once strolled; cafes, where they met politicians and artists, hotels, etc. where they were residing. You only need a moment of pondering, to make the city a collection of exhibits, serving as catalysts of memory. The city space can therefore be a space escribed by the memory of the past. Memory in this context is a form of recalling of heritage of a place, the guardian of consciousness of the city. Ewa Rewers writes: „However, if the memory of an urban structure has a function of an consciousness, so applying it, that is setting the relations between content of memory and fragments of urban space, we are reaching what is individual in the city, its architecture which is a form of urban individuality.

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<sup>143</sup> M. Krajewski, *Traseologia*, exhibit catalogue: *Traces of People* Cristiano Mascaro Sławomir Rumiak, Kraków: International Cultural Centre 2015, p. 18.

Individual creations, architecture of the city give the original form as *locus* as artwork passing through selection in the field of collective memory- we can see it at the same time as an event and form”<sup>144</sup>. The city treated as a museum filled with artifacts of memory, as a space for remembering appears, on the one hand, as a text of memory, a form of narrative written in the tracks left behind, and on the other hand, like a living creature, a creation which has its own consciousness and memory. It is the duty of society is to present the city’s history, recreating its biography and informing the public about this history. As noted by Phil Wood in the *Intercultural Cities Towards a model for intercultural integration*, it is in cities that key decisions are undertaken<sup>145</sup>. It is therefore, buildings, floors, door mats that record the historical and political events of the city, changing the course of world history. Discovering traces of the past and exposing them can often create a new story of the city. This story can be local, regional, urban, or national or transnational, European. Its range of subjects depends on the storyteller, tracker. It is he who creates the scenario of the story, which can take on the form of a game. Finding remnants of the past, performing of new memory, making the city a game plan can become an essential part of education.

Education in the urban space utilizing places of memory may take the form of play or educational games. City museum becomes then a space of education, play, but also builds awareness among students. Article 14 (Education, awareness and capacity) of the *UNESCO Convention on the protection of intangible cultural heritage* assumes that “the intangible cultural heritage was recognized, respected and promoted in society”, it is necessary to educate, raise awareness, disseminating information, creating educational programs and training<sup>146</sup>. The same directive applies when it comes to memory. Teaching the obligation to remember, showing ways of memorizing and recalling, contemplation places associated with memory is an opportunity to transfer the obligation to remember and cultivate the memory of future generations. It is a well known fact is that the most effective and quickest way to transfer and learning of knowledge is educational play. One form of such play can be city game, which for Augustine Surdykiem can be treated simultaneously as a reflection of the real problems<sup>147</sup> and – can be said as – the most important social issues, which is certainly a duty to remember and build collective (or European) identity. It takes place in a specific space, which is filled by not only geometric forms of buildings, but also places of remembrance, ideas and biographies. As part of the game, space of the city is re-discovered by giving it new meanings, the apposition of history to given places during various activities. Its main aim is to discover new places of memory,

<sup>144</sup> E. Rewers, *Post-Polis. Wstęp do filozofii nowoczesnego miasta*, Kraków: Universitas 2005, p. 212.

<sup>145</sup> *Intercultural Cities Towards a model for intercultural integration Insights from Intercultural cities, joint action of the Council of Europe and the European Commission*, ed. Ph. Wood, Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing 2009, p. 21; [https://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/culture/Cities/ICCMModelPubl\\_en.pdf](https://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/culture/Cities/ICCMModelPubl_en.pdf) (accessed: 12.09.2015).

<sup>146</sup> Convention UNESCO for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, October 2003, [bip.kprm.gov.pl/download.php?s=75&id=12261](http://bip.kprm.gov.pl/download.php?s=75&id=12261) (accessed: 12.10.2015).

<sup>147</sup> A. Surdyk, *Edukacyjna Funkcja Gier w Dobie „Cywilizacji zabawy”*, "Homo Communicativus" no. 3 (5)/2008, Poznań, p. 45; <http://www.hc.amu.edu.pl/numery/5/surdyk2.pdf> (accessed: 02.10.2015).

cultural heritage. The game in a special way exploits the potential of the city. As Bartłomiej Gutowski emphasized in his book *Przestrzeń marzycieli. Miasto jako projekt utopijny*: „Today the city is not only the urban space and living space, but also space shaping different kinds of experiences as key to the current cultural awareness. (...) It is a value-formulating space. It is an expression of human strength and size, but also weaknesses and shortcomings. It is both an expression of the human spirit as well as his intellectual aspirations”<sup>148</sup>. City allows for attractive activities and emphasizing the theme of memory, as well as illustrating the cultural and historical themes. The city was in fact treated as a text of culture, a form of narrative, the story of a person, its history, culture and rights. As a document which allows for the ability to explore the various links and weaved aspects of urban space”<sup>149</sup>. For example, the city - places remembered and forgotten, cultivated and avoided, interesting and neglected - you can successfully show the process of cultural, social and political change. As noted by Ewa Rewers in *Post-Polis*: “Urban space is full of past events of smaller or larger importance, dramas of individual characters and such, which involved large crowds; events that have left their mark on the appearance and function of the city”. In the same publication, she calls the city a *metapolis* and treats it as a platform for human subjective and inter-subjective experience. (...) The cultural basis of this experience are part of mental climate of the place and time”<sup>150</sup>. Socio-historical discourse is the fact that it is portrayed as a space of experience and contemplation. And it was precisely the experience of exploring the city that was referenced in the project. In the book *Post-polis* Rewers clearly indicates that the city is a space of different experiences, writing that the city is rhythm”<sup>151</sup>, being three-dimensional, which creates sounds (hearing), marks (sight) and movement (kinesthetic sense). „The presence of flesh” here „coordinates the experience of space - marked Rewers - defines axes of perception and measures existential distances”<sup>152</sup>. Movement and time are essential components of this experience, separable from space. Halprin called this the building of variants from a series of interesting rhythms of speed and strength of the experience of urban space - kinesthetic”<sup>153</sup>. Students participating in the city game can experience the city kinesthetically. Walking is treated as a form of experience and philosophizing about the man and his rights and at the same time the desire to experience, and thus - in the wake of Anna Wiczorkiewicz’s concepts”<sup>154</sup> - as participation, active involvement and as a subject-object cognitive relationship: exploring the places of memory.

<sup>148</sup> B. Gutowski, *Przestrzeń marzycieli. Miasto jako projekt utopijny*, Warszawa 2006, p. 3; [http://www.miastoidealne.sztuka.edu.pl/filozofia\\_miasta\\_miasto\\_jako\\_projekt\\_utopijny.pdf](http://www.miastoidealne.sztuka.edu.pl/filozofia_miasta_miasto_jako_projekt_utopijny.pdf) (accessed: 02.10.2015).

<sup>149</sup> Za: K. Woniak, *Czytanie małego miasta. Przestrzeń symboliczna miasteczka Łobez* [in:] *Miasto jako fenomen społeczny i kulturowy*, eds. C. Kardasz, J. Możdżeń, M. Spychaj, Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika 2012, p. 211.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 297.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 51.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 51.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 67-68.

<sup>154</sup> A. Wiczorkiewicz, *Apetyt turysty. O doświadczeniu świata w podróży*, Kraków: Universitas 2008.

The game centers around a story. It is the combination of competition, science and history that becomes an instrument of memory. Ideally, as the game allows for telling of a particular story, about a particular character, it allows for the playing-out of a biography of a famous person, such as Konrad Adenauer and Józef Hieronim Rejtinger, and better yet, as it mentions some intriguing events, such as romance or history of espionage. As noted by Krzysztof Pomian: „the past is embodied in human beings: in their unconscious reflexes, emotions, gestures, mimics, in their behaviour, in the language they use, in their opinions and their expectations. People are to an important degree programmed by the past”<sup>155</sup>. As the past would like to reply by the past choices of our ancestors. Thus this recalling of biographies allows for the identification with history, perceived from the perspective of a specific person, his decisions, fears, dreams and aspirations for evolution. Moreover, reference to a biography launches an emotional and existential dimension which accompanies learning. Memory then becomes a kind of identification with a historical figure, and in turn this identification often adopts a subjective, self-centered dimension. It is important that biography is consistent with the choice of a place. There must be a direct connotation, the game may be accompanied by marked trails, no-space - and therefore the place associated with a particular person, but not commemorated, forgotten. The course of the game seems more interesting when it is accompanied by the discovery of new places of memory. A primary task of the game is not only to acquaint the participants with a particular biography, history, locate places of memory, but primarily to stimulate into action, searching for new places and topics. It should therefore require participants to engage, to exert a mental effort, sense of direction and, often physical fitness. Thus, the game allows for the reaching of undiscovered places, the discovery of space, time, the city and its inhabitants.

The participants move about the space of the city in a specific order, solving various tasks competing with each other against time, paying attention to precision, making sure tasks are solved correctly in accordance to rules. As mentioned by Witold Warcholik and Konrad Leja, the intellectual effort and ingenuity of players leads them to choose the right strategy. „The player becomes an active participant directed by organizers of adventure, but solves tasks based on his own ideas, according to his own alternative routes, and is the discoverer of the mysteries related to specific locations”<sup>156</sup>. A very important element of the statement is to emphasize individual work of the participants, their commitment and engagement. They are strongly associated with an element of informal learning<sup>157</sup>.

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<sup>155</sup> K. Pomian, *Historia, pamięć, polityka*, [in:] *Pamięć. Rejestry i terytoria/ Memory. Registers and Territories*, Kraków: International Cultural Center 2013, p. 22.

<sup>156</sup> W. Warcholik, K. Leja, *Gry miejskie jako innowacyjne produkty turystyczne*, „Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis. Studia Geographica” III/2012, p. 88.

<sup>157</sup> See: K.A. Gajda, *Nauczanie nieformalne – wytyczne unijne i próba implementacji*, [in:] *Nieformalna Droga Rozwoju, czyli o kompetencjach zdobytych przez edukację nieformalną*, ed. K.A. Gajda, Kraków: Stowarzyszenia Europe4Youth 2014.

More and more often in the discourse on education words of known education reformers are encountered, who argue that education is training but also formation. And this last opinion brings informal education closer to formal education. As noted by Harold J. Noah and Max A. Eckstein<sup>158</sup>, informal education can be successfully used also in formal education. Non-formal education is also understood as education of free (leisure) time through the practice, is committed to the primary goal of shaping and developing the interests and talents of young people, the process of shaping attitudes, values, skills and knowledge based on experience and the influence of the environment. Despite the non-formal nature of the work, it remains professional. The Council of Europe and the European Union point to the non-formal education as a way of learning in societies based on knowledge and information. Although it is generally seen as supplementary education, which uses various forms of knowledge, from a traditional transfer through self-learning models (individual and group), or casual education using media, up to an attempt to create new forms of teaching. Its key differentiators is a multidirectional process of interaction, an attempt to meet the challenges of everyday life and enter into dialogue with man and his environment, the destruction of the master-pupil relationship, moving away from lectures *ex cathedra*, swapping roles - mutual learning of students from the teachers, and the teachers from the students, a sense of connectedness in a group and teamwork. Education is based on the active participation of pupils and teachers. The combination of education are used in both forms. Thus, writes Manuel Bois-Reymond, they are beginning to blur the boundaries between times spent on training, between work and relaxation. There are new concepts of learning, combining learning with work, theory and practice. Significant changes in the relationship between students and teachers / trainers. The latter are becoming not so much teachers, but as helpers and sharers in the learning process. This new model of education is more conducive to building a civil society and involvement of participants of the educational process in the acquisition of knowledge. An important element of this education is thus the involvement and active participation. In this sense, a city game can be described as informal education component used successfully in formal education. As Bois-Reymond writes, „to ponder over the definition of informal education means also the consideration of issues related to formal education. All instruments and procedures applied in the informal education will, over long period of time have an impact on formal education and vice versa. Educating population in Europe requires active conquerors knowledge who will alone build their educational - professional CVs, and participate in the life of the local community, the country and Europe”<sup>159</sup>.

The city game allows for the combining of theory with practice, it allows participants to use their knowledge in practice and also link to other competencies: teamwork,

<sup>158</sup> H.J. Noah, M.A. Eckstein, *Doing Comparative Education. Three Decades of Collaboration*, Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre of the University of Hong Kong 2004.

<sup>159</sup> M. du Bois-Reymond, *Studium związków pomiędzy edukacją formalną i nieformalną*, [in:] *Doświadczając uczenia. Materiały pokonferencyjne*, ed. J. Kaczanowska, Fundacja Rozwoju Systemu Edukacji, Warszawa 2005, p. 27.

time management, negotiation, skills in being able to present the opinion of a group, act under the pressure of time, coping with stress, mutual peer learning. This last aforementioned characteristic, as well as work in a group is strongly enforced, when young people of all ages are working within the team. The game can even help in the process of building a team. During the game secondary school students, high school and university students can collaborate together. Their work is accompanied by a *peer mentoring*<sup>160</sup>.

Peer mentoring - a process which encourages more experienced individuals to support and assist less experienced individuals and at the same time developing the potential of both, in terms of their interests. There is then a relationship, a partnership that enables the development of both persons.

Mentoring benefits from the fact that peers are people that have some common characteristics, attributes or interests, and therefore mentoring relates to experience according to age. It can be recommended as an effective and useful way of transferring knowledge and skills as well as increasing of competencies of participants in the game. It seems that the most interesting position is reserved for high school students, who are recipients of considerable benefits as they can to play a dual role: they are mentors to junior high school students, but are also mentored by university students. The proximity of the age of all participants allows them to mutually participate and experience the game, to mutually build relationships and support one another, to exchange of opinions and views, as well as common and efficient work. The essence of *peer mentoring* is the involvement of participants in the game and mutual building of relations. This action denies the hierarchical ladder occurring in formal education, where the teacher stands much higher, a position usually unattainable for student, while simultaneously does not liquidate the position of the teacher as a central mentor. The teacher's role is reduced here to determining the tasks and correcting the undergoing work. The *cross-aged peer mentoring programs* are becoming more popular and have repeatedly proved their positive influence on the mentor and the mentees<sup>161</sup>. They enable participants to develop communication skills and leadership skills. For the mentor, participating in the program results in a sense of continuity in learning<sup>162</sup>, self-esteem, empathy, interpersonal communication and conflict resolution<sup>163</sup>. For the mentee, participation results in attachment to school and peers, building of soft skills and belief in oneself and one's abilities, increase in knowledge, taking pleasure from learning and improving prosocial

<sup>160</sup> See: M. Eriksen, K.A. Gajda, University School Partnership in the framework of Informal education, [in:] *Innovations in Higher Education Teaching and Learning* (IHETL), eds. P. Blessinger, B. Cozza, Emerald Group Publishing, 12/2015 (awaiting publication).

<sup>161</sup> C. Herrera, J.B. Grossman, T.J. Kauh, A. F. Feldman, J. McMake, L.Z. Jucovy, *Making a Difference in Schools: The Big Brothers Big Sisters School-Based Mentoring Impact Study*, Philadelphia: Public/Private Ventures, 2007.

<sup>162</sup> R.P. Bowman, R.D. Myrick, *Effects of an elementary school peer facilitator program on children with behavior problems*, "The School Counselor", no. 34/1987.

<sup>163</sup> V. Noll, *Cross-age mentoring program for social skills development*, "The School Counselor" no. 44/1997.

behavior and attitudes<sup>164</sup>. *Peer mentoring* is more effective when it undertakes a developmental, experimental position in place of instruction. The mentor and the mentee should work out themselves their own methods and their pace. Then their work allows for the development of: competence, tolerance, confidence, and faith in the future. In addition, mentoring allows for the building of relationships with other people using a respectful attitude towards the social and cultural rules of conduct and behavior. The final result of peer mentoring is to develop among the participants a caring capacity and compassion, therefore sympathy and empathy<sup>165</sup>. During the game, the mentor - an older student - serves his younger colleague as a guide, emotional support in a new environment and in new model of teaching, and sometimes even offers help in learning. What is essential in a peer-mentoring programs is basing the teaching process and support in relations with young people, who are often also peers. It is their relationship, mutual cooperation, and partnership that becomes the subject of the action and bring the expected consequences.

The city game as a learning game allows participants, under the right orientation of their work, to gain many new experiences, stimulate their cognitive activity and initiate their memory. It is important that the difficulty level is adapted according to age and the perceptive abilities of the student, and that each participant knows the rules of the game. Jesper Juul in the article *The Game, the Player, the World: Looking for a Heart of Gameness*<sup>166</sup> illustrates a classic model of the game and replaces its elements. He firstly replaces precisely the rules. The game must have predetermined rules available to the participants. A maximum playing time should also be determined, participants - especially when these are young people, they should also know the contact number of the coordinator, so they can be able to contact him or her at any time. The most important principle, which admittedly Juul does not mention, but which must be listed as one of the first, is to maintain security. This is particularly important if the game takes place in the space of the city. Therefore, it would be best if the game was accompanied or preceded by an exploration of the city. In the case of an unknown city, it is recommended that the city game be replaced by the

<sup>164</sup> M.J. Karcher, *The Effects of School-Based Developmental Mentoring and Mentors' Attendance on Mentees' Self-Esteem, Behavior, and Connectedness*, "Psychology in the Schools", no. 42/2005; M.J. Karcher, D. Claytie, B. Powell, 2002, *Developmental Mentoring in the Schools: Testing Connectedness as a Mediating Variable in the Promotion of Academic Achievement*, "The School Community Journal", no. 12/2002; M.J. Karcher, G.P. Kuperminc, S.G. Portwood, C.L. Sipe, A.S. Taylor, *Mentoring Programs: A Framework to Inform Program Development, Research, and Evaluation*, "Journal of Community Psychology" no. 34/2006.

<sup>165</sup> J.A. Durlak, R.P. Weissberg, *The impact of after-school programs that promote personal and social skills*, Chicago, Collaboative for Academic, "Social and Emotional Learning" 2007; C. Herra, T.J. Kauh, S.M. Cooney, J.B. Grossman, J. McMaken, *High school students as mentors: Findings from the BigBrothers Big Sisters School-Based Mentoring Impact Study*, Philadelphia Public/Private Ventures 2008; D.L. DuBois, B.E. Holloway, J. C. Valentine, H. Cooper, *Effectiveness of mentoring programs for youth: A meta-analytic review*, "American Journal of Community Psychology" no. 30/2002.

<sup>166</sup> J. Juul, *The Game, the Player, the World: Looking for a Heart of Gameness*, [http://ocw.metu.edu.tr/pluginfile.php/4471/mod\\_resource/content/0/ceit706/week3\\_new/JesperJuul\\_GamePlayerWorld.pdf](http://ocw.metu.edu.tr/pluginfile.php/4471/mod_resource/content/0/ceit706/week3_new/JesperJuul_GamePlayerWorld.pdf) (accessed: 09.03.2015).

path method<sup>167</sup>. The game should also precede a choice of history around which the game is played out, and particular objects and places of memory. Another element of the game centers on players' actions - a combination of stealth scout scavenger-hunts, physically active games which center on solving tasks, and substantive intellectual work. Often, the game takes the form of a street happening. Thus, a time-limited event, incorporating narration, using gestures, pictures, texts and characters, which aim to provoke certain actions, events or processes. These actions assume a certain randomness, participants play as if a part of a happening, often relying on improvisation, and the result of their actions, the subsequent task or route are frequently random and unpredictable. Like a happening, the city game has also provoke theoretical reflection. Actions of participants, their improvisations and actions similar to a happening, about which writes the American theater expert, Michael Kirby, are organized „in a separate structure”<sup>168</sup>. The game, finally like a happening should invoke performative effect. This effect, as a result of undertaken measures, which is also mentioned by Juul, should be adapted to the capacity and commitment of the participants. The importance of the game should be clear to participants at every stage and at the end clearly articulated. The player must in fact be aware of the impact the game has on him, its didactic purpose.

The city game is an interesting and effective way of teaching. It seems that its especially suited for learning about memory – it allows for the ability to migrate from one memory place to another, the use of memory, such as biographies or texts. The city game thematically characterizing the aspect of memory, is in itself steeped in the memory. It is based on the map, which, as writes Karl Schlögel<sup>169</sup>, combines all three time periods- the past, present and future. It is in itself a place of memory, it allows for discovery of such places, but also allows for creation and understanding, it records traces of memory and stores them. How the use of city game is summarized by Warcholik: „City games are an innovative idea for presentation, sharing and interpretation of the natural and historical heritage. A well-prepared game is part of a touristic trance based on fun, emotions, education and engagement”<sup>170</sup>.

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<sup>167</sup> K.A. Gajda, K. Suszkiewicz, *Uczenie praw człowieka jako wyzwanie dla edukacji – metoda ścieżki*, [in:] *Edukacja XXI wieku. Podmioty, środowiska i obszary edukacyjne. Wyzwania i zagrożenia połowy XXI wieku*, eds. N. Majchrzak, A. Zduniak, Poznań: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Bezpieczeństwa 2014.

<sup>168</sup> M. Kirby, *Happenings – An Illustrated Anthology*, New York: Dutton 1965, p. 21, Citation for: P. Pavis, *Słownik terminów teatralnych*, Warszawa, Wrocław, Kraków: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich 2002, p. 181. Comparer: M. Kirby, *O happeningu*, „Dialog”, no. 10/1971.

<sup>169</sup> K. Schlögel, *W przestrzeni czas czytamy. O historii cywilizacji o geopolityce*, Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie 2009.

<sup>170</sup> W. Warcholik, *Gry miejskie jako innowacyjne...*, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

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MIROŚLAW NATANEK

## Strasbourg and Schengen as a positive place of memory of European integration

The European integration process, which was initiated in the late 1940s, should be without a doubt considered a lesson drawn by European leaders after World War II. This is even a more unprecedented event, if we take into account the fact that today, it is difficult to state any facts and events that would unambiguously have negative connotations for the integrating countries.

The history of European integration, although abundant of course, in setbacks, examples of conflicting interests and failed projects<sup>171</sup>, nonetheless carries over a fundamental advantage and benefit, of which it is difficult to argue against for even the loudest opponents of today's European Union. This project, the first in history, which led to lasting peace on the continent and to the developing such far-reaching economic and later political ties, that finally Carl von Clausewitz's famous maxim that „war is merely the continuation of policy by other means”<sup>172</sup>, became no longer applicable. In short, the desire to eliminate war as a way of resolving conflicts has become a guiding principle of foreign policy of European states in their mutual relations, and thus Europe (or at least its western part) became the first time in its history, a politically stable region. Moreover, all major decisions were for many years (and actually are today) made through unanimous consensus, and incorporated during multiple meetings and negotiations of leaders from various countries. This of course, raises problems with the ongoing long procedures and decision-making mechanisms, but on the other hand, once that decision is made it has a good chance of full implementation, and is not exposed to dangers of being sabotaged by a country outvoted and dissatisfied. European integration is therefore a project that evokes rather positive emotions, and

<sup>171</sup> For example: the collapse of the European Political Community and European Defense Community, the peripatetic of Great Britain associated with the joining of the European Economic Community, the politics of „empty chair” led by the French President Charles de Gaulle, an unsuccessful attempt at the so called Constitutional Treaty and many others.

<sup>172</sup> See i.e.: R. Kuźniar: *Polityka i siła. Studia strategiczne - zarys problematyki*, 2nd ed., Warszawa: Academic Publisher Scholar 2006, p. 50.

it is a project that led to a long period of economic development of the countries of Western Europe and „exports” at least part of that prosperity, to the post-socialist countries. The best example of this evidence in any case is public opinion polls in Poland, which continue for many years to show very strong support not only for the Polish presence in the EU, but also for the integration process itself. For example, in April 2014 the Poles’ support for membership of our country in the EU amounted to a record 89%<sup>173</sup>. The only real exception in this overall positive perception of the European Union in our country, is the citizens’ attitudes to the proper introduction of the common European currency<sup>174</sup>. One could for a long while enumerate events and places important from the point of view of the idea of European integration. Such events and places will be different for the economists, and again different for the political scientists. However, if - as demonstrated by scientific studies - for the new Member States (including Poland), the EU is mainly associated with funds streaming down to them from the EU, then so much for „old Europe” what is important is the symbolism of the whole integration process and its ideological foundation<sup>175</sup>. So if we relate directly to the title of this text, is therefore the author’s belief that we can find at least a few places with such historical - symbolic significance. Two of them deserve a special attention and are known even less to people well versed in the subject.

Without a doubt, that such a positive place of memory should be firstly considered the city of Strasbourg. There’s a least a couple of reasons. Firstly, it is the capital of Alsace; a region, which in its history has been the subject of disputes between France and Germany, a region that has repeatedly passed „from hand to hand”, and because of its location had frequently been exposed to the havoc of war-related rivalry of these two competing superpowers. Today, Strasbourg is largely a symbol of success of bilateral policies of both countries and the Franco - German reconciliation, the source of which is the so-called Élysée Treaty, signed by Chancellor Konrad Adenauer and President Charles de Gaulle in 1963<sup>176</sup>.

<sup>173</sup> *10 lat of Polish membership in the European Union*, CBOS – Research document, no. 52/2014, April, Warszawa, Table 1, p. 6.

<sup>174</sup> See i.e.: M. Natanek, *Marazm czy wykorzystana szansa? Społeczności lokalne wobec działań samorządów lokalnych w warunkach członkostwa Polski w UE i decentralizacji kraju*, „Politeja”, no. 1(33)/2015, Kraków: Publisher WSMiP UJ 2015, p. 51-54.

<sup>175</sup> On this subject, see more: K. Kowalski, *Europa: mity, modele, symbole*, Kraków: International Cultural Centre 2002, p. 99 – 200.

<sup>176</sup> AMAE, Doc. O.N.U., vol. 821, p. 323 „1963 ; 60”. See: W. J. Szczepański, *Charles de Gaulle i Europa*, Warszawa: BNW 2001, p. 175-177 i 187-190; A. Pazik, *Między pragmatyzmem a idealizmem. Polityka europejska gen. Charles’a de Gaulle’a w latach 1958 – 1969*, Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek 2012, p. 127 – 152.

The Élysée Treaty, or the Treaty of Friendship, was signed in Paris on January 22, 1963.

In 1963, Élysée Treaty does not have the incorporating character, which would become over time. Undoubtedly, it stands as the culmination of many years of efforts towards the rapprochement between the two societies, and above all, the political will expressed by de Gaulle and Adenauer. At the same time, however, it is also the result of the current circumstances and interests. (...) In a joint declaration to the Treaty, Adenauer and de Gaulle highlight the fact that Franco-German reconciliation is a „historical event which profoundly alter relations between the two nations.” The declaration also says that „strengthening cooperation between the two countries is a necessary step on the road to a united Europe, which is the goal of both nations.” The Treaty solidifies the organization of cooperation of the Franco-German frontier, notably the obligation of regular political consultations. It includes a program on three areas: foreign affairs, defense, education and youth. It does not address the economic or cultural contacts, because these subjects were included in previous bilateral or European agreements.

Source: *50 years Elysée Treaty. Germany and France. Half a century of friendship and cooperation*,

[http://dombretanii.pl/styrony/do\\_druku/aktualnosci/2013/08/002-01.pdf](http://dombretanii.pl/styrony/do_druku/aktualnosci/2013/08/002-01.pdf)

See: S. Parzymies, the Franco-German „motor” of European integration. 50 years under the rule of the Elysée Treaty, „Homo Politicus. Yearbook of political science,” vol. 7-8/2012-2013, University of Humanities and Economics in Łódź, p. 19-32.

A special mention should be made that this initial idea of European integration was imagined by the former UK Prime Minister Winston Churchill, who shortly after the end of World War II in his famous Zurich speech on 19 September 1946 called for a reconciliation of these peoples<sup>177</sup>: „I am now going to say something that will astonish you. The first step in the re-creation of the European family must be a partnership between France and Germany. In this way only, can France recover the moral leadership of Europe. There can be no revival of Europe without spiritually great France and spiritually great Germany”<sup>178</sup>. Secondly, the direct result of Winston Churchill at the University of Zurich was the organization of the Congress of The Hague, which was instrumental in the creation in 1949 of the Council of Europe; the first international organization created after World War II, aimed at strengthening political, economic and cultural cooperation between European countries based in Strasbourg<sup>179</sup>. It’s hard to describe here almost seven decades of the activities of the Council of Europe itself. Just to mention, however, that at this time through its forum, 216 European conventions (and protocols) affecting almost all areas of life of Europeans were passed, ratified and respected by States, thus becoming somewhat common law<sup>180</sup>. What interest us here is one of the great achievements of the Council

<sup>177</sup> Microfiche: *Winston Churchill’s speech Zurich University 19 September 1946*, Doc. X/6075/61-E.

<sup>178</sup> A. Basak, T. Marczak, *Wybór tekstów źródłowych do historii powszechnej po II wojnie światowej*, t. 1. 1945-1955, part 1, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego 1992, p. 110.

<sup>179</sup> See: *Statut du Conseil de l’Europe*, CETS No 001, art. 11. London 1949 or M. Natanek, *Historia integracji europejskiej*, Warszawa: The Ministry of Foreign Affairs RP 2013, p. 12– 17.

<sup>180</sup> Council of Europe Treaty Office, <http://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list> (accessed: 15.10.2015).

of Europe at the beginning of its activity, which was the adoption of the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (1950) as an international agreement of the Member States relating to the protection of civil rights<sup>181</sup>.

The governments, as signatories to this Convention, the members of the Council of Europe, Considering the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted on 10 December 1948. by the General Assembly of the United Nations;

Considering that this Declaration aims to ensure universal and effective application of its rights;

Considering that the aim of the Council of Europe is to achieve greater unity between its members and that one way of achieving this goal is the protection and realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms;

Reaffirming their profound belief in those fundamental freedoms which are the foundation of justice and peace in the world and whose behavior is based mainly on the one hand, a democratic political system, on the other - on a uniform understanding and mutual respect for human rights to which they refer;

Resolved, as the European governments, acting in the same spirit and possessing a common heritage of political traditions, ideals, freedom and the rule of law, to take the first steps for the collective enforcement of certain rights listed in the Universal Declaration.

Source: *Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms* signed in Rome on 4 November 1950, amended by a subsequent Protocols Nos 3, 5 and 8 and supplemented with Protocol No 2 (Dz. U. of 10 July 1993).

Today, its effectiveness remains beyond dispute, but the system of human rights protection in Europe would not be effective without further steps related to the implementation of its provisions and the possibility of enforcing them. Therefore, the first act established the Human Rights Commission (worked in the years 1955-1999) alongside the Council of Europe, and the next step was the establishment in 1959 of the European Court of Human Rights.

In 1959, the European Court of Human Rights was established in Strasbourg, which currently is the only international court to which everyone has access to upon fulfilling certain conditions stipulated by the Convention. The right of complaint is the most important element of this system and allows both individuals, groups of individuals and international organizations (ie. Individual complaints), as well as the States - Parties to the Convention (ie. interstate complaints) to assert their rights and freedoms guaranteed in the Convention. The Court recognizing the specific allegations made by the victims have formulated common principles and standards in the sphere of human rights which the State - Parties shall ensure the unit in all conditions.

Source: <https://bip.ms.gov.pl/pl/prawa-czlowieka/europejski-trybunal-praw-czlowieka/o-trybunale/>

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<sup>181</sup> *Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms*, CETS no. 005, Rome 1950.

This authority had to rule in matters of compliance by the Member States of the Council with regards to our basic rights. Needless to say, that the seat of both the Commission and the Court since the inception is also in Strasbourg<sup>182</sup>.

Thirdly, it is worth bearing in mind that at the turn of 1952 and 1953, during the work on the deepening of the integration process and the establishment of the European Defense Community and the European Political Community, negotiations on those documents was held in the city – a the headquarters of the Council of Europe<sup>183</sup>.

European Political Community - the proposal submitted by Robert Schuman on July 1, 1952 and adopted on May 9, 1953. Its purpose was the protection of human rights, defense and foreign policy, and economic issues.

Finally, the governments of the European Coal and Steel Community decided that Strasbourg will also serve as temporary headquarters of all institutions formed in the subsequent Communities<sup>184</sup>.

CONSIDERING that world peace can be achieved only through creative efforts to measure the dangers that threaten it; CONVINCED that for the sake of peaceful relations is necessary to contribute to civilization that can make Europe organized and vital; AWARE of the fact that such an Europe can be built only through concrete actions posing real solidarity and assuming a common foundation for economic development; WISHING to contribute through the development of the basic branches of production to raise the standard of living and the progress of on action towards peace; DETERMINED to replace the historic rivalry of nations by combining their essential interests; Establish - creating an economic community, the basis for a broad and independent unity of the peoples for centuries separated by bloody conflicts, and establish the foundations of institutions able to drive from then on their common fate; HAVE DECIDED to create the European Coal and Steel Community.

Article 2: The purpose of the European Coal and Steel Community, in accordance with the evolution of the overall economies of the Member States, is to contribute to the economic development, increase employment and raise living standards in those States by creating a common market (...). The Community should constantly create conditions that would ensure the most rational distribution of products at the highest level of productivity, while safeguarding continuity of employment and avoiding fundamental and persistent disturbances in the economies of the Member States.

Source: *The Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community*.

Although both of these projects have fallen due to the lack of ratification of treaties by the French National Assembly, however, the effect of these decisions is the

<sup>182</sup> *Règlement interieur de la Comission Européenne des Droits de l'Homme*, le 2 IV 1955, art. 22, p. 66 as well as *Règlement de la Cour Européenne des Droits de l'Homme*, le 18.09. 1959, art. 15, p. 11.

<sup>183</sup> *Information and official documents of the Constitutional Committee*, October 1952 - April 1953. Secretariat of the Constitutional Committee, Paris 1953, p. 9-18.

<sup>184</sup> *Draft Treaty embodying the Statute of the European Community*, art.100.

fact that in the capital of Alsace, except for the aforementioned Council of Europe, is one of the seats of the European Parliament, and it is in Strasbourg that its Plenary sessions are held today.

For decades of the integration process and the development of so-called common policy, regional policy has gained great importance in the EEC (later the EU). Regions therefore, have not only become a major beneficiary of funds, but at the same time their political relevance has increased. The best proof of this was the establishment of the Committee of the Regions, by the Treaty of Maastricht (1992) as a subsidiary organ of the then emerging EU. Back in the 1950s, a similar body was created as part of the internal structure of the Council of Europe (Conference of Local and Regional Authorities).

Committee of the Regions is the EU advisory body composed of elected local and regional representatives from all 28 Member States. Through the Committee of the Regions. Members have the opportunity to exchange views on EU legal acts that have a direct impact on regions and cities.  
Source: [http://europa.eu/about-eu/institutions-bodies/cor/index\\_pl.htm](http://europa.eu/about-eu/institutions-bodies/cor/index_pl.htm)

A new perspective and direction of development of European integration presented the Treaty on European Union. The document was signed on February 7, 1992 in Maastricht, and came into force in 1993, constituting a formal basis for the European Union. Major decisions contained in the Maastricht Treaty are set out in three pillars. The first pillar expanding the existing functions of the European Communities, the second pillar deals with foreign policy and security, and the third pillar deals with Internal politics and justice.

Source: W. Gizicki *European security in selected EU documents*, ZNZE UITM, no. 2/2009 (10), p. 92.

The political significance of local authorities was also reflected in the carried out in European countries decentralization reforms, (for example in Italy and Spain). In this context it is not surprising that politicians at regional level decided to create a own organization, whose mission would be the political representation of the interests of local and regional authorities in Europe; an organization that would strengthen the voice of the regions, not only in relation to the Community institutions, but also in relation to national governments. Finally, in 1985, the Assembly of European Regions was founded, whose headquarters, for obvious reasons are also located in Strasbourg<sup>185</sup>.

<sup>185</sup> See: M. Natanek, *Zgromadzenie Regionów Europejskich jako polityczna reprezentacja władz samorządowych Europy*, [in:] *Problemy i dylematy rozwoju Unii Europejskiej*, ed. H. Tendra-Właszczyk, Katowice: Śląska Wyższa Szkoła Zarządzania im. gen. Jerzego Ziętka w Katowicach 2007, p. 30 – 42.

The Assembly of European Regions was created in 1985 to strengthen the voice and position of the regions of Europe. Since then, the organization has achieved considerable success leading to the implementation of regional reform in many European countries and raised the profile of the regions in European decision-making process.

Source: <http://newaer.eu/the-history-of-aer/>.

It is therefore difficult at this point to recall the words of Georges Bidault, the then Chairman of the Special Council of Ministers of the European Coal and Steel Community, which on enactment of the so-called Statute of the European Political Community stated:

We have undertaken to make a Europe. We could have wished it to be bounded by the frontiers of geography. Here in Strasbourg we have accepted a Europe bounded by the frontiers of freedom. At this moment though we do not feel that these boundaries can endure we are making a beginning at the frontiers of free will.

Far be it from us to wish to build this Europe for herself alone. Europe is not a thing apart; Europe exists to serve the world. On the banks of the Rhine below the spire of the Strasbourg Minster, an age-old tradition proves to us that our present endeavor is the prolongation and expansion of the experience of centuries<sup>186</sup>.

These words perhaps best illustrate the significance and symbolism of the French-German border region for the European integration process; the symbolism of the Rhine River as the river separating the two countries and eventually the importance of Strasbourg as a city - a symbol of friendship. Sami and its people refer to them as the „capital of Europe” and Euro-metropolis<sup>187</sup>.

So if we want to define the capital of Alsace as a positive place of memory, it is primarily because the city is a symbol of a united continent, a continent without war. That's why here the headquarters of the Council of Europe, the European Court of Human Rights, the Assembly of European Regions and the European Parliament are located. Here too, the Federal Republic of Germany „meets” with France, and here the culture of these two nations mutually penetrate each other.

The second - without a doubt - positive place of memory in Europe is Schengen in Luxembourg. Today, in times of the migration crisis related to the many conflicts in the Middle East, the word raises a arises extreme emotions. The significance and symbolism of the place however, is illustrated by the European responses to the closure of the Hungarian border with Croatia and Serbia, and in particular Angela Merkel's government's decision to temporarily introduce border controls in Germany and Austria. So what is Schengen? Contrary to appearances, this is not just a place, it is also an idea, the idea of a Europe without borders.

<sup>186</sup> Speech by G. Bidault from 9 III 1953 in Strasbourg. See: *Information and official documents of the Constitutional Committee, October 1952 - April 1953*. Doc 11, p. 155.

<sup>187</sup> <http://www.strasbourg.eu/fr/fonctionnement-ville-cus/communaute-urbaine-strasbourg> (accessed: 10.10.2015).

The city of Schengen is obviously associated with the agreement between the States of Benelux Economic Union (UEB), France and Germany on the gradual abolition of checks at the internal borders between the five countries, signed on 14th of June 1985<sup>188</sup>. But we must remember that it was not only nor the beginning, nor the end of the sequence of events that resulted in what today is called the Schengen process.

On 3 February 1958 In The Hague (Netherlands) the Treaty (Treaty of the Hague, the Benelux Treaty was signed), under which the Benelux Economic Union (pl. Benelux Ekonomska Unia, fr. Union Economique Benelux) was created. The Hague Treaty came into force on 1 November 1960, and was to last 50 years. The official languages of cooperation within the Benelux Economic Union were selected: Dutch and French. In the preamble of the Treaty of the Hague the main objectives of the Union were listed, which include: - Free movement of people, goods, capital and services, - Coordination of economic policy, financial and social, - Common policy on foreign trade.

Source: A. Zygierewicz, *Cooperation in the Benelux countries, the Chancellery of the Senate, the Office of Research, Faculty of Social and Economic Analysis*, September 2005 1149, p. 2; [http://biurose.sejm.gov.pl/teksty\\_pdf\\_05/i-1149.pdf](http://biurose.sejm.gov.pl/teksty_pdf_05/i-1149.pdf)

It must be pointed out that it is no accident that the agreement was jointly signed by the three Benelux countries. This was due to the fact that in this particular area Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg already acting together (as arising Benelux Economic Union) have already made great progress, and were the first countries on the European continent who have decided to stop border controls between each other. Even before the entry into force of the founding of UEB, April 11, 1960 in Brussels a convention was signed transferring the physical controls on the external borders of the Economic Union countries<sup>189</sup>. After briefly ongoing ratification process (all three parliaments have accepted this agreement in one day - June 30, 1960) the Convention entered into force on July 1st. In the same year, the decision of the Committee of Ministers of UEB also set up specialized bodies (working group and the special committee), whose task was the technical implementation of the provisions of the Convention<sup>190</sup>. Thus, these three countries for many years had outstripped the European Communities, not only for the actual implementation of the freedoms of the common European market (especially freedom of movement of persons), but also gained in this respect invaluable experience. Over the next 25 implementations of the Convention, the acquis of the Benelux countries in this area was systematically supplemented with protocols and subsequent deci-

<sup>188</sup> EU Official Journal, L 239, 22/09/2000 P. 0013 – 0018.

<sup>189</sup> *Convention entre le Royaume de Belgique, le Grand-duché de Luxembourg et le Royaume des Pays-bas, concernant le transfert du contrôle des personnes vers les frontières extérieures du territoire du Benelux*, see: [http://www.benelux.int/files/7213/9230/2794/19600411\\_BUITEN-GRENZEN\\_FR.pdf](http://www.benelux.int/files/7213/9230/2794/19600411_BUITEN-GRENZEN_FR.pdf) (accessed: 17.10.2015).

<sup>190</sup> *Décision du Comité de Ministres de l'Union économique Benelux instituant un groupe de travail et une commission spéciale en vue de l'exécution de la convention concernant le transfert du contrôle des personnes vers les frontières extérieures du Benelux*, Doc. UEB M\_1960\_13 z 03.11.1960. See also: Doc. UEB M\_1965\_11.

sions of the Committee of Ministers concerning the improvement of border procedures, customs facilities or joint cross-border projects<sup>191</sup>. As in many previous cases, the actions of the Benelux Economic Union were a kind of testing ground and an attempt to extend the idea of free movement within the countries of the Communities.

Despite this example, we had to wait almost a quarter of a century for similar decisions to be undertaken by other Member States. Shortly before signing the Schengen Treaty, such a step was finally taken by France and the Federal Republic of Germany, who on July 13, 1984 in Saarbrücken signed an intergovernmental agreement on the gradual abolition of checks at common borders between states<sup>192</sup>.

The Schengen area and cooperation based on the layout of the Schengen from 1985. The Schengen area is the territory in which freedom of movement is guaranteed. States signatory to the agreement decided to abolish the internal borders for a single external border. Under this situation, the issue of short-stay visas, asylum and border controls, common rules and procedures apply. At the same time, in order to ensure security in the Schengen area, cooperation and coordination between the police and judicial authorities is paramount. Operation of Schengen cooperation was incorporated into the Union (EU) legal framework under the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1997. However, not all countries cooperating within the framework of the system are parties to the Schengen area. This happens for two reasons: either these countries do not wish to eliminate border controls, or do not fulfill the necessary conditions for the application of the Schengen acquis.

Source: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/PL/TXT/?uri=URISERV:I33020>

Recalling this agreement, it is worth paying attention to two issues. First, both governments would probably procrastinate longer with the signing of the agreement, were it not for the fact that, to take such steps, they were actually required by EEC Council Directive from December 1, 1983 concerning facilities for physical controls and abolishing administrative formalities for the transportation of goods between Member States of the Communities, as well as Declaration of the European Council Summit in Fontainebleau, which took place on 25-26 of June 1984. Later however, the Council strengthened its position of the Communities in this regard with a resolution on the facilitation of the crossing of internal borders of the Communities by nationals of Member States<sup>193</sup>. Secondly, it should be noted that in this case the two governments decided to introduce symbolic elements in their mutual relations as a place for the signing of an agreement – the city of Saarbrücken and capital of the industrialized border

<sup>191</sup> I.e. *Protocole relatif à la suppression des contrôles et formalités aux frontières intérieures du Benelux et à la suppression des entraves à la libre circulation*, Doc. UEB M\_1969\_06.

<sup>192</sup> *Accord entre le gouvernement de la République française et le gouvernement de la République fédérale d'Allemagne relatif à la suppression graduelle des contrôles à la frontière*, AMAE, Doc O.N.U., vol. 1401, p.167 1984; 39.

<sup>193</sup> *EC Council Directive 83/643/CEE*, EC Official Journal L 359 , 22/12/1983 P. 0008 – 0011 as well as *Rezolucja Rady 84/C 159/01*, EC Official Journal C 159, vol. 27, 19.06.1984. It is based upon the authority of these two documents that special lanes for citizens of the Communities became available at the border crossings (highways, sea and airports).

region which, though ethnically German, after both world wars was managed by the French, either on behalf of the League of Nations (after World War I for 15 years), or as areas directly occupied by the French army (after World War II until 1955).

As a result, prior to the signing of the Schengen, in the Communities we had two independent areas of abolishing of border barriers within the European Economic Community. One is the internal borders within the framework of the Benelux Economic Union, the second is the Franco-German border. Pentalateral negotiations on the text of the agreement began on the February 27 in Brussels, and - as already mentioned - the same agreement was signed on June 14, 1985 in the town of Schengen in the section called „Drai-Länder-Eck” on board the cruise ship „Marie-Astrid” on Moseli river; in a place where the borders of the Netherlands, France and Germany conjoin<sup>194</sup>. Thus only this agreement as a whole closes the first phase of the abolition of borders in integrating Europe, and is also a practical implementation of Council Directive as already cited.

The Schengen Agreement was an agreement covering the many complex technical issues related to the ability to freely cross internal borders of a State, and shared the process of implementing its provisions in two stages. In the short term (provisions were to enter into force on the first of January 1986), the State consented to, inter alia: facilitate small border traffic, the so-called visual inspection without having to stop vehicles and persons, freedom of places to cross the border, cooperation in the issuing of visas or customs cooperation in the fight against drug trafficking. In the longer term (provisions were to enter into force on the first of January 1990) the parties decided to, inter alia: the transfer of tighter checks at external borders, to strengthen police and judicial cooperation, as well as the harmonization of laws to combat the illicit trafficking in arms and explosives, or raise the tariff concessions for citizens.

From the point of view of what interests us here, it should be added that the city of Schengen once again become a symbolic place in the context of continuing the abolition of internal borders controls in EEC. On June 19, 1990, in fact is when the signing of two important documents in this matter takes place. The five signatory countries of the Schengen agreement signed on that day the Convention implementing the Agreement, and at the same time for the entire project through a special protocol Italy finally joins in<sup>195</sup>.

As already mentioned, the signing of the agreement in 1985 was only the beginning of yet still ongoing so-called Schengen process, which results in the fact that today the area without border controls covers up to 22 EU Member States and four non-EU countries (Norway, Iceland, Switzerland and Liechtenstein)<sup>196</sup>. Reactions to

<sup>194</sup> Speech by the State Secretary. Foreign Grand Duchy of Luxembourg by Robert Goebbels of 14 June 1985, *Grand-Duché de Luxembourg; Ministère d'Etat, Bulletin de documentation GDL*, no. 4/1985, p. 32.

<sup>195</sup> AMAE, Doc. TRA19900118 oraz AMAE, Doc. TRA19900357.

<sup>196</sup> Other 6 EU Member States: Great Britain, Ireland, Cyprus, Bulgaria, Romania, and Croatia for various reasons are not members of Schengen area. See [http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/borders-and-visas/schengen/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/borders-and-visas/schengen/index_en.htm), accessed: 17.12.2015

the migration crisis in Europe and the reintroduction of controls at national borders, which - according to the agreement may be placed temporarily in emergency situations security and public order - in this context they are both symptomatic and threatening at the same time. One must remember that in the European Union, we already have to deal with the second generation of people (third, in the case of citizens of Benelux), who do not know of border controls, for which it is their absence is most visible and most obvious symbol of the unity of the continent. Older citizens of five countries signatories of the Schengen Agreement can therefore nostalgically remember the times thirty years ago, when in order to facilitate the customs services of the so-called visual inspection (without having to stop at the border) when behind an automotive windshield, one had to put a green shield with a minimum diameter of 8 cm<sup>197</sup>.

This symbolic and unknown to most of us green shield is a measure of success in building a Europe without dividing lines; a stable and secure Europe. Despite this, after all, national borders still exist in the physical and political sense, and recent event quickly reminded us of this.

Translated by: Monika Eriksen

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<sup>197</sup> EU Official Journal L 239 , 22/09/2000 P. 0013 – 0018, Art. 3.

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## Strasbourg and the Schengen as a positive place of memory of European integration

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## Konrad Adenauer – Father of Europe or eminent Statesman?

Konrad Adenauer (1876-1967) made history in an ambivalent way. On the one hand he has been imbedded in history as a “Father of Europe”. In this position he has been depicted in textbooks as well as in encyclopaedias<sup>198</sup>. On the other hand in political science scholarly literature there is an image of Adenauer as an eminent German Statesman, who knew how to make the international and domestic factors serve the paramount interests of Germany in a post-war period<sup>199</sup>. The latter implies that he did not perceive the European integration as an ultimate goal of his political activity, but as a mean to reconstruction of trust towards Germany among the states of Western Europe and its incorporation into the European politics.

The role of Adenauer is presented in this paper on the basis of a case-study analysis, which is the politics of integration with the West (*Westbindung*). The case was selected with regard to an assumption that western political system constituted in Adenauer’s strategic political activity an area, in which he made decisions comprehended as an attempt of an active and creative adaptation<sup>200</sup> to the prevailing conditions. His *Westbindung* politics stood in stark contrast to his politics in East, which was more passive. The former of the two mentioned above areas of politics constituted a frame of implementation of crucial national interests. In the context of the problem posed in the paper, the West is defined at two levels: Atlantic and European.

### Germany’s post-war situation as a main burden in its European political activity

In order to understand the significance of the connections between the political actions performed by Adenauer at national and European level, the specific situation

<sup>198</sup> See: European Commission: [http://europa.eu/about-eu/eu-history/1945-1959/foundingfathers/adenauer/index\\_pl.htm](http://europa.eu/about-eu/eu-history/1945-1959/foundingfathers/adenauer/index_pl.htm) (accessed: 01.08.2015).

<sup>199</sup> See: K. Białas-Zielińska, *Zjednoczona Europa w myśli Konrada Adenauera, Roberta Schumana oraz Alcide de Gasperiego*, „Acta Erazmiana”, 2011, p. 35-52; R. Kochnowski, *Spór o Niemcy. Problem niemiecki w myśli politycznej Konrada Adenauera i Kurta Schumachera w latach 1945-1952*, Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego 1999; A. Młynarski, *Niemcy jako polityczny problem Europy 1949-2002. Kontynuacja i zmiana polityki zagranicznej Konrada Adenauera*, Kielce: Wydawnictwo Akademii Świętokrzyskiej 2006.

<sup>200</sup> The definition of adaptation understood as: J. Sielski, *Pierwotne kategorie aksjologicznej analizy decyzyjnej*, Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego 1997.

of Germany after 1945 must be taken into consideration as one of the major conditions of his activity. After the World War II the domestic situation of Germany, evolution of its statehood was coupled with external factors. This connection was formed in two dimensions. On the one hand it was structural as it assumed the participation of the power states in the decision-making process in Germany. On the other hand, the connection had a processing dimension as it was integrally related to the course of events on the European political scene, especially to the cold war.

The war left on Germans a mark of both military and moral defeat as they had to face the total responsibility for the Nazi crimes. The Allies had already debated the future of the post-war Germany during the military operations. The key decisions were reached during the conferences of the so-called “Big Three” in Teheran, Yalta, Potsdam. As an outcome of the latter one Germany was deprived of its external and internal sovereignty. It was divided into four occupation zones, where the power was held by commanders in chief of the United States, Great Britain and Soviet Russia. Hence, Germany in 1945 became depended on four states, which jointly executed the ultimate power in the framework of the Allied Control Council, which functioned until March 1948.

The volatile situation of Germany got exacerbated in 1947, when the conflict between the West and East flared up. It brought about the process of gradual merging of occupational zones, which led to the creation of Bizone and then Trizone, which subsequently were formed into RFG and the GDR in East.

### **The beginnings of the European activity of Konrad Adenauer**

In the aftermath of the World War II Adenauer got involved in politics at the local level. He decided to pursue the political activity, which was ceased in 1933 as a result of growing misunderstandings with the Nazi government<sup>201</sup>. The Americans, after inva-

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<sup>201</sup> Before the WWII Adenauer was a mayor of the city for 16 years. He was a lawyer by profession. The circumstances determined that he chose to work as a civil servant. In 1904 he married Emma Weyer, which permitted him to come into contact with local political activists. In 1906 he was elected to the City Council and three years later he became Vice-Mayor of Cologne. During the WWI he was responsible for provision of food, which was regarded as his great success. In 1917 Mac Wallraff, Mayor of Cologne (and privately uncle of Adenauer's wife), was appointed to office in Berlin. Adenauer became a Mayor of the city. His main aims focused on transformation of Cologne in a Western metropolis. Under his governance a University was re-established (as it was closed in 1798 after France had invaded Rheinland in 1794), a new bridge was erected over the Rheine, a new port on the Rheine was built. He also leveraged investments in Ford factory. After the WW I he agitated for creation of Rheinisch Federal State, which was supposed to be separated from Prussia in order to appease France who feared the rearmament of the region. This goal was not attained. In 1929 he was re-elected as Mayor of Cologne. However, after the Nazi had seized the power in Germany, his political career was cut short. On the 13th March 1933 he was thrown out from the town hall due to a conflict that had sparked off between him and Hitler. When Hitler came to Cologne in February, Adenauer decided not to take part in a ceremony of greeting and to remove Nazi flags from the Deutzer bridge. After that Adenauer was banished from Cologne, his bank accounts were frozen. He stayed for some time in Berlin, then he took a shelter in Maria

ding the Rheinland in 1945, appointed Adenauer as Mayor of Cologne. Adenauer, because of his anti-Nazi stance in period after 1933, was reckoned to be a perfect personage for this position. Nonetheless, after the power over the Rheinland had been handed over to the British troops, a conflict between Adenauer and the new rulers promptly arose. It led to Adenauer's dismissal from the office and his expulsion from Cologne. He was also forbidden to get involved and undertake any political activity. The reasons of this dispute have been unexplained. Adenauer mentioned in his "Memoires" that it was provoked by British who forced him to chop down the trees in Cologne in order to produce fuel, for which Adenauer did not want to give his consent. On the other hand, it has been stated, that the conflict sparked off because of political reasons. From the very onset of his political career Adenauer was a supporter of Christian democratic ideological orientation. In 1906 he became a member of the Centre Party, which was generally based on Christian democratic ideology. After 1945 he was engaged in a process of reconstitution of a political party rooted in Christian democratic grounds. Meanwhile, in Great Britain, the Labour Party was the ruling one. Hence, the decision concerning the deposition of Adenauer was perceived as a mark of British support for German social democrats.

After the forced resignation from office Adenauer focused on establishment of a new political party. In January 1946 he was offered to assume the leadership of the Christian Democratic Union. He became also one of the authors of its political programme. He supported the idea that the party should be inter-confessional, which was in contrast to the ideological grounds of the Centre Party that was based exclusively on catholic doctrine<sup>202</sup>.

The position of Adenauer on German political scene strengthened. He also got involved in the activity of the pan-European movement and in 1948 he participated in the Hague Congress, which actually became something of an embarrassment for Germany as the organizers seated its representation (including Adenauer) in a gallery in session hall. For Adenauer it was an unnerve experience as he knew how hard it would be to restore the trust towards Germany on European political scene and to regain its subjectivity.

Adenauer attempted to take the advantage of the process of the European integration in order to improve the atmosphere around Germany. During the Hague Congress he met Coudenhove-Kalergi, whom he promised the support in the framework of the European Parliamentary Union. He also declared his attendance at the

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Laach Abbey. In August 1944 he was imprisoned in a detention camp in Deutz-Cologne. He was accused of having connections with Kreisauer Kreis, which organised an attempt of assassination of Hitler in July 1944. From Deutz Adenauer was supposed to be transported to Buchenwald concentration camp. He avoided that due to a help of a kapo, who suggested him to malingering. Adenauer was placed in a hospital in Hohenlind. From there he fled to Nistermuhle in Westerwald. His escape from the prison bore severe consequences for his family. Gestapo arrested his wife who under pressure revealed Adenauer's whereabouts. Adenauer was imprisoned and sent to Brauweiler. He was freed in November 1944 because of an intervention made by his son. Adenauer returned to Rhondorf, where he stayed until the end of the war.

<sup>202</sup> R. Kochnowski, *op. cit.*, p. 39-40.

next pan-European congress, which was to be held in in September 1948 in Interlaken. His endeavours soon proved to be successful as at the congress in Switzerland, the representation of Germany was put in the same position as other countries. For Adenauer the significance of the process of the European integration was not only a crucial step towards permanent peace in Western part of the continent, but also a way to restore the ties between Germany and other European states<sup>203</sup>.

In the first phase of his political involvement after 1946, his major endeavours were aimed towards extending his field of competence. In 1948 he participated in drafting of a new constitution that was enacted a year later. It was a milestone in a process of re-establishing of German sovereignty, as the fundamental state organs were established. Subsequently, a government of Konrad Adenauer's was formed. He became thus the first Chancellor of Federal Republic of Germany. However, Germany still remained strongly dependent upon the allied powers, as the next day after promulgation of the constitution, an occupational statute was passed. It determined the roles and competences of both the Allied and the new German government.

Adenauer at the time did not only fulfil the role of a chancellor but also a minister of foreign affairs. In this way he became formally responsible for drawing directions and aims of German foreign policy. Generally, his ruling over the state can be divided into three periods: 1949 – 1955, 1955 – 1958, 1958 – 1963. The year 1955 symbolises here a significant change as then Germany regained its full sovereignty on the basis of treaty of Paris signed in October 1954. In May 1955 Germany became also a member of NATO. In the same year, ministry of foreign ministry was established.

Adenauer's activity:

- 1949 – 1955 - the main aim of his actions was to regain the sovereignty of the state
- 1955 – 1958 - heightened political activity in Europe, mainly in area of deepening the European integration
- 1958 – 1963 - (called a "gaullist" period) rising to power of general Charles de Gaulle, who was unfriendly towards the pan-European projects, marked a shift in Adenauer's politics, which he oriented towards strengthening the partnership between France and Germany.

Source: K. Ruchniewicz, *Adenauer a Europa*, Warszawa: Kontrast 2001.

## Between East and West

Adenauer's politics at the initial stage of functioning of his government in post-war Germany (until 1950) was inert, which was a consequence of tight restrictions imposed upon Germany, as well as international situation which was dominated at the time by the arising conflict between West and East. Heavy dependence of Germany's political fate on these factors was linked directly to its influence on the possibility of a conclusion of

<sup>203</sup> K. Ruchniewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 22-23.

the peace treaty, which would restore Germany in its borders from 1937. The Korean war, which erupted in 1950, proved how vital it was for Germany to ensure its military security. The divided country, located between the two blocks, was in the very heart of the cold war. Therefore, Adenauer was forced to make a choice of strategical assumptions of his politics. He deemed there was the only way to have Germany's interests safeguarded: through establishment of its sovereignty restored on the basis of the decisions of occupational states. In the context of the sharp conflict between two major international superpowers, Adenauer had no hesitation in supporting the Western block. Generally, he had two options: either to pursue the traditional politics of balance between East and West (*Schaukelpolitik*) which was realised by Bismarck and in the times of Weimar Republic or to support the Western states. Adenauer firmly rejected the first option. A cooperation with Soviet Russia was for him unacceptable in view of politics and ideology. He knew also that it was impossible for Germany to take a neutral stance in the cold war conflict because of its geopolitical position<sup>204</sup>. In his opinion it was unavoidable that Russia would make attempts to establish a domination over Western Germany. He reckoned that, after the division of the state, Germany lay in a field of core interests of Russia, as a road to the West ran through it. Moreover, inclusion of FRG into soviet block would also increase the military and economic potential of Soviet Russia, which would give it an advantage over the United States. According to Adenauer, the Korean war was a proof of that anticipation<sup>205</sup>. In that situation Adenauer knew that it was impossible to implement the traditional politics of balance.

Beside the political aspect of groundings of *Westbindung*, an ideological one must be also indicated. Expansionism of Soviet Russia along with its atheistic ideology was depicted by Adenauer as a threat to the German culture embedded in Christian and humanistic values. The negative stance towards communism represented by Soviet Russia's dominant ideology stemmed from Adenauer's strong attachment to Christian democratic doctrine and especially from its conception of personalism and the freedom of a human person<sup>206</sup>.

Integration with West in Adenauer's politics proceeded at global, European and bilateral level. It must be underlined that Europe was in a very core of his politics of *Westbindung*, despite the fact that his expectations about its role fluctuated. Europe constituted a part of a broader western system, which embraced the states of the western block under domination of the United States. At the lowest level there was a bilateral system formed in the framework of relations with France.

### ***Westbindung* at global level**

It can be noticed that in the first phase of Adenauer's political activity, he attempted to base Germany's security on strong ties with the United States. Therefore, *Westbindung* at global level had been linked to the question of military security by the end of the Korean war. As a result of an outright confrontation between the United

<sup>204</sup> W. Kozub-Ciembroniewicz, *Konrad Adenauer: personalizm i tradycjonalizm*, Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka 2000, p. 33.

<sup>205</sup> K. Adenauer, *Wspomnienia*, Warszawa: ABC 2000, p. 94-95.

<sup>206</sup> W. Kozub-Ciembroniewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 33-34.

States and the Soviet Russia, a concern emerged over the prospects of the new worldwide war. Moreover, Adenauer feared that Western Europe would not be in position to oppose successfully to Russian military potential as well as to secure Germany against its expansionism. The Korean crisis only fuelled Adenauer's fears. In his memorandum sent on the 29th August 1950 to McCloy (who was at the time at the head of the Allied High Commission), he pointed out that "a course of events in the Far East provoked anxiety in German nation and caused a feeling of insecurity"<sup>207</sup>. Adenauer reckoned that military protection over Germany can be ensured solely by the United States, whom history ascribed after the WWII a role similar to the one of the Roman Empire in the past<sup>208</sup>.

On the other hand, leaning the German security politics on the United States was aimed at affirmation of western orientation of Adenauer's foreign policy. In this context must be perceived Adenauer's official visit to the United States in April 1953. The visit did not have a strictly political significance as it was considered to be an occasion to express the German nation's gratitude for the support received in the process of reconstruction of their state. As a result, the visit confirmed the efficiency of Adenauer's politics on the international scene. The ceremony of laying a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier was performed with full honours – a German anthem sounded and the German flag was raised<sup>209</sup>.

In the middle of 1950s Adenauer's stance towards the United States altered, which was caused by his growing concern over American politics towards Russia and which created in Germany a climate of mistrust towards the United States. Adenauer did not approve the position of the United States taken in face of the Suez crisis and which led to the retreat of France and Great Britain from the region<sup>210</sup>. On the 6th of November 1956 he gave a comment on the reaction of the United States to the conflict, in which he made a scathing remark that the United States were ready to take part in division of influences over the world, which had been offered by Bulganin. He added that the importance of the United States in the western part of the continent had been in decline. He also presented his own vision of Europe, according to which the European states were supposed to unite against the United States. On the same day, Adenauer and Guy Mollet (French Prime Minister) accepted a proposal relating to the creation of common market as well as European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM)<sup>211</sup>.

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<sup>207</sup> K. Adenauer, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

<sup>208</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 98.

<sup>209</sup> T. W. Maulucci, *Konrad Adenauer's April 1953 Visit to the United States and the Limits of the German-American Relationship in the Early 1950s*, "German Studies Review", vol. 26, no. 3/2003, p. 577-578.

<sup>210</sup> K. Ruchniewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 32-33.

<sup>211</sup> M. L.L. Segers, *The Reliance Européenne and the Nuclear Dimension*, [in:] *A History of Franco-German Relations in Europe. From „Hereditary Enemies” to Partners*, eds. C. Germond, H. Türk, New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2008, p. 183-184.

## European aspect of *Westbindung*

Politics of integration with West in the framework of European structures was also of high importance in point of view of key German national interest. Europe and FRG were connected together because of shared political problems they had to face. Adenauer considered that active participation of Germany in the process of European integration would contribute substantially to strengthening of the Western Europe and safeguard it against communism. He assumed that the participation of Germany in cooperation with the states from the western Europe would lead to the revision of the Potsdam Treaty and would free the territories east of the Oder-Neisse line and East Germany from the Soviet domination: "We have a perspective of a restoration of the freedom for the lands of Soviet zone and territories east of the Oder-Neisse line provided we are bound together with strong Europe"<sup>212</sup>.

The process of integration of western Germany with the European organisation was ensured on the basis of Petersberg Agreement signed on November 1949 which extended the rights of the FRG government and which permitted Germany to join the Council of Europe (as an associate member) a year later. When Robert Schuman announced his declaration on the necessity of combining the European industry, Adenauer assured him of his full support for this conception. As a result, FRG became the founding state member of the European Coal and Steel Community. Adenauer participated also in the works on the the projects of European Defence Community and European Political Community, which did not launch because of the opposition in France.

Adenauer deemed that the process of deepening the European integration could be an advantageous factor for Germany to restore its sovereignty. On the one hand it was supposed to proceed through binding FRG into the common decision-taking process in the framework of pan-European organisations. On the other hand, it was to be realised on the way of receiving the consent of western powers for restoration of state and authority attributes. The works on the Pleven Plan were favourable to the intents of German government. Adenauer supported the idea of a common army. He expressed his view clearly in that subject-matter when the Korean crisis began. Then Adenauer stated that Europeans cannot be satisfied with a situation, where Americans would shed their blood and would sacrifice their wealth for them<sup>213</sup>. European Defence Community was a crucial step towards unified Europe. Adenauer underlined that it was also a key to the restoration of German statehood: "That politics was also urgent for us, as FRG had to finally get out of this unnatural situation. We were subordinated to the occupational law with all its consequences. Our industry was still a subject of restrictions. We were still a subject with regard to foreign politics"<sup>214</sup>.

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<sup>212</sup> K. Adenauer, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 98.

<sup>214</sup> *Adenauer o znaczeniu EWP dla RFN i Europy Zachodniej, dnia 7 maja 1954*, [in:] K. Ruchniewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 60-61.

## Bilateral aspect of *Westbindung*

Adenauer was aware of the fact that full inclusion of Germany into the western system could not be realised without a consent given by France. The bloody wars between France and Germany gave rise to a concept of “hereditary enmity” (*Erbfeindschaft*) which described the mutual relations in categories of revanchism and rivalry. Therefore, one of the aims of Adenauer’s politics was to revise the relations with its western neighbour and construct a new base for it in a form of a close bilateral partnership. However, in the aftermath of the WWII there were still a few subjects of contention that disrupted the process of reconciliation until the middle of 1950s.

The process of reconciliation proceeded in a linear way. Its onset is marked with the Schuman’s declaration which lay foundations for a bilateral relations in the framework of the pan-European political and economic order. The cooperation encountered onerous burdens, among which the Saar dispute appeared to be the critical factor impeding the reconciliation. Saar, a former German territory, after the WWII was placed under the domination of France, which was vitally interested in its natural resources. In 1947 an economic and monetary union between Saar and France was established. Politically the land was supposed to be autonomous, in reality it was strongly depended on France, which was represented there by a strong position of High Commissioner. The government of Saar, who was led by Johannes Hoffmann, strived to obtain its *de facto* autonomy. France supported the intents of the Prime Minister of Saar which resulted in its entry to the Council of Europe in August 1950, where it was granted a status of an associate member. The government of Saar intended also to acquire the full membership in the European Coal and Steel Community. Due to a Jean Monnet’s interference France decided to withdraw its support in that matter. A breakthrough for the solution of the conflict came in October 1954. Then an agreement was signed between France and Germany which stipulated the implementation of the European Statute of Saar provided the local population would give its consent for a change of the system in the referendum. Adenauer’s decision for secession of Saar was difficult, as it faced a barrage of severe criticism in Germany. It was feared in Germany that the Europeanisation of the Saar would set a precedent that could serve as a legal base for anticipation of the future peace treaty’s stipulations on the territories that had been passed under Polish administration on the basis of Potsdam treaty. Therefore, in the Paris agreement it was stated that the Europeanization would remain in force until the conclusion of the peace treaty with Germany.

For Adenauer the solution of the Saar question did not mean only an attempt for improvement of relations with France or fostering the European political integration. It was also connected directly with the process of restoration of German sovereignty. The Statute of the Saar was one of the documents of so called “Paris Accords”, which granted Western Germany with sovereignty that permitted its entry to NATO and Western European Union. The Paris Accords entered into force on the 5th May 1955. In the referendum, that took place few months later, the population of the Saar rejected the Statute. Consequently, a new negotiation process started between France and FRG, which led to a conclusion of a treaty that stipulated the return of the Saar to Germany. Then a period

of stability in bilateral relations commenced. It was fostered in June 1958 when general Charles de Gaulle was appointed the new head of the state. Initially Adenauer formed rather negative impressions about de Gaulle as he feared he would hamper the process of European integration. Despite divergent views on the future of Europe, both leaders soon found common ground which was based mostly on Christian democratic doctrine and their anti-Nazi past. Until 1963 a strong personal factor determined the relations between France and Germany. This period is called as a “gaullist” one in Adenauer’s politics.

Common political acts (like participation in a service at cathedral in Reims) rich in symbolism contributed substantially to reinforcement of reconciliation between French and Germans. This new chapter in bilateral relations was marked by a conclusion of the Élysée Treaty on the 22nd of January 1963. The document created the formal structures of bilateral partnership based on mutual consultations on crucial matters and summits between high-level officials. Adenauer perceived this formalised cooperation between France and Germany as a core of the European integration. He deemed that Europe could be created only on the basis of a prior reconciliation between France and Germany. “All the European institutions that we have established so far, would have been unthinkable without a cooperation between France and Germany”. I am convinced that FRG would not have possessed its current position, if there was still a state of tension with France like it was at the end of the war”<sup>215</sup>. The treaty was a crowning achievement of Adenauer’s political career as few months later he turned the office over to Ludwig Erhard. However, he remained active politically as a chairman of the party until December 1966.

## Conclusions

One must agree with Hans-Peter Schwarz, Adenauer’s biographer, that it is difficult to answer unambiguously to the question if Adenauer was a great European or a statesman. The problem lies in Adenauer’s role as he practised politics and was not its theoretician<sup>216</sup>.

Adenauer’s activity in the aftermath of the WWII required flexibility, ability of adaptation to internal and external factors with regard to the realisation of the ultimate political goals. As he said: “In foreign politics it is particular interests what matters. No one will help Germany only because of its looks and charm”<sup>217</sup>. He described himself as a pragmatic leader as he would distinguish three types of politicians: “hyper-Europeans, Europeans and anti-Europeans”. He rated himself among “Europeans”<sup>218</sup>.

Adenauer’s activity with regard to the politics of integration with West should not be treated as a form of strictly pan-European aspirations that could be a priority over his national endeavours<sup>219</sup>. Granieri is right when he writes that politics of *Westbindung*

<sup>215</sup> TV Adenauer’s speech delivered on 23 January 1963. On the occasion of the signing of the French-German treaty of friendship, [in:] K. Ruchniewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 82-83.

<sup>216</sup> H.-P. Schwarz, *Das Aussenpolitische Konzept Konrad Adenauers*, see: K. Ruchniewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

<sup>217</sup> R. R. Granieri, *More than a Geriatric Romance. Adenauer, de Gaulle, and the Atlantic Alliance*, [in:] C. Germond, H. Türk, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 195.

<sup>219</sup> R. J. Granieri, *The Ambivalent Alliance: Konrad Adenauer, the CDU/CSU, and the West, 1949-*

was a form of national politics aimed at the close cooperation with the Western states. His actions based on an attempt of implementation of *raison d'être* were a priority especially prior to 1955. In this period the national aims became fused with the European ones at political and economic level. After 1955 his politics was still based on European field, but the ties between national and European area loosened. Adenauer did not intent to replace the Western European groundings of his politics with a politics of balancing between East and West, which was proved by a continuation of Hallstein doctrine.

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*TV Adenauer's speech delivered on 23 January 1963. On the occasion of the signing of the French-German treaty of friendship*, [in:] Ruchniewicz K., *Adenauer a Europa*, Warszawa: Kontrast 2001.

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## Why is it worth remembering Józef Hieronim Retinger?

Reflections on „Why is it worth remembering Józef Hieronim Retinger (1888-1960)?” can begin by quoting his own words, which he spoke in 1912 to his newly betrothed wife. When they drove away from the Saint Anne Church in Krakow in a fiacre, he said: „Know that you will never hold first place - the first one is Poland”<sup>220</sup>. Indeed, Poland was the first. He proved it throughout his life and work, hoping that there will come a time when Poland will join the united Europe, which was his life’s purpose and towards which he worked so hard. He most probably hoped, that in this way he could fulfilled his youthful dreams that previously expressed by saying: “I wanted to live a life that would not be constrained by borders and passports, ominous atmosphere of the past, the bitter disappointments of the present. However, despite this, I wanted to devote my efforts to my homeland. I decided to get to know the best of what is beyond Polish borders, and then - to serve my country by restoring Poland to international life”<sup>221</sup>.

Everything that he said then, became the content of his political activity. He sought it in his very active life - so active that his achievements could be summarized in several biographies. As a young man he was involved in supporting activities aimed at regaining Poland’s independence. During his very active life he made a significant contribution to the process of building a united Europe. He initiated social movements that led to the creation of the European integration structures. He engaged in integration-related activities during World War I, the interwar period and World War II.

Retinger had a big part in the creation of the European League for Economic Cooperation, the Council of Europe, the European Movement, the College of Europe in Bruges, the European Cultural Centre in Geneva, the Bilderberg Group - organizations that operate successfully today, demonstrating the relevance of the initiatives undertaken by Retinger.

The year 1912 can be deemed as the beginning of his political life, because at the end of this year Retinger went with his wife to London. Count Władysław Zamojski directed him there, so he could team up with the Welfare Committee for

<sup>220</sup> Citation for: G. Kubica, *Siostry Malinowskiego, czyli Kobiety nowoczesne na początku XX wieku*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie 2006, p. 90.

<sup>221</sup> J. Pomian, *Józef Retinger - życie i pamiętniki szarej eminencji*, Warszawa: Pelikan 1990, p. 15.

Polish emigrants in Britain<sup>222</sup>. In Paris, the bureau for the Care of Polish Workers was already established and functioning, founded and run by Maria Zamoyska, the sister of Count Zamoyski, which assisted Polish immigrants, as well as Poles from the Prussian and Austrian army, taken prisoner by the French<sup>223</sup>. After arriving in London, Retinger founded a bureau, located at Arudel Street, which was to serve Polish immigrants in Great Britain. His wife was also involved in the running of the office. Soon the office in London, in addition to its operations in providing support to poor immigrants, also began to conduct political activities.

Władysław Zamojski, who after the death of Józef Retinger's father took care of the boy, was his authority figure and a model Polish patriot, who gave his homeland and the Polish Nation everything that he ever owned. Zamoyski's past activities, related to the acquisition of Zakopane and settlement of the dispute with the Kingdom of Hungary for rightful ownership of the lake *Morskie Oko*, supported the father of Józef Retinger. Now Józef Hieronim himself helped Zamoyski in subsequent initiatives for Polish independence, thus continuing the family's patriotic tradition. His grandfather and father fought in the January uprising, and young Józef Hieronim, along with his siblings, was raised in an atmosphere of patriotism, which had a profound influence on their personality and character.

Retinger activity meant that, from the representatives of various political parties within the Austro-Hungarian annexation, acting in concert with Polish organizations in Prussia and Russia, he received proposals for conducting activities in his London office, associated with securing support for Polish aspirations for independence<sup>224</sup>. However, the main purpose of his business in London was to familiarize the British public opinion about the sufferings of the Polish nation, and helping Poland in every possible way to regain its independence<sup>225</sup>. He wrote about it: "Poland was divided. Like any contemporary in Poland, then I was only interested in regaining independence for my country. That's why, when I was 23 years old - after studying in various European universities - I happily agreed to become head of the Polish National Council [in London]"<sup>226</sup>.

<sup>222</sup> See: K. Zamorski, *Emigracja z Galicji przelomu XIX i XX wieku jako zjawisko historyczne*, [in:] *Wychodźstwo z Galicji. Kraków – centrum organizacji ruchu emigracyjnego na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*, ed. G. M. Kowalski, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego 2003, p. 3.

<sup>223</sup> The office was located at 6 Quai d'Orléans. It provided comprehensive assistance to immigrants from Poland, it also dealt with pastoral care. After the outbreak of World War I it took on the name „Polish Care” (*Protection Polonaise*). See: Z. Bosacki, *Władysław Zamoyski*, Poznań: Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza, 1986, p. 68-69.

<sup>224</sup> J. Pomian, *op. cit.*, p. 24. These proposals came most likely from the representatives of the Temporary Commission of Confederated Independence Parties (KTSSN) operating in Galicia since 1912. (*Komisja Tymczasowej Skonfederowanych Stronnictw Niepodległościowych*).

<sup>225</sup> Letter J. Retinger to Jens Christian Hauge dated September 18, 1957, p. 1, stored in the Retinger archives in the Polish Library in London in the collection 1280 / Rps / H-5.

<sup>226</sup> Letter J. Retinger to Jens Christian Hauge dated 18 September 1957, p. 1. According to the information given in the passage quoted the letter that Retinger, 23 years old (thus in 1911) could not represent the Supreme National Council, which was established only in August 1914. Retinger

The undertaken activities in Retinger's office in London were financed by Władysław Zamojski, who also instructed Retinger to conduct this type of activity. Retinger was suited for this perfectly. He had a doctoral degree from Sorbonne, and was open to new challenges. He also spoke fluent English, which then - in the spheres of Polish gentry - was not widespread. The language of the aristocracy was French. Polish aristocracy, often akin with French families, was closely associated with France. Within the Polish courts the French language was used, adhering to French customs and fashion, and children sent to study in Paris. London and English customs were then for the Polish aristocracy something new, at that point unrecognized. That is why young Retinger, curious of new experiences, without hesitation, accepted the offered function.

He actively involved himself in politics, securing in this field considerable success. Together with Andrzej Małkowski<sup>227</sup>, he led to the participation of scouts from all three partitions in the Third All-British Scout Rally, which took place in 1913 in Birmingham. Polish scouts represented a country, which did not exist on the map of Europe. In their camp which was labeled with the word "Poland", a Polish flag fluttered. The event was protested by the embassies of the occupying powers. The protests, however, did not cause any reaction from the British government.

Władysław Zamojski himself, was also very actively involved in the matters related to Poland, and supported all efforts to regain independence. He had many friends among the aristocracy, politicians, diplomats and writers. He used this knowledge, preparing documents and proclamations for those who traveled to Switzerland and England or the United States, trying to promote interest with regards to Polish affairs. He inspired General Stanislas du Moriez to write a book *France et Pologne* subtitled, *La Paix Française dans l'Europe orientale* (French Peace in Eastern Europe), the content of which relied on the documents provided by Zamojski. This publication, according to Stanisław Sierpowski, has become one of the most pro-Polish propaganda tools, written by a Frenchman, skillfully combining the interests of France with the rebirth of a strong Polish, referring to the time of pre-partition borders<sup>228</sup>. Zamojski tried to spark interest about Polish problems among French clergy. He prepared do-

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writing this letter in 1957, so many years after the event probably mistaken the date or mistakenly gave the name of the organization for which he worked at the time. Z. Najder says it is unlikely that this activity was taken by Retinger on behalf of the Temporary Commission of Confederated Independence Parties (KTSSN) (founded in November 1912.), because within its archives there is no document confirming any foreign activity before the autumn of 1913, eventually taken up by Witold Jodko-Narkiewicz, nor any power of attorney for Retinger to represent it. A. Garlicki, *Geneza Legionów: Zarys dziejów Komisji Tymczasowej Skonfederowanych Stronnictw Niepodległościowych*, Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza 1964). Z. Najder assumes that the KTSSN uprising could inspire a young, ambitious Retinger to start his own propaganda campaign [funded by W. Zamojski] See: Z. Najder, *Życie Konrada Korzeniowskiego*, vol. II, Gdańsk Tower Press 2001, p. 125.

<sup>227</sup> A. J. Małkowski (1888-1919) - one of the creators of Polish Scouting, an outstanding instructor and theorist of scouting, an activist of Polish youth organizations and pro-independence organizations.

<sup>228</sup> See: *Władysław Zamojski 1853-1924*, ed. S. Sierpowski, Kórnik-Zakopane: Kórnicka Library, Polish Science Academy, City Hall 2003, p. 181-198.

cuments to acquaint them with Polish history and the tragedy of Polish partitions. In churches of Paris and the provinces, lectures were given and church services were held for the intention of Poland<sup>229</sup>. Zamojski proposed that also people with lectures were sent to London, and with articles already ready for the London press<sup>230</sup>. The obligation to communicate with the press Retinger took it upon himself. At the time when he first started his job, British public opinion did not show the slightest interest in the cause of Polish independence<sup>231</sup>. However, after two years of its activity the issue was regularly raised in the British tabloid press<sup>232</sup>.

Poland, its independence and the future, occupied a prominent place Retinger's thought and political activities. At a time when Poland was under foreign rule, Retinger many times in his publications dealt with Poland's matters. To tell the English public opinion about the anti-Polish policy of the Prussian authorities, he published at the beginning of 1913 a booklet entitled, *The Poles and Prussia*, in which he presented the oppression of Polish children in schools and about the Prussian expropriation law that entered into force<sup>233</sup>. He talked about the anti-Polish and inhumane nature of Prussian action, which resulted in an ban on entry to Germany<sup>234</sup>. He tried different ways to familiarize the British public about the plight and suffering of the Polish nation. As he himself admitted, lack of experience meant that not all of his actions were politically correct. In his memoirs, he wrote: "I've committed a lot of mistakes. (...) For example, my first act as head of the Polish Office was to give Irish children a letter with wishes of Polish children from within the Prussian partition. Irish children at the time boycotted English schools, for patriotic reasons, similarly to Polish children boycotting German schools"<sup>235</sup>. The case had no political overtones, since England did not allocated much significance to this event, while Retinger's actions however, earned him the gratitude of the Irish, who gave this event a lot of publicity.

Since the start of World War I Retinger ran a very active propaganda in regards to Poland regaining its independence. He tried to reach out to influential personalities who could offer support in these effort. He turned to Joseph Conrad for his involvement in the Polish case. He managed to convince Conrad that as an outstanding Pole, he owes this to his homeland. Conrad shared the view of the British, who believed that the Polish affair is an internal matter for Russia. Retinger should be credited for his impact on Conrad's evo-

<sup>229</sup> Z. Bosacki, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

<sup>230</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>231</sup> J. Conrad in a political essay *Zbrodnia rozbiorów* wrote: „In the years preceding the war, the Polish opposition was already becoming so invisible, that it was impossible to obtain the slightest mention about it in the newspapers”.

<sup>232</sup> Retinger collected all newspaper articles and clippings regarding Poland. In 1914 Retinger received monthly about a hundred press clippings regarding Poland, see: J. Pomian, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

<sup>233</sup> J. H. Retinger, *The Poles and Prussia*, London, n.d. p. 9-14. Approximate date of issue, stems from the content contained in the brochure. See: *Ibidem*, p. 13.

<sup>234</sup> Notes J. Retinger (typescript), p. 1, located in the Retinger archives in Polish Library in London, collection 1280/Rps, no catalogue number available.

<sup>235</sup> Quote from: J. Pomian, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

lution of political views. It was he who persuaded Conrad on a sentimental journey to the Poland, and it was Retinger himself who planned and prepared the whole expedition<sup>236</sup>. He hoped that the visit to the homeland would shake Conrad's conscience, and convince him towards the Polish cause. Retinger thought that Conrad after returning to London, using his authority, will support him in promoting Polish aspirations for independence in the West<sup>237</sup>.

The results that consequently came about as a result of Conrad's visit to Poland was a sketch, *Once again in Poland (Poland Revisited)*<sup>238</sup>, in which he described his trip to Poland and published his criticism of the British authorities' perception of Polish statehood as being an internal problem of Russia. Two years later, Conrad together with Retinger wrote, marketing the publication with his name, *Notę w sprawie polskiej (A Nota on the Polish Case)*, in which he called for restoration of the Polish state under the protectorate of Great Britain and France. This document was submitted to the British government.

Retinger's influence on Conrad's subsequent interest in the issue of Polish independence is evident in the political essay *Zbrodni rozbiorów (The Crime of Partitions)*, especially in the part which was devoted to the Polish statehood<sup>239</sup>. In his essay, Conrad tells the story of a young Pole<sup>240</sup>, [Józef Retinger] arriving from Paris, outraged that the British press does not include any mention of Poland, he "went begging for some mention about Poland to many influential people - and all answered him that it was impossible"<sup>241</sup> - because they believed - „that dealing with an issue totally outdated is madness and will provoke a terrifying effect, causing the wrath of their former enemies, and also damaging the feelings of their new friends. There was no valid answer to such argument. I could not share the surprise and outrage of my young friend"<sup>242</sup>.

In the following section of *Zbrodni rozbiorów (The Crime of Partitions)* Conrad wrote: "I was told that even if you cannot see the exit, it is absolutely necessary that the Poles confirm their national existence. (...) Therefore, it was explained to me, the Poles must act"<sup>243</sup>. Despite the impersonal form employed by Conrad one can be sure that the words quoted relate to Retinger. Conrad writing *Zbrodni rozbiorów (The Crime of Partitions)* based it on the information obtained from Retinger and the content contained in his publications: *La Pologne et l'Équilibre européen i Considérations générales sur l'avenir économique de la Pologne*<sup>244</sup>, in which Retinger outlined his reflections on the role and position of Poland in Europe at that time.

<sup>236</sup> Z. Najder, *op.cit.*, p. 139.

<sup>237</sup> It can be assumed that Retinger's motives behind inviting Conrad with his family to Poland, were not sentimental, but primarily political in nature. However, this was later shown by some authors who wrote about Retinger in an accusatory fashion.

<sup>238</sup> Later included in the volume entitled *O życiu i literaturze (On life and literature)*.

<sup>239</sup> Conrad completed *The Crime of Partition (Zbrodnię rozbiorów)* in December 1918.

<sup>240</sup> It was regarding Józef Retinger.

<sup>241</sup> J. Conrad, *The Crime of Partition (Zbrodnia rozbiorów)*, [in:] *Dziela*, t. XXVIII [A], London 1975.

<sup>242</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>243</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>244</sup> J. H. Retinger, *Conrad and His Contemporaries*, New York: Roy 1943, p. 173-174. Retinger was the co-author of the essay *The Crime of Partition*, as confirmed by Jean Aubry, a translator of Conrad's works into French and his first biographer. See: Z. Najder, *op. cit.*, p. 185 and 192.

After the end of World War I Poland regained independence and Retinger joined actively in the political life of the nation. He aligned himself with the Polish Socialist Party, becoming actively engaged in union activities in Poland, making it easier, as a result of his influential contact base, for Polish trade union activists to cooperate with the trade unions in the UK, Mexico and other countries. He also represented the Polish Socialist Party in France and the UK, and although he was not a member of the Polish Socialist Party, he was elected a member of its Supreme Council. During this period he traveled frequently between London and Warsaw mediating contacts with the leaders of the Labour Party and the Polish Socialist Party, as well as leading to a cooperation between the two parties. He received the leaders of the Labour Party, who came to Poland with a probing visit. He organized, among others, a visit of the leaders of the PPS, Zygmunt Żuławski and Mieczysław Niedziałkowski to London, which following a long preparatory period, finally took place in March 1924. The Labour Party at this time exercised power in the UK, thus a meeting with representatives of the PPS was held as a high-level event, which included the participation of members of the British government<sup>245</sup>.

Retinger was aware of the fact that the position of a State in the world is determined by the state of its economy. Thus, one of his interests also included issues related to the economic situation in Poland. He devoted a lot of attention to this issue by preparing and publishing a series of articles on the Polish economy after the First World War. A careful and critical analysis outlined in the articles very accurately assessed the state of the economy and the socio-political conditions in Poland in the interwar period. Among the causes for Poland's weak economic development, Retinger listed, inter alia, a Polish political struggle which shielded political activists from realizing significant economic and social problems, as well as a lack of economic program on behalf of the government, for the coming years. In a series of articles *O program konstruktywny dla Polski (A constructive program for Poland)*, published in "Robotnik", he called to develop a program which would provide an opportunity to increase economic dynamism and to prepare favorable conditions for the development of Polish export<sup>246</sup>. He saw export as the basis for a new Polish economic policy. He also believed that Poland could be competitive in the production and export of food - mainly meat, canned meat and coal - Poland's main raw materials, for which demand increased considerably in Europe.

In most Retinger's publications a concern for Poland is noticeably highlighted. In many of them, the author already refers to Poland in the title. Firstly, in brochures, notes, memoranda Retinger proclaimed Polish aspirations for independence<sup>247</sup>. Later, after regaining desired independence, through his subsequent publications, he tried to bring the world's attention to acquire the knowledge about Poland, which for one hundred twenty-three years did not exist on the map of Europe. In the book *Polacy*

<sup>245</sup> J. Pomian, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

<sup>246</sup> J. H. Retinger, *O program konstruktywny dla rządu*, "Robotnik", no. from 11-17th July 1930.

<sup>247</sup> It is important here to outline the above mentioned: *Poland and the Present War, La Pologne et l'équilibre européen, Considérations générales sur l'avenir économique de la Pologne* as well as a book project *Poland Today and Tomorrow*, which came about in the form of a typescript.

*w cywilizacjach świata do końca wieku XIX (Poles in the civilizations of the world by the end of the nineteenth century)*), he presented the contribution of Poles in defending freedom and democracy in other nations, as well as in European science and culture. The first edition, consisting of thirteen chapters and more than two hundred pages, appeared in Warsaw and London in 1937<sup>248</sup>. A few years later, he published a three-hundred page book, *All about Poland (Wszystko o Polsce)*. The development of these books must have undoubtedly involved considerable time and effort. You can ask the question, for what purpose Retinger wrote them. Is it simply to satisfy literary ambitions? For Retinger's supporters, both publications are proof of his concern for the image of an independent Poland. Would someone, who did not particularly care about portraying the best image of Poland in the world, have taken on the task to write such labor-intensive works, which probably did not bring the author much financial benefit? The obvious answer to this question is not willingly acknowledged by his political opponents, and some critically evaluate his historical achievements.

At the beginning of World War II Retinger helped General Sikorski move, together with the government of occupied France to London. He also presented to the General a plan for the evacuation of Polish soldiers to England. After collaborating with the government of General Sikorski in London, he presented his vision of the post-war Central European federation based on Poland and Czechoslovakia.

The Federation was to be an open initiative, allowing other countries to join. Retinger claimed that the Polish-Czechoslovak federation will set an example and encourage the development of similar associations in other parts of Europe. He hoped that after the war that from these federations, a united Europe will emerge, and Poland will be able to achieve independence, security and the conditions for proper development, only by attaching itself to a larger federal structure. He was simultaneously aware of the fact that Poland, which borders with Germany and Russia, and lies on the border between Eastern and Western cultures, is the bulwark of Europe, and therefore continually entangled in conflicts. For this reason, Poland was a country difficult to defend. Retinger believed that the safety of Poland, lying between two powerful and dangerous neighbors, depended on good relations in the world and from the international order prevailing in Europe.

He wrote: "We have repeatedly pointed to the benefits for Poland, stemming from a federalized Europe, as well as the inability to maintain an independent existence for such a small country like Poland, surrounded by hostile neighbors, pressured by two neighboring powers, Russia and Germany"<sup>249</sup>. For Retinger, an additional motive in favor of European integration was a concern for the fate of Poland, which - like other small and medium-sized European countries - could be sovereign and safe only

<sup>248</sup> The book was published in Polish. It was supposed to be translated into English, but outbreak of World War II prevented the translation.

<sup>249</sup> J. Retinger's typescript titled *My part in the Movement for the Unity of Europe (Mój udział Ruchu na rzecz Jedności Europy)* from archives at the Polish Library in London, collection 1280/24c/Rps.

in the context of a broader and integrated organization of European states. The confirmation of this thesis are words spoken by Retinger: "In the united Europe, it will be easier for Poland to exist between Russia and Germany. They complement each other, these two of my dreams: a free Poland and a united Europe"<sup>250</sup>.

Retinger assumed that during the war only political integration is possible, and economic integration will take place after the war, just as has occurred in the case of agreeing to a Convention, by the representatives of Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg (22 March 1944) which established the Benelux, putting the practical establishment of the community Benelux until the end of the war<sup>251</sup>. However, after the war Retinger first assumed an economic integration, after which political integration would follow, as he expounded on May 7, 1946, during a lecture at the Royal Institute of International Affairs<sup>252</sup> at Chatham House on the anniversary marking the end of the war, and in the brochure *the European Continent?*, and then he propagated through the activities of the European League for Economic Cooperation, set up after the war, which in its program assumed economic integration of European states. This assumption was correct, because the road proposed a few years later by Jean Monnet based on similar principles, has proved successful and began the process of European unification. Monnet perhaps took into account Retinger's arguments. Mindful perhaps, that proposed after the war assumptions of political integration (Council of Europe) and military integration (European Defense Community) did not achieve the expected results, he accepted that the basis should in fact be economic integration, and that it should begin with the process of European integration. The conceptual convergence of Monnet and Retinger is confirmed by Denis de Rougemont, who wrote: "Retinger and Monnet had never worked together, implemented different methods to achieve a goal, but their activities related to European integration are complementary"<sup>253</sup>.

Retinger's concept associated with promoting the primacy of the economy over politics, and carrying out the integration process through stages, places him among the representatives of functionalism, which was subsequently followed in the process of Western European integration - as is accented by the scientific literature. Retinger thought, like Monnet that economic integration will be followed by political integration. This view has been present for a long time in Retinger's deliberations, as early as mid- 1920s he wrote in a book *Poland Today and Tomorrow (Polska dziś i jutro)*, prepared for British readers, that everything, "what is needed is a system of economic cooperation between all the countries of Europe Central, which have many common interests and so much conflict"<sup>254</sup>. Also in the memorandum *Polska polityka w Anglii*.

<sup>250</sup> M. Celt, *Z Retingerem do Warszawy i z powrotem. Raport z podziemia 1944*, Dziekanów Leśny: Wydawnictwo LTW, p. 53-54.

<sup>251</sup> See: K. Łastawski, *Od idei do integracji europejskiej*, Warszawa: WSP TWP 2003, p. 99.

<sup>252</sup> Royal Institute of International Affairs, where opinions, views and the British foreign policy strategies are developed.

<sup>253</sup> See: D. de Rougemont, *Esquisse d'une biographie [in:] Hommage. A un grand Européen J. H. Retinger*, Bulletin du Centre européen de la culture, Genève: Centre européen de la culture 1961, p. 47.

<sup>254</sup> The quotes comes from Retinger's unpublished book from his archives in Polish Library in London. Collection 1280/Rps, box nr XII, position 1.

*Obserwacje (Polish Politics in England. Observations)*, Retinger placed great emphasis on the economic issues which are, in his view, an important consolidating factor<sup>255</sup>.

When the Iron Curtain fell upon Europe separating the countries of Central and Eastern Europe from the integrating countries in the West, a Commission for Central and Eastern Europe was established as a result of Retinger's initiatives, operating in the structures of the European Movement, which was to represent the interests of the countries remaining under the domination of the Soviet Union. Active involvement Retinger in the Commission's work was proof that Retinger believed that post-war division of Europe is temporary and the territorial scope of European integration will not be limited only to Western countries, but following the eventual release from under Soviet influence, will also cover Central and Eastern Europe<sup>256</sup>.

From today's perspective it can be said that the idea presented by Retinger during World War II and the postwar period has stood the test of time - in accordance with his assumptions, Poland as a member of the European Union and NATO is an independent country that has good relations with its neighbors to the south and the north, and is secure between Russia and Germany, bridging the gulf between East (Russia) and the West - or at least has a chance to fulfill such a role, unfulfilled, according to the author, through Polish foreign policy. One can also accept the thesis that in organizations where one can note Retinger's significant engagement, concepts were developed that paved the way and became the basis for the functioning of today's European Union. It can also be proven that within Retinger's entire work, a patriotic aspect was clearly visible, as well as his enormous concern for Poland and for its independence, security and economic development. Roman Wapiński in his paper devoted to the history of Polish political thought states<sup>257</sup> that by drawing the general outline of the history of Polish political thought in the twentieth century, it can be assumed that for the period between 1918 - 1920, the basic dimension was defined by the struggle for the reconstruction of the Polish state, in the years 1921 - 1939 - the strengthening of the state, during the Second World War - with its liberation from occupation and after the war - to maintaining national identity and overthrowing or "softening" of the communist regime.

By analyzing Retinger's activities and achievements, it can be said that they are an active part in all important periods in the history of Poland mentioned by Roman Wapiński<sup>258</sup>. In each of these periods a trace of Retinger's significant participation can be found, mainly in his ideas and concepts, as well as his efforts of their practical application. In addition, thought Retinger's thoughts takes into account - not mentioned by Wapiński - Polish conceptualization of integration, as a means of participating in collective efforts toward a united Europe. The ideas and political concepts related

<sup>255</sup> See: G. Witkowski, *Ojcowie Europy: udział Polaków w procesie integracji kontynentu*, Warszawa: „Kontrast” 2001, p. 64.

<sup>256</sup> Retinger predictions have proven themselves after fifty years, confirming the validity of his concept.

<sup>257</sup> R. Wapiński, *Historia polskiej myśli politycznej XIX i XX wieku*, Gdańsk: Arche 1997, p. 8-9.

<sup>258</sup> Wapiński is also an author of a J. H. Retinger's biography in Polish Biographical Dictionary, Wrocław 1988, t. XXXI, p. 148-152.

to European integration, of which Retinger is an author or co-author, allows for his undoubted inclusion in the history of Polish political thought.

Both the politicians working together with Retinger in the process of European integration, as well as researchers emphasize the significant contribution of Józef Hieronim Retinger to the integration efforts, and mention his name among the most important personalities working for a united Europe. See: W. Lipgens, *A History of European Integration*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1982; R. Mayne, J. Pinder, *Federal Union: The Pioneers. A History of Federal Union*, London: Macmillan 1990.

Professor at the Catholic University in Leuven, Thierry Grosbois who devoted to Retinger's pro-European activities a lot of attention, wrote that [Józef Retinger] "is regarded by modern historians as one of the "Fathers of Europe *Considéré comme un „Père de l'Europe" par les historiens actuels...*"<sup>259</sup>. While Van der Velden in his published brochure in 1995, *Dr. Józef Retinger brochure (Poland). A great European*, dedicated to Józef Retinger presented the biography and achievements of Józef Retinger - as he wrote in the title - of a great European. Van der Velden even included in his publication a picture of Retinger surrounded by Winston Churchill, Paul Ramadier, Denis de Rougemont and Raoul Dautry, hoping thereby to emphasize his affiliation to the group of people that have had a significant impact on the process of European integration<sup>260</sup>. In addition, a prominent Belgian politician Paul-Henri Spaak, with whom Retinger worked for many years in favor of European integration, regarded as the father of the Treaties of Rome, assessed Retinger as a "unique character, politicians, who stayed during the war in England know him well. Intelligent, active, somewhat mysterious, he ate every day with someone from among English prominent figures, or with one or another minister of emigre governments. He knew everyone, and had access everywhere. In those years, he was one of the best informed people. During the war, he stood at the sources of the discussions, that the Poles, Dutch, Norwegians and we, Belgians, conducted to establish new ties among us. After the war he continued his efforts, he was one of the most convinced initiators of a united Europe. His name should always be included among the pioneers [European integration]"<sup>261</sup>. The words spoken by Spaak constitute a final and indisputable confirmation of Joseph Retinger's contribution to the work of European integration. It is worth noting that serving as secretary-general of pro-European organizations, he worked on both on the organizational and the ideological side of this project.

Jan Pomian, who for twelve years served as personal secretary to Retinger, summarizing the life and activities of this politician, said: "This was primarily work on behalf of Poland"<sup>262</sup>. Similar opinions about Retinger's activities were also expressed by

<sup>259</sup> See: T. Grosbois, *L'action de Józef Retinger en faveur de l'idée européenne 1940-46*, "European Review of History – Revue européenne d'Historie", vol. 6, no. 34/1996, p. 59.

<sup>260</sup> See: M. van der Velden, *Dr Joseph Retinger (Poland). A great European. Cracov 1888 – London 1960*, Rotterdam: ELEC 1995.

<sup>261</sup> T. Grosbois, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

<sup>262</sup> A. Werner, *Cudze chwalićie, swego nie znacie*, „Polska w Europie”, no. 2(40)/2002, Warszawa, p. 141.

Jan Karski and Jerzy Giedroyc. Also, Tadeusz Chciuk, who as a 'Silent Unheard' jumped together with a 56 year old Retinger, he said, "that he must give testimony about the role and character of Joseph Jerome Retinger, with whom fate has joined him for half a year, whom he regarded as a great Polish patriot and whose enemies saw as an agent and the incarnation of all threats to Poland"<sup>263</sup>. "His homeland was Poland. He was devoted to her with his whole heart and soul, and during the Second World War, being already elderly, risked his life by parachuting to make contact with the occupied country"<sup>264</sup> - so wrote about Retinger, Prince Bernhard. Marcel Karczewski however noted: "the circle of his foreign friends there was no one, who did not consider him a Polish patriot"<sup>265</sup>. Also, Edward Beddington-Behrens, a longtime friend of Retinger, in a memoir article, in London's "The Times", which appeared after Retinger's death, wrote: "With his passing Poland lost a great patriot, and England and the entire free world an inspirer of many events that had a profound impact on the history of our times"<sup>266</sup>.

A prominent sociologist and Europeanist, Zdzislaw Mach, wrote: "Retinger was a great Pole and an outstanding European. He saw the prospect of a united Europe and skillfully co-wrote it. With only his own talents and extensive contacts reached an astonishingly lasting and positive effects for Europe. His achievements and contributions have yet to be fully understood and properly evaluated both in Poland and in Europe. For this to come true, you should keep in mind the figure of Józef Hieronim Retinger, an outstanding Pole, who even though he spent most of his life outside the Poland, she was ever-present in his mind. Today we can already say that it came true - if you believe in what he said and wrote, Retinger - two of his greatest dreams: a united Europe and a free and secure Poland, which joined it.

Translated by: Monika Eriksen

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<sup>263</sup> See: M. Celt, *op. cit.*, p. 9-10. T. Chciuk (M. Celt) intended to write a book, within which he wanted to attest to the role and historic figure of Retinger as well as undertake the controversy with those authors who though Retinger, similar to his enemies, as an incarnation of all evil. This book however never came to be as a result of T. Chciuka's lengthy illness, *ibidem*, p. 10-11.

<sup>264</sup> See: *Hommage. A un grand Européen J. H. Retinger*, Genève: Centre Européen de la Culture 1961, p. 2.

<sup>265</sup> M. Karczewski, *Pamiętniki polskiego Hermesa*, "Tydzień Polski", 25th March 1972, p. 7.

<sup>266</sup> *Mr Joseph Retinger*, "The Times" from 13rd June 1960.

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## The European Parliament and its role as a European symbol of participatory democracy

Democratic participation is a concept that has been elaborated upon in various ways in European politics since EU's inception.

Participatory democracy is the process of collective decision making, with a combination of elements of direct and representative democracy. It is used in local government (...) employee-based, [etc]. This democracy is more than a public consultation.

Source: Guide to participatory democracy / participatory, ed. R. Mountain, [http://partycypacjaobywatelska.pl/uploads/pdf/gorski\\_demokracja\\_uczestniczaca.pdf](http://partycypacjaobywatelska.pl/uploads/pdf/gorski_demokracja_uczestniczaca.pdf)

Direct democracy - governance, decision-making and / or execution made directly by citizens.

Representative democracy – otherwise, an intermediary with regards to decisions taken by representatives of the public. selected during elections.

Participation in systems of governance is fundamental to any healthy democracy. The democratization of the European Union is a process that is continually redefined, amended, improved through the mandates and the work of its institutions. The European Parliament plays a particularly important role in the evolution of participatory, or representative democracy within the framework of the European Union, in which the power of the people is delegated to representatives periodically elected by them, who then assemble to make decisions on their behalf, usually through majority voting. In the wake of the destruction of World War II, most nations expressed the need to create a supranational community in an effort to ensure future peace through international cooperation. This sentiment was later best manifested in the eventual creation of supranational organizations such as the United Nations. In Europe, the Schuman Declaration - a proposal by then French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman (1886-1963), eventually led to the incarnation of the European community with the creation of EU's predecessor - the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC)<sup>267</sup>.

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<sup>267</sup> R. Schuman, *Pour l'Europe*, Paris 1963.

„Europe will not be made all at once. or in its entirety: it will be built through concrete achievements which first create a de facto solidarity. The assembly of nations of Europe requires the elimination of the age-old opposition of France and Germany. Any undertaken action must in the first place concern France and Germany „- Declaration of Schuman's speech on 9 May 1950.

Source: <http://www.robert-schuman.eu/pl/doc/questions-d-europe/qe-204-pl.pdf>

CONSIDERING that world peace can be achieved only through creative efforts to measure the dangers that threaten it; CONVINCED that for the sake of peaceful relations is necessary contribution to civilization that can make Europe organized and vital; AWARE of the fact that Europe can be built only through concrete actions posing a real solidarity and assuming a common foundation for economic development; WISHING to contribute through the development of the basic branches of production to raise the standard of living and the progress of actions towards peace; DETERMINED to replace the historic rivalry of nations by combining their essential interests; establishing an economic community, the basis for a broad and independent unity of the peoples for centuries separated by bloody conflicts and establishing the foundations of institutions able to guide from then on, their common fate; HAVE decided to create the European Coal and Steel,„- Treaty of Paris establishing the European Coal and Steel Community of 18 April 1951. ECSC work in the years 1952-2002.

Source: [https://polskawue.gov.pl/files/polska\\_w\\_ue/prawo/traktaty/Traktat\\_EWWiS.pdf](https://polskawue.gov.pl/files/polska_w_ue/prawo/traktaty/Traktat_EWWiS.pdf)

„The ECSC was established with the Treaty of Paris in 1951, which also clearly stipulated the desire to eventually establish an internal consultative body by using the term >>representatives of the people<<<sup>268</sup>. Initially however, this decision did not take into account the creation of a *democratic* institution. Rather, the EP which was firstly called the Common Assembly of the ECSC, comprised of representatives appointed directly by the national governments of participating Member States (at the time, a total of 78 parliamentarians). It took another ten years before the European Parliament came into existence. Since its inception, the EP's legislative empowerment was gradual. Treaty after treaty has progressively empowered this institution as a way to democratize the EU, transforming it from a mere consultative chamber into an important co-decision institution for most EU legislation and for the adoption of the EU budget. The crucial turning point in its legacy and present-day influence came about in 1979, when for the very first time it held election of Members of European Parliament (MEPs). The incorporation of the universal suffrage component to its mandate transformed its role from being a purely consultative agency to an institution with legislative power. The European Parliament became the world's only democratically elected international institution.

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<sup>268</sup> *Ad Hoc Assembly, Information and Official Documents of the Constitutional Committee, October 1952 to April 1953*, Archive of European Integration, 1953, The European Parliament, 2014, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/news-room/FAQ/> (accessed: 22.07.2015).

## The Role of the European Parliament

The European Parliament (EP) for over two decades served as a consultative body of the European Community, and its mandate gradually evolved over time. It is one of three legislative bodies of the European Union, alongside the European Council and the European Commission. It is led by the President of the European Parliament (also referred to as the Speaker). Probably the most important feature of the European Parliament is the fact that all of its current 751 MEPs are elected, rather than appointed. According to the previous article in force, the MEPs were “representatives of the peoples of the States brought together in the Community”<sup>269</sup>.

In 2007, the Heads of State and Government signed the Lisbon Treaty, thus completing a process that began with the Treaty of Amsterdam and the Treaty of Nice. This process aimed to increase the efficiency and democratic legitimacy of the EU, and streamline its operations. The new Treaty amended the Treaty on European Union, the Treaty establishing the European Community and the Treaty establishing the European Atomic Energy Community.

Source: The text of the treaty available on-line: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/PL/TXT/PDF/?uri=OJ:C:2007:306:FULL&from=PL>

The Lisbon Treaty<sup>270</sup> went one step further with regard to the concept of representation, establishing that the Parliament is composed of representatives of the Union’s citizens (art. 14.2 TEU), elected for five years by direct universal suffrage in a free and secret ballot. This new wording follows the democratic mandates underlined above, which stressed the importance of representative democracy (art. 10.1 TEU) and links with the idea that “citizens are directly represented at Union level in the European Parliament” (art. 10.2 TEU) The EP was the first to gain democratic legitimacy through its parliamentary representation. Every European citizen has the right to stand as a candidate in elections to the European Parliament. The selection of MEPs through an open electoral system is both, symbolically and legitimately most significant illustration of EU’s contribution of participatory democracy.

The EP performs an important function in the complex legislative and budgetary processes. As already mentioned, the EP’s scope of influence expanded over time. At the outset, the EP was only allowed to offer opinions and propose any legislative amendments that were non-binding. The EP gained more power when the 1986 Single European Act came into force<sup>271</sup>.

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<sup>269</sup> Art. 190.1 Treaty establishing the European Community (EC Treaty).

<sup>270</sup> *Treaty of Lisbon*, European Union, 13 XII, 2007, <http://www.lisbon-treaty.org/wcm/the-lisbon-treaty/treaty-on-european-union-and-comments/title-2-provisions-on-democratic-principles.html> (accessed:28.07. 2015).

<sup>271</sup> K. Archick, D.E. Mix, *The European Parliament*, “Current Politics and Economics of Europe”, vol. 23, no. 3/2012, p. 143.

„DRIVEN by the will to continue the work undertaken on the basis of the Treaties establishing the European Communities and the overall transformation of relations between their States in the European Union, in accordance with the Solemn Declaration of Stuttgart of 19 June 1983,

RESOLVED to establish a European Union based on, firstly, of the Communities operating in accordance with their own rules and, secondly, the European cooperation among States Signatories in foreign policy, as well as to equip the Union with the necessary means to act,

DETERMINED to jointly promote democracy in accordance with the fundamental rights guaranteed in the constitutions and laws of the Member States, in the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and the European Social Charter, in particular freedom, equality and social justice.

CONVINCED that the European idea, the results achieved in terms of economic integration and political cooperation and the need for further development are in line with the wishes of democratic peoples of Europe, for which the European Parliament elected by universal suffrage is an essential forum to express their will,

AWARE of the responsibility resting on Europe, which increasingly tends to speak with one voice and to the consistent and solidarity action aimed at more effective protection of common interests and independence, and in particular emphasizes on related principles of democracy and respect for law and human rights, so that together contributing to the preservation of international peace and security in accordance with the undertaking given by them under the Charter of the United Nations, (...)

DETERMINED to improve the economic and social situation by extending the scope of common policies and strive to achieve new goals, as well as ensure the smooth functioning of the Communities by enabling the institutions to exercise their powers under conditions most favorable to the interests of the Community,

(...) DECIDED to adopt this Act”

Source: [https://polskawue.gov.pl/files/polska\\_w\\_ue/prawo/traktaty/JAE.pdf](https://polskawue.gov.pl/files/polska_w_ue/prawo/traktaty/JAE.pdf)

It is important to point out however, that although it is considered a legislative institution of the EU, it does not possess a formal power to initiate legislation. Rather, the EP falls under a ‘co-decision framework’<sup>272</sup>, which means it jointly shares power with the Council of Ministers in many important policy areas, including immigration, police cooperation, justice and agriculture. The scope of EP’s co-decision is meant to make EU decision-making more inclusive, accountable and transparent. Consequently, all proposals for new legislation, trade agreements with third parties or even accession of new EU member states must be secure the consent of the EP, otherwise it cannot enter into force. The EP has also ‘democratized’ through soft powers, such as its right, by a two-thirds majority, to pass a motion of censure against the Commission, to question the Commission and Council at a regular question time and establish committees of inquiry to investigate cases of poor administration by the EU institutions. This system of checks-and-balances, similar to the federal system in the United States, allows the EP to reserve the right to amend or reject any proposed EU legislation, which in essence aims to protect European citizens from a legislative monopoly.

<sup>272</sup> *The European Parliament*, Touteurope, 2011, <http://europarlament.touteurope.eu/understanding/how-the-ep-works.html> (accessed: 22.07.2015).

Additionally, the extent of the EP's influence over the inner-workings of the entire European Union reaches even further through its joint exercise of power over the allocation of the Union's annual budget. The EP's position to have a direct say in how available funds can be allocated is indisputably one of its most important features, as it can considerably influence the course of economic, socio-political, educational, environmental development in the European Union. Although it is the Council that proposes the preliminary budget draft, it is up to the EU to approve or reject proposed expenditure. Why is this right so important in the framework of participatory democracy? Simply put, because the EP is an institution comprised of elected parliamentarians, their primary aim is to be *de facto* representatives of the European people. Every MEP owes his job to his national constituency and at the end of his five-year term he is eligible for reelection, which, at least in theory, assures that key issues of national interest remain a priority on his or her agenda. Moreover, every MEP outside of their office in the Parliament, also has a constituency office in their home country. This system aims to provide a channel where ordinary European citizens, through their selected representatives, can retain in some level a sense of control over the direction of the European Union. Lastly, the European Parliament in 2005 proposed a single statute with regards to salaries, pensions and insurance which guaranteed that all MEP regardless of what country they represented, would receive equal status. This came about in response to gross national disparities<sup>273</sup>. Additionally, their financial interests are recorded annually, entered into a database and made available to the public, which further contributes to democratic transparency. Although this configuration was initially highly-criticized - mainly because the salaries of some MEPs, especially in Western countries such as Italy or Germany, were much higher under the old system- the EP's decision to nonetheless incorporate this fiscal revision illustrated yet another example of democratic principles in action. Equal salary for all MEPs, at least in principle, promotes the underlying idea of equality among Member States; and equality is one of several pivotal features of participatory democracy.

In addition to the European Parliament's role within participatory democracy, it also embraces and ensures multicultural tradition in Europe. One way is through assuring the right of every EU citizen cannot be prevented from becoming a MEP on that grounds that he or she lacks language proficiency in one of the many working languages of the EU. Multilingualism, deeply rooted in the European Treaties, is a reflection of Europe's cultural and linguistic heritage. It allows European institutions to be more accessible and transparent to all citizens of the Union, which is crucial for the proper functioning of the democratic system of the EU.

The European Parliament differs from the other EU institutions that it is obliged to ensure the highest possible level of multilingualism. Equally important is the fact that the EP has officially adopted 24 official languages, giving both the MEP and the public

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<sup>273</sup> *Fresh start with new Members' Statutes*, European Parliament, 2009, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+IM-PRESS+20090626STO57497+0+DOC+XML+V0//EN&language=EN> (accessed: 23.07.2015).

access to any and all documents or legislation in his or her spoken language. In order to guarantee the same working conditions for all MEPs, they must be guaranteed full access to information in their respective languages, unless they desire otherwise<sup>274</sup>.

Members of the EP, group together according to political affiliation rather than nationality. At the present moment, there are eight political groups (i.e. Christians Democrats, European Conservatives and Reformist Group, etc.). A political group can be created if at least 25 MEPs are members, representing at least one-quarter of Member States. Although majority of the MEP are attached politically to a group, there are some who remain independent and are referred to as non-attached Members<sup>275</sup>. The structural organizational composition of the EP is yet another significant feature in that it safeguards from a national or political monopoly, as to date no single group has ever held an absolute majority in the European Parliament. Moreover, the absence of internal political unbalance or hegemony, greatly contributes to democratic ideals of compromise, and more importantly coalition-building. The EU at its core was founded upon principles of mutual collaboration and the joining of interests among European countries, it is therefore likely that one of its pillar institutions should adhere to similar values. Lastly, the EP's influence extends far beyond European borders in part through its 36 delegations, made up of approximately 15 MEPs. These delegations aim to maintain international relations with countries all around the world, including international organizations such as NATO.

Although supporters point to the EP's growing institutional significance, the European Parliament faces several challenges of public perception. Some skeptics contend that the EP lacks the legitimacy of national parliaments and exercises little real power. Other analysts observe that the complexity of the EU legislative process contributes to limited public interest and understanding of the EP's role, leading in turn to a trend of declining turnout in European Parliament elections. Another issue is whether MEPs reflect national or European interests—many MEPs tend to campaign on national rather than European issues and many voters view EP elections as a national mid-term election. Criticism has also been directed at the costs incurred by what many consider duplicate facilities—while much of the work of the EP takes place in Brussels, monthly plenary meetings are held in Strasbourg, France, and administrative sections of the EP Secretariat are based in Luxembourg. It is worth however, despite the aforementioned criticism to recognize the positive aspects of the European Parliament as it is the only EU institution that responds directly to the European citizens. In essence it is a symbol of what the European Union stands for, one of element undeniably being participatory democracy and peace. The European Union, which naturally includes the European Parliament, for its efforts to bring about peace and stability won the Nobel Peace Prize in 2012.

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<sup>274</sup> The European Parliament, 04 VII 2014, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/news-room/FAQ/> (accessed: 28.07.2015).

<sup>275</sup> European Parliament, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/aboutparliament/en/20150201PVL00010/Organisation-and-rules> (accessed: 22.07.2015).

Having discussed the EP's political role, it is worth spending a brief moment outlining its symbolic significance focusing primarily on its architectural design. The European Parliament as already mentioned conducts its business in two locations—Brussels, Belgium and Strasbourg, France. With regards to the latter location of the EP, the voluntarily unfinished aspect of the high tower carries heavy symbolism, as it is alleged to have been oriented eastwards, i.e. towards eastern Europe, of which by the time of the completion of the building no country had yet joined the EU. However, the open side of the tower actually faces west. On 14 January 2009, the European Parliament decided to bestow the name of the deceased, distinguished MEP for Poland, Bronisław Geremek, to the courtyard inside the tower. The „Bronisław Geremek Agora” was officially inaugurated on 21 April 2009<sup>276</sup>. Bronislaw Geremek was considered one of the leading figures in the Polish democratic opposition, who throughout his longstanding public service worked to promote democracy and political reform in Poland. In 1989 he played a crucial role during the debates between Solidarity and the authorities that led to free parliamentary elections and the establishment of the ‘Contract Sejm’.

Furthermore, the circular shape, also called a hemicycle is designed to encourage consensus among political parties (arranged mainly from left to right, although with the non-attached members towards the back and right of the chamber) rather than confrontation, such as the Westminster system implemented in the UK, where the government and opposition parties face each other on opposing sets of benches. The design is used in most European countries (and hence was adopted by the European Parliament) and the United States.

## Conclusion

The European Parliament being the only EU institution with direct ties to the European citizenry, plays a crucial role in minimizing the democratic deficit that has plagued the European Union for quite some time. Keeping in mind that the EP's inception came as a response to the criticism regarding the transfer of legislative powers from national governments to the Council of ministers of the EU. Consequently, this led to an elected European Parliament being created and given the power to approve or reject EU legislation. Prior to the changes in MEP appointment, the democratic deficit in relation to the European Union, referred to a perceived lack of accessibility to the ordinary citizen, or lack of representation of the ordinary citizen, and lack of accountability of European Union institutions. The European Parliament's mandate is therefore very important not only for the promotion of participatory democracy through direct representation, but in larger context, ensuring legitimacy of the European

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<sup>276</sup> *Address of the President of the European Parliament, Hans-Gert Pöttering, Wyborcza, 21st April 2009, [http://wiadomosci.gazeta.pl/wiadomosci/1,114881,6524543,Address\\_of\\_the\\_President\\_of\\_the\\_European\\_Parliament\\_.html](http://wiadomosci.gazeta.pl/wiadomosci/1,114881,6524543,Address_of_the_President_of_the_European_Parliament_.html) (accessed:12.07.2015).*

Union as a whole. Despite considerably low voter-turn out in recent years and growing criticism of the EP, the scope of its mandate if properly channeled and appropriately revised has the potential of reversing the associated negative stigma and more importantly, contribute to the betterment of the European Union based upon principals of participatory democracy.

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## The role of European institutions in supporting the European memory

In the 1970s Pierre Nora published an article *Mémoire collective*, in which he defined places of memory as all places connected with collective cult that for a particular national, ethnic or religious groups have a deep meaning. According to his definition, memorials are: museums, monuments, battlefields, bridges, churches and temples. For a group that identifies itself with a place of memory, this is a *sacrum*, which requires special rituals. Thus the obligation to rigorously special clothing in Orthodox churches or the ban on desecration of monuments of political leaders, who are of particular importance for the nation. For Nora, a place of memory is the “place of remembrance”<sup>277</sup>, “a place in which historical events are remembered. A place of remembrance may be for example, the house where Stalin was born. As the leader of many citizens of the former Soviet Union, despite considerable support and opposition, today Stalin is commemorated in the small Georgian town, Gori, right next to his birthplace, a monument and a museum with a rich collection of personal belongings and photographs are built. Another example of memorials may be institutions of the European Union, which aim to remind us on the formation of the Communities, and subsequently an international organization that had a significant influence on international relations and encouraged cooperation in many fields: economic, political, cultural and social.

On the basis of the above examples, you can extract a division of the memory into negative or positive. The first type of memorial sites, often cultivated in contemporary European culture, is associated with painful historical events and the death of the spirit of an identity of a particular society, which was subject to unification and subordination to dictatorial standards of behavior and thinking. You can also include among this group of memorials death camps, places of forced labor, places of the most important battles fought in the past. The number of victims who died in these places, testifies to the negative tone of the memorial. Such sites are commemorated mostly due to people needing to cultivate and maintain the memory of the people who gave their lives for their country, who sacrificed to fight for the freedom of their loved ones.

<sup>277</sup> A. Szpociński, *Sites of Memory*, “Teksty Drugie”, issue: 4 /2008, [https://tslmorawa.files.wordpress.com/2012/06/konwersatorium-rs\\_mk\\_szpocinski\\_miejsca-pamieci.pdf](https://tslmorawa.files.wordpress.com/2012/06/konwersatorium-rs_mk_szpocinski_miejsca-pamieci.pdf) (accessed: 15.08.2015).

In contrast to the above examples, research aimed at places of positive memory it is being increasingly carried out. An attempt to explore this subject matter is aimed at proving that the places of memory can have a positive connotation. It is a deliberate attempt to break with the martyrdom of the nation, overcoming the deeply rooted tradition of insurgency and the striving to cultivate positive places that have initiated something constructive.

Places of memory function only in cultures where artifacts and symbols of the past are respected. For this, the art of interpreting signs and symbols is necessary, allowing one to recreate the spirit of the past. Nora drew attention to being aware of the surrounding reality, which is full of symbols or places of memory. To see a place of memory one should be open to the diversity of characters and symbols, allowing one's imagination to flourish, and make an attempt at their interpretation. A decision to undertake such an effort allows for the interpretation of the chronicles, codes, language, art and poetry as places of memory. Literature and art become a place of memory at the moment when "place" is treated metaphorically, in isolation from its objectivity. Real places of remembrance - museums, monuments - and metaphorical places of memory share the same characteristics - they belong to specific social groups, for which they have a special meaning and are therefore cultivated.

The art of remembrance and tradition of cultivating different places is connected with the transgenerational culture. It is a deeply rooted custom commemorating the past, both the dead and their achievements, products of culture of our ancestors. From this stems a tradition of teaching about the past, the commemoration of national and religious holidays, the transfer of family traditions, sometimes are properly understood only within the community which operates in a particular cultural code.

Nowadays we can observe a trend of increased interest in memorials and the cultivation of the past. This gives rise to new forms of remembrance of places of memory and ways of understanding them. Andrzej Szpociński calls the new phenomenon- visualization and theatricalization of culture<sup>278</sup>, including historical culture and memorials. That theatricality of memory refers to the growth of the popularization of various happenings and performances. However, the theatricality of memorials must correlate with the correct visualization tools- based on visual perception. Their effectiveness increases with technological development. It seems that nowadays any kind of visual treatments come to us with greater ease, which do not require further interpretation, processing an image that is presented to us directly is sufficient.

An example of visualization and theatricality of memory may be an annual stage production of the Battle of Grunwald, which takes place normally 15 July each year. This tradition is met with huge interest of many social groups. It is directed not only for adults but also for the youngest audience, for whom is easier to stir the imagination and interpret symbols, when they are previously shown and staged in the form of a presentation or a happening.

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<sup>278</sup> *Ibidem.*

Today, you can learn a lot about the positive effects of visualization. It has a significant influence on the shaping of human opinion and is a method which more easily captures attention, rather than the traditional methods of printed form. Through visualization the mind is stimulated toward creative work and of imagining a particular purpose. Visualization acts - like a magnet - it draw people's attention. An increased interest in historical themes is increasingly visible, when cinema screens show some historical films that in a straightforward manner, but not necessarily reliable, represent the issues of the past. In the twenty-first century there is a trend that appears to encourage the viewer to deepen historical knowledge through film. People watch historical films such as *Katyn*, *General Nil*, *Bitwa Warszawska*, and even TV series such as - *Czas honoru*. Scientific research confirms that visualization creates imagination of a particular fact. It then causes that certain events are actualized, and recipients of this visualization subconsciously become part of it.

The phenomena of theatricality, visualization and places of memory can be also related to the support and transfer of knowledge about the European Union, and the search about positive places of memory in Europe. The creation of the European Community, and then an international organization like the European Union, was a kind of attempt to reconcile with the past, the bloody wars and battles fought to ensure effective cooperation, economic growth and prosperity in each country.

An important moment for the unification and cooperation of six countries was Churchill's speech of 1946 in Zurich, where he paradoxically called for forgetting, not remembering. New international relations were based on peace relations of European nations and the departure of imperialist tendencies, as well as the constant competition for the title of a hegemon on the world stage.

The European integration process is not limited by geographical borders, and often goes beyond, guided by historical and cultural factors. This fact proves that people are willing to cooperate and integrate among societies that operate using similar cultural code, allowing for a consensus to be reached, as soon as possible. Cultural factors help to build a sense of community, because in a given cultural circle symbols and signs have a similar connotation.

Initially, places of memory of European Union were understood as a common denominator of historical perturbations of each country. As a result, memorials have a negative connotation, as they were associated solely with wars, crimes and human tragedy. To change this conception of European memory, people needed the passage of time and ability to truly forget, towards which called for Churchill, and on the other hand, they were in need of some constructive project for the future, to build a real European identity devoid of historical events. An important contribution to initiating this vision was the work of researcher Aleidy Assmann. She has encouraged people to *dialogical remembering*<sup>279</sup>. This concept was based on the acceptance of suffered

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<sup>279</sup> See: R. Traba, *Dialogi pamięci. Rozważania wokół recepcji pamięci zbiorowej*, "Sensus Historiae" vol. XV, no. 2/2014; <http://www.sensushistoriae.epigram.eu/index.php/czasopismo/article/>

injustices and victims in the past, but also admission of inflicting of suffering to other nations. An expression of such an attitude is the commemoration of the victims of the Holocaust by the German people.

Analyzing places of memory, it is worth pondering about the role of European institutions in promoting European memory, and the related dates, objects and symbols- such as the flag with twelve stars on a blue background; the anthem of Ludwig van Beethoven's famous melody; the annual celebration of Europe Day on May 9th; the Euro, or the popular motto: "United in diversity". The main institutions are: the European Commission, the Council of the European Union, the European Council, the European Parliament, the Court of Justice, the Court of Auditors and the European Central Bank. Each of these institutions or EU symbols can be interpreted as a place of memory.

The European Parliament as an institution can be considered as a special place of European memory. It is closely associated with the creation of the ECSC in 1952 when it operated under the name Common Assembly of the European Coal and Steel Community. It changed its name to the European Parliament only in 1962. A key function of the EP is calling upon 751 deputies who are elected in national elections for a 5 year term. A historical moment was when the first election to the EP took place, in 1979. Allowing EU citizens an opportunity to have a real impact on political representation in the international arena, is an essential element of democracy. The MEPs in the European Parliament exert a number of rights as a legislative body, holding supervisory and budgetary functions. Meanwhile, the European Parliament as a building, can be traditionally conceived as a place of memory, because it visually resembles the events dating back to the 1950s. In addition, around the institutions, flags of each EU Member State along with the European Union flag have been put in place. These symbols can also be identified with memorial sites because they "speak" about the unification of numerous countries, who in the past have decided to join forces to build consensus and solidarity.

The knowledge on the European Parliament and its function can be deepened by visiting the Parliamentarium, or the Center for Visitors of the European. This is a museum, available to visitors free of charge, which acts as an informant about the work and functioning of the EP. The museum is a place of memory because it presents the most important events of the mid-twentieth century, describes the process of European integration, and also presents the history of individual EU nations. The originators of the Parliamentarium used the visualization method and theatricality exhibits to create a multimedia museum attracting considerable attention of many visitors. "Thanks to the surrounding it from all sides cinema screens, visitors can feel like as if they are actually participating in the work of the European Parliament. It gives a possibility to observe Members, our democratically elected representatives, and

find out more information about them by using special touch screens. We will (...) find out what the process of European integration has given to individual countries. We can listen to the speech of Europeans, find out what the EU means to them”<sup>280</sup>.

Theaterisation of the history of the European Parliament is visible on almost every level. It is aimed not only for adults but also for families with children. LUNA, is an attraction of the Parliamentarium that is especially designed game for the youngest. Ultimately, participants can win some awards in the game, which further promotes visitor attention and encourages active touring of the museum. The originators of the Parliamentarium have gone through great lengths to ensure comfort and to show openness and accessibility of the museum for all audiences. High school students can take part in role-playing games, which aims to encourage interactive learning and developing scientific interests among young people. In one of the games, students can pretend to be MEPs, learn how the institution operates of which they are the representatives, as well as debate, negotiate and learn the art of reaching a consensus. All of these examples of visualizing and dramatization are based on the Szpociński’s concept already mentioned. Games, as well as interactive whiteboards, guides that allow for streaming videos, or multimedia tour of the museum is consistent with the scientifically- proven notion about spurring interest in contemporary audience by stimulating its visual perception, using technological development.

Another institution that plays an important role in sustaining European memory, is the European Commission. “The term >>Commission<< refers to both the 28 commissioners, as well as to itself, the broader, institutions”<sup>281</sup>. The building of European Commission can be regarded as a place of conventional memory, as well as building of the EP, since it was built in the time of initiation of intergovernmental cooperation. This place of memory can be equated with the figure of Walter Hallstein – a German politician, who initiated the presidency of the European Commission in 1958. His role in this position, along with the re-election after his first term, was of particular importance because of the dynamic changes and the integration’s process of the European Communities. Another example of a metaphorical capture of places of memory may be the year 1992 - the signing of the Treaty on European Union in Maastricht.

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<sup>280</sup> <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/visiting/pl/visits/parlamentarium.html> (accessed: 27.07.2015).

<sup>281</sup> [http://ec.europa.eu/atwork/index\\_pl.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/atwork/index_pl.htm) (accessed: 28.07.2015).

RESOLVED to mark a new stage in the process of European integration undertaken with the establishment of the European Communities,

RECALLING the historic importance of overcoming the division of the European continent and the need to create firm bases for the construction of the future Europe,

CONFIRMING their commitment to the principles of liberty, democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and the rule of law,

DESIRING to deepen the solidarity between their nations while respecting their history, culture and traditions,

WISHING to strengthen the democratic and efficient functioning of the institutions so that they are better able to fulfill, within a single institutional framework, the tasks entrusted to them,

DETERMINED to strengthen their economies, as well as lead to bring them closer and to establish economic and monetary union, including - in accordance with the provisions of this Treaty - a common, stable currency,

DETERMINED to promote economic and social progress for their peoples, by the completion of the internal market and strengthening cohesion and environmental protection and to implement policies that will ensure that economic integration are accompanied by parallel progress in other fields, RESOLVED to establishing a common citizenship to nationals of their countries,

RESOLVED to implement a common foreign and security policy, including the framing of a common defense policy, which might in time lead to a common defense, thereby reinforcing the European identity and independence in order to promote peace, security and progress in Europe and in the world,

Reaffirming their objective of facilitating the free movement of persons, while ensuring the security of its peoples, by the inclusion of this Treaty provisions relating to justice and home affairs,

RESOLVED to continue the process of creating an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe, in which decisions are taken as close to the citizen in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity,

XVI / EN 2 IN VIEW of further steps to be taken in order to advance European integration, HAVE DECIDED to establish a European Union.

Source: The Treaty on European Union (initialed December 11, 1991, signed February 7, 1992 in Maastricht in the Netherlands, entered into force on November 1, 1993), [https://polskawue.gov.pl/files/polska\\_w\\_ue/prawo/traktaty/Traktat\\_z\\_Maastricht.pdf](https://polskawue.gov.pl/files/polska_w_ue/prawo/traktaty/Traktat_z_Maastricht.pdf)

This treaty had special significance from the point of view of the members of the European Union, because it is regarded as the Reform Treaty. Thanks to this Treaty, inter alia, the draft Economic and Monetary Union was introduced as was the introduction of the euro. The year 1992 can be identified with a place of European memory, because it speaks about important political decisions that led to enhanced cooperation in many fields: a common foreign policy, security policy, the establishment of EU citizenship, and the determination of the convergence criteria whether to adopt the euro. The beginning of the 1990s can certainly be described as a landmark period in the history of European integration. Numerous changes and reforms during this period took place that still exist today.

In the history of integration, the Commission had three predecessors. In 1952, the High Authority was found, as the management body of the ECSC consisting of international officials. Since 1958, the Commission EEC and Euratom was launched.

The Treaty establishing the European Atomic Energy Community (hereinafter, Euratom Treaty) is an international agreement, which is the core of the European Atomic Energy Community. Its original purpose was to coordinate research programs aimed at the peaceful use of nuclear energy by Member States.

Source: [http://dron.paa.gov.pl/prawo/prawo-europejskie/traktat-euratomfiles/polska\\_w\\_ue/prawo/traktaty/Traktat\\_z\\_Maastricht.pdf](http://dron.paa.gov.pl/prawo/prawo-europejskie/traktat-euratomfiles/polska_w_ue/prawo/traktaty/Traktat_z_Maastricht.pdf)

All three institutions were joined together, and from 1967 based upon the authority expressed in the Merger Treaty, they began to function as the European Commission.

RESOLVED to continue its road to European unity, RESOLVED to effect the unification of the three Communities, MINDFUL of the contribution which represents for such unification, the creation of common institutions of the Community, HAVE DECIDED to create a single Council and a single Commission of the European Communities

Source: Treaty establishing a single Council and a single Commission of the European (Merger Treaty) contained April 8, 1965 in Brussels, he came into force on July 1, 1967

[https://polskawue.gov.pl/files/polska\\_w\\_ue/prawo/traktaty/Traktat\\_fuzyjny.pdf](https://polskawue.gov.pl/files/polska_w_ue/prawo/traktaty/Traktat_fuzyjny.pdf)

The Commission is now divided into divisions and departments. Departments are known as the Directorate General. Directorates General are divided in terms of the policy areas they address. In Poland, the Delegation of the European Commission, which is part of DG COMM, functions in Warsaw and Wrocław. As a government organization, it is engaged in informing citizens about the current policy of the European Commission through the media, experts and representatives of the Commission. It also informs about the benefits and rights a person is entitled to by being an EU citizen.

The European Commission in Poland uses a mechanism of theatricality of European memory by organizing numerous happenings. One of the current events conducted by the European Commission Representation in Poland is an educational-informative event - EuroHoliday2015. The theme of this year's event is development aid and ways of fighting poverty in the world, undertaken by the EC. The action aims to promote knowledge of the EU and the constructive management of free time during the holidays for children and adults. As part of the Euroholiday2015 event, information and educational events take place in twenty towns all around Poland.

This form of activity stimulates social activity, which means that citizens learn more and more about the Union, and also has a sense that the EU institutions are proverbially "closer to the people". It is also one of the ways of commemorating positive memory of Europe - in this case regarding the European Commission.

The aim of this article was an attempt to prove that the places associated with the European memory can have a positive connotation. The search for positive places of European memory is necessary in order to move away from the stereotypical notions of commemorating -only painful historical events. European places of memory,

interpreted according to Pierre Nora, may consist of not only material form but also people, dates, or symbols and objects that speak about important facts from the past. Peter Unger<sup>282</sup> argues that even tradition can be regarded as a place of memory. The metaphorical perception of places of memory is particularly important concept in the twenty-first century. Due to the growing progress of globalization, which leads to the unification of the economies of many countries in the world and creating a global society, and the disappearance of the category of the nation state. In order to counter globalization, we must be able to overcome geographic factors and identify places of memory with intangible areas from the past.

The key to the search for places of memory in this discourse, was to analyze the happenings and cultural events as part of visualization and theatricality, whose role is to commemorate history. Szpociński's assumption is that this is one of the most effective ways to commemorate the past and engage the international community in the twenty-first century.

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<sup>282</sup> P. Unger, *Muzea w nauczaniu historii*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne 1988;  
P. Unger, *Tradycja też jest miejscem pamięci*, [in:] *Miejsca pamięci w edukacji historycznej*, eds. S. Roszak, M. Strzelecka, A. Wieczorek, Toruń: Stowarzyszenie Oświatowców Polskich 2009.

## Revitalized post-industrial areas as sites of memory

There are many post-industrial areas in the European landscape, which in light of subsequent economic transformation became useless in spatial structures. Shifting focus from an economy which based on industry to an economy based on services, resulted in in such areas becoming devoid of their previous functions, left alone and forgotten. Many remains of previous industrial activity, such as ironworks, mines and factories collapsed and were closed. The debate over them started in the 1970's and 80's, once their inherent value was recognized. A process of renovation began of those at parts which have been forgotten about. Due to the areas' particular character: large surface areas, characteristic form of construction, the inability to re-establish previous functions, this process had to be comprehensive. It turned out that simply renovating the building structures located in the degraded areas was insufficient. These facilities had to take on a new function in order to justify their presence in space. They were subsequently changed into museums, monuments of recent history, shopping centres, entertainment and recreation centres, and began to be appreciated. Their significance was restored, consequently becoming an integral part of societies' identity, which accepted them as their heritage. In this way, they returned to the consciousness of the community.

The twentieth century brought not only technological progress. With advancement in production processes new social tendencies also emerged, which exerted considerable influence upon societal perception. The era of postmodernity, which illustrated that nothing is certain and predetermined in advance, promoted societies to begin searching for their identity, through studying their past. They attempted to define what is the key to their existence and distinctiveness. In this process a significant aspect were sites of memory which were mentioned for the first time by Pierre Nora. Societies began to discover their respective sites of memory, define them and formulated them as elements of their identity.

*Lieux de mémoire*, as a game between memory and history, is a place which concentrates memory of a particular community, in contrast with history, which involves into episodes.

Source: P. Nora, *Między pamięcią i historią: Les Lieux de Mémoire*, "Working title. Archive", no. 2/ 2009, p. 11, <http://www.marysialewandowska.com/wp-content/uploads/2009/08/Archiwum-no2-c2-sprd.pdf> (accessed: 18.07.2015).

Post-industrial areas were once again remembered, which after being assigned a new function and attributing previously lost value, obtained legitimacy for continued existence within the space. When societies regressed to the past, they realised that history of industry, although less colourful and definitely perhaps less than beautiful, is also a part of identity worth remembering. Old ironworks, mines and factories became sites of memory which narrated about forgotten but nonetheless important domain of ordinary life.

## Memory and history

Sites of memory relate to the past and to history of a particular community. Processes which appeared in the way history and memory are perceived, resulted in that *lieux de mémoire* are a crucial aspect of identity and carriers of values.

Pierre Nora came with an assumption that isn't possible to equate memory with history.

History is a reconstruction of things that passed, it is the past. Memory is continually actual and relates past with present.

There is no one memory. Infact, there are as many forms of memory as there are social groups, because each one is responsible for defining what it percieves as their own unique identity<sup>283</sup>.

Memory and history are no longer the same. Today they appear as completely different, antagonized concepts. Memory evolves with society. It is open to dialog with regards to forgetting and remembering. It is simultaneously deformed, frequently manipulated and appropriated. Memory is something which connects us with an everlasting present, is variable and susceptible to modification. Instead, history represents the past. It is an intellectual and secular product, in contrast with the past, which is founded on rituals. History interconnects with a consequence of events and facts. It tries to create itself as a universal authority and opposition of spontaneous memory<sup>284</sup>.

Modern memory, according to Nora, is archival memory. Everything must be documented, affirmed, taped, and played back. This happens because of fear of disappearance. Postmodernity resulted in a concern about continuance; whether our present will be remembered in the future. Attempts to regenerate memory emerged from our desire to leaving as much as we can for the next generations. We create extensive archives from things which we believe should be remembered from our present<sup>285</sup>.

The sole responsibility for remembering rests upon an individual unit. An individual person is obliged to remember and protect privileges of identity. Memory has to

<sup>283</sup> P. Nora, *Między pamięcią i historią: Les Lieux de Mémoire*, „Working title. Archive”, no. 2/2009, p. 11, <http://www.marysialewandowska.com/wp-content/uploads/2009/08/Archiwum-no2-c2-sprd.pdf> (accessed: 18.07.2015).

<sup>284</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 5.

<sup>285</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 7.

be everywhere, otherwise it won't be anywhere. Therefore, individuals should care that memory should remain alive and preserved at all times<sup>286</sup>. As a result, sites of memory became crucial. Thanks to such sites, individuals as well whole societies can remember their past. These places are symbols, which remind us about certain values considered as important elements of identity, and should not be forgotten.

## Sites of memory

According to *Modus Memorandi* first meaning of the term 'sites of memory' is place of commemoration, which relates to an area, where important and memorable events took place. The second meaning of sites of memory is *lieux de mémoire*, which could not only be referring to strictly geographical location. We could also include events, processes, historical figures, artefacts, symbols and other historical phenomenon<sup>287</sup>. Alluding to history, which emerges from sites of memory, is an analysis of forms and functions of using the past for actual needs in particular moment<sup>288</sup>.

If we want a chosen place to become *lieux de mémoire*, we need the will of remembering. It is this will that makes that particular place no longer just a place of memory, but something more<sup>289</sup>. To create a site of memory we need societal agreement, which will consider a particular place and interpret its symbolism in an appropriate way.

According to Andrzej Szpociński, Pierre Nora had never given an exact definition of sites of memory.

Nora understood them as institutionalized form of collective memory of the past.  
Source: A. Szpociński, *Miejsca pamięci*, "Teksty Drugie", no. 4/2008, p. 11-12.

Robert Traba writes that *lieux de mémoire* are remains, the most external form under which our awareness could survive for decades and centuries. We refer to them, because in reality, we do not know history. Nora maintains that we can reach deeper if we stop seeing the world as a ritual. *Lieux de mémoire* grow and live from a sentiment that there is no spontaneous memory. Memory should be organised through the creation of archives, celebration of anniversaries, holidays, writing obituaries, authentication of agreements with notaries, because all these operations are not natural<sup>290</sup>. Sites of memory are that something that builds our consciousness. But this is not a process that happens automatically. *Lieux de mémoire* must be systematized and nurtured by society. We need to take care of them and constantly remind the next generations of

<sup>286</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 8.

<sup>287</sup> *Modi Memorandi, Leksykon kultury pamięci*, eds. M. Saryusz-Wolska, R. Traba, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar 2014, p. 230.

<sup>288</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 231.

<sup>289</sup> K. Kowalski, *O istocie dziedzictwa europejskiego - rozważania*, Kraków: International Cultural Centre 2013, p. 51.

<sup>290</sup> R. Traba, *Historia - przestrzeń dialogu*, Warszawa: Instytut Studiów Politycznych 2006, p. 31.

their importance, because they can be forgotten<sup>291</sup>.

*Lieux de mémoire* are simultaneously simple and ambiguous, natural and artificial, directly available in a particular sensual experience and susceptible to the most abstract transformation<sup>292</sup>. In addition, they are also fundamental debris, the highest incarnations of remembering consciousness, barely survived in the era of history that evokes the memory because it were abandoned<sup>293</sup>.

When Szpociński analyses the phenomenon of sites of memory he emphasizes that firstly is worth delving into the definition of carriers of memory, which constitute a broader category. According to Szpociński, we can distinguish intentional carriers and unintentional carriers.

Intentional carriers - created with the express intention of remembrance  
unintentional carriers - become a symbol without the express intent of the initiator.

At the same time, the role of unintentional carriers of memory can be assumed through documents, works of art, buildings, objects of everyday use, often having no historical and/or artistic value. And the latter deserves special attention<sup>294</sup>. This statement is important for deliberating on whether post-industrial areas can be sites of memory. It turns out that, objects that may act as carriers of memory of certain societal meanings, do not have to be old monuments of undeniable artistic value.

There is also considerable criticism with regards to *lieux de mémoire*. As Krzysztof Kowalski writes, according to opponents of the concept of *lieux de mémoire*, this is in fact a return to the historical reconstruction integrated into the perspective of national identity, which at the turn of the twentieth and twenty-first century seems to be anachronistic, and refers to the history of the nineteenth century<sup>295</sup>. For opponents, the theory of memory is inadequate for the world engulfed by postmodernity. Nora, who was a precursor of the concept was accused of lacking a clear definition and criteria by which we could extract the sites of memory, as well as arbitrariness and normativism<sup>296</sup>.

Sites of memory cannot function everywhere. We will find them in those cultures where there is a perception that the particular place can narrate the past. This point of view constructs the beliefs that the relation about past events does not only have to be passed on by witnesses of those events, but also in an indirect way, using signs and symbols<sup>297</sup>. The essential objective of sites of memory is to restrain the process of forgetting<sup>298</sup>.

<sup>291</sup> P. Nora, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

<sup>292</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 9.

<sup>293</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 6.

<sup>294</sup> A. Szpociński, *Nośniki pamięci, miejsca pamięci*, "Sensus Historiae", vol. XVII/2014, p. 22.

<sup>295</sup> K. Kowalski, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

<sup>296</sup> *Modi Memorandi*, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

<sup>297</sup> Szpociński, *Miejsca pamięci*, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

<sup>298</sup> K. Kowalski, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

## Heritage

Reflections on constructing sites of memory affect the selection of what we consider to be the legacy of ancestors and what we construct as our heritage. It is impossible to not recall the definition of heritage, which is related to sites of memory.

According to Maciej Kronenberg, it is impossible to conceptualize once and for all, what it is the heritage, because valuation changes with the development of civilization, and additional objects are considered as parts of legacy.

Source: M. Kronenberg, *Wpływ zasobów dziedzictwa przemysłowego na atrakcyjność turystyczną miasta, przykład Łodzi*, Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego 2012, p. 21-22.

Heritage is what has been handed down to us by our ancestors, which we consider important aspects of our identity<sup>299</sup>.

The recall of the importance of place referring to the history and memory of societies, makes that objects relating to the importance gain legitimacy.

This choice, undertaken by societies, decides what is worth remembering, worth cultivating, and what should be rejected. It necessarily entails the possibilities of distortions or inaccuracies in commonly proclaimed history. The heritage is also often used for commercial purposes. Heritage is variable. It means that it is not universal neither for several local communities, nor for larger areas, or generations. With the passage of time and technological, social, economic changes, which constantly evolve, a way of looking at history and memory also changes. What was considered as significant in the identity of community hundred years ago, today may no longer have significance or may even be forgotten. At the same time, a fact which in the past was not attributed significant value, today may be the foundation of perception and identity. Monika Murzyn describes heritage as a dynamic conception difficult to define. This is related to constant selection of the heritage by its users<sup>300</sup>.

This essay focuses on post-industrial areas, which are also elements of the heritage. To be more specific, these territories are parts of industrial heritage.

<sup>299</sup> J. Purchla, *Dziedzictwo kulturowe*, [in:] *Kultura a rozwój*, eds. J. Hausner, A. Karwińska, J. Purchla, Narodowe Centrum Kultury, Warszawa, 2013, p. 39-45.

<sup>300</sup> M. A. Murzyn, *Dziedzictwo kulturowe w okresie przemian: szanse i wyzwania*, [in:] *Dziedzictwo kulturowe w XXI wieku. Szanse i wyzwania*, eds. M. A. Murzyn, J. Purchla, Kraków: International Cultural Centre 2007, p. 153.

For Tadeusz Jędrzyak industrial heritage is a kind of record of the history of civilization, which presents technical and technological processes.

Source: T. Jędrzyak, *Turystyka kulturowa w obiektach poprzemysłowych – zagadnienia ogólne*, „Turystyka kulturowa”, no. 6/2011 (June), p. 17.

As industrial heritage is recognized all that was left of the industry and is directly linked to it. According to Kronenberg industrial heritage is everything what we received in the legacy from previous generations related to the industrial complex<sup>301</sup>. What distinguishes them from the cultural heritage, is character. In these areas values are old factories, warehouses, mines, production lines, which are a testimony of the past and the legacy of our predecessors. For Tadeusz Jędrzyak industrial heritage is a kind of record of the history of civilization, which presents technical and technological processes<sup>302</sup>.

The only salvation of post-industrial areas from total demise is revitalization. This process does not focus solely on improving the physical condition of the facility. It contributes to economic recovery. It does not only modernize what has existed in this area but also introduces significant changes<sup>303</sup>. It gives new features to pre-existing objects, so that what is already useless can once again represent a certain value. As a result, these areas can turn into sites of memory recognized by society and are once again restored to life.

## Examples of sites of memory in post-industrial areas

If every social group is able to create its own site of memory, the question then arises whether Europeans also have places they can call European sites of memory. There is still considerable amount of skepticism on this issue. We consider united Europe but without a universal perspective on the past. Nora claimed that the memory relating to these places is conditioned by the community's history, which is lacking in Europe<sup>304</sup>.

Krzysztof Kowalski collects classification of sites of memory according to the Nora into a totality. They include: historiographical places, founding places, decisive places, geographical places, cultural and economic places, places of scientific creativity, and symbolic places<sup>305</sup>.

Revitalized post-industrial areas could be carriers of identity, consequently they could also be sites of memory. As a result of undergoing a process of restoration, and in doing so also allocating their new functions, they acquire meaning and value

<sup>301</sup> M. Kronenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>302</sup> T. Jędrzyak, *Turystyka kulturowa w obiektach poprzemysłowych – zagadnienia ogólne*, „Turystyka kulturowa”, no. 6/2011 (June), p. 17.

<sup>303</sup> S. Kaczmarek, *Rewitalizacja terenów poprzemysłowych. Nowy wymiar w rozwoju miast*, Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2001, p. 16.

<sup>304</sup> K. Kowalski, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

<sup>305</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 60.

for society. Objects or facilities that appear in these areas may not represent artistic values at first glance. Often, they are not as old as many places inscribed on the list of monuments. These areas, however, are linked to history of everyday life of a given population, which previously worked there, and may still live near-by. Frequently, these areas have a sentimental value for the community and are a kind of a memorial site that is inseparable from their past.

An example of a revitalized post-industrial area is Zollverein, a mine and coking plant in Essen, which can be a site of memory. In the past, it was the largest and most modern coal mine in the world. It was closed in 1986, and local authorities have decided to revitalize this area. They restored all the buildings, with portions given new functions such as transforming them into, among other things, industrial design center, casino, exhibition halls, restaurants and cafes. This revitalized mine, beside serving commercial functions, also serves as a museum of technology. Through the restoration of an old production line, visitors can learn about the process of coal mining and the how it is subsequently treated<sup>306</sup>. Since December 2001, this facility has been inscribed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

Today, it is not only an example of how revitalization should look like. It also possess enormous value for society. It is a place of memory illustrating history and values associated with the Ruhr area's heavy industry. It is a part of the heritage and identity, which shows an important aspect of memory about European history.

Analyzing the situation in Poland, it is more difficult to find a similar example to Zollverein mine in Essen. In Poland, people began to realize the importance of post-industrial sites after the political transformation in 1989. Examples of revitalization in these areas in Poland, therefore, are less spectacular. We have just started to gain experience in implementing projects like this.

The most popular example of revitalization processes carried out on Polish territory is Stary Browar in Poznań. The premise of the restoring process of this facility in the structure of the urban fabric was combining commercialization with art, post-industrial architecture with modern forms. In the old brewery, Courtyard of Art was founded. Its aim is to promote artistic activities from the sphere of contemporary art. A shopping center is also located there that has received international recognition<sup>307</sup>.

Another example of the revitalization of post-industrial area is Manufaktura in Łódź. The old textile factory complex was turned into a huge shopping, services and entertainment complex. In addition to the commercial functions of the shopping center, it also serves cultural functions. It includes museums (Museum of the Factory, MS2), cinema, theater in the old buildings that once contained weaving plant, spinning mill and finishing building. We can also find many cultural initiatives there. This area is becoming better known and serves as a new symbol of Łódź.

<sup>306</sup> Website of "Gliwickie Metamorfozy", <http://www.gliwiczenie.pl/Ee/Zollverein/zollverein.htm> (accessed: 26.07.2015).

<sup>307</sup> Website of Commitment to Europe, [http://www.cte.org.pl/dokument240\\_rewitalizacja\\_czyli\\_dzialanie\\_na\\_rzecz\\_ozwienienia\\_miasta\\_.html](http://www.cte.org.pl/dokument240_rewitalizacja_czyli_dzialanie_na_rzecz_ozwienienia_miasta_.html) (accessed: 27.07.2015).

What primarily distinguishes revitalization in Europe from revitalization in Poland is the entity, who performs it. In the case of the mine in Essen, processes have been initiated by local authorities. Investors in Poland, who set out to revitalize, were private investors. For this reason, in the case of Essen no one questions the idea of the object as a place of memory. It was created by the local community, which considered it as an area of particular importance in space, representing a certain symbolic value commonly recognized. This looks different in Poland. Societal acceptance of a commercialization of these places, designating them as *lieux de mémoire* is more difficult. However, without the involvement of private entities, these processes would probably never have occurred. Over time, these objects will cease to be questioned and possibly in the future, no one will doubt that they are a symbol of a past restored.

## Conclusion

Sites of memory are inextricably related to the past and the heritage. What a particular society considers as elements of its history, is a prelude to creating its identity. Heritage is the process of selecting, and by defining it, society creates it in a subjective way. There is no single universal heritage for everyone. What some people consider as the legacy of the ancestors, to others it may be an unimportant aspect of their history.

Twenty-first century and postmodernism have brought some changes in the societal perception of history and memory. The changes that have taken place, made that so that even the concept of memory has become unstable and volatile. To protect ourselves against oblivion, people began to document everything that is connected with the past and which would confirm identity, and prevent the disappearance of the present in the coming future. Archiving began to play an important role, as all kinds of measures whose effects would be commemoration of the past, along with its conservation.

As a result of this uncertainty *lieux de mémoire* began to crystallize. Sites of memory do not exist in the spontaneous form. They are deliberately created to avoid being kidnapped by history and forgotten. In this case, the memory dominates the history. Thanks to memory we can keep for the future what we consider as memorable and worth passing along. *Lieux de mémoire* are remains, which relish memory and places of commemoration. They do not need to be only a physical space. It could also include customs, events, characters, and symbols.

Revitalized post-industrial areas may also be sites of memory. Industry and objects associated with them, which had recently played the most important role in the economy, today lost their significance. However, we may notice a tendency of returning to these areas. This is a result of repairing processes which gain new features. It also causes them to become important objects in spatial fabric. As sites of memory, they are areas that evoke the memory of the past, about everyday life that once was in their territory.

Recognizing these areas as *lieux de mémoire* is their chance. By restoring their memory and creating them as part of the community's identity, would ensure their

preservation. Revitalization is the most appropriate reconstructive process in such cases. In addition to restoring the physical condition it assigns them new capabilities. This contributes to the fact that these objects are not treated only as symbols of the past, which must be remembered. New features legitimize their presence in the space, and ensures that society no longer has a problem in acknowledging them. Thus, they operate in space as *lieux de mémoire*.

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DAGMARA SIKORA

## Memory sites and tourism

Places of positive memory play an important role in shaping society, and are simply needed in the world, in order to learn about history, to remember and in order to not repeat the mistakes of our ancestors. Visiting large cities, one can at every step encounter statues or memorial plaques. They are also found in smaller towns and even villages. After all, there is still a problem with the creation of new, and appropriately received existing places of memory.

The very creation of the memorial is a daunting task, regardless of its nature. On the surface, it is easier to construct a place commemorating negative developments. The evil done by man and disasters resulting from natural catastrophes usually leave behind tangible traces. They must be properly secured with regular maintenance and be ensured a proper educational setting. However, in a desensitized world these seemingly easy tasks not requiring much effort, turn out to be a constant struggle with lies and the lack of proper respect. The need to also raise funds for further renovations certainly does not make things any easier. A perfect example is the special place of remembrance - Auschwitz-Birkenau. Although to each emotionally mature person, it is a place of deep meditation, reflection on humanity and its cruelty, not all visitors to Auschwitz are ready for such experiences. I think everyone who visited this place had difficulty of meeting a group of giggling teenagers, doing silly faces for photos, setting off loud music and playing on their phones. In any case, this does not only concern young people. This problem was presented by the artist Agata Siwek in her project *Souvenirs of Auschwitz*, in which she shows that even the most terrible memorials are often treated as tourist attractions, thus they lose their original character. The demand for memorabilia from a death camp is proof that the reception of this place drastically diverges from what was intended, and may even border on profanation.

Creating a positive memory space that will not be just another monument you pass through without much reflection, is a difficult task. Places to commemorate the great tragedies operate with much stronger emotions, and thus - more easily attract attention and remain engrained in memory. The creators of places of positive memory often go the easy way, putting, for example plaques, which, due to their number are usually invisible to passers-by. Their advantage as well as a curse at the same time, is the fact that they are conspicuous. Plaques blend well with the surroundings, thus not

spoiling the aesthetics (although we certainly could find negating examples). On the other hand, the place of memory are meant to attract attention, otherwise they go unnoticed and fail to meet its primary function.

A considerable role in the acceptance of places of memory is played by tourism. Travelers when visiting, pay more attention to detail, they seek out things to remember. This part, which treats trips as an opportunity to learn the history and culture of a visited country, try even harder to find this type of place. Therefore, tourists have to deal with memorial sites more often than the locals, for whom these places are simply an illustration of their immediate surroundings treated as something routine, making it less interesting and not requiring a deeper analysis. Tourists can be divided into many different categories. The basic criterion for differentiating a way of seeing: some prefer to do it on their own, others opt for organized tours. For the former it is extremely important opportunity to explore the place at their own pace, taking into account their preferences in determining the tour route. Very often they forgo even with its findings, in favor of "wandering" aimlessly. This allows them to sink in life while visiting the place, feeling the atmosphere not only superficially, but with their whole being. This type of sightseeing like watching an exhibition in the museum without a guide - very often making it impossible to know its broader context, and even finding things worth attention, including many memory locations. However, less well-known places are then at a disadvantage, because most often are found incidentally or when visitors already know about their existence. This does not mean that the guided tours are free from defects. Large organized groups have their own rules and require adaptation of its members to certain rules. It is difficult to fully concentrate on the object known to others, when one companion consumes a sandwich, second once again calls for a break to visit the toilet, and another tries to capture data from every possible perspective. On the other hand, the needs of individuals are less important to the delimitation of the plan, which in turn results in the fact that man is forced to visit with a full bladder or empty stomach. Another disadvantage of tours is the way tour guides collectively share knowledge. Sometimes it is very difficult from the sea of facts given in haste, to pick out the ones that are worth remembering. Another plaque or statue merges with the previous and ceases to have any meaning. In addition, a guide decides which places are worth seeing. This means that a large number of interesting, though unpopular are simply ignored in favor of those belonging to the "canon". If among the visitors a perceptive person emerges, interested in exploring and, most importantly is inquisitive, there is a chance that attention is drawn to a neglected object or area. But usually such situations do not occur and space ignored by the guide thus goes unnoticed by the group. The problem can also be an incompetent person acting as a guide. Of course, most of guides are accordingly trained, ready, and what's more, some cities have introduced special restrictions (e.g. the Vienna, where in order to earn the right to practice this profession, you have to take a long course and pass a state examination - if during an inspection a guide does not possess proper documentation,

he will incur a severe financial penalty). However, there are still individuals who clearly should not work in this profession - they are for example, students who use their knowledge of the topography of the city, deciding to earn some extra money in this way. They forget, however, that simply a sense of direction is not enough. Tourists are then in a difficult situation - not only must they point out to the hopeless guide his shortcomings within basic knowledge generally expected out of his professional, but in addition, if they decide to opt out to use his services, they hastily must find a replacement, which in practice is almost impossible .

An additional obstacle in the corresponding perception of a memorial is a tourist habit of taking pictures of virtually anything that can be photographed. The development of technology has enabled the capture of high-quality in large quantity. The modern tourist is no longer limited twenty-four or thirty-six frames of film, and the necessity of continuous visits to the photographer, because most of them, without a moment's thought, make hundreds of photos. Memorial plaques and plaques containing information about the site or monument are also photographed, visitors therefore rarely read what is written on them, leaving it for later, while taking a picture. Of course this intention of reading it 'later' practically never happens, and image is often later removed, or is quickly scrolled through in the slideshow of other pictures from the trip. Even if visitors come back to the photo in the future, the effect will be much smaller than initially intended. This is greatest when a person is present in front of a memorial, experiencing direct contact with a place commemorating an event. It happens that at that moment you can fully understand the history – somehow becoming a part of it.

How, therefore, should we characterize an ideal place of memory? Does an ideal even exist at all? In my opinion, although it cannot be holistically described, we can identify some of its features. First of all, a memorial site should attract attention, of course within the limits of good taste. It is to be noticeable, but not shocking, because the controversy most often brings negative consequences. An example is the famous rainbow on the Square of the Saviour, which, though originally was supposed to be a symbol of peace, hope and love, by its controversial reference to the emancipation movement of sexual minorities has become a cause of bitter dispute lasting more than three years, led to its eventual removal and transfer elsewhere. Good taste is particularly important at a time when the place commemorates a delicate matter, for example relating to the death of large numbers of people. Here controversy and the principle of “no matter how, so long they speak about it” do not apply. Memorial has an educational function, so it is absolutely necessary to present only accurate information, coming from a verified source. There is nothing that degrades the memory of a space as does the fact that it relates inaccurate information, because in doing so it undermines its validity.

During the project, *Positive Places of European Memory*, we visited the Parliamentarium. It is constructed in such a way as to satisfy the curiosity of both, young and adult visitors. By using the latest technology it presents the history of European

integration, as well as the present by explaining, among other things how MEPs work. The amount of information provided in the Parlamentarium is considerable, so in order to provide visitors with best reception, the creators have provided a variety of media. In order to ensure that the visitors are not detached from the European Parliament, its environment and its own existing problems, the developers have invited nationals of Member States to cooperate on the project, asking them to speak about the impact of the EU on their daily lives. Videos can be seen in a special room, sitting on extremely comfortable sofas, surrounded by a relaxing projection wall. Visitors receive a multimedia guide that allows you to explore the Parlamentarium in each of the languages of the Member States. As a result, every citizen of the European Union can learn about the history of European integration and the European Parliament's work in their native language. Regardless of the perception of the work undertaken by the EP and the European Union itself, it must be admitted that the Parlamentarium is a place of memory, which definitely fulfills its function. It should be noted that its construction consumed an enormous amount of money (20.5 million euros). With such a budget, it is easy to create impressive memorial site. Besides, this building packed with modern technology, does not necessarily appeal to everyone. Fans of a classic version of the museum may feel a bit overwhelmed by the amount of modern equipment, colors and sounds.

There are plenty of places of memory, and their number continues to grow. Some of them are the sole guardian of the memory of past events that perpetuate, because human life is short and witnesses sooner or later pass away. Therefore, regardless of the difficulties in creating such sites, every effort should be made to ensure that memory has survived and thus serving as a teacher to successive generations.

Translated by: Monika Eriksen

ANETA PAZIK

## Evaluation: Places of memory as a condition constituting three levels of collective identity

In a study of cultural and collective memory an emphasis is being placed on its strong relationship with the process of constructing identity. Jacques Le Goff notes that the collective memory is an essential element constituting the individual and the collective identity<sup>308</sup>. Following Jan Assmann in turn, it can be considered that one of the characteristics of cultural memory<sup>309</sup> is aggregated collective identity that stores the knowledge of the community and from which the group derives its awareness of unity and diversity. This knowledge, constituted by a divided memory is transmitted within a given group. Access to this knowledge is possessed by individuals belonging to it<sup>310</sup>. Maurice Halbwachs considers that there is a strong relationship between identity and collective memory reflected in the material layer of space. He deems that collective memory can only develop within the spatial structures as the impressions of our minds are faint, they don't restore the past as it was. The past can be solely understood through a reference to what has been preserved in our physical surrounding<sup>311</sup>.

Identity is characterized by processual and self-reflective nature. It involves constructing a permanent narrative in accordance with the principle that we are, what we do with ourselves<sup>312</sup>. Memory, like identity, is also socially constructed. It is not a reflection of the facts of the past, but is the result of mutual interaction between the past and present. It is a reconstruction of the past, according to the current conditions affecting the formation of identity<sup>313</sup>. Cultural memory, in accordance with Assmann's point of view, is based on places of memory<sup>314</sup>. At the same time as Nora recognizes

<sup>308</sup> J. Le Goff, *Historia i pamięć*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 2007, p. 155.

<sup>309</sup> Cultural memory is a kind of collective memory which is shared by a group of people and which marks them with a collective, cultural identity: J. Assmann, Communicative and cultural memory, [in:] *Cultural Memory Studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, eds. A. Erll, A. Nünning, Berlin: De Gruyter 2008, p. 110.

<sup>310</sup> [http://kultura-pamieci.pl/wp-content/pliki/literatura08/assman\\_collective\\_memory.pdf](http://kultura-pamieci.pl/wp-content/pliki/literatura08/assman_collective_memory.pdf) (accessed: 18.10.2015).

<sup>311</sup> M. Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, New York: Harper-Colophon Books 1950, p. 5-6.

<sup>312</sup> A. Giddens, *Nowoczesność i tożsamość. „Ja” i społeczeństwo w późnej nowoczesności*, Warszawa: PWN 2002, p. 105.

<sup>313</sup> *Literatura, pamięć, tożsamość*, [in:] *Pamięć zbiorowa i kulturowa. Współczesna perspektywa niemiecka*, ed. M. Saryusz-Wolska, Kraków: Universitas 2009, p. 250.

<sup>314</sup> S. Mitroiu, 'Sites of memory': an urban perspective, "Acta Scientiarum. Human and Social Sci-

that places of memory can be considered not only as topographical locations, but may also include mental and abstract structures, such as a symbols, celebrations, rituals, and historical figures<sup>315</sup>. Knowledge of these places is transmitted in the process of socialization. They are points upon which identity is built.

Places of memory played a special role in the past in the process of constructing a national identity. Bartelson notes that the relationship between memory and identity is characteristic of the modern era, where there was a coupling of memory with space, places, both those of a material nature, as well as symbolic, and which have begun to overlap the area of the modern nation-state<sup>316</sup>. Ernest Renan also noted a strong relationship between memory and national identity. He said that in fact, the collective sense of nationality is not determined by the borders, customs, language or religion, but the memory of a celebrated past, glory, heroes, as well as common pain and suffering and their implication in the present. Renan stressed the importance of „shared suffering” in the context of creating community. It has, in his opinion, bonded even more than joy, the pride of the great achievements in the past as the memory of suffering, imposes a sense of duty, the need for a concerted effort<sup>317</sup>.

The „Positive Places of European Memory” project allowed participants to come into contact with associated places which are important from the point of view of European identity formation. It allowed them to reflect back to the beginnings of the creation of this community, as well as to discussion on the current state of the process. These places were meant to exert a positive influence on the subsequent reflection regarding a sense of identity, understood as a combination of the memory of a bygone past and its influence on the development of a European society. In areas from a topographical perspective (in contrast to the places of memory which do not need to possess such a dimension), the participants pointed to the city, object that they believe possess considerable importance in the process of building a collective identity. In most of the work, references to these places are positive, connected to positive values, standards to which they refer. In this way, these physical places are a manifestation of what is invisible, which is an important component of identity.

Although Renan’s concept of identity in relation to past and present / future strictly refers to the nation, it can also be applied to European memory. Cologne and Brussels in fact represent the past, present and future in the context of building a European identity. Cologne constitutes what, in the frame of Renan’s meaning can be defined as a rich legacy of memories referring to the transition from thinking in national to supranational terms. It symbolizes an onset of a difficult process of creation of European identity, which starting point was constituted by a series of armed conflicts between the European states. Brussels in turn, due to a strong presence of

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ences”, vol. 36 2014, p. 2.

<sup>315</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>316</sup> J. Bartelson, see: *Ibidem*.

<sup>317</sup> E. Renan, *What is a Nation? Lecture at Sorbonne, 11 March 1882*, <http://www.philol.msu.ru/~discours/images/stories/Documents/renan.doc> . (accessed: 20.10.2015).

supranational institutions on its territory, demonstrates a connection with a modern project and with the will of Europeans to undertake common initiatives in order to further construct the supranational community.

Based on an examination of the participants' work, it can be deduced that the project has stimulated them to reflect on what places are important from the point of view of their identity. Although the project focused on European places of memory, within the participants' work a far more complex picture of memorials shaping their identity emerges. On the basis of their identity it is possible to reconstruct three levels of identity: European (supranational), national and local.

The essays most frequently made references to local places of memory. At the same time these places, even though they are associated with topographic spaces, are related to places of memory of an abstract dimension, such as the meetings of representatives of different generations. Therefore, with regard to local places of memory, a new, very strong component appears - the communicative memory, as defined by Jan Assmann (Halbwachs defines it as the collective memory). This kind of memory, as opposed to cultural memory is associated with oral history, not created by experts, but by individuals who are changing their roles - the story-teller may indeed become a listener in another situation of social interaction. It is therefore a memory of everyday life, it has a disorganized character, and its thematic structure is disordered. It is characterized by the limited time frame<sup>318</sup>. One such example of a place of memory in the student's essays are folk festivals, in which groups created by children of Polish immigrants participate. Thanks to the opportunity to take part in these meetings, they return to places where their ancestors once lived. One of the students, Mateusz Nieużyła, justifying the importance of the festival for the construction of identity of the descendants of immigrants, made reference to the statement made by its organizer, Lesław Wais:

Folklore indeed, contrary to the opinions voiced by various malcontents seeking shortcomings, allegedly folk culture and folklore in particular, have become obsolete and uninteresting to Polish youth and reversing it from the modern image of Poland, is to the Polish diaspora and Poles abroad - as they themselves talk about it - an important mark of identity, an important part of their emotional bond with the history and culture of the country of origin, the symbol of the relationship with its own people and regional tradition. Affecting emotions, through its simple and at the same time attractive form, it generates interest in children and young people, motivating them in this way for a deeper curiosity in their native country, its culture and the present day<sup>319</sup>.

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<sup>318</sup> J. Assmann, *Collective memory and cultural identity*, "Kultur und Gedächtnis", Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp 1988, p. 126-127.

<sup>319</sup> Quote come from internet site: <http://polonia-viva.eu/index.php/pl/14-moda-polska/artyku8/995-16-swiatowy-festiwal-polonijnych-zespolow-folklorystycznych-2014-w-rzeszowie> (accessed: 19.09.2015). Quote taken from an essay written by Mateusz Nieużyła (the whole work is available on-line: <http://www.ic.europeistyka.uj.edu.pl/projekty/projekty-dydaktyczne/pozytywne-miejsca-pamieci/wydanie-podrecznika-on-line>).

In the context of local places of memory, the essays reveal a concern about the „non-places of memory” in the local physical space. Following Claude Lanzman we recognize that they are a places of genocide or they bear evidence of the presence of „the Other” in a given area in the past, but in the present remain in a state of ruin, often bypassed, and sometimes even deliberately destroyed<sup>320</sup>. Oskar Biela in his work entitled *Memory sites in my region – Chrzanów and its surroundings* provides an example of a Jewish cemetery representing a non-place in his region:

The Jewish cemetery was founded in the eighteenth century. It has now been neglected, however, it plays an important role in Polish history. Specifically talking about the area marked as No. 444 and No. 445 (...). This is area is little known (...). Even the natives from Chrzanów recognize this object as insignificant and meaningless, and that is a shame<sup>321</sup>.

He also stresses the multicultural character of his town in the days when it was inhabited by Jews, and the remaining traces in the contemporary landscape of the city are the tombstones:

The most common form is a vertical headstone, a stone-made stele. On the tombstones are of course epitaphs of several lines of text in Hebrew. At the cemetery in Chrzanow buildings are erected over the graves of distinguished rabbis - the north over the grave of Solomon Bochner, while the south over the graves of six representatives of the rabbinical family Halbersztam. Almost in the center of the cemetery a mass grave of people killed in September 1939 was located<sup>322</sup>.

Places of memory invoked in the context of a given topographic space are also linked with the industrial heritage of the city. Here, there is also concern about changing the function that they perform in a local memory, the fear of them being allocated into an aforementioned area of „non-places of memory”, as a result of restructuring and social changes taking place in 1990s. At the same time, these places provide a positive image of the city in the past. One example of such places is according to Oskar Biela Fablok locomotive factory, founded in 1919:

In the 1930s the factory began importing to Latvia, Bulgaria, the Soviet Union and Morocco. At this time the new models, for example EL100 were developed which moved with rope traction, which meant Poland’s first electric model. The plant also produced standard-gauge and narrow-gauge locomotives. After the war, the narrow-gauge locomotives assisted in cleaning up Warsaw from the rub-

<sup>320</sup> R. Sendyka, *Pryzma – zrozumieć nie-miejsce pamięci (non-lieux de memoire)*, „Teksty Drugie” no. 1/2/2014, see: M. Świerkosz, *Przestrzenie nomadycznych figuracji w prozie Izabeli Filipiak i Olgi Tokarczuk*, „Białostockie Studia Literaturoznawcze” no. 4/2013, p. 104.

<sup>321</sup> Quote taken from a work by Oskar Biela (the work in its entirety is available on-line: <http://www.ic.europeistyka.uj.edu.pl/projekty/projekty-dydaktyczne/pozytywne-miejsca-pamieci/wydanie-podrecznika-on-line>).

<sup>322</sup> Description: <http://www.muzeum.chrzanow.pl/index.php?id=7> (accessed: 20.09.2015). Quote taken from the work of Oskar Biela (the work in its entirety is available on-line: <http://www.ic.europeistyka.uj.edu.pl/projekty/projekty-dydaktyczne/pozytywne-miejsca-pamieci/wydanie-podrecznika-on-line>).

ble. In the postwar period Fablok again produced, which meant the introduction of a new model, and even several models. First model was the Ty42, made for DOKP Krakow. Then the company name was changed to Felix Dzerzhinsky's Locomotive Factory. Over the course of 18 years, it produced more than 3,600 locomotives whose outside of Poland recipients included: Albania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Romania, Hungary, China, India, Korea, Vietnam and the USSR<sup>323</sup>.

According to Biela, a way to prevent the passage of these places into the area of „non-memory”, is to transform their functions, consequently reminding the local population about their past role and simultaneously emphasizing their significance for the local society.

Local space, in the participants' essays, becomes also a carrier of national memory. These in turn, however, are mainly related to historical policy of trying to impose top-down symbols important from the point of view of constructing national identity. According to Biela in Chrzanów, one of those places is the Millennium Square, as well as built on his foundation the Monument of Victory and Freedom which commemorates local heroes:

The Millennium Square was supposed to have been built to commemorate the thousandth anniversary of Poland's baptism, but it was only established in 1970-1971, but the idea of its creation and construction of the monument in the center goes back to 1966. In 1969 a decision on the location of the Millennium Square the north side of the historic city center was issued. The square became home to an architecture that impressed with its novelty and size. (...) Since 1971 the Victory and Freedom Monument was located in the square, commemorating the Chrzanów residents who died in battle against the Nazi invaders<sup>324</sup>.

In the context of national identity, there were references to the national places of memory of ambivalent characteristics, because they represented the negative events of the past, but on the other hand – implied positive national attitudes. In their submission there is a very strong affective dimension which determines a positive image of these places, even if they relate to events which are difficult to be recognized as such. Hence, the plotted image of „Polishness” is here almost possesses auto-stereotypical character<sup>325</sup>, it is somewhat comprised of the transfer of content typically transmitted in the process of education. In presenting the places of memory important from the point of view of

<sup>323</sup> Description based on information available on the internet site: <http://chrzanow.dk/varia.html> (accessed: 20.09.2015).

<sup>324</sup> Quote taken from the work of Oskar Biela (the whole work is available on-line: <http://www.ic.europeistyka.uj.edu.pl/projekty/projekty-dydaktyczne/pozytywne-miejsca-pamieci/wydanie-podrecznika-on-line>).

<sup>325</sup> (Auto)stereotype is understood (according to the definition provided in the dictionary) as a concise, simplified and value-biased image of reality which functions in social consciousness, and which refers to people, objects or false knowledge about the world, preserved through tradition and resistant to change; a kind of pattern (Dunaj 1996, keyword: stereotyp). B. Dunaj: See: M. Brzezowska, *Autostereotyp Polaków w wybranych podręcznikach języka polskiego dla cudzoziemców*, "Postscriptum Polonistyczne", no. 1 (13)/2014, p. 47.

national Polish identity, there are references to topographical places that reflect specific events very deeply rooted in Polish collective memory passed on, among others, in history books, in required readings during the study of the Polish language lessons. Representations of these places are therefore often associated with martyrdom, recognition of the biased history of the Polish nation, where in addition to geopolitical determinism, there are inherently positive features included in the „Polishness” referring to the positive axiological sphere. What’s more, they are also associated with the assumption of the religiosity of Poles. This national point of reference has been prominent especially in secondary school history books. Research on this subject was conducted by Marcin Dziurok. In his opinion there is a significant problem with regards to the range of content presented to pupils in history books:

Reflection on self-identity of young people occurs most often in the context of national origin; the dimensions of gender or religion can be found rather in the „hidden” layer, characterized by the dominant description of the activities undertaken by men and invisibility of women in history (remaining without explanation), and the Catholic religion as a reference to the presented events. Social diversity to the fullest, once again presents the question of nationality and / or ethnicity; the rest of the dimensions are rarely discussed, there is no question regarding what are the stereotypes, prejudices and discrimination<sup>326</sup>.

Traces of this education are evident in the essays of the pupils. Patryk Plinta among the key memorial sites included the Jasna Góra monestary, as well as the Pilsudski mound in Krakow. In his opinion, they evoke in a special way, a sense of pride and glory of a bygone past, as well as unique features possessed by the Poles: „*I think I gave good examples of places that remind about our exploits on the world scale, our victories and being steadfast when it comes to the cause of freedom*”<sup>327</sup>.

A positive emotional charge in relation to a sense of national identity has also been assigned to objects that are part of the everyday landscape, that do not have *sacred* characteristics. The positive connotation appears in a dual form. On the one hand, they are associated with technical developments. But, what determines their function as places of memory important from the point of view of the construction of national identity, it is the historical circumstances of which they became witnesses:

The Warszawa skyscraper built in the years 1931-1933 was intended for the Insurance Company, >>Prudential<<. In the two decades between the wars, it was the tallest building in Poland and the second in this regard in Europe. In 1936, on its top a mast of television station was erected. The building symbolized the hope that Poland will become a modern state, despite the fact that for many years it did not exist on the maps of the world. It was a symbol of the fact that Poland can be reborn. The building also

<sup>326</sup> M. Dziurok, *Analiza podręczników i podstawy programowej*, [in:] *Wielka nieobecna – o edukacji antydyskryminacyjnej w systemie edukacji formalnej w Polsce. Raport z badań*, ed. M. Abramowicz Towarzystwo Edukacji Antydyskryminacyjnej: Warszawa: 2011, p. 184.

<sup>327</sup> Quote taken from an essay written by Patryk Plinta (the whole work is available on-line: <http://www.ic.europaistyka.uj.edu.pl/projekty/projekty-dydaktyczne/pozytywne-miejsca-pamieci/wydanie-podrecznika-on-line>).

played an important role during the Warszawa Uprising. It became a symbol of invincibility against Nazi attacks. It has been repeatedly shelled by more than a thousand missiles, sometimes with a mass of two tons and six mm caliber (which deflected it from vertical). The iron frame constructed by the Polish engineers was so strong that the skyscraper was ultimately not destroyed during the war. Many people gave their lives to defend the Polish flag localized on top of that building<sup>328</sup>.

On the transnational level there were references to Brussels as a place of memory, which has a positive influence on the construction of the European community, as well as the implementation of the transnational interests of individuals. Ewelina Hadała in her essay entitled *Significance of the European Parliament for Europeans*, points out that the European Parliament is the place where it comes to overcoming the negative effects of the existing borders of nation-states, as well as to bring Europeans together: *PE builds a European identity and contributes to the perception of the European continent by the inhabitants of the EU as a plane of unity, cohesion and integrity*<sup>329</sup>. The European Parliament is seen as *a democratic institution representing the interests of European civil society, through which Europeans have an impact on decisions that directly affect them*<sup>330</sup>. For Hadała the European Parliament has become a place where memory is associated with constructing citizenship of a transnational nature. According to Katarzyna Pakos (*Leopold Square as a positive place of European memory and a celebration of history of Poland and the world*) the Parliament thus represents all that is a common for Europeans – a commitment to the human rights of three generations:

It is worth noting that the European Parliament is to some extent a place of remembrance. As an organization promoting democratic decision-making in Europe and the world. It also supports the struggle for democracy, freedom of expression and fair elections around the world. It tries to provide basic rights, namely personal rights, civil, political, economic and social. The European Parliament from an aspect of history, can also be perceived as a place of memory<sup>331</sup>.

In the opinion of participants, there are plenty of other memorials in Brussels that, even if relate to the events of individual nations, because of their symbolism are important for the construction of European identity. This symbolism, as in the case of the European Parliament, also refers to the civil dimension of this identity as it represents the values of democracy. For Pakos an example of such places are fragments of the Berlin Wall located on Leopold Square. In the context of the European Union, it takes on a special significance, as it is a symbol of the unification:

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<sup>328</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>329</sup> Quote taken from an essay written by Ewelina Hadała (the whole work is available on-line <http://www.ic.europeistyka.uj.edu.pl/projekty/projekty-dydaktyczne/pozytywne-miejsca-pamieci/wydanie-podrecznika-on-line>).

<sup>330</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>331</sup> Quote taken from an essay written by Katarzyna Pakos (the work in its entirety is available on-line <http://www.ic.europeistyka.uj.edu.pl/projekty/projekty-dydaktyczne/pozytywne-miejsca-pamieci/wydanie-podrecznika-on-line>).

People visiting Brussels and seeing the exhibit, can draw attention to this place of memory, can act trying to change the world for the better. This place is special, because it was designed for freedom and democracy, values that are fundamental to the functioning of the European Union. It is worth noting that despite such actions, still in the world or in Europe a lot of evil occurs, and places of memory, which are noticeable, do not stimulate people towards action<sup>332</sup>.

In an essay written by Bartosz Ćwiertniak entitled, *Brussels as the capital city of Europe – history, role, profits and threats. Why Brussels has become the capital city of the European Union?* Brussels has been shown, however, from the point of view of its transformation into a place of non-memory. Assuming a point of view of the nation, he said that Brussels and its traditional memorials are no longer associated with the Belgian State, and that from the second half of the twentieth century it gives way to buildings that constitute an expression of bureaucratic decisions by individuals who are not associated with the city, and even against the will of its indigenous inhabitants:

When Brussels was approved as the center of Europe until the 90s, a completely free expansion of the city took place. For the construction and investment industry, the largest increase occurred in the 60s and 70s, when it created the majority of new buildings, destroying the unique character of Brussels. They were built on nice, attractive areas, without much concern for the traditional urban layout, destroying historic squares, demolishing buildings from previous eras, replacing them with new ones, which often were mismatched to the rest of the big behemoths. The most likely cause of such proceedings was poor management of local politics, no zoning plan of the city or the need to quickly provide office space for the thousands of officials. The problem was also the arbitrariness of representatives of the European institutions who, feeling no affection for Brussels, managed it according to their advantage, because there were almost no relations between EU officials and the city authorities<sup>333</sup>.

With respect to the European places of memory, young people also often evoked Cologne. Although it is not as strongly associated with the process of building the European community as Brussels, in the opinion of participants, in its architecture and history it is possible to discover traces of “European” heritage. One of the European places of memory includes the contained therein churches, but also there still practiced tradition of brewing (Katarzyna Pakos) or the produced *Eau de Cologne* (Joanna Burda, *How has Cologne changed and what does it owe to Konrad Adenauer?*) Joanna Burda and Klaudia Braś underline the fact that Christian heritage is also a significant component of European identity, and its memory is preserved in Cologne’s urban space:

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<sup>332</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>333</sup> Quote taken from an essay written by Bartosz Ćwiertniak (the whole work is available on-line: <http://www.ic.europeistyka.uj.edu.pl/projekty/projekty-dydaktyczne/pozytywne-miej-sca-pamieci/wydanie-podrecznika-on-line>).

The rapid development of the city contributed to Christianity. In the fourth century, it established the episcopal see. (...) At that time, it served as one of the greatest scientific centers and had a phenomenal school of painting. At the same time in Cologne, a number of places of prayer were established and Cologne was called the city of a hundred and fifty churches<sup>334</sup>.

At that time, Cologne was already famous as a place of worship. The bishopric, which was developed in the Roman Empire disintegrated in 795 into the Electorate of Cologne and raised the profile of Cologne's archbishopric. It was one of the most important ecclesiastical principalities of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, existing for about five centuries<sup>335</sup>.

At the same time, Cologne unlike Brussels, includes negative places of European memory referring to World War II. Inconsistent architecture of the city (especially in its center) recalls the tragic fate of the city and its residents during the war. The memory of the war and mutual suffering become common for Europeans, in the opinion of Klaudia Braś, regardless of the antagonistic positions in relation to each other which existed at that time among occupied European countries:

Painful stigma for Cologne and for the whole of Europe was the outbreak of World War II. The city was brutally bombed by Allied forces. Most of the old town was razed to the ground. According to calculations by the bombs fell on Cologne two hundred sixty two times. The attacks collected a bloody harvest and resulted in the deaths of about twenty thousand people. The bombing of the city is considered the climax of the entire aerial campaign waged on the territory of Germany. One special event went down in history as the „thousand bomber raid”. The most famous operation called „Millennium” took place on the eve of the 30 and 31st of May 31, 1942<sup>336</sup>.

For Joanna Burda, the Deutz exhibition halls, which were opened by Adenauer in 1924, and which during the Second World War were converted into a transitional concentration camp, are a particular place of negative European memory. Currently, a plaque serves as a reminder of its past function. According to one of the students, this place of memory is essential for building a European identity:

Plaques talk about the sufferings of innocent people who died there. Their death cannot fade into obscurity, it must be a warning. We have no right to forget about these places<sup>337</sup>.

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<sup>334</sup> Quote taken from an essay written by Joanna Burda (the whole work is available on-line: <http://www.ic.europeistyka.uj.edu.pl/projekty/projekty-dydaktyczne/pozytywne-miejsca-pamieci/wydanie-podrecznika-on-line>).

<sup>335</sup> Quote taken from an essay written by Klaudia Braś (the whole work is available on-line: <http://www.ic.europeistyka.uj.edu.pl/projekty/projekty-dydaktyczne/pozytywne-miejsca-pamieci/wydanie-podrecznika-on-line>).

<sup>336</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>337</sup> Quote taken from an essay written by Joanna Burda (the whole work is available on-line:

## Conclusions

As the analysis of participants' essays illustrates, external, trip-based educational projects may provoke young people to reflect on places that are an important element in building their identity. The vast majority of the essays (twelve out of the fifteen) was dedicated to places – symbols of Europe. However, in three papers an attempt to contest the importance of these places was made, revealing a rather their negative role in the process of deconstruction of the existing meanings related to the level of national identity. In most essays devoted to the European places of memory, their positive influence on the European community was however demonstrated, by establishing a common European history and shared values underpinning European citizenship.

Translated by: Monika Eriksen

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## **KRAKOW CITY GAME SCENARIO: “IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF JÓZEF HIERONIM RETINGER”**

Using experiential pedagogy and the city game, or a mixture of RPG and scout scavenger-hunts taking place in real time, students like chess pieces move across the board of the city, and carry out research tasks in order to accomplish the mission entrusted to them - by matching places, facts, rapidly solving puzzles, and, above all, doing so in a race against time, within a predetermined timeframe.

The scenarios of the game were developed in consultation with an outstanding Retingologist, Dr. Bogdan Podgorski.

Participants receive a map of the center of Krakow, rules of the game, a brief description of the connection of the chosen game hero with the city of Krakow, along with four Austrian crowns. Their task was to locate seven checkpoints. Each checkpoint was associated with the life of Józef Hieronim Retinger.

At each point, participants met a relevant person from the life of the hero, who explained his or her relationship with Józef Hieronim Retinger. Subsequently, the participants had to complete certain tasks, allowing them to become acquainted with Retinger's biography, simultaneously getting to know the people in Retinger's circle, understanding his culture and times, as well as the contemporary topography of the city. In addition, the participants also received important clues on subsequent places.

The game took place according to three predetermined paths, so that participants never met with other groups at the checkpoints.

### **GUIDELINES OF THE CITY GAME**

1. Each team receives a brief description of the hero's connection with Krakow
2. Each team at the outset, receives four Austrian crowns
3. Each team receives a map of Krakow
4. Playing time is one hour and 45 minutes. The meeting time is 11:45 at MCC (City Cultural Centre)
5. Each team receives a clue on how to proceed and where to go. The outlined places are connected with the hero's life. At each location, players meet a person from the life of the hero
6. Every time a team successfully reaches a determined location, it receives an Austrian crown
7. At each location, the team is given a task to complete. For properly completing the task, it can receive up to 3 Austrian crowns. The team can also buy

a hint- the price for the hint depends on the person at that checkpoint, and the negotiating and bargaining ability of the team members.

**The winning team is one that:**

1. Reaches all required points in the city
2. Guesses correctly who the hero of the game is
3. Will have the largest number of Austrian crowns

1. Wislna Street, where a plaque authored by Antoni Puddle, dedicated to Retinger is located

This is one of the streets located in the Old Town district of Krakow. Its name appeared as early as 1311. It continued from the Market towards the Vistula River. It once ended with a gate called the Vistulian or Water-based, demolished in the early nineteenth.

I was born there on April 17th, 1888. My family was the owner of the whole building and thanks to this property my father was elected in 1881 to the City Council. We also had mansions, among other things, the Wodzicki court, which included the area between today's streets: Podwale, Krupnicza, Loretańska i Kapucyńska.

On this street a plaque by Antoni Puddle is also located. It was built in the façade of the building but at the wrong number - not where I was born. It was later removed during the renovation in 2009, and for a time disappeared. In 2010, it was placed in the right place – on the facade of the building, where I was born and grew up.

2. Jagiellonian University, where studied Retinger, but also his father and whose grandfather was once a rector

This is a world famous university. Scrolled through my life many times. My grandfather, a Professor of Chemistry, was its rector. My father studied at the Faculty of Law. I also studied at the Department of Roman Philology, and I spent few months at the *Academiae Nobili Ecclesiastici* in Rome. I studied Roman Philology at this university for a year and then I moved to the Faculty of Literature at Sorbonne.

**TASK:**

On the ground floor of the Collegium Novum, one can find information about who was the architect when the building was constructed, as well as the plaque talking about how old Jagiellonian University. Point out three people associated with the creation of the university.

3. St. Anna's Junior High School, today called Nowodworek, where Retinger studied

This is one of the oldest and continuously operating schools of secular character in Poland. It was once called the *College of Nowodworski* or *Nowodworek*, and in the years 1818-1928 as St. Anne Middle School. The patron of the school is Bartholomew Nowodworski. I graduated from this school with excellent grades. I was a diligent student. I especially liked the humanities. I had the highest marks from Polish, Latin, Greek and German as well as geography and history. Then, I went to *Academiae Nobili Ecclesiastici* in Rome.

## TASKS:

What do the frescoes depict in the main hall of the school?

High School building was entered in the register of monuments of the city of Krakow. Entered into the register, inter alia, was the school hall with graffiti made by Frederick Lachner on the walls containing scenes of ..... and ..... Whose author was ..... and on the ceiling a copy of ..... A painting whose author was .....

### Fill in the blanks

....., a Noble of the crest of Nałęcz, came from a middle-class family originally settled in Mazowieckie region, where one line at the end of the fifteenth century moved to Pomorze and settled in the district of Tuchola. He was born in 1552. Early orphaned, received a good, in the spirit of humanistic education, probably in the main educational center of Royal Prussia at the time, or in Chelm. His youth was spent „not on caresses, not in lethargic deeds, but in the works and deeds of chivalry”.

His first steps in the military were in Ukraine in the ranks of the army of Fr. Michael and Janusz Zaslowski. From here he went to Transylvania, where he found hospitality at the court of the Governor Stefan Batory. After the Batory's selection as Polish king, he spent some time in Transylvania, where he trained and supervised the king's nephews, Andrew and Balthazar Batory in military craft. Returning to Poland, he participated in the third Moscow expedition in Pskov (1581), then, after peace was established, he traveled as a messenger to Constantinople (1582).

Beautifully promising career was soon dashed courtly „casus one” - killing of a courtier Biedrzycki in a duel, therefore ..... in August 1582 went on a voluntary exile abroad. When he ascended to the court of Henry III, King of France, he spent seventeen years in France, taking part in the ongoing long religious war, first in the Catholic side, the ranks of the army of King Henry III Valois, and in turn the armies of the Holy Gwizjuszów League. After the end of the religious wars in France in 1599 he went to....., where he joined the Order ..... . In their ranks, he spent eight years (1599-1607), filled with incessant skirmishes and raids against Muslims. He gained his fame as an intrepid hero especially by daring to blow up the fortified gates of the fortress of Lepanto, which in consequence resulted in capturing of this impregnable fortress.

### Find a place / plaque, where we have a direct reference to the Order of Malta.

4. The academic Church of Jagiellonian University, where Retinger married Otolia Zubrzycka

This church is the academic church of the Jagiellonian University, located adjacent to the Medical College and Collegium Maius. On February 19, 1912 Retinger and Otolia Zubrzycka made their vows there. Here, participants received a copy of a text whose contents are located in the parish.

TASKS:

Find the tomb of St. John with his coffin and remains, describe the surroundings of the tomb (4 statues) and the information located next door.

5. Restaurant Chimera, whose name refers to the monthly magazine dedicated to art and literature, to which wrote Retinger

This restaurant is located in the fourteenth-century cellars where the wine was stored for hundreds of years. It is also the title of the magazine dedicated to art and literature - literary and artistic journal published irregularly in the years 1901-1907. The editor and artistic director magazine was Zenon Przesmycki. After returning from Paris, I longed for an artistic milieu thus I partnered up with this magazine. Soon however, the magazine was shut down. With money inherited from my father I began publishing «Literary and Artistic Monthly». Next to the «Muzeionu» and the magazines of which I am thinking about, it was the most interesting literary and art magazine. Printed monthly, outstanding artists published within its pages, and the magazine included reproductions of paintings. My contribution was to place at the European level international section. After a year I had to shut down the Monthly - I ran out of money. But thanks to it, I was considered a person knowledgeable about art. The Monthly was located at 26 Batory Street and then 74 Długa Street

TASK:

The students receive Józef Retinger's text entitled, *Polacy w cywilizacjach świata: do końca XIX wieku* and based upon this text they fill in the crossword puzzle.

1.     \_ \_ \_ \_ \_
2.     \_ \_ \_ \_ \_
3.     \_ \_ \_ \_ \_
4.     \_ \_ \_ \_ \_
5.     \_ \_ \_ \_ \_
6.     \_ \_ \_ \_ \_

1.     A pause of young poetry
2.     The author of «Heart of Darkness»
3.     He founded «Grunwald Monument» in Cracow, there is street named after him right next to
4.     The author of one of the oldest Polish operas; is it a name or a piece of clothing?
5.     Her showpiece is the «Girl with Chrysanthemums»
6.     Painter, author of the painting «Indian Summer»
7.     The Kencowska brownstone and in it a café bar, now called Redolfi, where Retinger met with his daughter from his first marriage with Otolia Zubrzycka - Wanda Puchalska.

In 1823, in the Kencowski brownstone one of Krakow's oldest cafes was located, founded by Lorenzo Paganino Cortesi. The café - pastry shop famous for its production of liqueurs and spirits. Then the cafe was taken over by Swiss confectioners. Its current name also comes from the name of one of the owners - Gaudentius Redolfi. Unfortunately, the Biedermeier interior did not survive until present time. In this building General Józef Chłopicki lived and died. There, I met with my daughter from my first marriage with Otolia Zubrzycka - Wanda Puchalska (married name).

TASK:

Puzzle:

Who is the figure described?

„About the figure of General - Prime Minister, who Retinger evacuated from France”

Retinger knew that General since 1916. That general was prime minister of the Polish Government in Exile from 30 September 1939. After the swearing-in, he called Retinger and hired him. He agreed. Retinger remained in London, where he led diplomatic efforts. Meanwhile, the Polish government had its headquarters in France (first in Paris, then in Angers, then in Bordeaux). After the capitulation of France was announced, Retinger lost contact with the Prime Minister. Hence, he began to persuade Churchill to ensure that British troops carry out the evacuation of the General and Polish troops from France. Retinger, as he recalls it:

We are very worried about the fate of General XXXXXXXX and the Polish troops in France (...) We had in London almost no news from France and indeed any of our headquarters. Through Colonel Kwieciński, a Polish air attaché, I demanded an aircraft from the Ministry of Air Force which could fly to Bordeaux and locate General XXXXXXXX and obtain certain information about the Polish armed forces.

General Retinger found the General in the small French town of Libourne and presented his plan to evacuate Polish soldiers to England. The evacuation began at the end of June, and soon the number of Polish soldiers under British command increased to 80,000, and after joining the troops of General Anders, formed in Russia, in which Retinger also had a prominent part Retinger, the number increased to around 120,000.

After the evacuation of Polish soldiers from France in 1940, the General wanted to honor him with *Virtuti Militari* – an Order of Military Virtue, but Retinger refused it, because he said, he would never accept any decorations. He then became one of the closest collaborators of General, belonging to his inner circle. The General called Retinger the „cousin of the devil” because of his speed, and ingenuity. Retinger led talks on his behalf with the British about a loan for Poland. General supported Retinger's idea of Intermarium According to this idea, a Central European Union was to be formed bringing together Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Ukraine, Yugoslavia, Albania, Romania, Lithuania, Greece, Bulgaria, Turkey.

Tip:

1. The General was buried in Newark near Nottingham. In 1993, his body was exhumed and placed in a crypt at the Wawel
2. General died on July 4, 1943 during a plane crash
3. The catastrophe took place above Gibraltar

Retinger recalls the moment when he learned about his death:

*The morning of July 5, I awaited a plane at the Swindon airport, on which the General XXXXXXXX was returning from an inspection of Polish troops in the Middle East. The commandant of the airport informed me, that the plane crashed in Gibraltar and that the General and his comrades, including his daughter Zofia Leśniewska, have been killed. I was asked to provide me an airplane, enabling my return back to London, because I quickly wanted to reach Gibraltar.*

1. French Hotel, which is associated with Retinger's acquaintance with Joseph Conrad

This hotel is a historic building located at Pijarska Street 13, on the corner of 32 St. Jan Street. The hotel was built in 1911-1912. This is an eclectic modernist building. Launched on June 1, 1912, it was the most modern hotel in Krakow. This is where I met up with Joseph Conrad. I wanted to get to know and encourage him to support the idea of the rebirth of the Polish state. We met in Kent, but our life is full of coincidences. We both attended the St. Anna's Gymnasium, and we lived in the neighborhood. We were friends. The heroes of Conrad's stories strongly enticed my imagination, and I wanted to be just like them. I was fascinated by their stories and in general, Conrad's creativity. It was thanks to my efforts that Conrad became involved in the Polish case.

TASK:

Puzzle

Who is the described figure?

„Joint participation of Retinger and one English Politician in the European Movement”

This English politician was also a writer and historian. He was a conservative. His contacts with Retinger date back to World War II. After 1945, he served as a politician, among others, held a function of Honorary President of the International Coordinating Committee of Movements for European Unity, of which Retinger was a honorary secretary. This committee organized the international conference in The Hague in May 1948, whose aim was to convince the Europeans to support the idea of European unification. He chaired the debates taking place at The Hague and was one of the honorary presidents of the European Movement, which emerged on October 25, 1948 from the above-mentioned committee. Retinger in turn, became the Secretary General of the European Movement. This movement gave rise to the Council of Europe.

Retinger positively assessed the contribution of this politician in the process of European unification:

*I was repeatedly confronted with XXXXXXXXX. I can say with certainty that at that time he was deeply convinced that the only way to protect Europe and the UK from chaos is the creation of a United Europe, which would include the United Kingdom. His public testimony in this case were sincere and in private conversations he expressed with certainty his sincere conviction in the need to unite Europe. Even if he did not rank among the most active members of the European Movement, certainly he did everything he was asked, until, he became a Prime Minister. Sometimes, in our opinion, he went even further than the situation demanded; For example, in his famous speech in Strasbourg on the need to create a European army.*

Tips:

1. The author of historical books such as *The World Crisis 1923-1931*, six-volume history of World War II - *The Second World War 1948-1953*. These books earned him the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1953
1. This politician for many years was the Prime Minister of Great Britain during and after World War II (1940-1945; 1951-1955)
1. On 25 September 1946 he delivered his famous speech at the University of Zurich, in which he called for the unification of Europe

### **GAME SCENARIO: „IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF KONRAD ADENAUER, COLOGNE”**

Using experiential pedagogy and the city game, or a mixture of RPG and scout scavenger-hunts taking place in real time, students like chess pieces move across the board of the city, and carry out research tasks in order to accomplish the mission entrusted to them - by matching places, facts, rapidly solving puzzles, and, above all, doing so in a race against time, within a predetermined timeframe. First, the project participants with a guide visited the town, getting to know its history, culture and topography.

Participants receive a map of the center of Cologne, rules of the game, a brief description of the hero's connection with Cologne. Given the fact that the participants do not know the city, the city game has been supplemented by the path method. The participants' task was to reach all predetermined checkpoints and complete all required tasks. The tasks related to both the biography and achievements of Konrad Adenauer, the culture and history of Germany, and Germany's impact on European integration. Some tasks were a summary of previously collected information regarding places of memory and Józef Retinger's influence on European integration.

## RULES OF THE CITY GAME IN RETINGER'S FOOTSTEPS

1. Each team at the outset, receives four Pfennings
2. Playing time is 2 hours
3. At each location, the team is given a task to complete. For properly completing the task, it can receive up to 3 Pfennings. The team can also buy a hint - the price for the hint depends on the person at that checkpoint, and the negotiating and bargaining ability of the team members.

A winning team is one that:

1. Reaches all required points in the city
  2. Guesses correctly who the hero of the game is
  3. Will have the largest number of Pfennings
1. Balduinstrasse 6 - here was the building in which, on January 5, 1876 Konrad Hermann Joseph Adenauer was born as the third child of Johann Konrad Adenauer and Helena. Adenauer's father worked as a clerk in the administration of justice in the Court of Appeal. In the nineteenth century, behind the building it was a large garden. The building was completely destroyed during World War II. Currently, there are two commemorative plaques here - the first of which contains the profile of the face of Adenauer, and the second - a brief information regarding the date and place of his birth.

### TASK:

How else you can commemorate the building where Konrad Adenauer was born – create (describe or paint) your proposal.

### 2. Amerika Haus – Apostolenstr. (former Gymnasium an der Apostelkirche - Middle School at the Church of the Apostles)

For Konrad Adenauer's initial education, as well as of his siblings, his father took on the responsibility - Johann Konrad Adenauer. When Konrad was five or six, his father taught him at home in the evenings. He also issued his first report card on April 13, 1881. Intensive study at home meant that Konrad immediately went to second grade in the existing here Middle School at the Church of the Apostles. It was a school for boys. He attended it from 1885 and later was admitted to the Royal Catholic High School at the Church of the Apostles.

Currently, the building, which housed Adenauer's first school, now hosts Amerika - Haus - an organization whose aim is to promote German-American dialogue, working to create a US-German cooperation in the field of culture, economy. It organizes lectures, conferences, but also artistic ventures.

**TASK:**

Using the words or phrases provided below, fill in the blanks:  
 awareness of the common good, many communities, family, material possessions, moral absolute, man of God, freedom, work, social solidarity, consumerism, human dignity

From the point of view of Christian Democracy, man is seen as a member of ....., most important of which is ....., then the local community, the national community, and the religious, cultural, professional community, and others. The basis of an individual units' conduct should be values ....., which should not be relativized, meaning not dependent on circumstances and conditions, but should be treated as intangible ....., on which all social life is based. For the Christian Democrats an important value is..... created by ..... on his image and likeness, equipped with ..... and basic rights, which is essential to the right to life from conception to natural death. Among the most important of values - apart from respect for life and the institution of the family - including ....., private ownership, solidarity and responsibility. Rules .....and..... should be a safeguard against class egoism. Critique is subjected ..... as an attitude that leads to the pursuit of ..... while also distorting and reducing of.....

3. The Church of the Apostles- Neumarkt 30 – a Romanesque church, which was probably founded in the ninth century. During the Second World War it was destroyed by the RAF forces, its reconstruction lasted until the seventies. There is a bell dedicated to John Paul II. Adenauer was strongly associated with this church as it belonged to his family parish. As a child, every Sunday he attended mass here with his parents and siblings. Adenauer was raised in Catholic faith. Throughout his life he was a practicing Catholic. With political Catholicism the first political party to which he belonged was associated - the Centre Party. After World War II, as one of the key figures in establishing the CDU, he opted for an interdenominational nature of the new party, which has subsequently been realized.

**TASK:**

Complete the table below:

| The differences between the Catholic religion and Lutheranism |             |             |
|---|-------------|-------------|
|   | Catholicism | Lutheranism |
| Bible as a source of faith                                    |             |             |
| Celibacy  |             |             |
| Baptism   |             |             |
| Purgatory   |             |             |
| Eucharist   |             |             |
| The priesthood of women                                       |             |             |
| Cult of Mary  |             |             |
| The prayer for the dead                                       |             |             |
| Cult of Saints  |             |             |
| The Immaculate Conception of Mary                             |             |             |
| Anointing of the Sick   |             |             |
| Immortality of the soul                                       |             |             |
| Relics  |             |             |
| Sacraments  |             |             |
| Confession to a priest  |             |             |
| Auricular confession  |             |             |
| Recognition of the primacy of the pope                        |             |             |
| Polygamy  |             |             |

4. Hall: Rathausplatz - here the office of Mayor of Cologne was located. Adenauer held this function for 16 years. Adenauer was a lawyer. His fate, however, meant that instead of legal practice he became involved in public service. His marriage with Emma Weyer in 1904 in this context, constituted a milestone, because marriage allowed him get in contact with local social and political activists. In 1906, he was elected to the City Council, and three years later - became its chairman. Thanks to this advancement he was also a deputy of the then mayor of Cologne - Max Wallraff, who was his wife's uncle. During World War I, Adenauer was responsible for organizing the food supply, which has been recognized for his success. In his life, however, there were difficulties - first in 1916 his wife died, and a year later, he was involved in a car accident, after which he stayed in the hospital and then in a sanatorium for several months. The accident left his face partially distorted. In 1917, Wallraff was appointed to office in Berlin, which also resulted in Adenauer being appointed as city mayor. While Adenauer held this office, his purpose was to make Cologne a western metropolis. It should be noted that due to the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, it was a very difficult period for Cologne. In the meantime, Adenauer led the initiative to build a university, to transform the fortifications in the green belt in order to build a port on the Rhine, the construction of a bridge over the Rhine, as well as to launch new investments, including the Ford factory.

After World War I, he worked for the establishment of the Federal State of

Rhineland, which had to be disconnected from Prussia. But he failed to put this idea into practice. The main premise of independence of Rhineland and the introduction of a neutral belt on its territory was supposed to calm France down, which feared the remilitarization of the region.

In 1929, Adenauer was elected for a second term. However, the seizure of power by the Nazis in 1933, interrupted his ability to carry out his functions as mayor. On March 13, he was expelled from the Town Hall. The reason for this was the conflict that emerged between him and Adolf Hitler. When Hitler as the new chancellor arrived in Cologne in February 1933, Adenauer decided not to participate in the welcoming ceremony held at the airport. NSDAP took it rightly as a criticism of the new government on behalf of Adenauer. The Nazis' discontent also stemmed around the fact that Adenauer decided to take down the flags with swastikas from the Hohenzollern bridge.

After Adenauer was forced to leave his position, as well as give up all his assets to the NSDAP, he was in Berlin for a while, and then found refuge in the monastery of Maria Laach, which is located near Cologne. He did not return to active political life until the end of World War II.

In 1945, he was again appointed by US authorities as City Mayor. Soon, however, he ruled Cologne. After he came into conflict with the British who took over the Rhineland as their sphere of occupation, he became engaged in the activities of the CDU, which resulted in success for himself and his party in the 1949 parliamentary elections.

Near the church Adenauer's home was located, as well as his first school.

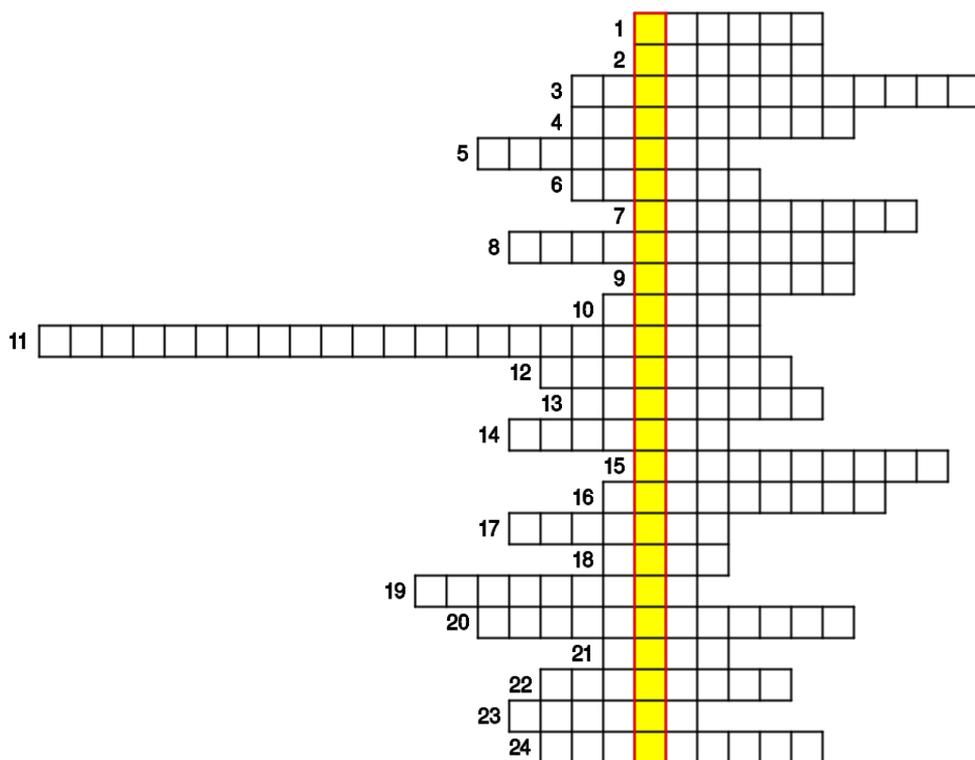
## TASKS

Solve the crossword puzzle:

Crossword puzzle questions:

1. The name of the famous writer, a friend of Retinger
2. Konrad Adenauer mother's name
3. Name of the party to which Adenauer belonged to before World War II
4. Name treaty regulating the current functioning of the European Union
5. Where is the headquarters of the European Commission?
6. Name the street in Krakow, where there is a plaque dedicated to Retinger
7. Which country is the last to become a member of the European Union?
8. What is currently housed at the site of Adenauer's first school?
9. The name of the current President of the European Commission (May 2015)
10. 1The smallest state of the European Union
11. The University where Retinger's grandfather was a rector
12. Name the American secretary of state, who initiated a plan to rebuild European economies after World War II

13. Name the Polish Prime Minister, whose adviser was Retinger
14. Konrad Adenauer's middle name
15. The capital of North Rhine - Westphalia
16. The name of one of the founding fathers of the European Union
17. Name the politician who gave rise to the declaration of the ECSC
18. The capital of West Germany after World War II
19. Politics prevailed in Germany after World War I.
20. The function held by Adenauer in Cologne in the years 1917 to 1933
21. The city, where in 1948 a great European congress took place, of which Retinger was one of the initiators
22. The function Adenauer held after World War II (1949-1963)
23. Which country has received in 1963 the status of associate member of the European Union (and still maintains this status)?
24. Where it is the seat of the Council of Europe located?



## SCENARIO FOR THE TASK-ORIENTED RACE: THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT IN BRUSSELS

Foremost, the project participants took part in a guided tour of the city, getting to know its history, culture and topography.

On the bus, the participants received a document containing information concerning the European Parliament. Their task was to familiarize themselves with the text, to learn and memorise the most important information and prepare questions for the other groups.

Given the fact that the participants did not know the city, a city game was complemented by a race centered around completion of various tasks. The participants' task was to complete all designated checkpoints and the answer questions asked by opposing teams. For every correct answer they received 10 euros. In addition, the team that won the entire race, also received an additional 30 euros.

1. The building of the European Commission
2. Stone Schuman
3. The European Parliament
4. Euro. Monument at the European Parliament
5. Parliamentarium

BARTOSZ KWIECINSKI

## **“Positive” and “negative” interpretation of the testimonies of the Holocaust. A few notes about perception**

It is difficult to write about the Holocaust of the Jews in the context of positive places of remembrance, after all, the entire topology of the Holocaust refers to this specific glossary, in which there is no room for anything optimistic, the naive ‘happy end’ never occurred there. There is annihilation, destruction, erasure of memory and a dispute over its shapes. Auschwitz, as the central paradigm for the experience of the twentieth century, does not make naive Enlightenment narrative that understands what is lived by the community, as a helpful key in designing educational programs that guarantee to prevent disasters in the future. Auschwitz proves that history is not and never will be a teacher of the future. Even if a guarantee is not what is necessarily sought here (this is always too strong of an argument), it is the study of the Holocaust that translates into practice of individual choices, is not however, a particularly made up for lesson by the peoples of Europe. These are, of course, truisms usually ending in naive (perhaps the only credible) ascertainment that the political and social systems are not able to protect society from what scholars of genocide (Leo Kuper, Daniel Chirot Benjamin Valentino et al.) have called „human nature” in its biological-Darwinian-species exemplification of the pursuit of domination. Shoshana Felman in the introduction of her considerations about the education crisis, poses important questions for teachers and educators: „Is there a connection between the crisis and the basic tasks of education? Or to put the same question even more boldly and more clearly, can we talk about the relationship between trauma and pedagogy? Does the post-traumatic age, which survived unimaginable historical catastrophe, taught us – or should teach us - something we still do not know about education? Should trauma be a teacher of pedagogy and would pedagogy be able to explain the mystery of traumatic experiences? Should the teaching process take into account medical knowledge; and finally, can medical practice benefit from the experience of educators?”<sup>338</sup> The answers to the above questions - during a seminar conducted by Felman with students from Yale, where professor confronted students with certificates of the Holocaust in order to obtain from them an emotional response - go beyond the expected criticism of the

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<sup>338</sup> S. Felman, *Nauczanie i kryzys albo meandry edukacji*, „Literatura na świecie”, no. 1-2/2004, p. 343.

inadequacy of their personal experience. For Felman, even a substitute for empathy is a triumph of educational projects. On the surface, little, not enough. The reaction of the students however, satisfied the researcher because she is aware of the distant past and the change in sensitivity, which is part of society of *infotainment*.

Felman's assertion is obvious - every sphere of social perceptions about a particular historical fact has its positive obverse, carrying the message through which, continually build upon and consolidating belief still present in the educational system, that knowledge of the past is the key to preventing tragic socio-political developments. A controversial thesis, but redefined by Felman who, treating the analyzed cultural texts (novel, poem, film) as contributions to a kind of psychodrama, to which she subjected his seminar participants. In her concept of teaching, testimony is not a closed historical text, but becomes living matter - is even included in the personal life narratives of participants: „What at the beginning was conceived as a theory of testimony, suddenly was incorporated into practice, ceased to have anything in common with theory, and turned out to be a fragment of life which is indelible and permanently afflicting necessity of teaching - education almost never having an end”<sup>339</sup>. The students were fixed by the professor in the experience, whose framework has been significantly expanded with a personal narrative, cultural texts have been implemented and incorporated into the „I” participants, and then subsequently confronted with their life experience. Psychoanalytic method of interpretation (Felman often uses psychoanalytic structural instruments), and in particular projection video-testimonies of survivors led the seminar group to experience a profound crisis of disintegration - hardly definable by the students themselves, and then - just like in the classic psychotherapeutic process - thanks to Felman as a therapist, beat the crisis of „working through “and describing her thoughts to the class. This act of giving testimony allowed it to become part of the group, which included all actual seminar participants along with literary or historical figures, creating one cohesive and integrated „Commentating Me”.

Felman's experiment is a perfect illustration of the role of testimony in the education process regarding the most traumatic historical events. And a good example of using the historical narrative - even the most distant from the experience of the group in the educational process, which enriches it and provides the tools for the identification of victims on a unknown and unequaled up until now level. It is a quality encounter much more valuable than solely consisting of empathic or experiencing sentimental stories of survivors. It is also a much longer lasting experience - unlimited in duration within the timeframe of the session / reading of the text, and is the most ambitious form of pedagogy, which Felman calls „education having no end”. Meeting with survivors usually has a fixed narrative. Meetings of this kind organized at the Centre for Holocaust Studies and the Student Scientific Circles “Memento” constitute a kind of theatrical performance, taking the form of a very solemn academy, where, on one side, there are witnesses - like actors ancient drama speaking their extremely

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<sup>339</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 398.

lofty issues, and students who participate in this the mystery of the past in which they cannot participate. The experience of the witnesses is clearly closed to them - they can rely only on their imagination, emotional and social competence and individual sensitivity. To a lesser extent, on their family history and historical knowledge, which creates objectified, 'truth', which does not always correspond with an individual testimony. Often it becomes a barrier and validates or subconsciously creates a distance towards the testimony. For Felman, such meetings would be fuller, more mature, would allow a group of listeners to debate and talk about their feelings. This seemingly small, yet significant suggestion is to look for value fixation experience. Opening up not only to the testimony, but also to the polyphony of experiences and reflections created by the group.

A truism is a thesis which stipulates that the testimonies of the Holocaust have increased educational value. That places of memories memorials are extremely important weapons in shaping positive socially expected attitudes which co-create civil society. However, these assertions cannot be based on an uncritical acceptance of all educational activities which incorporate testimonies. Let us consider several examples of some educational and artistic activities, which seem to be identical - but, in my opinion, are fundamentally different not only in their objective and method, but also the authenticity of the experience. There is for example a kind of control group of high school students who study my specialty: knowledge about the Holocaust and totalitarianism. The group was not too large, but had cognitive competencies and a critical approach to the majority of pop cultural discourse on the Holocaust.

## The Counted

In 2012, the Israeli director Dan Doron made a film documentary entitled *Numbered*, whose main characters are camp numbers of former prisoners (Jewish and non-Jewish) of Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp. Doron invites them to participate in the controversial project, where they would talk about their experiences, in front of a camera, related to the tattooed number. The protagonists were marked by numbers, and their fate after the war is subsequently followed, from the perspective of the postwar Israel. Some memories are funny, but most of are extremely traumatic. Survivors „share” their tattoos with their descendants - a young Israeli woman tattoos wearing the same number that bears on the shoulder of her grandmother, a young Israeli duplicates her uncle's number on her hands. In the final scene of the documentary, a quite ambiguous *grande finale* takes place: in the atelier all the heroes of the documentary are gathered; generation of survivors and young Israelis who share a tattooed number. This scene should be interpreted in two ways; at the level of a psychological trauma inheritance is a symbolic gesture of solidarity with those who survived, taking on part of the burden of the past by the younger generation. This empathetic kitsch does not exhaust the readability of the documentary, which exemplifies the historical policy of the State of Israel on the Holocaust, and which, as

noticed by an insightful monographist of the phenomenon - Edith Zertel, is used by the state: „Auschwitz - the incarnation of absolute evil - is mentioned whenever the Israeli society faces a problem for which it is not prepared, which cannot solve nor face. In this way Israel has turned into an ahistorical and apolitical tombstone, where Extermination ceased to be an event of the past, and has become a point of reference, the present and a handy ideology”<sup>340</sup>. Instrumentalization of the Holocaust took place in several stages. From the rejection of the discourse of survivors to the apology of suffering. We will not dissect this phenomenon, which has endured to see few major monographies on the subject, but the Israeli film director is a perfect example of something that I would call „controllable pedagogy”, in which historical policy is the main leaven of traumatized viewers.

### The Story of Ruth Bondy

One of the heroines of the film *Doron* is Ruth Bondy (number 72430). Ruth Bondy is a renowned journalist, translator from Czech into Hebrew. She was born in Czechoslovakia in a wealthy, assimilated Jewish family with strong Zionist orientation. Most of her large family was killed during the war; father-Joseph in 1945 in Dachau, mother-Frantzi died of sepsis in Theresienstadt in 1942. In her youth she belonged to a Zionist youth organization *Noar Ziyyni Lohem*. When she arrived in Israel, because of her tattooed number, she had to answer the frequently asked question: How did she survive? - „I saw hesitation in their eyes when asked - maybe she was a whore? Maybe she was Kapo?”<sup>341</sup>. Ruth Bondy decided to have surgery to remove the tattoo. In the Israeli film director’s movie a dramatic ambiguous procedure exists, which calls into question the sincere intentions of the director. The director tries to put pressure on her interviewee, the questions are becoming more brutal and blunt. The woman’s initial resistance is broken and she is experiencing extremely strong emotions which are used in the film. The next generation of Israelis figuratively inherits the trauma tattooing one of the major stigmata of the victims. However, this is not so much a mechanical appropriation of experience, mindless absorption of memory, but also an example of extremely unfortunate meeting with the testimony. The final scene to collect survivors and generations of young Israelis, shows all the folly and emptiness of similar experiments. For what is a tattoo visible on the hands of the survivors? It is a sign of the past. And with this we agree. What is its mirror image tattooed on the forearms of the Israelis? Only simulacrum. Naked fetish. Perhaps a hipster downfall. This experience will never be mutually shared nor identical. This is not in any way a real meeting. I showed this film to the students and they had similarly mixed feelings. They were not offended by the very idea of a physical transformation, the transfer of numbers, but thoughtless comments, full of optimism and pride in the project. When I asked

<sup>340</sup> I. Zertel, *Naród i śmierć. Zagłada w dyskursie i polityce Izraela*, Kraków: Universitas 2010, p. 16.

<sup>341</sup> *Numbered* (Dana Doron, Uriel Sinai, 2012).

whether they resented the duplication of the Prisoner Numbers, they felt no discomfort. It was a clear signal that this generation is not sensitive to topological characters of the Holocaust, some of their „sacrilization” and individuality, but more disturbing was the exterior of survival, focusing solely on participation in the project and an act of courage, which for them was their consent to get tattooed.

## Incredulity

Pawel Lozinski's (1991) *Place of Birth (Miejsce urodzenia)* is only seemingly a reconstruction of the events of nearly fifty years. The director invites Henryk Grynberg, after all these years of his March events to return from the US to his native village, and confront his childhood memory. He found the answer to the question, what happened with his father and brother that gloomy summer of 1942. This at first innocently *sentimental voyage* gains *magnum*, transforming itself in to a Greek tragedy when the mystery is solved - Grynberg's father was murdered by their Polish neighbors, because he gave them cattle for safekeeping, for which they were not going to pay him. Grynberg defeats on his journey Lete - one of the rivers of Hades. This is a river of forgetfulness, through which the dead cross over, forgetting their earthly life. And finally, in extremely shocking final scene in the film, he finds the place indicated by the peasants, where he discovers the remains of his father. He takes to his skull and handles it like Hamlet, looking at the eye sockets filled with mud. This extremely intense emotionally scene, full of metaphors, becomes proof that the apparent recording of a documentary can have the power of Greek tragedy. The image is located in the heart of the ethical problem, which is the image's truth as it exists beyond the narrative and especially beyond words, which are the domain of literature. Our imagination does not stop with Lozinski's film only as a reconstruction of facts that could be summed up in just a few words, but rather with the images: the faces of witnesses, barely uttering the words, muddy roads and a Polish, poor village of early nineties, and the face of Grynberg, who again becomes a scared, Jewish child, who, along with his father, mother and brother wandered among their Polish, once close neighbors in search of shelter. But this apparent setback, „the position of the child”, which the writer adopts is only overwhelmed with strong emotions in the scene where he is digging out the grave of his father. Lozinski's film is a rare example of a director's ability to capture a moment (in the work of documentary such moments are extremely valuable), which is an authentic *pointe*, an extremely strong dramaturgy. Lozinski with Grynberg did not expect such an ending. I have repeatedly shown Lozinski's movie, always arousing extreme emotions. From complete identification, to cool, participating distance and to rejection. The most skeptical group was a group of second year graduate students who passed most of the courses on the Holocaust and intensely deepened their knowledge in seminars and visits to memorial sites. The group blamed the outstanding director of emotionally manipulating the viewer, illegal intrusion into an area of extremely intimate experience in the scene, when the writer raises the mud

filled skull of a murdered father with visible fracture of the occipital bone (sustained from a blow). Part of the group did not believe in the possibility of an accidental discovery of the tomb of his father. When I informed the group that there are foundations whose purpose is to search for similar graves in Polish villages, groves and forests, and that often these searches end in a tragic success, in the end, it did nothing to dispel their doubts. They considered the film inappropriate and incorporating a cheap effect. They rejected the widely accepted, scopophilic need to participate in the macabre and they directed their attention towards one of the supporting characters, Polish heroines of the film that pointed to the real perpetrators of Grynberg’s father murder. This older woman, too weak to stand up, and bedridden - having nothing to lose - dared to identify the perpetrators, about who knew the whole village, but who jointly and severally refused to answer questions posed by Grynberg: Who killed him? The declined emotional involvement strategy of the group was dumbfounding. Most of the texts and testimonies of the Holocaust narratives are based on emotions involving the viewer. Sometimes the weakness of the realization of these testimonies are compensated by extreme aesthetics. But for this group of students the most important was a sincere attitude, the old woman’s decency, and her need to tell the truth.

The groups’ behavior prompted me to reflect on the absence of excitement in the reception of texts and testimonies, whose recipients are a more demanding group of recipients, equipped with analytical instruments and having a much higher than average competence and knowledge of ontological contexts. Interesting and very valuable are reflections of Hannah Arendt, published in a classic essay *On Violence*: „The absence of emotion does neither cause, nor stimulate rationality. >> Indifference and peace of mind in the face >> << of unbearable tragedy << sometimes can be really scary << >>, namely when there are not resulting from mastery, but an obvious manifestation of misunderstanding. To respond intelligently, you must first of all be << >> astir and emotional opposite is not rational << >>, whatever that meant, but either inability to yield to emotion, which is usually a pathological phenomenon, or sentimentality, which is a perversion of feeling. Rage and anger become irrational only when they drive against a substitute”<sup>342</sup>. Thus, the emotional potential is not an obstacle, but certain epistemological competencies. Substitute will not replace a real encounter. Substitute projects are similar to the movie *Doron*, which are programmed for survival and inheritance trauma. This falsehood is felt by the recipients of countless pseudo-testimonies, which in its narrative have established strategies of working through the trauma.

### **Once again. A meeting, nonetheless**

This intentional falsehood founded by the creators of such documentaries, whose patron is simulated writing of Wilkomirski, abolished by narratives seemingly simple and naive. A perfect example is the story of the discovery of Irena Sendler. The

<sup>342</sup> H. Arendt, *O przemocy. Nieposuszczenie obywatelskie*, Warszawa: Fundacja Aletheia 1999, p. 82.

word 'discovery' is ironic, but the irony contains a bitter grain of truth. One of the biggest heroines who saved Jews, obtained the status of an international icon thanks to the help of teenagers from Kansas. The history of the discovery of Sendler as a historical figure is known and documented<sup>343</sup>. Megan Stewart, Elizabeth Cambers and Sabrina Coons were average teenagers faced with typical problems for their age: problems in school, parents' divorce, some unfortunate first loves. I met an extraordinary person whose bravery was unquestioned. What could combine three teenagers from the poorest regions in America alone living with a woman whose life was an illustration of the thesis that, when institutions fall, people become fragile and only a few find the strength to oppose wickedness? Without a doubt the testimony of Irena Sendler was this genuine encounter, which says Felman, and which so shocked described by her group of seminar participants. In which, the rights of some difficult definable coherence conjoined immature teenage experience with great history. And when from this anastomosis a new experience was formed, then as teachers we gain confidence of persistence, and that it will be one of the azimuths, small or big ethical choices taken in the future. It is the deepest sense of the meeting with the witness of the Holocaust. Of course it would be naive to remain in the belief that we gain some confidence, that we obtain a guarantee of a certain moral attitude. But if we are convinced that the meeting with the Holocaust witness will raise in the future, any doubt when making difficult decisions and choices, if you force them to reflect – this is already the educators' success.

I cited examples which are not particularly representative, nor do they constitute any wider representation. They are the result of my experience and position as sometimes participatory witness or moderator of the discussion. I cited examples, however, in a significant way point to the correct trajectory of such educational workshops at a time, when the biggest arguments (personal narratives of survivors) will become a thing of the past, when they are only fractional registrations and narratives. There will then be a need to recall some paradigms operating on the rights of the authority. I hope that the described positive examples of practices of meeting with the witnesses of the Holocaust will become a regular practice – still alive and, despite the passage of time, still an inspirational part of human history.

Translated by: Monika Eriksen

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<sup>343</sup> J. Mayer, *Życie w stoiku. Ocalenie Ireny Sendler*, Warszawa: AMF Plus Group 2013.

JOLANTA AMBROSEWICZ-JACOBS, KATARZYNA KOPFF-MUSZYŃSKA

## Is it Possible to Be a *Moral Witness* in Post-memory of the Holocaust? The Case of the International Summer Institute Teaching about the Holocaust at the Centre for Holocaust Studies/UNESCO Chair for Education about the Holocaust at the Jagiellonian University

*...And there shall be in Warsaw and in every other Polish city some fragment of the ghetto left standing and preserved in its present form in all its horror of ruin and destruction... and every day we shall twine fresh live flowers into its iron links, so that the memory of the massacred people shall remain forever fresh in the minds of generations to come, and also as a sign of our undying sorrow for them.*

Julian Tuwim *We, Polish Jews*

Marianne Hirsch describes the term of post-memory in the following way: „we are related to its [memory] object or source not by a recollection of experienced events but by an investment of imagination, creation”.

See: M. Hirsch, *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative and Postmemory*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1997, p. 22.

### Introductory Remarks

The study on memory was initiated in a laboratory setting in XIX century by Hermann Ebbinghaus and continued in the natural environment by James Galton. Durkheim addressed the notion of social memory by his interest in commemorative rituals in early societies safeguarding social cohesion and common morality. Through membership in religious, national, or class groups that people are able to acquire and

then recall their memories at all. Maurice Halbwachs<sup>344</sup> opposed his former teacher Henri Bergson who treated memory as primarily a subjective experience, focusing on social groups forming the “communities of memories”, the term that usefully explains diverse/conflicting collective memories within large “groups”, such as nations and/or ethnic groups. The renaissance of memory studies dates back to 1970s and 1980s.

More and more attention is paid nowadays to the concept of transnational or non-national memory, and the cultural reflection on memory coupled with collective remembrance are omnipresent in the research, discourse, art and education. Talking about memory of the Holocaust we cannot omit the term “trauma” (etymologically meaning injury or wound) deriving from medicine and psychology. In Greek, traumas mean “wounds”, leaving a scar. The pioneering work in the field of traumatic memory initiated by Pierre Marie Félix Janet (1859-1947), French philosopher and psychologist lecturing at the Sorbonne, College de France and at the Harvard Medical School, proceeding Sigmund Freud in connecting past events to present moments in life and using the term “unconscious”. Freudian psychoanalysis, along with Freud Walter Benjamin's and Theodor Adorno's Freudian-inspired reflections of 1920s and 1930s, shed more light on understanding of traumas. There is an assumption that trauma can be cured by psychotherapy. The question arises, whether the trauma of the Holocaust can be cured as well and/or at all? Henry Krystal, a survivor himself, in his critique of psychoanalytical uselessness of the term “trauma”, underlined that the core of trauma is *helplessness* facing annihilation<sup>345</sup>. We claim that certain educational initiatives aimed at the memory of the Holocaust in fact, although not always consciously, engage its audience in such a way as to empower educators to overcome the overwhelming feeling of helplessness when facing mass atrocities. We will return to this notion a bit later however, followed by a presentation of a case documenting almost 10 years of experience with the program of the International Summer Institute Teaching about the Holocaust (ISITH), which can serve as an example of a “positive” encounter with past trauma and memory of the Holocaust.

Annette Wieviorka called our times *The Era of the Witness*<sup>346</sup> referring to past trauma of the Holocaust, memory and testimonies of the survivors. The term „witness” will soon become a term of the past, therefore the term „moral witness”<sup>347</sup>, in our opinion, has a potential to enhance autobiographical accounts to a larger audience of educators carrying on the message enriched with ethical implications.

<sup>344</sup> M. Halbwachs, *Spoleczne ramy pamieci*, Warszawa: PWN 1969.

<sup>345</sup> After Henry Greenspan in: H. Greenspan, S. R. Horowitz, É. Kovács, B. Lang, D. Laub, K. Waltzer & A. Wieviorka, *Engaging Survivors: Assessing 'Testimony' and 'Trauma' as Foundational Concepts*, „Dapim: Studies on the Holocaust”, vol. 28, issue 3, 2014, p. 215.

<sup>346</sup> A. Wieviorka, *The Era of the Witness*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press 2006.

<sup>347</sup> Sara Horowitz rightly noticed that the term „moral witness” does not have precise definition and has various connotations depending on the context. See: H. Greenspan, S. R. Horowitz, É. Kovács, B. Lang, D. Laub, K. Waltzer, A. Wieviorka, *op.cit.*, p. 204. D. LaCapra, *Representing the Holocaust: History, Theory, Trauma*, NY 1994; D. LaCapra, *History and Memory after Auschwitz*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press 1998; D. LaCapra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma*, Baltimore, London: John Hopkins University Press 2001.

The term „moral witness” carries a „positive” component implying that the trauma of the Holocaust can be a subject of „working through”, though not always by the witnesses but by subsequent generations, forming what Marianne Hirsh calls a phenomenon of post-memory.

This term, referring to moral obligation chosen by some individuals, may be useful in explaining the phenomenon of non-memory of the Holocaust in so many areas in contemporary Poland, where no memorial plaques exist, in towns and villages where Jews constituted a majority or a significant minority. A phenomenon of enriched memory in some cities and towns is accompanied by non-memory of the Holocaust. Freud’s earlier concept of repressed memory inspired psychological and psychoanalytical research related to the notion of memory and his terminology of “working through” (of repressed, traumatic memories) has been adopted by Paul Ricoeur<sup>348</sup> and Dominique LaCapra. The analysis of data from empirical research<sup>349</sup> stimulates many questions for further research, and one of them is whether educational initiatives related to the Holocaust memory can create a network of “working through”, „moral witnesses” instead of denying, distorting the dark history of Poland during the WWII?

### **The Case from the Center for Holocaust Study/UNESCO Chair for Education about the Holocaust**

The example of the International Summer Institute *Teaching about the Holocaust*, an annual program held at the Center for Holocaust Studies and earlier at the Section for Holocaust Studies at the Institute of European Studies of the Jagiellonian University since 2006, may serve as a post-memory encounter with memory and trauma of the Holocaust with ultimately positive outcomes. The program was initiated by Tess Wise, the founder and the Chair of the Holocaust Memorial Resource and Education Center of Central Florida, USA. Born in Szydłowiec, Poland, the great-granddaughter of the chief rabbi of Warsaw (1920s) and the first Jewish member of the Polish parliament after regaining freedom in 1918. Wise, a Holocaust survivor and Holocaust education expert, initiating first the educational institutions in the USA and later the ISITH, being herself a first eye witness of the history of the Holocaust, ensuring the memory of the Holocaust and establishing the program for post-memory generation. Her numerous initiatives are an example *per se* of enormous energy and will to transform an individual and collective trauma into social action to empower teachers, first American and with time also Polish.

The aforementioned institutions with other co-partner institutions: Yad Vashem. The Holocaust Martyrs’ and Heroes’ Remembrance Authority, The International

<sup>348</sup> P. Ricoeur, *Pamięć, historia, zapomnienie*, Kraków: Universitas 2006.

<sup>349</sup> J. Ambrosewicz-Jacobs, *Młodzież wobec Żydów i Holocaustu. Z komentarzami prof. dra hab. Antoniego Sulka, dr hab. Michała Bilewicza i Roberta Szuchty*, “Nigdy Więcej”, no. 21/2014, p. 36-39.

Center for Education about Auschwitz and Holocaust at the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum and the Jewish Galicia Museum in Kraków, the International Youth Meeting Centre in Oświęcim/Auschwitz, the Auschwitz Jewish Centre in Oświęcim and since 2014 the Historical Museum of the City of Cracow and the UNESCO Chair for Education about the Holocaust successfully cooperated implementing the ISITH, which since 2006 has had ten editions. The Centre for Holocaust Studies (CHS) conceptualized the program and has been the chief organizer of the Summer Institutes since its establishment as an independent unit at the Faculty of International and Political Studies of the Jagiellonian University in 2008<sup>350</sup>. From 2009 the strategic partner of the CHS JU has been the Illinois Holocaust Museum and Education Center in Skokie, USA. Among the Polish co-partners are: the International Center for Education about Auschwitz and Holocaust at the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, the Jewish Galicia Museum, the International Youth Meeting Centre in Oświęcim/Auschwitz, the Auschwitz Jewish Centre in Oświęcim, and in 2014 the Historical Museum of the City of Cracow<sup>351</sup>.

The mission of the ISITH, specified in 2006, is the sustainable integration of the Holocaust education into Polish schools with the goal of building an open, pluralistic and inclusive society in which prejudice, discrimination and antisemitism are condemned and rejected.

The rationale of the program is relevant in the light of new historiographical discussion on the collaboration of individual ethnic Poles and their compliance in the Holocaust, in many localities, as well as with regards to the empirical studies in Germany which can serve as a model to diagnose social attitudes. The study commissioned by the German Parliament in 2012 revealed the „guilt denial” and the Bielefeld University studies in 2008 indicated the „Holocaust fatigue” by 67% of surveyed Germans<sup>352</sup>. The aforementioned phenomena result from „exaggerated moral expectations” directed at German students whose reaction, apart from the Holocaust denial and fatigue results also in secondary antisemitism<sup>353</sup>.

<sup>350</sup> Several recognized American institutions joined in the ISITH, to name: The Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, University of Minnesota (2007), Museum of Jewish Heritage: Living Memorial to the Holocaust in New York (2008), State of California Center for Excellence on the Study of the Holocaust, Genocide, Human Rights and Tolerance, California State University, Chico (2008).

<sup>351</sup> The main sponsor of the Summer Institute is Claims Conference. The Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany. The project has been also supported by different American funds and trusts, inter alia: Michael H. Traison Fund for Poland, The Elisabeth Morse Genius Charitable Trust, Taube Foundation for Jewish Life & Culture, Segal Family Foundation. Private donors, some of whom wish to remain anonymous, have generously contributed to the Summer Institute’s budget.

<sup>352</sup> D. Fleshler, Does Education Fuel Anti-Semitism?, Forward February 17, 2012 <http://forward.com/opinion/world/151531/does-education-fuel-anti-semitism/> (accessed: 3.05.2015).

<sup>353</sup> J. Ambrosewicz-Jacobs, *Antisemitismus und Einstellungen zum Holocaust. Empirische Untersuchungen in Polen*, [in:] *Jahrbuch für Antisemitismusforschung* 23, 2014, Zentrum für Antisemitismusforschung, Berlin, Metropol Verlag, p. 168-180.

The crucial objective of the program is to provide Polish teachers with present research about the Holocaust and its impact on present and future history. The historical, social, religious and moral context of the Holocaust that the participants study during the week of training can assist them with their work with students. It is very important to create a common ground for teachers to share the ideas and experiences with other colleagues, non-governmental organization members, university lecturers and researchers, to learn from each other, and consequently build a network of competent educators.

During the ISITH participants have many opportunities to broaden knowledge, reflect on, and sometimes verify their opinions. The lecturers and experts invited to work with participants make them aware that teaching about the Holocaust is not only talking about dates, numbers and simple facts, but above all it is sensitizing students to the dangers of intolerance, prejudices and xenophobia. Therefore, it is crucial to provide participants with practical skills how to refer to the Holocaust in the context of human rights and fundamental values. Such an approach seems extremely important nowadays when racist and nationalistic ideas are getting more and more popular among the younger generation. A responsible and thoughtful approach as well as carefully chosen methods and strategies are required from teachers, otherwise lessons about the Holocaust can result in strengthening of prejudices and negative stereotypes. The Summer Institute experts - recognized academics, educators, museum curators and experts from the United States, Israel and Poland share their expertise and experience with teachers. They assist participants on which sources, materials and teaching tools to use, and which methods and strategies to apply.

The target groups of the ISITH are Polish teachers, teacher trainers, educators, young leaders working for nongovernmental organizations and doctoral students of the Holocaust studies<sup>354</sup>. In 2014 thanks to the new partner in the project: the Ukrainian Center for Holocaust Studies in Kiev, two school teachers and one young leader from Ukraine took part in the program. One teacher from Azerbaijan and two others from Russia also attended the Institute in 2014<sup>355</sup>.

Besides taking part in presentations, lectures, practical workshops, film sessions participants go for study visits to memory sites and historical places. A study visit to Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum in Oświęcim is the central point of the program. Each year there are participants who get to visit Auschwitz-Birkenau for the very first

<sup>354</sup> There are usually more women than men taking part in the training (the proportions are 80% women and 20% men). The average age of a participant is between 35-45 years. The majority of the whole number of participants are history, social studies and literature teachers, usually from small towns and villages all over Poland.

<sup>355</sup> The recruitment for the Summer Institute is carried out according to the specific criteria. Candidates must prove their involvement in projects and other activities with the aim to memorize victims of the Holocaust and preserve Jewish heritage in the local context. The priority have teachers who have not yet participated in courses, trainings or post-graduate Holocaust studies, who live and work in small towns, and thus have not easy access to workshops or trainings offered mainly in big Polish cities. The final group of participants should be as versatile as possible in the aspect of the region of Poland where a school is located, there is also a restriction made that from one school only one teacher can be accepted. Each year twice or three times more candidates apply to the Summer Institute than places available.

time, mainly because they come from distant parts of Poland. For all of them, this is the rare opportunity to take part in a guiding tour especially tailored for this specific group of visitors<sup>356</sup>. Field trips to museum and memorial sites are often difficult to organize because of the shortage of time and financial limitations. Sometimes teachers' anxiety and uncertainty with regards to their students being prepared enough for such a visit, are an obstacle to organize the trip. A workshop with specific guidelines illustrating how teachers should work with students before visiting a memory site is run by one of the Summer Institute experts who is an active teacher, teacher-trainer and education expert about the Holocaust. The structure and content of the study visit to Auschwitz-Birkenau preceded by a preparatory workshop can encourage teachers to teach outside school classroom, "I realized that I must move from the place I live and teach about the Holocaust in sites of executions. It is a completely different dimension and awareness"<sup>357</sup>.

The most touching moment of each edition of the Summer Institute is a meeting with the Holocaust survivor. Oral history and testimonies given by individuals are considered extremely powerful means of teaching and sensitizing students about the trauma of the Holocaust. Different stories, different experiences, different personalities of speakers, different strategies used by these special guests to the Summer Institutes substantially enrich the educational offer of the ISITH<sup>358</sup>. Personal testimonies that are directly heard and recognized are valued by educators who are allowed to get closer to the experience of the trauma of survivors. The biggest impact on educators in particular is having met with survivors who emanated peace and forgiveness, were not stuck in trauma and overcame their horrible experience. This was the case of Henryk Mandelbaum, a member of Sonderkommando in Birkenau, a direct witness of genocide of more than 400 000 of Hungarian Jews, who escaped from the *death march*.

## Feedback from the ISITH Participants

Over a span of ten years, the educational program of the Summer Institute has been systematically evaluated<sup>359</sup>. Teachers look forward to answering several questions:

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<sup>356</sup> The guides, who are experienced museum curators and experts in creating exhibitions, provide them not only with historical facts and data, but also are open for specific, sometimes, difficult questions.

<sup>357</sup> Quotation from the evaluation of the Summer Institute, 2010. Transl. Katarzyna Kopff-Muszyńska.

<sup>358</sup> Professor and writer, Nechama Tec; writer, Miriam Akavia; Birkenau Sonderkommando member, Henryk Mandelbaum; fugitive from the Sobibór death camp; Tomasz (Toivi) Blatt; prisoner of five death camps, Bernard Offen; history professor, Shimon Redlich; the author of a heartbreaking book: *I still see her haunting eyes*, Aron Elster; members of the Association "Children of the Holocaust" in Poland, Zofia Radziszewska and Emanuel Elbinger were guests of honor of the previous Summer Institutes.

<sup>359</sup> Different evaluation methods are used during and after completion of each edition of the seminar: participants evaluate the program content and the lecturers' performance filling in questionnaires at the end of each day of the seminar, overall evaluation of the Institute is conducted on the last day of the course, after each lecture a session of questions to a lecturer is held, on workshops teachers are encouraged to speak freely and share opinions with an expert and other participants.

how to get students more interested and involved; what language should be used to communicate with youth about the Holocaust and Polish-Jewish relations; where to find best sources and useful teaching materials, feasible lesson scenarios, informative websites, downloadable or easily accessible visual materials (films, or film fragments, witnesses and survivors' testimonies); how to verify historical sources; how to write educational projects; which aspects of the Holocaust need in-depth study and special focus; how practically implement interdisciplinary approach to teaching about the Holocaust? Some teachers even name specific topics that should be presented during lectures or workshops. Some of the problems they face include organizational issues, for example: how to start cooperation with an Israeli school and initiate youth exchange program? Teachers also address complex issues such as: how to change negative attitude of the local community to the Holocaust education or how to fight *anti-Semitic legends* still present in collective memory? In the light of the rise of recent anti-Semitic and neo-Nazi attitudes in some states of Central-Eastern Europe and an emerging neo-fascist political parties such a Jobbik in Hungary, such issues are particularly relevant. In Eastern Poland, where before the WWII there was a strong support for the radical political movement of the National Democrats (Endecja) the negative stereotype of Jews still presently prevails as was revealed by Mikołaj Winiewski and the team of the Institute of Social Studies of the Faculty of Psychology at the Warsaw University.

There are numerous motivations why teachers decide to apply for the program. Some participants stated that they feel they need to get gain a deeper insight into the topic they teach, and the Jagiellonian University has a reputation of providing the right circumstances necessary to discuss difficult issues in unbiased and multi-perspective environment. Teachers have expressed their need for support and guidelines in their work. They are well aware how important passing the knowledge about the Holocaust to young generations is, and they know why they should teach about the Holocaust, but what they are not sure about is how to do it in an effective and interesting way. Reaching out to young people is a real challenge<sup>360</sup>.

The majority of the Summer Institute participants graduated from universities or teachers' colleges ten or more years ago, and since then have not had many opportunities to participate in the university course or training. They are happy to change places for a week and become students again: "I am really glad that such initiatives for teacher development are undertaken on the university level. It is a wonderful time: a teacher in the role of a student", one teacher writes in the evaluation form<sup>361</sup>. Participants appreciate the chance to meet renowned university professors, experts and

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<sup>360</sup> The Summer Institute program is constructed carefully to meet the teachers' needs. It is multi-faceted, consists of several components which combined together have potential to live up to expectations of the participants. Since 2006 it has been systematically improved and developed in response to suggestions of the experts and participants. The seminar was extended from 5 to 7 days, and more practical workshops, new topics, visits to memory sites and historical places, museums and more visual materials were included in the agenda.

<sup>361</sup> Quotation from the evaluation of the Summer Institute, 2014.

researchers whose names they know from publications or public discussions; they praise not only lecturers' professionalism, wide topic knowledge and true involvement but also their openness for discussions with "an average school teacher". It is equally important that the experts shorten the distance between themselves and listeners thus creating a safe learning environment and building a friendly atmosphere. "It is important for me to have a chance to meet in person people who I know only from literature. Their involvement, dynamics, carefulness, professionalism, dedication to the topic and "god's spark" of the lecturers' (...) give me strength in my efforts, touch me and let me feel gratitude, that they share their knowledge, and with such care listen to their interlocutors", another teacher comments<sup>362</sup>.

Participants look forward to developing and increasing teaching skills and abilities in the course of numerous active workshops offered in the Summer Institute agenda<sup>363</sup>. The workshops offering strategies and materials useful in teaching about the Holocaust on history and literature classes are included. Teachers are mainly interested in interactive workshops during which they have an opportunity to try out new teaching methods. Workshops presenting visual materials such as photography, cartoons, testimonies, documentaries and feature films are welcomed. Using visual materials is considered by many teachers as one of the most effective way to arouse students' interest. The participants of all previous Institutes indicated this component of the agenda as especially useful for a teacher in a classroom. Thanks to academic knowledge provided by lecturers, usefulness of methods, strategies and materials presented on workshops teachers get inspired for their own work: "To my understanding the Summer Institute is not as much for teaching as for inspiring for further research. It is also about making one aware how diverse is the topic"<sup>364</sup>.

In 2012, a survey was conducted among the participants of seven institutes (2006-2012)<sup>365</sup>. The aim of the survey was to discover which methods and strategies, specific teaching tools and sources, topics and issues included in the Summer Institute agenda are most interesting for students, and especially useful for teachers in their everyday work. The survey's results are interesting with respect to teachers' opinions, and suggestions how the educational offer of the Summer Institute should be improved and developed, and if the program should be continued on advanced level. The general findings of this specific survey coincide in many respects with opinions and reflections provided by the participants of all nine editions of the Summer Institute (2006-2014).

In the evaluations the vast majority of participants share the opinion that the most effective and useful teaching methods and strategies presented during the Summer Institute are: visits to memory sites, museums, local historical sites, meetings with

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<sup>362</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>363</sup> In response to this particular demand the number of practical workshops has been systematically increased.

<sup>364</sup> Quotation from the evaluation of the Summer Institute, 2013.

<sup>365</sup> Evaluation of the International Summer Institute Teaching about the Holocaust, 2006-2012 by E. Buettner, K. Kopff-Muszyńska, CHS JU [manuscript].

witnesses and the Holocaust survivors, using different visual materials, explaining historical context through individual stories<sup>366</sup>. Many participants of all previous editions of the Summer Institutes expressed willingness to take part in more advanced program in teaching about the Holocaust, and suggest the organizers offer a master training for keen graduates. The Centre for Holocaust Studies JU together with the Illinois Holocaust Museum and Education Center in Skokie are now constructing the agenda of such training for those graduates whose initiatives in teaching about the Holocaust and preserving Jewish heritage locally have brought visible and positive results. There are three fields of interest that seem especially timely, thus necessary for teachers and local leaders who could be invited to participate advanced training. Firstly, present anti-Semitism, including cyber hate and the use of IT in teaching about the Holocaust; secondly, teaching about the Holocaust in local and international contexts (museums, exhibitions, memory sites) and thirdly, methodology of teaching about the Holocaust with the special emphasis on the use of visual materials.

### External Evaluation

In 2010 an evaluation was conducted by an external surveyor, Dr. Magdalena Gross<sup>367</sup>. Dr. Gross based her study on participant observation, teachers' interviews, informal talks and interactions, and the survey with open-ended questions. She identified three areas for possible improvement of the Summer Institute: *Conflict Resolution* and *Support, Absence* and *Abnormality*, and *Personal Biographies*. The survey showed that teachers need more support and advice how to respond to anti-Semitic remarks or jokes in the classroom, how to deal with other teachers, parents or directors' negative attitude to teaching about Polish-Jewish relations in the context of the Holocaust. Gross quotes a teacher during one workshop: "Once, after a two hour lesson using testimony, we were finishing class. There was a reflective silence. Then, slow and steady, one of the boys growled: Jude. I had no idea what to do, I nearly died. Can you help me? How would you respond"<sup>368</sup>. In Gross' opinion in the agenda of the Summer Institute there should be space for a conflict resolution workshop, a place for sharing fears, exchanging reflections.

The next area for the agenda improvement, called by Gross: *Absence* and *Abnormality*, results from the lack of general knowledge about the Jews, as one teacher said: "The main questions my students face are 'who are they?' 'where did they come from?"; the other added: "It wasn't until I invited an original (real) Jew to class, a Jew without the curls, you know, that my students understood that a Jew could also be, let's

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<sup>366</sup> The fact that so many teachers point out these methods and strategies as especially appropriate and interesting, does not necessarily mean that they use them in the classroom, simply because of mentioned above organizational, financial problems or time limitations. Therefore, it can be questioned if teachers really use these methods, or, maybe, they theoretically know they are appropriate and effective, yet, they do not or cannot use them on regular basis.

<sup>367</sup> Recommendations for 2011 Summer Institute, Magdalena Gross (for CHS JU internal use).

<sup>368</sup> After M. Gross.

say, a taxi driver- they just don't know... they don't know what Jews are, what they looked like or what they did...". The majority of Polish students do not have many opportunities to meet "a real Jew", consequently their image of a Jew is shaped by stereotypes they can find in Polish literature or films like "Fiddler on the roof". The Summer Institute agenda includes lectures and workshops advising how to teach historical background but, what is lacking, in Gross' opinion are strategies on how to address the feeling of emptiness provoked by absence of the Jewish residents in local communities that some teachers and students may become aware of: "This lack of knowledge is coupled with a distinct "feeling" that there were Jews "somewhere" in their town, or in their history, but they are unable to really place the Jews within the history of their towns and Polish history - thus there is a kind of absence met with an apartness met with an abnormality because of lack of knowledge"<sup>369</sup>. In this aspect, teaching about Polish-Jewish history, their mutual relations, the Holocaust must include both: "real time activities with Jewish people, Jewish culture, and Jewishness" as well as discovering local history, its people and places. Her survey illustrates that for many teachers personal biographies and experiences are the most important and essential reason why they study and teach about the Holocaust. Therefore, Gross makes a suggestion that in the Summer Institute agenda there should be a place for a workshop to help teachers become conscious of those personal motivations.

Teachers may belong, in our opinion, to *milieux de mémoire* and/or *lieux de mémoire* emphasized by Pierre Nora as ranging "from symbols, monuments too pedagogical manuals, institutions, commemorative events, exhibitions, honorific dates and personages"<sup>370</sup>. Those educators attending described above annual Summer Institutes are driven by their "intention to remember" which is the form of reconstructed post-memory. Their intentions are not always verbalized for various reasons: too big group to reveal personal motivation, lack of awareness of own reasons for often very deep and long lasting interest in the Holocaust, feeling responsible for the memory but not knowing why. Pierre Nora<sup>371</sup> and Pierre Vidal-Naquet<sup>372</sup> (1992, 23) separate subjective memory from the objective history underlying it. Memory is the dialect of particular loci: regional, local, familial, ethnic, in contrast to historiography. There can be tensions or even opposition between them. This distinction, however, is questioned by many scholars, similar to questioned distinction between individual/personal and collective, cultural, social, national, public and popular memories. For Pierre Nora "(m)emory is blind to all but the groups it binds... History on the other hand, belongs to everyone and to no one..."<sup>373</sup>. The Summer Institutes attempt to merge the history and memory of the Holocaust and the existing gaps between new historiography and the content of published textbooks

<sup>369</sup> After M. Gross.

<sup>370</sup> P. Nora, *Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire*, "Representations" no. 26/1985, p. 7-24.

<sup>371</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 9.

<sup>372</sup> P. Vidal-Naquet, *Assassins of Memory: Essays on the Denial of the Holocaust*, NY: Columbia University Press 1992, p. 23.

<sup>373</sup> P. Nora, *op.cit.*

after the 2008 educational reform, which selectively present Polish Righteous without the context of attitudes of Poles toward the Jews during the Holocaust and omit the shameful topic of individual collaboration.

A subsequent response to Gross' recommendations came in a form of new workshops introduced to the Summer Institute agenda: one focusing on lecturer's personal biography and experience (*The Holocaust as a personal experience of a contemporary man*, a workshop given by a professional psychologist and the chair of the Jan Karski Association in Kielce) and the other dealing with the issue of absence of Jewish neighbors in the local history (*AntySchematy2 as the way of taking care of memorial sites and teaching about the Holocaust*, a workshop run by the leader of the non-governmental organization called Antyschematy2). Responding to the third area for improvement of the Summer Institute called by Gross, conflict resolution and support in the agenda the space was made for a panel discussion with the Holocaust education experts. Participants can ask the experts questions, and can talk about their fears, difficulties, and problems as well as mutually reflect.

### **School Curriculum as an Obstacle**

When asked what difficulties in particular they encounter in teaching about the Holocaust and complex Polish-Jewish history, teachers always indicate the new national school curriculum as an objective and considerable obstacle. The new curriculum, introduced into secondary schools in Poland in 2008, allows less time for all school subjects, especially in high schools (lyceum). Time limits make it really difficult to thoroughly study many issues included in the curriculum, and this also concerns teaching history, literature and social affairs (the only school subject which is given the same amount of time as before the new curriculum was introduced, is Religious Instruction). Moreover, the Polish literature and history courses are not synchronized in junior and senior high schools. Consequently, students in a junior high school read literary texts related to the Holocaust without prior knowledge of its historical context which they learn later in a senior high school. Not always, because of numerous reasons (financial limitations, sometimes parents' or students' reluctance or lack of interest) it is possible for a teacher to do extracurricular activities related to the Holocaust. Therefore, not all participants to the Summer Institute can take students to memory sites, museums, organize meetings with the witnesses or watch chosen films. Some teachers complain that their students do not have opportunities to meet Israeli peers because their schools are not interested in exchange programs, although they are sure that such contacts will positively contribute to eliminating negative attitudes some students have towards Jews. Another obstacle to teach students about the Holocaust in attractive and modern way is a limited access, or no access at all to the Internet during lessons. Teachers claim they are well aware that teaching about the Holocaust requires a delicate and thoughtful approach, however, they do not find such an approach in neither the curriculum nor in school textbooks.

## Antisemitism and attitudes of Poles during the Holocaust

According to Jean-Paul Sartre<sup>374</sup> antisemitism results in own fears and uncertainty, and actual Jews are irrelevant, because they are created by antisemitism. Polish studies conducted by the team of Ireneusz Krzemiński revealed that the level of education affects a traditional antisemitism but does not make impact on modern antisemitism. Younger people are less anti-Semitic and more often react against it<sup>375</sup>. Nonetheless, the participants of the ISITH state that they often encounter the wall of indifference or even outright aggression when they start to talk about “Jewish issues”. *Again about those Jews!*, they can hear from their students. It is important to take into account, as reported by teachers, students’ general lack of interest in global and Polish history, as one teacher put it, *the WWII is as a distant and “cold” topic as Polish wars with Sweden in the 17<sup>th</sup> century*. Teachers indicate that negative attitudes, indifference or unwillingness to talk about the Polish-Jewish past is partially the consequence of demographic and social changes in the Polish society. The generation continuum has been broken up and few young people live in multi-generation families where present and past history exists side by side.

Teachers seem to attribute a reluctance to learn about the Holocaust and Polish-Jewish relation to such causes as lack of contact with older member of families or lack of interest in history in general. In the AJC study conducted in 1995 in Poland 77 percent of young people aged between 20 and 24 (as compared with 86 percent of the adult population) considered knowledge about the Holocaust to be very important for Poles<sup>376</sup>. As later studies indicated the main source of information on Polish Jews and the Holocaust for Polish youth are media, and far less comes from school and families. In AJC-commissioned research in 1995, 54 percent of young people stated that Poles had done enough to help Jews. An opposite view was expressed by 18 percent of young people. Fourteen percent of young people and almost twice as many adults (26 percent) believed that Poles had done as much as they possibly could under the circumstances.

In Jolanta Ambrosewicz-Jacobs national random surveys Polish students most frequently answered the following question: “Do you think that Poles helped Jews during the war?” with “Yes —as much as they could” (46 percent and 52 percent in 1998 and 2008, respectively), or “It is difficult to say” (43 percent and 31 percent in 1998 and 2008, respectively). Only nine percent of the students surveyed in 1998 (29 percent from the experimental classes) and 11 percent of those surveyed in 2008 responded, “They could have done more,” while two percent of students in both surveys chose the response, “They did not help them at all”<sup>377</sup>.

<sup>374</sup> J.P. Sartre, *Rozważania o kwestii żydowskiej*, Łódź: Wydawnictwo Futura Press 1992.

<sup>375</sup> I. Krzemiński (ed.), *Antysemityzm w Polsce i na Ukrainie raport z badań*, Kraków: Scholar 2010.

<sup>376</sup> See: W. Bergmann, *Anti-Semitic Attitudes in Europe: A Comparative Perspective*, “Journal of Social Issues,” vol. 64, no. 2/2008, p. 343—362.

<sup>377</sup> See: J. Ambrosewicz-Jacobs, *Holocaust Consciousness among Polish Youth after the 1989 Collapse of Communism*, [in:] *Jewish Presence in Absence: The Aftermath of the Holocaust in Poland, 1945–2010*, eds. F. Tych, M. Adamczyk-Garbowska, Jerusalem: Yad Vashem 2014, p. 729–730. The study presented in this publication was co-financed by the International Task Force

In the questionnaires administered during the ISITH, beyond school context teachers point out the negative role of the media which, in their opinion, usually present Poland as a mono-cultural and mono-ethnic country, at the present time and in the past. The image of Poland as multi-ethnic and multi-religious country seems strange or even threatening to many students. It definitely does not encourage them to study Polish-Jewish past. What is more, the image of Poland as always and forever one-nation country combined with patriotism understood as national egoism open the door for nationalistic ideas, and consequently discourages young people from facing and dealing with difficult issues including different attitudes of Poles towards the Jews and the Holocaust. Polish-Jewish relations during the Holocaust remain a taboo topic or are severely affected by historical politics, a new form of “censorship” aimed at creating a positive image of Poland abroad at all costs and bringing back to memory forbidden, erased from curricula and forgotten history of Poland during communism. The architecture of the Holocaust is one of these topics and it is represented according to international current historiography, as long as it does not touch the attitudes of Poles during the Holocaust<sup>378</sup>.

### Concluding remarks

The trauma of Polish Jews whose fate was not met with compassion from their Catholic Polish neighbors, in Poland, still remains in an area of non-memory. The area of non-memory is still vast in many European countries, for example in Hungary, Baltic states, Ukraine, to name a few. In the historiography of National Socialism crimes (terminology used in Germany) forced sterilizations in Germany of about 350 000 people on the basis of 1933 legislation to prevent hereditary diseases or the euthanasia program with approx. 200 000 victims (including approx. 5000 children below age 3) within the framework of so called T4 action<sup>379</sup> are well known to historians but less to general public<sup>380</sup>.

The program of the ISITH hopes to eliminate taboo topics, and hopefully, aims to create the space for *moral witnesses* of generation of post-memory of the Holocaust. The memory of the Holocaust in Poland does not remain congruent and every now and then, a nation outcries when someone, as exemplified for example by President Obama or the director of the FBI James B. Comey, unfortunately misre-

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for Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance, and Research (ITF) (currently the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) and the Fondation pour la Mémoire de la Shoah. The research included a national survey carried out on a representative sample of 1,000 17- to 18-year-old high school students, carried out ten years after the first survey in 1998. Both the 1998 and 2008 national surveys were carried out by the CEM Market & Public Opinion Research Institute, Kraków.

<sup>378</sup> J. Ambrosewicz-Jacobs, R. Szuchta, *The intricacies of education about the Holocaust in Poland. Ten years after the Jedwabne debate, what can Polish school students learn about the Holocaust in history classes?* “Intercultural Education”, vol. 25, issue 4, July 2014, p. 283-299.

<sup>379</sup> The cryptonym of the action to murder mentally ill patients refers to the address of the headquarters of the program at 4 Tiergartenstrasse in Berlin.

<sup>380</sup> I. Loose, Aktion T4 <http://www.gedenkort-t4.eu/de/vergangenheit/aktion-t4> [accessed: 2.05.2015].

presents Polish history. There are many reasons for this outcry: lack of recognition in the larger world of Polish suffering, deeply hidden shame caused by behavior of one's own neighbors or family members and at the end - in many former shtetls - occupying Jewish houses which once belonged to murdered Jews.

In Poland the "transmission" model of education still prevails. In this mainstream model, teachers, taken as the authority, transmit the knowledge, beliefs and values accepted by society or by certain groups in society. The term "alternative" is applied to new, innovative and progressive educational projects, established mainly by individual teachers within the traditional system. They offer new models as alternatives to parts of the standard curriculum. The ISITH aims to empower Polish educators, both teachers and NGO's activists to fill the gap between history and memory, precisely, between the new historiography of the Holocaust and the collective post-memory of the destruction of European Jews. Teachers, agents of transmission, together with artists, civil society activists and scholars support cultural memory and pass it, in the form of texts, commemoration ceremonies, buildings and other manifestations to future generations. Work of Polish artists and educators can be an expression of mourning, more than half of century after the loss of Polish Jews, mourning still absent in majority of society. Thus another question arises: can artists and creative individuals, involved teachers and students make an impact on the majority of society increasing its awareness of this loss? Bringing back faces and names of the victims contradicts what the perpetrators attempted to do: first dehumanize, and then eradicate people, their names, their faces and lastly, the memory of their existence.

Before the fall of communism, the polonization of Jewish victims was commonplace in the curriculum. The attempt to regain the memory present during 1980-1989 led to the changes in historical consciousness of Poles and has started with rejection of ideologization, interest in forbidden history. The reform was initiated by teachers (resolution against falsifying history in schools around 1980). The "white stains" discoveries were treated as a form of opposing communism. First new curricula were initiated in 1981 indicating the presence of the Red Army on Polish land on September 17, 1939. The ideologization was rejected and grew interest in forbidden history („white stains" discoveries were treated as a form of opposing ruling the state communists).

The Holocaust is taught both to teachers and to students of different educational levels. In 2004 the Holocaust appeared for the first time as a history topic in the General Exam of School Achievement (*matura*). Admiring so many Polish non-governmental organizations for their creative work, we have to bear in mind individual teachers, educators, NGOs activists who bring about changes in students' attitudes and raise their awareness of the Holocaust. Since the 'Hebrew class' at the VIII Lyceum in Kraków in the mid-1990s initiated by teacher of biology Janina Górz many teachers in Poland created their own programs and projects. Robert Szuchta, co-author with Piotr Trojański of the first program about teaching the Holocaust in Poland, and the first textbook on the Holocaust, became leaders in that field and well known internationally experts of pedagogy of the Holocaust.

Polish teachers often work individually, motivated by their personal conviction that the Holocaust must be taught to the younger generation, because students must be informed about what happened to Jewish people on Polish soil. Some of them lack institutional support or are even discouraged by their school principals from participating in teacher training. We can hope, however, that Polish teachers will introduce the new historiography of the Holocaust in schools, also in the junior high schools (middle schools), despite the curricular framework, since they consist more than 50% of participants of ISITH, organized annually since 2006 in Krakow by the Center for Holocaust Studies of the Jagiellonian University with the Illinois Holocaust Museum and Educational Center, the Yad Vashem and other partners.

Julian Tuwim had a dream “so that the memory of the massacred people shall remain forever fresh in the minds of generations to come, and also as a sign of our undying sorrow for them”<sup>381</sup>. This dream belongs now to the area of post-memory and teacher trainings are example of commemorative educational practices intended to keep the memory of the Holocaust alive by the means of teaching Polish, Ukrainian, Russian students by the ISITH graduates and hopefully, introducing new initiatives in the local communities and creating new memorial sites as meant by Pierre Nora. The witnesses are transmitting to educators their personal recollections of the fear, hiding, and discrimination, experience of death and concentration camps or work at the Sonderkommando in Auschwitz. The rest of historical facts has to be constructed from lectures, workshops, watching photography exhibitions, work with authentic documents and memorial sites visits: State Museum Auschwitz-Birkenau, Shindler Factory Museum and Auschwitz Jewish Center.

Perhaps not enough space was dedicated earlier to the concept of *moral witness*, but the aim of careful description and evaluation of the ISITH, which for 10 years developed the collective memory and shaped moral attitudes toward the past and toward the present, was aimed to demonstrate the case study. The presented case study of the ISITH attempted to illustrate. how in the area of post-memory of the Holocaust, those who learn, study documents, listen to the survivors and teach may become carriers of memory and become *moral witnesses*. If they want to learn the truth about the past, feeling obliged to remember the suffering of Jewish nations killed on Polish soil, they become *witnesses* in a symbolic way with a *moral* duty to pass the knowledge about the genocide of Jews to their students, creating empathy, providing emotional experience, developing skills to analyze historical facts and building the competencies to learn not only *about* the Holocaust, but *from* the Holocaust.

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<sup>381</sup> J. Tuwim, *My Żydzi polscy/We, Polish Jews*, ed. Ch. Shmeruk, Jerusalem 1984, p. 19.

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EWELINA MALIK

## “There is nothing in the world more invisible than a monument.” *Stolpersteine* - hidden forms of commemoration or the expansion of the culture of remembrance in Germany?

Aleida Assmann in the introduction to the Polish Anthology of her texts titled *Between History and Memory* focuses attention to the expansion of the culture of remembrance, which occurred in the last thirty years in Germany. According to the author, the impact on this state of affairs came as a result of the rise of many museums, institutions, monuments, ceremonies and programs “available to all, but not very transparent „ Memory culture began to creep into the realm of everyday life through the media. “You can see it in German cities as embedded in from of the front door of many homes >>stones of memory<< [*Stolpersteine*]”<sup>382</sup>.

### Breaking the anonymity - *Stolpersteine* project

*Stolpersteine*, literally means the stones over which we stumble, and in the Polish language it was also adopted to mean the stones of memory. It is a form of commemorating the victims of Nazism in the form of paving blocks with a brass plaque embedded in the sidewalk. On each, one can read the name of the person commemorated, date and place of birth and the date of arrest, deportation and death. This information is preceded by the words, “Here live / lived ...”. The cube measuring 96 mm by 96 mm are mounted in the pavement, usually near the last place of residence of the person commemorated<sup>383</sup>.

The project aims to restore the memory of the victims of National Socialism, 1933-1945. Most of them were Jews, but among commemorated to whom brass cubes are devoted, are also Sinti and Roma, Jehovah’s Witnesses, victims of euthanasia, forced labor, political repression, and homosexuals<sup>384</sup>. It is designed by German artist Gunter Demnig, who between the years 1995 and 1996 created the first such monuments in Cologne. Demnig’s inspiration were the words contained in the Talmud:

<sup>382</sup> A. Assmann, *Między historią a pamięcią. Antologia*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 2013, p. 9.

<sup>383</sup> Project website *Stolpersteine*, <http://www.stolpersteine.eu/en/home/> (accessed: 22.10.2015).

<sup>384</sup> *How to place a STOLPERSTEIN*, p. 2, [http://www.stolpersteine.eu/fileadmin/pdfs/STOLPERSTEINE\\_steps\\_2014.pdf](http://www.stolpersteine.eu/fileadmin/pdfs/STOLPERSTEINE_steps_2014.pdf) (accessed: 23.10.2015).

“A man is forgotten only if his or her name has been forgotten”<sup>385</sup>. The author began his actions understanding them as symbolic art project, aware that using *Stolpersteine* will never be possible to honor the memory of millions of victims of National Socialism<sup>386</sup>.

The first project to commemorate the Holocaust, was produced by an artist in 1990 in Cologne. It consisted of designating the path, using white paint, which the Roma and Sinti of Cologne traveled to the place of deportation. Crossing this symbolic pathway, one could read both the date of exile and the number of exiled. In this way Demnig celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the deportation of about 1,000 Roma and Sinti from Cologne<sup>387</sup>.

When three years later Demnig once again covered the same route, one of the residents of Cologne assured him that in this district, never lived Roma nor Sinti. The situation became an impetus for the artist to create memory stones that meant to remind the Germans that in their vicinity once lived those who were persecuted by the Nazi regime<sup>388</sup>. Since 1996, he installed more than 48,000 *Stolpersteine*. A modest project has developed into a huge enterprise. Currently, memory stones can be found in more than 1,000 locations in Germany and in 17 European countries, including: Austria, Belgium, Croatia, Czech Republic, France, Italy, Ukraine, the Netherlands, Norway, Slovakia or Russia<sup>389</sup>. In Poland, the *Stolpersteine* stones are only in two cities: Wrocław in front of the house of Edith Stein and Słubice nad Odrą dedicated to the memory of Karl Ritter<sup>390</sup>.

The main principle of the *Stolpersteine* project is, ‘one victim - one stone’. Each stone commemorates one person and made by the German artist, Michael Friedrichs-Friedlaender in Berlin<sup>391</sup>. Through this assumption *Stolperstein* is one of the few forms of commemorating an individual in Germany. In contrast to the ritualized group commemorations, such as the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe or the Monument of Remembrance of the Roma and Sinti murdered during World War II, the stones restore an individualistic character to the memory of the victims, like the names of those who were murdered and persecuted<sup>392</sup>.

<sup>385</sup> *Holocaust Memorials: The Stolpersteine Controversy*, <http://www.young-germany.de/topic/live/travel-location/holocaust-memorials-the-stolpersteine-controversy> (accessed: 10.10.2015).

<sup>386</sup> Website of the *Stolpersteine* project: <http://www.stolpersteine.eu/en/news/> (accessed: 10.10.2015).

<sup>387</sup> K. Ruchniewicz, *Demokratyzacja Pamięci*, Blog i historia Krzysztofa Ruchniewicza, <http://krzysztofruchniewicz.eu/demokratyzacja-pamieci/> (accessed: 22.10.2015).

<sup>388</sup> J. Burek, *Miejsce Pamięci Cisi Bohaterowie i projekt Stolpersteine*, [in:] *Berlin. Miasto pamięci. Przewodnik*, eds. M. Czaputowicz, U. Cyrynger, J. Marszałek, Berlin: Wydawnictwo Anthea, 2015, p. 75.

<sup>389</sup> *How to place, op.cit.*, p.1.

<sup>390</sup> E. Stasiak, *Wyboje historii*, <http://www.dw.com/pl/wyboje-historii/a-4891232> (accessed: 22.10.2015).

<sup>391</sup> *How to place, op.cit.*, p. 7.

<sup>392</sup> J. Burek, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

## ***Stolpersteine* and 'historicizing of space'**

According to sociologist Andrzej Szpociński, the growing expansion of the culture of remembrance and the interest in the phenomenon of memorials is affected by the visualization and theatricality culture.

The term visualization Szpociński researcher understands the dominance of visual sensations in the processes of social communication.

Source: A. Szpociński, *Memorials*, "Teksty drugie", no. 4/2008.

Szpociński also notes that in contemporary culture there is a tendency "to historicize a space".

Historicizing of space - it depends on "disclosure (and communicating) the temporal dimension of reality through the appropriate use of space".

Pieces of the old walls, paving stones or plaques become depositories of the past. By their very presence, they provoke a sense of antiquity and passing in the recipient. At the same time, they activate emotions resulting from a "sense of relatedness with those who lived here before, who walked the same pavements (...) with people who are long gone and about people who we no longer know anything about. Furthermore, (...) the Community which may arise around thus understood >>memorial sites<<, has a special character; it is not required any group conformities from the participants, accession does not require anyone's approval"<sup>393</sup>. In this perspective, townhouses, apartments and houses that were the last voluntarily chosen places of residence of the victims, become depositories of the past. Through embedding the *Stolpersteine* in to the foundation, it allows for „historicizing of space” and the revealing of the temporal dimension of reality.

The *Stolpersteine* project quickly evolved from a theoretical art concept to a "formula of de-coaxial monument of multi-dimensional range"<sup>394</sup>. The stones of memory are lasting but less grandiose form of memorials to commemorate the victims of National Socialism. Brass cubes do not introduce significant transformations in space, such as traditional monuments. According to Harald Schmid "*Stolpersteine* are the opposite pole of the Berlin Holocaust Memorial: not centrally, but in a decentralized way, not financed by millions of government money, but supported through the

<sup>393</sup> A. Szpociński, *Miejsca pamięci (Lieux de Memorie)*, „Teksty Drugie”, no. 4/2008, p. 18-19, [https://tslmorawa.files.wordpress.com/2012/06/konwersatorium-rs\\_mk\\_szpocinski\\_miejsca-pamieci.pdf](https://tslmorawa.files.wordpress.com/2012/06/konwersatorium-rs_mk_szpocinski_miejsca-pamieci.pdf) (accessed: 01.10.2015).

<sup>394</sup> A. Gębczyńska-Janowicz, *Ślady przeszłości w miastach przyszłości*, „Czasopismo techniczne. Architektura”, 2012, vol. R. 109, z. 1-A/1, p. 165, [https://suw.biblos.pk.edu.pl/resources/i1/i2/i2/i4/i1/r12241/GebczyńskaJanowiczA\\_ŚladyPrzeszłości.pdf](https://suw.biblos.pk.edu.pl/resources/i1/i2/i2/i4/i1/r12241/GebczyńskaJanowiczA_ŚladyPrzeszłości.pdf) (accessed: 24.10.2015).

patronage of citizens, not as monumental, but embedded in the ground, not characterized by abstract symbolism but concrete, directly pointing the finger at the past”<sup>395</sup>.

The project is not about “stumbling” „in the literal sense of the word. Demnig’s intention is that people stepping on the stones of memory remember the terror introduced by the Nazis, and become interested in the history of the people commemorated. Laying of the *Stolpersteine* is usually done in a very solemn manner. In addition to the initiators, relatives of victims, city authorities are also often present. The ceremony of embedding the cube is deemed as a symbolic funeral of a family member who was never buried. Thus, the stones of memory have far outgrown their original function. For relatives of the murdered they are also a substitute tomb, on which they can lay flowers and light candles<sup>396</sup>.

### ***Stolpersteine* project and the democratization of memory**

Historian and culture expert, Robert Traba indicates that by identifying with selectively chosen historical phenomena, i.e. through rituals, building of memorials or school education “we become *volens volens* actors in the process of constructing collective memory”<sup>397</sup>. In this context, each originator of laying of the stones becomes a *Stolperstein* architect, influencing the shape of collective memory.

On the other hand a publicist from Szczecin, Andrzej Kotula, notes that around the *Stolpersteine* project an international, mass social movement has been created. Many people “identified with this form of commemoration, because its essence is the personal commitment of each of its initiators”<sup>398</sup>. For Demnig to agree to build in the stone, the applicant must conduct archival research and provide appropriate documentation certifying that the person was a victim of the Nazi regime. This way individuals, the community, schools, businesses, associations or the victim’s family may inquire to have a *Stolpersteine* be placed. Demnig stresses that this is not a project, which is “watched over by the administration, (...) but this is a grassroots initiative”<sup>399</sup>. By this formula the laying of the stone is done through the personal involvement of the originator. *Stolpersteine* is a form of bottom-up monument, generated by personal motives of the initiator, not the policy of the state.

<sup>395</sup> H. Schmid, *Stolpersteine und Erinnerungskultur – eine Zwischenbilanz. Vortrag auf der Tagung „Stolpersteine – Irritationen der Erinnerung”*, 9./10. September 2011, Hamburg, Evangelische Akademie der Nordelbischen Kirche, Katholische Akademie Hamburg, Quote from: K. Ruchniewicz, *Demokratyzacja Pamięci*, Blog i historia Krzysztofa Ruchniewicza, <http://krzysztofruchniewicz.eu/demokratyzacja-pamieci/> (accessed: 22.10.2015).

<sup>396</sup> J. Burek, *op.cit.*, p. 76.

<sup>397</sup> R. Traba, *Dialogi pamięci. Rozważania wokół recepcji pamięci zbiorowej*, „Sensus Historiae”, vol. XV, no. 2/2014, p. 114.

<sup>398</sup> *Tablica dla Julio Levina i Stolpersteine. Ciekawe spotkania z historią*, [http://szczecin.wyborcza.pl/szczecin/1,34959,18244492,Tablica\\_dla\\_Julio\\_Levina\\_i\\_Stolpersteine\\_\\_Ciekawe\\_spotkania.html](http://szczecin.wyborcza.pl/szczecin/1,34959,18244492,Tablica_dla_Julio_Levina_i_Stolpersteine__Ciekawe_spotkania.html) (accessed: 25.10.2015).

<sup>399</sup> E. Stasik, *Wyboje historii*, <http://www.dw.com/pl/wyboje-historii/a-3772592> (accessed: 22.10.2015).

## The significance of the *Stolpersteine* for the German collective memory

The project initiated by the German artist attracted enormous attention - inciting both positive and negative opinions. In 2004, the Munich City Council did not agree on the laying of the foundation blocks in the public sector. We can, however, find them on residential properties. As a protest against the decision of the city authorities, a social movement emerged which collected signatures for a petition requesting the lifting of the ban<sup>400</sup>.

The *Stolpersteine* project is not to the liking of Charlotte Knobloch, the President of the Central Council of Jews in Germany. In her opinion, this is a controversial form of commemoration that defies memory. "The people murdered during the Holocaust deserve more than an inscription covered with dust and dirt"<sup>401</sup>. The brass cubes with the names of the victims are trampled by the pedestrians, running dogs, parked cars, which according to her desecrates the memory.

The artist refutes the allegations, explaining that anyone who leans over to read the brass bricks, bows before the victims by giving them tribute<sup>402</sup>. According to the artists, this unusual way to commemorate on the surface of the street should lead us to reflect about the people who once lived there.

In other parts of the country the support for the project it is enormous. *Stolpersteine* can be found in almost every German city. More than five thousand stones was laid in Berlin, and the city has ambitions to incorporate this form to commemorate all the victims of Nazism. The project also attracts considerable interest in Cologne, where in 2000 by a decision of the city authorities, more than six hundred such stones were installed.

At this point it is worth reflecting on the sense of *Stolpersteine* for collective memory. Can the emphasized by Assmann expansion of the culture of remembrance make *Stolpersteine* project invisible in the sight of German social consciousness? According to Andreas Huyssen, explosion of "memory-mania", which took place in Germany in the eighties, was an attempt to displace unpleasant memories. Absorbed with the obsession, of "commemorating", the Germany led to "making the past invisible", and each new monument became invisible to its audience<sup>403</sup>. Robert Musil also warns against the risk of making the commemoration invisible: "There is nothing in this world more invisible than a monument. Undoubtedly, they are built to be visible (...). At the same time, however, something pervades them that repels attention"<sup>404</sup>. This barrier is the rigidity, in fact all of the imaginations,

<sup>400</sup> *Holocaust Memorials: The Stolpersteine Controversy*, <http://www.young-germany.de/topic/live/travel-location/holocaust-memorials-the-stolpersteine-controversy> (accessed: 10.10.2015).

<sup>401</sup> B. T. Wielniński, *Niemiecki spór o pamięć*, <http://wyborcza.pl/1,75477,18579918,niemiecki-spor-o-pamiec.html> (accessed: 28.10.2015).

<sup>402</sup> *Cobblestones for Holocaust Victims*, <https://www.deutschland.de/en/topic/politics/germany-europe/cobblestones-for-holocaust-victims> (accessed: 26.10.2015).

<sup>403</sup> A. Podbielska, *Doświadczanie przestrzeni w pamięci o Holokauście*, „INTERLINIE. Interdyscyplinarne Czasopismo Internetowe”, no. 1(2)/2011, p. 55, <https://repozytorium.amu.edu.pl/jspui/bitstream/10593/1145/1/Podbielska%20A%2c%20Do%C5%9Bwiadczenie%20przestrzeni%20w%20pamieci%20o%20Holokau%C5%9Bcie.pdf> (accessed: 11.10.2015).

<sup>404</sup> R. Musil *Monuments*, [in:] *Posthumous Papers of a Living Author*, (Hygiene, CO: Eridanos Press, 1987), p. 61, quote from: J. E. Young, *Pamięć i kontr pamięć. W poszukiwaniu społecznej*

including monuments. The monument is transformed into visual form of memory, which causes the removal of attention, making it invisible in the collective consciousness.

The precursor of research on places of memory, Pierre Nora points out that the less memory “we experience from the inside, the more it exists through its exterior scaffolding and characters”<sup>405</sup>. According to the researcher, the community is determined by the need to remember, and modern memory „is entirely based on the materiality of the evidence, the immediacy of the data, the image visibility”<sup>406</sup>. The man is possessed by the imperative need to remember but cannot predict what exactly should be remembered, thus reluctantly gets rid of various artifacts from the past. “The imperative of our era, – says researcher – “is not only preserving everything, save any signs of memory (...), but also create an archive”<sup>407</sup>. In addition, Nora argues that the transformation of modern memory, assumes a jump “from all that is social, to what is individual, from the objective significance to the subjective reception, from repetition to commemoration”<sup>408</sup>.

On the other hand, according to James E. Young, allocating memory a form of a monument, makes people feel “freed from the duty to remember. Assuming the role of cultivating memory, monuments seem to liberate viewers from its burden”<sup>409</sup>.

So is the *Stolpersteine* project a way to free ourselves from the burden of the tragic events of World War II? The answers to this question certainly would be as numerous as motives that guided the originator of the *Stolpersteine*. Memory is never formed in a vacuum, and arguing on the construction of memorials and remembrance that it generates is different. Part arises in relation to traditional precepts of memory, others are erected on the initiative of power and “as based upon the need of the State to explain to the nation its own past”<sup>410</sup>. According to Yung, monuments in Germany dedicated to the period of World War II “evoke the Jews by their absence, and the German victims by their political resistance”. The commemoration in of themselves, however, have no significant value – “they are just stone elements of the landscape”<sup>411</sup>. In the embodiment of memory, they become transformed only when they become a part of rituals and pilgrimages.

Undoubtedly, the *Stolpersteine* project is an opposition to the dominant in Germany monumental forms of commemoration. Paradoxically, however, with thousands scattered throughout the country, the brass cubes formed the largest monument in the world. At a time

*estetyki pomników Holokaustu*, „Literatura na świecie”, no. 1/2004, p. 286.

<sup>405</sup> P. Nora, *Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memorie*, 26 „Representations” 13/1989. Reprint from P. Nora, *Entre Memorie et Historie*, w: *Les Lieux de Memorie*, t. I: *La Republique* (Paris: Gallimard, 1984), p. XXVI, quote from: J. E. Young, *Pamięć i kontr pamięć. W poszukiwaniu społecznej estetyki pomników Holokaustu*, „Literatura na świecie”, no. 1/2004, p. 273.

<sup>406</sup> P. Nora, *Między pamięcią i historią: Les Lieux de Memorie*, „Tytuł Roboczy. Archiwum”, no. 2/2009, p. 7, <http://www.marysialewandowska.com/wp-content/uploads/2009/08/Archiwum-no2-c2-sprd.pdf> (accessed: 22.10.2015).

<sup>407</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 8.

<sup>408</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>409</sup> J. E. Young, *Pamięć i kontr pamięć. W poszukiwaniu społecznej estetyki pomników Holokaustu*, *Literatura na świecie* 2004, no. 1/2004, p. 274.

<sup>410</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 270-271.

<sup>411</sup> *Ibidem*.

when the last witnesses of the events of 1933-1945 are beginning to pass away, the *Stolpersteine* project is an opportunity to preserve their memory. Through its individual character and personal commitment of the initiators, Deming's project contributed to increased knowledge about the history and time period of the National Socialism in the local community.

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## Righteous Among the Nations - Challenges for the Polish and Jewish memory

The following article is an expression of the author's reflections on the use of the subject regarding people honored with the title of *Righteous Among the Nations* in creating a memory of the past in Poland and Israel. This work is divided into several parts. The first is a reflection on the phenomenon of rescue and an attempt to characterize the rescuer, and his motives. The second part is a subjective analysis of the term "righteous" and its reference to those who offered to help, and an outline of the history of the Righteous Among the Nations award, conferred by the Institute of Yad Vashem. The last part is a presentation of the problems and challenges posed upon the memory - both in Poland and Israel - as a result of the topics concerning persons awarded this title.

Raul Hilberg in - today already a classic - publication characterizes those involved in the Holocaust of the Jews by using three categories: perpetrators, victims and witnesses<sup>412</sup>. This so-called Hilberg triad since the first release of the book in 1992, has been repeatedly challenged. In support of these words is enough to even recall the examples of people who, fulfills assigned functions in the Nazi concentration camps (for example, members of the Sonderkommando<sup>413</sup>, the Judenrat<sup>414</sup> or prisoner functionaries), being both (though by no means in all cases) the victim and the perpetrator. There were also those who belonged to the nation of perpetrators, who however, have been victims (for example, people with mental disabilities, German citizens killed in action T4).

In the section on witnesses Hilberg underlines a passive attitude the vast majority of people, and distinguishes between two types of help given to the Jews. The first type of aid is referred by the author as "occasional, transient and relatively risk-free", which consists of warning the victim, confusing those who chase the victim, or transfer of a small amount of food. The other type of assistance is long-term involving the granting of refuge - gratuitously or for payment<sup>415</sup>. It is also worth introducing here the distinc-

<sup>412</sup> R. Hilberg, *Sprawcy, ofiary, świadkowie. Zagłada Żydów 1939-1945*, Warszawa: Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów 2007.

<sup>413</sup> See: G. Greif, „...*plakaliśmy bez łez...*”. *Relacje byłych więźniów żydowskiego Sonderkommando z Auschwitz*, Warszawa-Oświęcim: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny 2010; P. Levi, *Pogrążeni i ocaleni*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie 2007.

<sup>414</sup> See: C. Perechodnik, *Spowiedź*, Warszawa: Ośrodek Karta 2011.

<sup>415</sup> R. Hilberg, *op. cit.*, p. 310-311.

tion of timing. While at the stage of indirect extermination (between the years 1939-1941) based upon the labeling, expropriation, concentrating in ghettos, persecuting and humiliating of the Jews, we can talk about aid, so much so after a decision on the final resolution of the Jewish issue (at the stage of direct extermination, murder of Jews in concentration camps and death, as well as in mass executions by the *Einsatzgruppen*<sup>416</sup>) we can only talk about saving, because the fate of the Jews was already sealed<sup>417</sup>.

How can we explain the decision to rescue? Before answering this question you need to realize the specificity of the occupation of Polish territory during World War II. In Poland, helping the Jews was punishable by death, as in other areas occupied by the Nazis (for example, in Ukraine and Yugoslavia). The penalty that was a threat not only to a specific person assisting, but could have also affected his or her whole family<sup>418</sup>. How come, despite being aware of such an enormous risk, there were people who decided to help anyway? Ervin Staub proposes an answer to this question in his essay, in which - relying on the research of sociologists Samuel and Pearl Oliner - distinguishes the different motivations of the rescuers, such as: strong moral values, humanitarian reflex, empathy or antipathy to Nazism. Staub points to an interesting fact, namely, that "the rescuers were bold, inclined in the past to dangerous and risky behavior"<sup>419</sup>. With such character traits, they perceived degree of risk in different way, and also increased "the level of self-competence in the relief effort"<sup>420</sup>. At the same time, he emphasizes that personal relationship with the Jew generally increased the intensity of aid and "many of the rescuers began their activities on providing aid to those Jews with whom they had prior relationships"<sup>421</sup>.

There is no fixed amount of people who took action in relation to the aid of Jews during the Holocaust. For obvious reasons, determination of the number is not possible. On the one hand, we have various forms of assistance, from giving away the proverbial slice of bread and a cup of water, through failing to inform the Gestapo about Jews in hiding, and finally to their rescue and subsequent hiding from the Nazis. Not all persons who saved Jews, submitted testimony about their attitude and action, not everyone wants to give such testimony, many of these people have already died,

<sup>416</sup> See: R. Hilberg, *op. cit.*, p. 36-37.

<sup>417</sup> R. Szuchta, *Planowanie lekcji o postawach Polaków wobec Żydów*, speech during the seminar for Polish teachers at the Conference House Wannsee in Berlin entitled, "Teaching about the Holocaust as a challenge to teaching - methodical questions and solutions", Wannsee, 15-21.03.2015.

<sup>418</sup> See: *Wybór źródeł do nauczania o Zagładzie Żydów na okupowanych ziemiach polskich*, eds. A. Skibińska, R. Szuchta, Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów 2010, p. 121.

<sup>419</sup> S. Oliner, P. Oliner, *The Altruistic Personality. Rescuers of Jews in Nazi Europe*, New York 1988 [for:] E. Staub, *Psychologia świadków, sprawców i ratujących bohaterów*, [in:] *Zrozumieć Zagładę. Społeczna psychologia Holocaustu*, eds. L.S. Newman, R. Erber, Warszawa: PWN 2009, p. 38-40.

<sup>420</sup> S. Oliner, P. Oliner, *The Altruistic Personality. Rescuers of Jews in Nazi Europe*, New York: Free Press 1988 [for:] E., Staub, *op. cit.* p. 38-40.

<sup>421</sup> See: N. Tec, *When Light Pierced the Darkness: Christian rescue of Jews in Nazi-Occupied Poland*, Oxford: Oxford Paperbacks 1986; J.K. Leociak, *Ratowanie. Opowieści Polaków i Żydów*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Literackie 2010.

and any trace of their heroism was taken with them to their grave forever.

Who is a righteous person? What characteristics must he or she possess? Upon who can we bestow such title? According to the Dictionary of the Polish Language, we can call a person righteous as someone “who acts against others in accordance with ethical principles”<sup>422</sup> and justice is characterized as “honest and upright action”<sup>423</sup>. In the Old Testament, the term “righteous” is generally used to determine the nature of God. This theme can also be found in the popular proverb, “God is motionless but fair”. In culture the image of the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah are well known, which had been destroyed because there was not a single righteous man<sup>424</sup>. Also, in the New Testament we find a figure of a righteous man, even in the so-called Sermon on the Mount, in which Jesus Christ defines those seeking justice as blessed and promised, that their desire for justice will be saturated<sup>425</sup>. In the history of the Jewish nation we can meet figures of tzaddikim. The name *tzaddik* comes from Hebrew and simply means “righteous”. A legend exists that speaks of thirty-six tzaddikim who, with their virtues support the existence of the world, and their actions provide protection from the wrath of God<sup>426</sup>. The prototype of the tzaddik was the Baal Shem Tov - the founder of Hasidism. In this faction of Judaism, a just person is a kind of mediator between God and man, it is thanks to tzaddik and his wisdom, and the community can find the right course of action and conduct<sup>427</sup>. Based only on these selected etymological examples, we can conclude that the righteous person is unique, having fundamental meaning to the functioning of a given community.

Were all the people who chose to rescue, righteous? Based on extensive - already at this point - literature, we must firmly state the answer is no. There have been instances of people helping Jews for some time, and then giving them up to the Nazis. The reasons were varying. Sometimes, it was the fact that the Jews did not have any money or valuables, with which they could pay their rescuers. There were also occasions when the rescuers, aware of the power, unscrupulously exploited their clients. An example of such practices could very well be a story of two girls - Melanie and Regina, hidden by a Polish peasant in Dabrowa Tarnowska, who after a while began to sexually abuse the Jewish women he was hiding<sup>428</sup>. Thus, how to locate and evaluate those who behaved righteously? Are there criteria that can assist us with this task? One proposal aimed to

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<sup>422</sup> *Słownik Języka Polskiego PWN*, <http://sjp.pwn.pl/szukaj/sprawiedliwy.html> (accessed: 18.10.2015).

<sup>423</sup> *Słownik Języka Polskiego PWN*, <http://sjp.pwn.pl/szukaj/sprawiedliwo%C5%9B%C4%87.html> (accessed: 12.10.2015).

<sup>424</sup> *Pismo Święte Starego i Nowego Testamentu. Biblia Tysiąclecia*, Poznań 2003, Rdz, 19.

<sup>425</sup> *Ibidem*, Ek 5,6.

<sup>426</sup> *Polski Słownik Judaistyczny*, eds. Z. Borzymińska, R. Żebrowski, Warszawa: Prószyński i Spółka 2003, p. 247.

<sup>427</sup> J. Tomaszewski, *Cadyk*, [in:] *Węzły pamięci niepodległej Polski*, Kraków-Warszawa: Fundacja Węzły Pamięci, Muzeum Historii Polski, Wydawnictwo Znak 2014, p. 118.

<sup>428</sup> J. Grabowski, *Życie w ukryciu widziane przez pryzmat pewnego dzienniczka*, [in:] *Człowiek wobec totalitaryzmu. Od prostych recept do „Ostatecznego Rozwiązania”*, ed. A. Bartuś, Oświęcim: Państwowe Muzeum Auschwitz-Birkenau 2012, p. 112-130.

honor the righteous who chose to save others is the title of *Righteous Among the Nations*.

Already during the Holocaust there were debates about this, how to commemorate the Jewish victims, but historical events such as the war, or the establishment of the State of Israel, thwarted attempts to commemorate<sup>429</sup>. It was only in 1953 in Jerusalem, through the Act of Remembrance of the Holocaust and Heroism<sup>430</sup>, adopted by the Knesset (Israeli parliament) a Memorial Institute for Holocaust Martyrs 'and Heroes' (Heb. - Yad Vashem)<sup>431</sup> was established. The name in Hebrew means "place and name" and refers to a verse from the Book of Isaiah, where we read: "I will give [them] in my house and within my walls a memorial and a name better than sons and daughters, I will give them an everlasting and indestructible name"<sup>432</sup>. Already in the founding document of the Yad Vashem Institute in Jerusalem, a record about the need to express gratitude to those who rescued Jews during the Holocaust was included. Implementation of this provision has become a project for granting the title of *Righteous Among the Nations*, which was initiated in 1953.

The term *Righteous Among the Nations* (Hebrew. Chasidim Umot ha-Olam) was inspired by the Talmud, where we read that "if a man destroys one life, it is as if he destroyed an entire world. And if a person saves one life, it is as if he saved an entire world"<sup>433</sup>. The Talmud teaches that at the time of Abel's murder, Cain killed not only his brother, but also all of his unborn descendants, and therefore whoever saves one person, saves also the whole world of potential lives.

In 1962, a special commission was formed, which included mostly volunteers, including survivors of the Holocaust. It was headed by Moshe Landau - Israel's Supreme Court, which ruled over the famous case of Adolf Eichmann in 1961. The committee was to verify individual cases of rescued Jews. The title of Righteous Among the Nations awarded by Yad Vashem can obtain merely a person who meets the rigorous criteria. First of all, the person applying for this distinction must be of non-Jewish, although it is not important to which of the three Hilbert categories a person belonged to. There are cases when the medal was also received by representatives of the nation of perpetrators, such as Oskar Schindler<sup>434</sup>. The aid or assistance must have been provided in an active way, in the face of threat to life or a threat of export of a Jew to a concen-

<sup>429</sup> See: T. Friling, *Arrows in the Dark. David Ben Gurion, Yishuv Leadership and Rescue Attempts during the Holocaust*, Wisconsin-Madison: Indiana University Press 2005; D. Porat, *The Blue and the Yellow Stars of David. The Zionist Leadership in Palestine and the Holocaust*, London: Harvard University Press 1990; T. Segev, *Siódmy milion. Izrael - piętno Zagłady*, Warszawa: Literatura Faktu PWN 2012.

<sup>430</sup> *To Bear the Witness. Holocaust Remembrance at Yad Vashem*, eds. B. Gutterman, A. Shalev, Jerusalem: Yad Vashem Holocaust History Museum 2008, p. 16. See: I. Zertal, *Naród i śmierć. Zagłada w dyskursie i polityce Izraela*, Kraków: Universitas 2010.

<sup>431</sup> <http://yadvashem.org> (accessed: 19.10.2015).

<sup>432</sup> *Pismo Święte Starego i Nowego Testamentu*, op. cit., Iz 56,5, Przyjęcie pogan przez Pana. The name was initiated by Modechaj Shenhavi [in:] *To Bear the Witness*, op. cit., s. 12.

<sup>433</sup> Talmud Babiloński, Sanhedryn 4:5.

<sup>434</sup> See: A. B. Skotnicki, *Oskar Schindler w oczach uratowanych przez siebie krakowskich Żydów*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo AA 2007.

tration camp. In addition, the rescuer through his planned actions had to be in danger of losing his life or health. The act of rescuing had to be granted in a selfless manner. A distinction is made which stipulates that people who rescued Jews in return for a fee are not eligible. The title may not be granted to a person who rescued some, while participating in the killings or persecution of others. The last condition is the existence of a testimony of such rescue, or documents proving conclusively the act took place<sup>435</sup>. To date, Yad Vashem awarded 25,685 titles to people from more than 50 countries<sup>436</sup>.

The person awarded the title of Righteous receives a diploma and a custom-made medal. Graphics and inscriptions placed on a medal possess very symbolic meaning. On the obverse there are two hands gripping barbed wire, which circles the globe. This is interpreted in such a way that the aid given by the rescuers could lead to a reversal of the world by 360 degrees. The inscription enveloping the globe, engraved on the medal states already mentioned above aphorism: "whoever saves one life saves the entire world". On the reverse side is the image of the Chamber of Remembrance, in which ashes of victims were placed, and the inscription in Hebrew "order gratitude of the Jewish people". The ceremony of awarding the diploma and the medal is carried out in Israel or in the country of the nominee, granted by the diplomatic representatives of the State of Israel. The Righteous is also given an honorable or post-mortem Israeli citizenship<sup>437</sup>.

However, the title of Righteous Among the Nations is not only a title and medal. Commemoration of people who selflessly rescued Jews also takes place in space. Yad Vashem is situated on the hill Herzl and consists of a complex of buildings and educational, contemplative, museum-like monuments (including New Historical Museum, which contains the Hall of Names, where information is collected about the victims of the Holocaust; Valley of the Slain Communities or the International School on Teaching about the Holocaust)<sup>438</sup>. One of the elements of the Institute is also the Garden of the Righteous Among the Nations. The originator of this initiative was Moshe Bejski, who joined the special committee verifying candidates for the Righteous award in 1962, and stood as its head in the 1970s<sup>439</sup>. In the area of Yad Vashem trees, as symbols of life were planted. Each of those trees had a name tag of the Righteous and the country of his or her whereabouts during World War II. Most of the trees commemorate an individual, but also several cases commemorate collectively, such the commemoration of the Protestant inhabitants of Le Chambon-sur-Lignon in the south of France who, in their city made a refuge for the Jews. In addition, a tree is also dedicated to the members of the Council to

<sup>435</sup> <http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/righteous/faq.asp#1> (accessed: 19.10.2015).

<sup>436</sup> <http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/righteous/statistics.asp> (accessed: 19.10.2015).

<sup>437</sup> [http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/righteous/honoring\\_the\\_righteous.asp](http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/righteous/honoring_the_righteous.asp) (accessed: 19.10.2015).

<sup>438</sup> J. Ockman, M. Safdie, A. Shalev, E. Wiesel, *Yad Vashem. Moshe Safdie - The Architecture of Memory*, Baden: Yad Vashem Holocaust History Museum 2006; D. Harel, *Facts and Feelings. Dilemmas in Designing the Yad Vashem Holocaust History Museum*, Jerusalem: Yad Vashem Holocaust History Museum 2010.

<sup>439</sup> <http://en.gariwo.net/gardens/yad-vashem-garden/moshe-bejski-dies-6554.html>; <http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/righteous/commission.asp> (accessed: 19.10.2015).

Aid Jews “Żegota”<sup>440</sup>. At the moment, the due to lack of space, the names of the Righteous are placed on a special memorial wall. Therefore, the fulfillment of the criteria proposed by the Institute can be difficult. Thus, another way to honor those people who cannot be granted the title of Righteous was proposed. It is the memorial to the unknown rescuers<sup>441</sup>.

What problems and challenges could arise in the discourse about the Righteous? In this section, I would like to consider two cases. The first concerns the memory of the Righteous in Poland. On the one hand, the number of the Righteous is a source of pride and maintains a positive image of Poles about themselves and their attitudes during World War II, but it is also sometimes used as a convenient excuse for black pages of Polish history. The second case, this time specific to the memory of Israel, is omitting the subject of the Righteous who do not fit the dominant narrative of the Holocaust presented and taught in Israel, especially during the so-called so-called delegations, namely the arrivals of young Israelis to Poland.

The subject of the Righteous is a challenge, as it may lead to the collapse of the positive sense of Poles themselves, cognitive dissonance<sup>442</sup> and expose their national weaknesses. Michael Bilewicz points to the fact that the “history of genocide is almost always a threatening history. For the descendants of the victims is a reminder of the suffering, loneliness and weakness. Descendants of the perpetrators realize that their nation is morally defective. Descendants of the witnesses recalls the passivity of their own people, and yet everyone wants to have ancestral heroes”<sup>443</sup>. Bilewicz also distinguished two types of national identity: healthy and narcissistic. This second characterizes as “eternal sensitivity to criticism from others, and obsessive thinking about whether to they really appreciate us”<sup>444</sup>. The Righteous become a kind of remorse nation, proving that even in tragic times of the Holocaust one could behave honestly and morally<sup>445</sup>.

In this context it is worth mentioning the phenomenon: the rivalry of suffering. “Both Jews and Poles believe their nations as victims of World War II. Sometimes these courts tend to be biased and far from reality, as can be seen in the analysis of social surveys. For the purposes of this the article I will focus solely on issues of suffering during the war and the scale of assistance offered to Jews by the Poles. In the study measuring knowledge about the uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto - commissioned by the Jewish Community of Warsaw Institute of Opinion Research “Homo Homini” in 2013, and carried out on a representative sample of Warsaw high school students - 44.4% of Po-

<sup>440</sup> [http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/righteous/related\\_sites.asp](http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/righteous/related_sites.asp) (accessed: 19.10.2015). This tree was planted by Władysław Bartoszewski and Maria Kann in 1963.

<sup>441</sup> <http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/righteous/commemoration.asp> (accessed: 19.10.2015).

<sup>442</sup> L. Festinger, *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance*, Stanford: Stanford University Press 1957.

<sup>443</sup> M. Bilewicz, *Sprawiedliwy wciąż czyni cuda*, „Gazeta Wyborcza”, 30.05.2014, [http://wyborcza.pl/magazyn/1,137948,16065356,Sprawiedliwy\\_wciaz\\_czyni\\_cuda.html](http://wyborcza.pl/magazyn/1,137948,16065356,Sprawiedliwy_wciaz_czyni_cuda.html) (accessed: 20.10.2015).

<sup>444</sup> M. Bilewicz, *Na antysemityzm sama wiedza nie wystarczy*, 21.05.2013, „Gazeta Wyborcza”, [wyborcza.pl/2029020,75968,13948462,Na\\_antysemityzm\\_sama\\_wiedza\\_nie\\_wystarczy\\_.html](http://wyborcza.pl/2029020,75968,13948462,Na_antysemityzm_sama_wiedza_nie_wystarczy_.html) (accessed:20.10.2015).

<sup>445</sup> Władysław Bartoszewski well known saying is that “it is worth to be honest but does not always pays off. It pays to be dishonest, but not worth it”.

lish students said that the Poles and the Jews suffered the same during World War II, and 24.7% that the Poles suffered more. With regard to aid in the ghetto as far as 50.8% of the students considered that the aid granted to Jews by Poles was sufficient, and only 6.3% identified it as too low. In addition, 9% of respondents admitted that they assistance of the Poles given to the fighting ghetto was too high<sup>446</sup>. Such test results Bilewicz comments as a sign of growing historical ignorance in Poland, and linking it (in this particular aforementioned study) with prejudices against the Jews today<sup>447</sup>.

Following the lead of these results, one can mistakenly believe that saving Jews in occupied Poland was a common action. Confirm this belief could by the fact that of out of all the people honored with the title of *Righteous Among the Nations* most are of Polish origin, as many as 6532 people. This is an obvious reason to be proud of one's nation. But it would be strange if it were not mainly Poles who excelled in helping the Jews, due to the fact that it was on occupied Polish territory that the Nazis decided to concentrate Jewish population, and it is on occupied Polish territory are located six extermination camps. It is in these areas, putting it simply, was the greatest number of Jews who could be provided assistance. Often in discussions of the Righteous the number is invoked without providing the context, which means that, firstly, the historical facts are being distorted, and thus, the whole narrative about the attitudes of Poles during World War II is distorted. Equally often the Righteous are invoked when the debates lack historical arguments or uncomfortable episodes appear, which would be more convenient to forget. Jolanta Ambrosewicz-Jacobs cites in this regard the work of researchers at the Center for Holocaust Research undermining „fashion for the Righteous” which came after the publication of Jan Tomasz Gross's *Neighbors* in 2000, and especially of *Fear* in 2007, deepening Polish discourse on the rescue of Jews, rightly baring its ritualization and mythologisation<sup>448</sup>. The squander of the Righteous and their use for short-term goals in the debates essentially leads to the undermining of their bravery and heroism. Thus a danger appears in which we deem the help to Jews during the Holocaust for granted, as an action taken by the majority of Poles, easily and effortlessly, which is simply a lie. Rescuing basically required a heroic decision - sometimes carried out contrary to one's environment, family, spouse - as well as the amount of work, so that the help and rescue proved to be effective<sup>449</sup>. In

<sup>446</sup> *What students know about the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising*, 15.04.2013, <http://warszawa.jewish.org.pl/pl/aktualnosci/425-co-warszawscy-uczniowie-wiedza-o-powstaniu-w-getcie-wyniki-badania> (accessed: 20.10.2015).

<sup>447</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>448</sup> J. Ambrosewicz-Jacobs, ...because their hearts were great, *Światła w ciemności. Sprawiedliwi wśród Narodów Świata*, 15.09.2010, [http://teatrnn.pl/sprawiedliwi/node/450/Jolanta\\_Ambrosewicz-Jacobs\\_%E2%80%9E\\_%E2%80%A6bo\\_mieli\\_serce\\_bogate%E2%80%9D](http://teatrnn.pl/sprawiedliwi/node/450/Jolanta_Ambrosewicz-Jacobs_%E2%80%9E_%E2%80%A6bo_mieli_serce_bogate%E2%80%9D) (accessed: 20.10.2015).

<sup>449</sup> In this context, characterized seem to be the words of the Righteous Władysław Bartoszewski: „I was talking generally about the state of terror, about the risks. And then there is a third factor: a sense of hopelessness. A drop in the ocean. As someone printed newspaper is the rozkolportowano it means it was spread out among people? As someone fired from the gun, which he kept, to the Gestapo, then he shot him or not, but something happened

the literature, many times we can find descriptions of social network in which many people contributed to saving one Jew<sup>450</sup>.

It is also worth mentioning about the situation of the rescuer after World War II in Poland, as it represents yet another challenge for memory. Today, in the face of the many activities undertaken for the Righteous, both by government and non-governmental organization (among other things: the special parliamentary resolution honoring Irena Sendler and the Council for Aid to Jews “Żegota” in 2007, the program “Polish Righteous- Restoring Memory” project of 2007 by the Museum of the History of Polish Jews, a monument commemorating Poles who rescued Jews in Lodz created in 2009, or naming schools with names of the Righteous - eg. Irena Sendler and Jan Karski<sup>451</sup>) the problem is the memory of what happened to the rescuers immediately after the war. Apart from the officially accepted historical narrative - in which in general there was no place either for Jews, because suddenly all became victims of the Nazis with no breakdown of nationalities<sup>452</sup>, nor for the Poles rescuing them - Righteous hid their heroic deeds. Motivated by fear against unfavorable reaction of the family about the hidden wartime secret. Fear of the opinion of neighbors and strongly rooted stereotypes, as well as accusations that may arise about “benefiting (getting rich) from hiding Jews”<sup>453</sup>. The rescuers were not only forgotten, but also discriminated against, because only under the Act of 01.24.1991<sup>454</sup>, they were granted veteran status, and consequently, a number of privileges.

Righteous are a challenge not only for the Polish memory, but also for the memory of Israel. In this case, the most important thing is that the story of the Righteous does not fit with the historical narrative about the Holocaust, shaped through the years. The analysis of the attitudes of leaders of the Yishuv<sup>455</sup> with regards to the

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and someone rescued a man for x amount of months and the man then ended up sooner or later in German hands, it felt that a for months he was taking care of it, and nothing. It was a drop in the bucket and continuous hopelessness: moving people from place to place, rescue, equipping with documents in real metrics that were fabricated by various priests etc., etc. It was a very difficult situation for all. W. Bartoszewski [in:] *Jewish memory - the memory of Poland. Files colloquium, which was held in Cracow 10 and 11 of June 1995*, Krakow: Instytut Francuski w Krakowie 1996, p. 80, [in:] E. Koźmińska-Frejłak, *Gratitude and forgetfulness. Poles and Jews and the Righteous 1944-2007*, [in:] *Aftermath of the Holocaust of the Jews. Poland 1944-2010*, Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, Żydowski Instytut Historyczny im. Emanuela Ringelbluma 2011, p. 824.

<sup>450</sup> See: G. S. Paulsson, *Utajone miasto. Żydzi po aryjskiej stronie Warszawy 1940-1945*, Kraków : Wydawnictwo Znak 2009; H. Grubowska, *Ta, która ratowała Żydów. Rzecz o Irenie Sendler*, Warszawa: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny 2014.

<sup>451</sup> E. Koźmińska-Frejłak, *op. cit.*, p. 832 and next.

<sup>452</sup> Memorial in Auschwitz list of victims.

<sup>453</sup> E. Koźmińska-Frejłak, *op. cit.* P. 825 and next.

<sup>454</sup> The online system of legal acts, the Law of 24 January 1991 on combatants and certain persons who are victims of the repression of war and post-war period, <http://isap.sejm.gov.pl/DetailsServlet?id=WDU19910170075> (accessed: 20/10/2015), by: *ibidem*, p. 831.

<sup>455</sup> Yishuv- hebrew., The Jewish population in Palestine before the creation of Israel in 1948. [A:] Polish Judaic Dictionary, eds. Z. Borzyminska, R. Zebrowski, *Warsaw Gratitude and Forgetfulness. Poles and Jews and the Righteous 1944-2007* [in:] *Aftermath of the Holocaust of the Jews. Poland 1944-2010*, Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej,

issue of the murder of Jews in Europe was strongly linked with Zionism. First of all, at the beginning of the war they did not feel compelled to rescue Jews from the Diaspora, due to the strong opposition of life in the Diaspora with creating a new life in Palestine<sup>456</sup>. Efforts undertaken to rescue Jews were scarce and too late. After World War II, the Survivors who came to Palestine with their stories and traumas were the most neglected, not being listened to, and omitted. Their presence only reminded of the aforementioned antinomy of Sabra and the Survivor, and mourning of the victims of the Holocaust in no way helped in the struggle to shape the new state of Israel<sup>457</sup>. Since the Survivors were quickly forgotten, despite the existing conviction they did not remain silent about their suffering, the Righteous and those people who participated in the rescue were also forgotten. A more common suspicion of survivors was that they entered into collaboration with the Nazis, because how else would have been saved<sup>458</sup>.

Today, another challenge for the memory of the Righteous are also the so-called Israeli youth delegations to the Poland, which began in the nineties. Although the process of their formation was dynamic, and the nature of the delegation still undergoes transformations, it cannot be denied that in the beginning, they were a kind of martyrdom trips aimed at strengthening the loyalty of young people, and their willingness to fight the enemies of Israel after returning from Poland. Such an instrumental treatment of Polish history, forgetting the more-than-thousand-year heritage and Polish-Jewish relations, as well as changes that have occurred in collective memory after 1989 and the fall of communism, creates a lot of controversy surrounding this form of education.

Another challenge is the problem of so-called "Jewish ingratitude" of the Righteous. The relationship between rescuers and the rescued are extremely intimate and their moral evaluation is very difficult, and it is even doubtful whether we have the right to this assessment. Similarly, contact between the two parties after the war largely depended on the atmosphere in which this rescue took place Poles, who have during Communism lived poorly, turned often to Jewish organizations asking them to pay for their sacrifices and risks taken during the rescue. Many of them claimed that they did not sense "gratitude" from Jewish side<sup>459</sup>. This aspect is also an important element of the Holocaust narrative.

In the face of so many challenges it is difficult to find the right solution. It seems reasonable that a prerequisite is primarily a recognition that the issue of the Righteous exists, and one must face it, without instrumentation, without using it for particular purposes, but also without omitting it and pushing it beyond the horizon of memory. Konstanty Gebert says, "the past is worth settling with, first for practical reasons. If we do not, it means we are afraid it's worse than it is, and fearful people are very easily

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<sup>456</sup> Żydowski Instytut Historyczny im. Emanuela Ringelbluma 2011 2003, p. 690-691.

<sup>456</sup> A. Shapira, *The Origins of the Myth of the "New Jew": The Zionist Variety*, „Studies in Contemporary Jewry”, t. 13, Oxford *Wdzięczność i zapomnienie. Polacy i Żydzi wobec Sprawiedliwych 1944-2007* [in:] *Następstwa Zagłady Żydów. Polska 1944-2010*, Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, Żydowski Instytut Historyczny im. Emanuela Ringelbluma 2011, p. 253-268.

<sup>457</sup> See: T. Segev, *op. cit.*

<sup>458</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 147.

<sup>459</sup> See: E. Koźmińska-Frejłak, *Wdzięczność i zapomnienie...*, *op. cit.* p. 835.

manipulated”<sup>460</sup>. Gebert also emphasizes that we are not responsible for the choices of our ancestors, but we are responsible for whether we want to know, what our ancestors did. Bilewicz adds that the Righteous can serve as a model archetypical for us at the moment: “The history of the Righteous seems to be very complicated and any hasty generalizations about their fate or motivation seems out of place. The effort of these people should be commemorated. Not as a national alibi but as a moral lesson of disobedience in extreme situations”<sup>461</sup>. At the same time, based on undertaken study the Righteous may be a starting point for meetings of Polish and Israeli youth, in an attempt to break mutual prejudices. Such actions are not easy, but the effort is certainly worth making.

When deciding upon the title for this article, a thought came to mind, to write “Common Polish-Jewish memory”. It seems to me, however, that such a formulation would be inaccurate and would falsify existing reality. A shared Polish-Jewish memory has not been formulated (and probably won't be for a long time) shared memory Polish Jewish. A separate question is whether we even need such a common memory. There is no doubt however, that there are certain narratives and aspects in the history of the Holocaust, with which Poles and Jews agree. The reason for which we rotate in our own national narratives, Charles S. Maier saw in different communities of memory and the inability to cross the border of another's suffering<sup>462</sup>. Contrary to appearances, narratives of war between Poles and Jews have some points in common. One and perhaps the most important of them is a sense of victimhood, and resulting from this fact a suffering rivalry between Poles and Israelis. The rivalry is not a good thing. Can a Righteous be a positive meeting point between two different narratives about the memory of World War II and the Holocaust? It is unfortunate that so far, we cannot provide a definite answer to this question. Let us hope that further research will lead us to a better knowledge on the narrative of the Righteous, both in Poland and Israel.

Translated by: Monika Eriksen

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<sup>460</sup> K. Gebert, *Najnowsze badania nt. Holokaustu w Polsce*, speech during the seminar for Polish teachers at the Conference House Wannsee in Berlin entitled, “Teaching about the Holocaust as a challenge to teaching - methodical questions and solutions”, Wannsee, 15-21.03.2015.

<sup>461</sup> M. Bilewicz, *op. cit.*

<sup>462</sup> Ch. S. Maier, *Gorąca pamięć...zimna pamięć. O połowicznym okresie rozpadu pamięci faszystwu i komunizmu*, „Res Publica Nowa”, June 2001.

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## Autopresentation

Erving Goffman, in his 1959 book *Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*<sup>463</sup> describes the man as a player or acrobat, proving, that through his behavior he is trying to consciously make a certain impression on other people. The title in the Polish language - *Człowiek w teatrze życia codziennego*, insists however, that the sociologist in his or her work uses theater terminology and metaphors to describe measures which a man undertakes in order to put on a „play” of presenting himself. This is because a sociologist upholds the thesis that states that the world resembles a theater stage, and man resembles an actor, and that our everyday should be seen as a spectacle or a pageant. The pageantry should be spoken of as a distinctive trait of our reality.

Pageantry can be determined, using Guy Debord's concepts in *Society of the Spectacle*<sup>464</sup>. In a book published in 1967, which - as noted in the afterword in the Polish edition by Anka Ptaszkowska - is a „total critique of modern society in all respects, and above all in terms of governing it illusion”<sup>465</sup>, the author states that „the whole life of societies” is a spectacle. Debord defined spectacle as a separate area, which „becomes a place of abuse glances and false consciousness”<sup>466</sup>. Spectacle, therefore, is what happens between human beings and what „is (...) a model of socially dominant life”<sup>467</sup>. Furthermore, Debord states that „the spectacle is affirmation of appearance and affirmation of the whole of human life, and therefore a seemingly life of a society”<sup>468</sup>. Social life presented in the form of a spectacle carries two consequences. The first is the fact that the spectacle subjugates people, making them actors of daily life, directing their behavior and treating it like a commodity, deftly manipulating what is, and what is regarded as real and true. In such a society, it is very easy to assign roles to people that are to discover themselves. Assigning specific functions to individuals is easier if these functions are sanctioned by myth, ritual or a statement summarizing social order and telling of organizing social structures.

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<sup>463</sup> E. Goffman, *Człowiek w teatrze życia codziennego*, Warszawa: Aletheia 2011.

<sup>464</sup> G. Debord, *Spoleczeństwo spektaklu oraz rozważania o społeczeństwie spektaklu*, Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy 2013.

<sup>465</sup> G. Debord, *Spoleczeństwo spektaklu oraz rozważania o społeczeństwie spektaklu*, Gdańsk: Słowo/obraz terytoria 1998, p. 113.

<sup>466</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 11.

<sup>467</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 12.

<sup>468</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 13.

The second consequence of the existence in *society of the spectacle* is the need to live in a reality in which the sense of sight is privileged. Debord points out that „the spectacle as an attempt to make one visible (...) finds in a vision (...) a privileged sense, which for people of other epochs was touch”. He defines the sense of sight as the one that causes loss of „reflection on their [people] work and their improvement of it”<sup>469</sup>. Dispassionate watching of reality, a display to show off, denies interpersonal dialogue, which becomes superfluous. It is only necessary to see something, without the need to subjecticate it.

The diagnosis of contemporary society for Debord turns out not only a manual research tool, which provides the appropriate language to describe a category of the spectacle, but may also provide the basis for analysis of postmodernism. Krzysztof Rutkowski, inspired by the work of Debord, continues his innovative considerations and ahead-of-our-time assessment of the impact of the media as a system of repression, examines postmodernism in the *Ostatni pasaż. Przepowieść o byciu byle-jaki*<sup>470</sup>. He expands the category of society of spectacle and supplements it with present-day remarks. He redefines it into the category of spectacle incarnate, showing that the sense of sight still reigns supreme, and the unit still performs certain social scenarios. Rutkowski defines the spectacle incarnate as societies' way of „being”, which use spectacles to confirm their domination over social units. A characteristic feature of the spectacle incarnate is the elimination of the difference between the actor and the audience, and the fact that the bare life is consequently showcased. The theorist says that in the culture of spectacle incarnate the most important is to show of oneself, and everything takes on values at a time when it is showcased. A similar approach is taken with regard to the concept of personality - it is built as a construct that should be showcased. „One is, who is shown” - says Rutkowski. Therefore, everyone wants to show off, in order to become exposed. The goal or effect of exposing is not important, even exhibitionism leading to exclusion has its value in the incarnated spectacle since it enables one's existence, becoming proof of being.

Man, as emphasizes Goffman, because like an actor who duplicates the scenario written by the culture of the time and place complemented by its own themes and scenes, and performs / plays his „I”. In a particular social situation, he plays a specific role. The author of *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* calls himself an explorer-dramatist and claims to explore human activities that are directed to portray a certain self-image. That self-expression sociologist interprets as a way to communicate. A person communicates to the other, who he is and what is in a particular situation, and what role he decides to play, what function he wants to perform. Goffman points out that everybody attempts to control the impression he produces on the other, their verbal and non-verbal behavior. At the same time everyone can protect their projection against demystification. But before we present ourselves, we must ourselves answer the

<sup>469</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 15.

<sup>470</sup> K. Rutkowski, *Ostatni pasaż. Przepowieść o byciu byle-jakim*, Gdańsk: słowo/obraz terytoria 2006.

question: Who am I? We need to define our identity. Self-identification will therefore always precede self-presentation.

Goffman writing about playing oneself, mentions some very important issues. He writes about the face to face interaction and defines it as „the mutual influence of individuals in the immediate physical presence of their proceedings”<sup>471</sup>. A sociologist emphasizes the fact that it is in the presence of another, but the same time thanks to the other that we define ourselves. It is in front of someone that we put on a mask. The subject of a mask is an issue that is raised by many artists and theorists. Each of them tries to define what a mask is, and why it is used in the era of post-modernity. Jozef Tischner, for example, the philosopher of dialogue, aptly observes that a meeting is based mostly on face to face relationship. The mask in his view, comes into the communication process. Tischner to determine what a face is, and what function it holds during a meeting chat, seeks inspiration in the works of other philosophers of dialogue, especially in the work of Emmanuel Lévinas. The first element of a face, which draws attention of the theologian, is its position. The author of *Philosophy of Drama*, quotes Lévinas which notes that „the face is exposed, threatened”<sup>472</sup>. Face is therefore, observed and evaluated based on appearance. Face, is describe by philosophers as a mirror of the soul, in the culture of privilege sense of sight, is bombard by critical gaze and the unit, to which this face belongs to is continually assessed and categorized based on a word or a facial grimace. Tischner using theological terms writes that the face is at the revelation or disclosure. And he adds that „epiphany of the face does not bring any knowledge in the ordinary sense of the word. What it brings is different - different as such, that is as truthful”<sup>473</sup>. The face understood by Tischner as a sign or mark, on the one hand, reminds us that all around us there are others, holders of different faces, and on the other hand, reminds that based on our image those others are trying to discover the truth about us. Thus the richer we become in this knowledge, the more we try to cover our true face, to transform the entire face into a mask, in order to have the ability to lie about ourselves, to perform the image of our „I”, which seems to be convenient in a specific social context. Tischner in the chapter entitled *Mask*, his book the *Philosophy of Dialogue: Introduction* attempts to define the protective layer of our face and define its role. He writes that „a mask, like a curtain, comes only with the advent of another man; alone it loses its meaning”<sup>474</sup>. And even then repeatedly reiterates that the mask on the other - „is for others and because of others - at least in the opinion of those who mask themselves”<sup>475</sup>. The mask, therefore, is this protective layer, which tries to hide the truth about the body and create an illusion of it. „By mask - explains Tischner - we then understand not so much the opposite of the truth, but rather the bringing to light some typical characteristics to show someone particularly

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<sup>471</sup> E. Goffman, *Człowiek w teatrze życia codziennego*, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

<sup>472</sup> J. Tischner, *Filozofia dramatu: wprowadzenie*, Kraków: Znak 2012, p. 29.

<sup>473</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 30.

<sup>474</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 63.

<sup>475</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 64.

qualities, whilst bypassing the rest"<sup>476</sup>, and the philosopher then further stresses that „the masks are demanded by social life itself"<sup>477</sup>.

At the end of the aforementioned chapter, Tischner wonders what is the subject of the mask. He searches for answers by looking at the theories propounded by various philosophers from Marx to Deleuze, but does not find them. At the end, he extends only to a series of questions and suppositions.

The discovery that the second assumed the mask stimulates questions about the truth: who is he? Who is he really? But also: what does the word *truth* mean?

It would seem that the truth is something that is hidden beyond the mask, so it opposite. However, it also says that mask covers the lack of face. (...)

When we are confronted with a mask, we cannot ask about the face. We are looking for somewhere outside face masks. We are looking, the way we would be looking for the truth. What is truth conceived as a face?

The face hides something perfect, and everything that is perfect, can be given either directly - it then awakens admiration and commitment, or either by its opposite. (...) The crux of the matter lies in the fact that face is, that for the one masking his own face may be the only such ideality, he seeks for himself<sup>478</sup>.

The mask, according to Tischner, turns out to be the top layer, beneath which hides the true „I” and which is involved in the communication process. Tischner, whose theses are close to the philosophy of Goffman says that it is the entity who is responsible for worn a mask. He generates the external image of his „I” that allows it efficient communication based on interaction. This individual subject performs its true countenance, or covers the real „I” in order to achieve his goal, which is to make contact with another human beings. Meanwhile, the Slovenian philosopher, Slavoj Žižek<sup>479</sup>, argues that the mask is an image imposed upon the individual by society. The external image is performed by the cultural requirements in such a way that the „I” unit was contained in a behavioral-identity scenario of a society. For the real „I” is unknown and uninteresting for the culture, but hidden under the hood. While for Tischner is the subject-unit who performs an image of itself, for Žižek this unit gained the status of objective, since the image was imposed to him or her by the entity-culture of the time and place. And the unit is obliged to perform that particular image of its „I”, which is contained within social requirements. While Judith Butler<sup>480</sup>, offers another interpretation of the mask which views the mask as a secondary effect of the performing act. Butler denies the traditional opposition of subject-object, since „I” in this approach does not take part in the communication process and is only an illusion, an artifact, plays a role within the social spectacle. Butler explores the issue of masks and everyday behavior in the context of the performing acts. She describes the daily reality as posed by language, gestures and symbolic signs of social self-presentation and is seen as a stylized repetition of

<sup>476</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 63.

<sup>477</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 64.

<sup>478</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 67.

<sup>479</sup> S. Žižek, *Patrząc z ukosa. Do Lacana przez kulturę popularną*, Warszawa: KR 2003.

<sup>480</sup> J. Butler, *Akty performatywne a konstrukcja płci kulturowej*, [in:] *Lektury inności. Antologia*, eds. M. Dąbrowski, R. Pruszczyński, Warszawa: Elipsa 2007.

performed acts, playing some culturally imposed roles in which society believes as truth, as well as the audience-performer himself. And it is performative acts or the playing of the stereotypical characteristics of a specific situational context, repeating gestures, behaviors, use of language, defined by culture as the distinctive and relevant to a given individual living in a particular time and place, are the ones that define representational cultural identity. Butler, however, sees a theatrical sense of the performative act. This duplication of patterns or stereotypes builds common, namely human experience, and creates collective action. The given operators take on certain cultural significance and are by culture - thanks to their mimetic game, identifiable and definable.

In the context of the acts, which in terms of presentation of reality is real and determined. „I” for Butler takes on two meanings: an external entity as an originator of social discourse and an internal idea - a form of fabricating the essence of the human being. While the internal „I” is indescribable, unknown, unrecognized for society. As with Žižek, it is „something” that cannot be described by a language, because language also remains a part of the performing acts. The internal „I” is performative, since it is not created or recognized by action, nor duplicated. It has nothing to do with the Goffman’s “I”, which takes on and changes roles within a social game, because it does not take part in performing acts. Applying Žižek<sup>481</sup> and Butler’s theories, we can conclude that the mask is the only culturally acceptable form of presenting its image of „I”, and is therefore a part of human identity. A man constantly in situations of interaction and meetings with others plays a role of a character, reproducing certain stereotypes in order to be recognized and understood. What is under the mask, which depends only on the individual and can only be modified by it, defies description.

Depending on what image of itself an entity wants to perform, what mask is put on, will depend consequently how it will be interpreted by the public and determining what role it will play. Furthermore, it is worth quoting a definition given by Goffman, which will serve us later in this paper in order to describe self-presentation. The presenting of one’s own „I”, Goffman defines as performance, or an act.

Performance is „any activity of a given interaction participant, used in some way of exerting influence of any kind on the other participants”.

Source: E. Goffman, *Człowiek w teatrze życia codziennego*, Warszawa: Aletheia 2011, p. 52.

In much the same way as the author of *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, others define self-presentation. The presentation of self is referred to as public behavior, the aim of which is to make a particular impression on others (*impression management*). Andrzej Szmałajka, a psychologist, in his book *Samoutrudnienie jako sposób autoprezentacji (Self-handicapping as a way of self-presentation)*, defines the art of self-performance as follows:

Self-presentation is based upon undertaking of activities aimed at „image im-

<sup>481</sup> S. Žižek, *Patrząc z ukosa. Do Lacana przez kulturę popularną*, Warszawa: KR 2003. See: *The Žižek Reader*, eds. E. Wright, E. Wright, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers 1999.

pression" exerted on the interaction partner, in order through which to control the partner's reaction about ourselves<sup>482</sup>.

Szmajke, like Goffman, emphasizes that in order for self-presentation to take place, there has to be a recipient of this action. Goffman of that observer or participant of a performative act calls the audience, writing that he is the reason for the performances<sup>483</sup>. There are several types of audience. It is necessary to mention the interactive type, which is the kind of audience which may be fictional or imagined during the preparation of the show. Another kind of audience is the internalized audience, which describes those that help the unit in self-identification, usually means people that play an important role in the life of a man - real or fictional. An important type of viewer is the subjective „I" unit, which undertakes self-identification. Before a specific audiences man, according to Goffman, plays a particular role, otherwise known as key part of the program. He therefore plays a determined scenario understood as a model for action „manifested during the show, but that could also be applied on other occasions"<sup>484</sup>. Szmajke categorizes the audience differently. He describes it as *self-as-audience*, or I as the audience; *immediate others-as-audience*, or significant others as audience; and others symbolically represented as the auditorium, referring to them as *imagined others-as-audience*. The first of these is associated with the process of self-identification, which is defined as „actions, thoughts and effects of showing / creation (disclosure) of oneself, as a certain type of person; exploration and creation of one's own identity"<sup>485</sup>.

Goffman points out that, during performative action a person tries to make a certain impression on the viewer. It is important that spectator does not realize until the end, the fact that the actor only plays in front of him, and believe in what he is being shown. The author of *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* lists the essential elements and characteristics of our daily performances. At the beginning he notes, that the first meaning of the word persona is mask. A mask is understood here as the role that person plays in the „theater of everyday life", but also as „I" as a man, which he would like to be. This „I" that a person knowingly or unknowingly plays during daily performances. A mask is also an element of the facade, through which the word "I" is recreated. Thus, façade according to Goffman's theory is inseparable from the evaluative gaze, criticizing, subordinating a man to specific categories. Included therein should be: decoration and props, superficiality and way of being. The author of *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* claims that there are different types of facades. He lists, among other things social façade, or a set of abstracted features which are subordinated to stereotypical collective imagination. And further analyzing of social methods for controlling the expression of one's own „I", focuses on a custom mask,

<sup>482</sup> A. Szmajke, *Samoutrudnianie jako sposób autoprezentacji: czy rzucanie kłód pod własne nogi jest skuteczną metodą wywierania korzystnego wrażenia na innych?*, Warszawa: Instytut Psychologii PAN 1996, p. 25.

<sup>483</sup> E. Goffman, *Człowiek w teatrze życia codziennego*, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

<sup>484</sup> A. Szmajke, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

<sup>485</sup> A. Szmajke, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

which is the external image of „I”, subjected to societal needs characteristic for specific time and geographical region.

During a show the actor must constantly control the expression so as not to commit any blunders, playing a character in an authenticated manner and control the involuntary gestures that might betray him, keeping an emotional distance towards his role and the audience.

## Self-identification

Goffman writes that „the public has a substantial interest in keeping the show”<sup>486</sup>. It seems that the most difficult type of audience is subjective, personal, very own „I”, because it is most difficult to define ourselves in front of ourselves. However, to be able to talk about self-presentation, which is treated as a representation of ourselves in the public sphere, the process of self-identification must first take place in private space. Self-identification is an attempt to answer the question about the identity of the „I”, which is defined based on the characteristics and experiences of „I”, as well as the cultural, social and national context, in which the word „I” has and still resides.

This subjective „I” Ken Wilber calls, the inner „I”. In the book *Grace and Grit: Spirituality and Healing in the Life of Treya Killam Wilber*, he illustrates the construction and scenarios in the search for inner hidden „I”. What is important in the trans-psychologist’s considerations from the perspective of identity building, is the fact that he sees in the identity of each individual internal other, which must be overcome or that needs to be tamed. He also mentions that crisis situation such as disease, stress, surrender to the passions or other emotions, triggers the human need for self-identification, the desire to find a real „ego”. Wilber believes that the human personality is made up of two different „ego”. From the small „I” – the objective - and with internal subjective „I”. The first one is defined as „a collection of mind objects, concepts, symbols and images with which we identify”<sup>487</sup>. These are the feelings, thoughts, beliefs that we feel and confess in various stages of our lives. Wilber believes that – on the way of our development, during the evolution of consciousness from the material realm, through the physical and mental realm, up to the level of the soul, and finally to spirituality – the small „ego” with which we identify, is constantly changing. And so with adolescence and emotional development, our views, feelings, desires, and thoughts also are changing. In different phases of our lives and, thus, at different levels of our consciousness, we believe in something else, something else becomes our Primary, we dream something else, we think about something else. But at the same time we still feel that we are who we are. We have a sense of continuity of our existence. And just this stability Wilber calls a subjective „I”. He says that internal viewer identifies

<sup>486</sup> E. Goffman, *Człowiek w teatrze życia codziennego*, op. cit., p. 259.

<sup>487</sup> K. Wilber, *Śmiertelni nieśmiertelni. Prawdziwa opowieść o życiu, miłości, cierpieniu, umieraniu i wyzwoleniu*, Warszawa: Czarna Owca dawniej Jacek Santorski & Co. 2007, p. 123.

with successive small „ego” - the material, then the bodily, mental up until spiritual, but at the same time it does not change, and identifies also with the roles that we play in specific social situations. It has witnessed changes, but does not yield to them, but rather serves as a companion. Internal, the transpersonal „I” is not dependent on time, nor on the form. Wilber’s theory says that to find one’s identity and define one’s own „I”, one should distance oneself from the small „I”, adapting to the demands of the moment, and find permanent elements of oneself.

The newest method of self-identification, or defining it on the basis of dialogue with one’s own internal subjective viewer, is called kokology. This is a discipline in personality psychology, which on the basis of tests allows for a deeper understanding of oneself. It appeared at the end of the twentieth century in Japan. The name consists of the Japanese words *kokoro* (spirit, mind, feeling) and the Greek word *logos* (thought, science), i.e. it is a science about the state of our spirit, about the inner „I”, our feelings. This method of self-identification is based on entertainment - was in fact created by a professor of psychology (Isamu Saito) and TV producer (Tadahiko Nagao) - and involves solving tests called kokological, which should be supported through multimedia (video, charts, drama, music, etc.). According to Julia Coto, a Spanish journalist and writer, author of the book *Know thyself*<sup>488</sup>, kokological tests „allow you to talk openly about issues that, foster a shell of seriousness or are expressed in a complicated manner, may even prove to be a hotbed of conflict”<sup>489</sup>. The tests allow the discovery of not only our character, the internal „I”, but also allow us to understand our behavior, to think about ways we can be a more confident person, and how to manage people. This, as the book’s Internet reviewers have written, is „great fun and an introduction to make changes”<sup>490</sup>.

Kokology finally allows, what Morris Rosenberg in his 1979 work *Conceiving the self*, calls *committed image*, or the engaged image of „I”, and who defines it as the unit’s desire of what type of person he would like to be, taking into account its limitations. And it usually this *committed image* that is typically performed to external audiences. That image will always be adapted to the particular social situation, therefore, it will be a subordinated to social rituals.

## Social rituals and stereotypes

It has been noted that we behave differently in public, and different in private settings. Elizabeth Stojanowska calls this concern of public image of the „I”, a social attribute of human behavior. Our public behaviorism is very significant, because it is a „binding system of signs and meanings,” which allows for mutual understanding and communication. The behavior is observed always in a specific time and space, and is adjusted according to time, place and context. Each behavior is accompanied by a spe-

<sup>488</sup> The work, *Poznaj siebie* is the only book in the Polish language dealing with the concept of kokology.

<sup>489</sup> J. Coto, *Poznaj siebie, 60 testów osobowości*, Warszawa: Świat książki 2008, p. 16.

<sup>490</sup> [http://www.kdc.pl/produkt/0/0/157314/Poznaj\\_siebie.html](http://www.kdc.pl/produkt/0/0/157314/Poznaj_siebie.html) (accessed: 18.08.2008).

cific attitude that should be identified as „acquired and systematic predisposition of behavior toward certain subjects that surround our world”. Coto says that attitudes are „tendencies, propensities to behave in certain, specific way, acquired in a social environment”<sup>491</sup>. The attitude is characterized by: polarized sensitivity (emotional charge that accompanies the attitude: acceptance, rejection, or both), orientation (directed towards a specific object) and the fact that the attitude is acquired, or learned in the process of interacting with people, and that is permanent - constant, although it may be modified by external influences. Each attitude also includes a cognitive component<sup>492</sup>, which is based on the belief or the information that we collect in a social environment. The last features of attitudes and their cognitive components testify to the fact that our behavior and, therefore, self-presentation, are subordinated to social rituals and stereotypes.

Each form of self-presentation is a message - an attempt to present ourselves and communicate to the other person, how he or she should perceive us. In this sense, self-presentation as an act of performing of ourselves is a ritual. As pointed out by Catherine Herriger, a psychologist and author of *Komunikacja bez słów (Communication without words)*, the ritual is a message. Erving Goffman in his book devoted to interactive rituals shows social life as organized by ritual and around it. „Any public society, in order to be a society - he writes - must appoint its members to be self-controlling participants of meetings. One of the ways to mobilize individuals to this task is the ritual - it teaches perception, emotional attachment to one's own image, to express one's << I >> through face expressions, pride, honor and dignity, concern for others, tact and a certain ability to maintain composure. These are the elements of behavior that needs to be implemented to an individual unit, in order to retain its use as a participant of an interaction, and the concerns stems largely about them, when referring to universal human nature”<sup>493</sup>. A sociologist describes social life and regulation governing it, as those which are replicated, celebrated and performed similar to religious rituals.

Herriger describes three levels of effective communication. The lowest level of the pyramidal construction is the level of information, which contains mostly text. Another segment is the descriptive level, and therefore illustration, which includes tone of voice, gestures, facial expressions, body language. Goffman would call this part, the facade. The last level - the level of ties - is a ritual. Self-presentation is a message fulfilling all segments of the pyramidal construction - it contains a specific message: ‚I am’, complemented by appropriate behavior, pose, dress, and attitude and firmly inherent in the ritual. If we would define ritual as does Herriger, as „a clear and authoritative warrant of a person from the outside to, in a clearly defined way, perform”<sup>494</sup> a specific action, so that every self-performing act can be described as a ritual. For our behavior is always adapted to the particular social situation and culture. Any self-presenting behavior will also be like a ritual, seeking to awaken positive emotions of the

<sup>491</sup> J. Coto, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

<sup>492</sup> Attitude also includes an emotional component, normative and behavior.

<sup>493</sup> E. Goffman, *Rytuał interakcyjny*, Warszawa: PWN 2012, p. 45.

<sup>494</sup> C. Herriger, *Komunikacja bez słów. Rytuały społeczne*, Wrocław: Astrum 1997, p. 30.

speaker, or will lead to the change of people's negative attitudes towards ourselves into positive, the aim will be communication and establishing of contact.

We will analyze a situation dealing with the act of shaking hands when greeting - a ritual gesture, which is read as ritual, can be one of the forms of self-presentation. A handshake in many cultures is a ritual of greetings and farewells, but also a seal of agreement and congratulations. An open hand signifies an attitude of fairness and peace, so when a person is the first to extend a hand towards someone else's hand, this person is generally read as very positive and friendly, enlightened and open. Gently clutching someone's hand, we prove that we are strong and decisive, able to defend our case. Engaging in eye contact, we show that we respect a person and that we respect others, although we remain detached and bodily contact is limited, therefore we do not familiarize with strangers and keep a certain distance. A handshake is a gesture signaling both, a beginning and the end of a conversation. An opening ritual of a situation and often an examination of it during the meeting is an exchange of pleasantries, a casual conversation on a loose subject matter. Each meeting begins with the casual banter that is completed the first ritual delimitation - a pause, which includes the opportunity to rest, propose refreshments, etc. Only then it comes down to a concrete conversation, when we present ourselves through words, gestures and attitudes. Each conversation takes place, but according to a predetermined scenario - in fact it consists of an introduction (start of the topic based on the ritual examination of the situation), the explication and completion. After a punchline, the second ritual of demarcation takes place, which aims to make sure that our position is clear, and whether there should be something to supplement, interpret, explain, clarify, or correct. The last part of the conversation is a ritual ending, or the exchange of pleasantries and a good-bye. A person who knows this scenario and can present himself within this framework is seen as a cultural, confident but polite.

The above scenario is accompanied by all negotiations and presentations. Those situations that have been successful, must proceed in stages and consist of: the ritual presentation, otherwise known as the ritual of impressing, a ritual of acquisition, and a ritual of studying or assessing the situation, followed by a ritual of conclusion. In the case of self-presentation, it means the representing of a desired self-image. But in order to do so, one must recognize what behaviors and characteristics are subject to the evaluation of others, and which ones are approved by a given culture and environment. What is positively evaluated by culture and what is expected of a person in a particular social situation, is subject to stereotypes. According to Roland Barthes, a researcher of bourgeois culture, called by many „the hunter of myths”, it is the stereotypes that govern the behavior of modern man. Barthes called the stereotypes, modern myths. In this way it contributes to the development of extensive research on the functioning of stereotypes and the questioning of vital roles that each of us plays. He claims that the stereotype builds community. He points out that in the modern world there is no way to escape stereotypes. All attempts at an exit, turn out to be just as stereotypical as the stereotype from which we wish to be free. However, the existence of stereotype-ideology

Barthes does not evaluate in a negative light, because they build harmony in society.

Elżbieta Stojanowska in the article, *Stereotypy oraz tożsamość jednostki jako wyznaczniki autoprezentacji* (*Stereotypes and identity of the individual as determinants of self-presentation*) argues that „we all use stereotypes (...) also for social reasons (...) and cognitive laziness”<sup>495</sup>. She also notes that we also use *auto-stereotypes* or ideas about the group to which we belong or want to belong, and duplicate some clichés, in order to be well read out and / or accepted. This happens because the stereotypes, Stojanowska further states, „reflect the fruit of the evolutionary adaptation of primitive man, his brain and psychosocial skills that increase his chances of survival and upbringing of children”<sup>496</sup>.

## Types of Self-Presentation

Edward E. Jones in the work entitled, *Interpersonal perception*, written in the nineties calls the phenomenon of self-presentation as flattering and says, that we try to manage impression on others, but we are rewarded for making a good impression<sup>497</sup>. There is probably not a single person in the world who does not care about how others perceive him or her. Stojanowska noted in her article *Zainteresowanie jednostki społeczną oceną*, that interest is „rarely only a cognitive need, related to the search for accurate information about ourselves. Most often it is closely associated with the need for a positive assessment from the others, the so-called selfish motivation, aimed at building and maintaining a positive self-image. In psychology, it is accepted to talk about the need for social approval”<sup>498</sup>. Thus, consciously controlling one’s own behavior is seen as one of the automatic behaviors. Perhaps that is why we pay attention to what others think of us, as a man already from primitive times - its development and evolution - depends on other people and is connected with others. Scientific studies indicate that it is thanks to the co-habitation with others, that we live longer. Instinctively we want to belong to a group and identify with it. The sense of community gives us strength and security.

The aim of self-presentation is not only the management of impressions, but above all the ability to control the reactions of others towards ourselves, and controlling power relations in an attempt to supervise the environment and its views<sup>499</sup>, secure a positive emotion of society, such as approval, respect, submission, support, trust, the proving of own power and value, the management of social impression, protection and increase self-esteem, as well as controlling of self- image in front of ourselves. The aim of the act of perforating oneself is easily recognizable and decrypted. Research shows

<sup>495</sup> E. Stojanowska, *Stereotypy oraz tożsamość jednostki jako wyznaczniki autoprezentacji oraz ocen społecznych*, [in:] *Możliwości i ograniczenia w kreowaniu własnej atrakcyjności interpersonalnej*, ed. eadem, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Akademii Pedagogiki Specjalnej 2002, p. 77.

<sup>496</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 77.

<sup>497</sup> E.E. Jones, *Interpersonal perception*, Nowy Jork: W H Freeman & Co 1990, p. 65.

<sup>498</sup> E. Stojanowska, *Zainteresowanie jednostki społeczną oceną. Źródła i konsekwencje*, [in:] *Możliwości i ograniczenia w kreowaniu własnej atrakcyjności interpersonalnej*, ed. eadem, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Akademii Pedagogiki Specjalnej 2002, p. 9.

<sup>499</sup> Self-presentation is described even as a technique of social influence.

that 35% of eight-year olds and more than 70% of eleven-year olds can effectively and accurately identify the behavior motives behind self-presentation, although, or perhaps due to the fact that the kids belonged to a group of an impartial observer.

Thus, self-presentation is a performative action that supports or modifies the existing self-assessment and evaluation of society, involving building of a reliable image of our „I” and then controlling this image. Szmajke mentions two kinds of approaches to self-presentation:

- A limited approach, when the self-presentation occurs in specific, negative, unpleasant conditions for the „I” and the act of perforating oneself is undertaken by individuals with a high need for approval - self-presentation that „involves creating appearances, misleading or simply cheating”<sup>500</sup>.
- Expansive approach when creating the self-image is seen as a characteristic of all behaviors and social relations, and the world is seen on the principles of *theatrum mundi*. Auto-presentation then is assessed as a condition of effective interaction, a way of disclosing of information about ourselves and the information as true.

The types of self-presentation include altruistic behavior, the strength succumbing to persuasion –in order to make an impression of being an intelligent person, one should be less subject to the force of persuasion and defend less one’s reasons; however, to be able to impress a sympathetic person, one should be more susceptible to persuasion of others-, conformity, an way to define one’s actions, behaviors and attitudes. An intermediate type of play and perforating the self-image of „I” is also drawing and highlighting connections with others - better known and more respected, according to our assessment, with which it is worth being identified - is the so-called self-presentation by association. Those who present themselves in this way are usually more easily remembered. This form of self-presentation is also referred to as compensated self, because the unit that wants to be seen by others through the prism of the successes, automatically belongs to the group of people who do not succeed. In this way, an individual unit presents itself as a person with low self-esteem. Many actions and declarations, just like self-presentation through association, is not seen as being auto-presentative. Meanwhile, most of our behavior testifies about us. One type of self-presentation is also a declaration to vote.

There are many ways and schools qualifying measures to reform the „I”. Grażyna Królik in the study entitled *Autoprezentacja (Self-presentation)* focuses on several techniques to control the process of perception of the „I” by others. She lists:

- Technique of integration - impressing others by falling into good grace of the interlocutor, highlighting one’s attractiveness and passing false information about oneself, pretending to agree with him or her. This technique implied spontaneously is assessed as the act of ‘sucking up to’. Those who choose to perform themselves in this

<sup>500</sup> A. Szmajke, *Samoutrudnianie jako sposób autoprezentacji: czy rzucanie kłód pod własne nogi jest skuteczną metodą wywierania korzystnego wrażenia na innych?*, Warszawa: Instytut Psychologii PAN 1996, p. 29.

way are categorized as: boaster, toady, a person timid, humble or modest, insecure and passive. The most important drawbacks are that the fact that „I” sacrifices its initiative and conforms to the converser.

- Technique of intimidation - is an attempt to arouse in the converser, which seems to be a weak person, fear or uncertainty.
- Technique of exemplification – it is shining as an example, a performing of an image of a person characterized by moral virtues (honesty, integrity, generosity), and only qualities (conscientiousness, loyalty, dedication). Among the disadvantages of this technique, Królik includes the fact that the person may be seen as sanctimonious, enforcing of shaded qualities and inconsistent individuals may be alleged of hypocrisy.
- Technique of supplication - adopting an imploring attitude, pretending to be a helpless person, hopeless, powerless, and reliant to encourage the converser to offer compassion, support, assistance and thereby obtaining one’s goal. People using this technique are aware of social norms and base their action on the principle of collective responsibility, which requires people to offer help.
- Technique of promotion – the performing of a competent „I”, showing off skills, activity and reliability. This technique is most often applied by a Machiavellian unit, which deliberately presents false self-image.

All the techniques that Królik lists, boils down to two types of self-presentation: to focus the conversation on „I” (*self-focused*), or the use of so-called self-promotion, and focusing on the converser (*other focused*) - used in case the techniques of integration, supplication or exemplification.

Another more meticulous characterization is proposed by Elżbieta Stojanowska, in her work entitled, *Opisywanie siebie w warunkach autoprezentacji oraz prywatnie (Describing oneself in terms of self-presentation and in private)*.

The author divides the presentation styles

1. because of the attitudes towards self-presentation
  - a. assertive stance - which are applied by a confident person with a positive self-assessment, defining the process of self-performance as an opportunity and tool to meet specific targets. An assertive way of presenting oneself is showcasing one’s capabilities and defending a positive image of the „I”. This type self-performance is distinct and clearly a positive form of gaining societal acceptance by the environment and building a sustainable, positive reputation of the „I”. As part of this attitude Stojanowska lists several of its types:

I. ingratiation – a type of strategic behavior that relies on manipulating the impressions of other people. The person using this type of self-presentation is trying to increase its attractiveness and performs a false image of „I”. Such tactics, knowingly lying about oneself is aimed at a specific profit/gain and tangible benefits. This type

of activities include: bragging about the converser and about oneself, and conformity;

- II. exemplification - a method consisting of controlling the behavior of other people
- III. intimidation - method consisting of controlling the behavior of other people
- IV. asking of supplication - method consisting of controlling the behavior of other people

V. self-promotion - the type of behavior whose goal is not so much to arouse sympathy, but to present one's „I” as a competent, intelligent, and qualified. The self-promoting activities should describe one's achievements, showing concrete examples of one's strengths

VI. taking credit (entitlements and enhancements)

b. defensive patterns - used when the units expects a pejorative assessment of the „I” from the environment and consisting of avoiding confrontation with the negative assessment. Avoiding as a defensive technique can have both, a physical and psychological dimension (questioning the credibility of the assessment, drinking alcohol, taking drugs, etc.). As part of this tactic, the following stands out:

I. Self-explanation (accounts) – used following a behavior that violated the desired image of „I”

a. acquittal (excuse) - a reference to unintentional causes (accident, mistake, malaise)

b. justification - a reference to important supplemental reasons for one's behavior

II. self-handicapping - anticipatory potential threat. Type of self-presentation in order to lower the effort involved in implementing a particular purpose, excessive nervousness and anxiety, which lowers efficiency, drug abuse, alcohol, etc.

III. apologies - consisting of expressing remorse, willingness to improve and taking the blame for the negative assessment of „I”. This type of self-presentation is a kind of declaration of one's lesser value

IV. pro-social behavior - an attempt at self-rehabilitation

V. avoiding negative evaluations of one's own „I”

2. because of the long-term effect the objectives pursued:

- a. tactics
- b. strategies

3. due to the degree of taking under account the expectations and own preferences:

a. conformist forms – self-performance on the basis of expectations and social stereotypes

b. active forms - creating the image of „I” independent of needs and social stereotypes

4. due to the degree of conformity to the contents disclosed regarding the „I” in relation to internal beliefs:

a. authentic self-presentation – such a performance of the image of „I”, which

is in line with the internal definition of „I”

b. self-presentation facade - idealization of self, perfuming the image of the ideal of „I”

c. tactical self-presentation - variable form of self-presentation, which consists of matching elements presented from the image of „I” to the expectations of the audience of a given time and a given place.

Andrzej Szmajke proposes an easier division:

- Self-presentation realized directly - „focusing attention of the observer on the exemplary properties of the scheme of qualities, of which the self-presenter wants to convince his partner during an interaction, or the exemplary schematic characteristics (category), to which he would like to be included, and „through” which he would like to be categorized and thus perceived”<sup>501</sup>. People using this kind of self-presentation, in order to be clear and well understood, perform those features which, according to stereotypes and social habits belong such categories of persons, among which the unit wants to be counted. They are aware of any patterns, types of categorization but also based on objective information, the converser’s emotions, and exemplary behavior. It is important to mobilize in the mind of the converser, a particular image of the „I” - an image that „I” chooses as a representative of itself;
- Self-presentation realized indirectly - the most important dimension of this self-presentation is called self-handicapping which „consists of introducing an inhibitor of success in the structure of a causal event”. Typically, the subject of self-presenting aspirations of people using self-handicapping is to create a favorable impression on their competencies”<sup>502</sup>. Self-handicapping as a form of self-promotion aims to perform of an image of the „I” as being competent, efficient and effective. Self-handicapping techniques include, among other things: drinking alcohol, making noise, inappropriate behavior in a situation, self-degradation, and depression. Such actions sometimes result from fear, sometimes from a desire to modify a well-trodden path or stereotype. The person using this technique assumes that the observer has already inquired about „I” and crystallized a stable image of himself. This unit is trying to persuade the other party to guide itself first and foremost by this information, and pay attention to the results that can be achieved in cooperation with the „I” rather than on the person and tactics of the „I”. During this tactic, the role of the inhibitor can be: appropriate behavior, generating the „I” of specific emotions and motivation (weakness, anxiety, hypochondria, and tension), creating „biased representation of the causal structure of events” (overestimation of difficulties)<sup>503</sup>. Self-handicapping is also seen as one of the forms to justify failures. Andrzej Szmajke mentions two levels of the effectiveness of indirect self-presentation. He talks about: the effectiveness of managing an impression - forming favorable opinion on the specific talents of „I” applying

<sup>501</sup> A. Szmajke, *op.cit.*, p. 44.

<sup>502</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 45.

<sup>503</sup> A. Szmajke, *op.cit.*, p. 51.

self-handicapping, and highlighting the positive results of this type of self-performance - and the effectiveness of behavior management that involves formulating favorable results, with an emphasis on beneficial decisions and the presentation of the „I” as capable and more talented than the unit, who does not incorporate self-handicapping.

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## What is public speaking

“All the world’s a stage, and all the men and women merely players” William Shakespeare

“You cannot not communicate” Paul Watzlawick, School of Palo Alto

Public speaking in front of an audience has been a part of social life for centuries, but at the present time - thanks to the application of technologies and the advent of technological applications it clearly becomes an essential element of presenting oneself, ideas and information concerning the surrounding world – aimed at communicating with the environment. It seems that public presentations must be interpreted broadly - they can have different forms, their application is not limited to selected areas. Presentations are implemented in education, professional life - business, politics, and the scientific world as well as in every field of social activity where a need exists for a well-structured presentation of information. The phenomenon of public speaking can also be analyzed from a multidisciplinary perspective - mainly psychological (e.g. cognitive psychology, social psychology, communication psychology, personality psychology), but also sociological and from a perspective of linguistics and technology.

In the past, before the era of advanced information technology, public presentations had a slightly different dimension.

The art of rhetoric – a way of clear, well-structured and reaching the audience presentation of somebody’s own thoughts.

The art of rhetoric played a fundamental role in creating modern civilization, influencing, at first in the Western European tradition, the development of democracy, civil rights, standards of its protection and directly leading to the formation of civil society.

Civil society - individuals are aware of their rights and duties - performed for the good of the community.

In modern times, in our cultural circle, the art of rhetoric perfected by the ancients is still present in the social sphere, and its classical elements are especially visible on the political scene, for example in the courtroom. Freedom of expression is a fundamental right guaranteed by the constitutions of the given states. However,

compared to the citizens of Greek polis, due to technological development, rapid social change and the processes of globalization, we are engulfed in a flood of information. A living requirement in the information society is therefore the efficient selection of information, its effective processing and transfer to potential recipients in accordance with its intended purpose.

In addition, public speaking is usually supported by multimedia tools which gives this phenomenon a new dimension and emphasizes a number of new elements previously absent in presentations. The use of media, in addition to its attractive visual facility that exerts a positive influence on the quality of assimilation and content retention by the audience, also creates a wider access to the audience. It creates a situation where a presenter does not transmit content directly to recipients and has no ability to control his speech by analyzing the reaction of the audience. His communication, as well as 'operational' dependency on media and technical equipment is therefore - apart from the resulting benefits, a kind of nuisance.

It seems that scholars have long denied any scientific approach to the problem, leaving the subject to popular business manuals - because of its practical meaning mainly in the field of commerce and services<sup>504</sup>. This is not a hindrance however, to make the following observations that seems to concern the phenomenon of public presentation regardless of its context and application.

### Public speaking as a communication

According to researchers from the American school in Palo Alto, such as Edward Hall or Paul Watzlawick<sup>505</sup>, everything is communication. This observation is particularly important in the context of public presentation during which we have to deal with bilateral and interdependent system of interaction between the sender and the recipient of the message. Each element of the presentation - its content, form, presenter's behavior and the reaction of the audience is the message with its own meaning. Therefore, a skillful presentation is not easy and requires the ability to simultaneously control a large array of factors.

Speaking about the most 'technical' aspect of public speaking in terms of message sending, we can look at presentation according to the assumptions of the model of information transfer<sup>506</sup>. Communication is perceived here as the process of transferring specific content (message/ information) by a sender to a recipient that is done with the use of a channel selected by the presenter (words directly addressed to the

<sup>504</sup> M. Leary, *Wyrwieranie wrażenia na innych. O sztuce autoprezentacji*, Gdańsk: GWP 1999, p. 21-22.

<sup>505</sup> M. Pankiewicz, *Style komunikacji a preferencje wartości uczniów zdolnych*, „Studia z Psychologii w KUL”, vol. 14, p. 40.

<sup>506</sup> K. Korzec, *Jak Cię widzą? Pamięć i postawa publiczności wobec prezentacji zakłóconej wpadką autoprezentacyjną mówcy*, Unpublished master's thesis IPs Jagiellonian University, Kraków 2008, p. 3 (the author refers to the research of S.P. Morreale, B.H. Spitzberg, J.K. Barge, *Komunikacja między ludźmi. Motywacja, wiedza, umiejętności*, Warszawa: PWN 2007).

audience, medium). All elements of the transfer: sender, message, channel recipient are equally important; a disruption to this process ('noise') may occur independently of the presenter (e.g. a cough, a broken projector) and distort the message.

The analysis of the information transfer through a communication channel needs to emphasize several mechanisms of interest to cognitive psychologists who study the processing of information by the human mind. According to the assumptions outlined in the theories of cognition, beyond the aforementioned transfer problems, reception of the message by the audience also depends on the level of attention a presenter is given. Due to people's limited capacity of conscious processing of information, they must make a selection of registered and processed stimuli. Studies regarding television broadcasts illustrated that the optimal message (the best coded information) occurs while presenting material is neither tedious nor saturated with content. In addition, researchers report that an effective message should be presented without using notes (but with the support of visualizations) and shall include a plan and structure of the speech, with short, clear and well-articulated phrases<sup>507</sup>.

In the context of attracting and maintaining the audience's attention, researchers indicate the presenter should take into account the characteristics of recipients<sup>508</sup>. The main issue is to see to what extent are listeners familiar with the presented topic and adjust the precision and rhythm of speech to their expectations and the level of their knowledge. It is also important to make sure whether the content is understandable or needs to be repeated. This approach allows the audience to process the information. After coding, this is the next step of information transformation. It is important the recipient processes the sensory stimuli comprehensively - as a condition for the inclusion of the communicated information to the existing knowledge schemes<sup>509</sup>. Psychologists refer to this as 'deep processing'.

The next step towards an effective presentation is the memorization of the speech content by the audience. Information well encoded in the mind is more likely to be longer retained in the recipients' memory (the memory function here is to store the content of the message) and appropriately recalled in the future (the memory function is to recall) - we have to assume these are the objectives of an effective presenter. Researchers warn however that these tasks do not need to be achieved if the above information processing steps are not fully realized. Subsequently, the audience - what is already visible during the presentation - can experience the so-called state of absent-mindedness.

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<sup>507</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 25 - 26 (the author refers to the research of S.P. Morreale, B.H. Spitzberg, J.K. Barge, *op. cit.*; M.E. Grabe, A. Lange, X. Zhao, *News Content and Form: Implications for Memory and Audience Evaluations*, "Communication Research" vol. 3/2003).

<sup>508</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 26 (the author refers to the research of W.S. Hotron, R.J. Gerrig, *The impact of memory demands on audience design during language production*, "Cognition" vol. 96/2005).

<sup>509</sup> E. Nęcka, J. Orzechowski, B. Szymura, *Psychologia poznawcza*, Warszawa: PWN 2007, p. 377 i et seq.

Absent-mindedness - relies on superficial processing of stimuli and expresses a tendency to quickly forget the information.

It relies on superficial processing of stimuli and expresses a tendency to quickly forget the information<sup>510</sup>. The presenter should therefore be particularly sensitive to the symptoms of this type of “absence of cognitive presence” among listeners.

Public presentation – as described above - is therefore a form of communication while a message of specific content is transmitted and received and the reactions of the public may provide guidance to the presenter (feedback). On the other hand, with regards to the presenter, it is important to know the topic but also to be able to present with using verbal (language and communication abilities) and non-verbal skills (gestures, body language) as well as be motivated enough for public speaking<sup>511</sup>. Psychologists emphasize however, that the latter of the aforementioned elements of public presentation needs to be treated as a more complex phenomenon than the simple transfer of information. Preparation and giving of a speech is also an appropriate self-presentation to other people. This motive behind self-presentation depends on many factors (e.g. audience size) and shapes the presenter behavior.

### Public speaking as self-presentation

Due to the fact that we do not live in a social vacuum, self-presentation is one of the basic forms of functioning among people. Thanks to self-presentation, the influence we have on the perception of ourselves by others increases, and we can better control it. Self-presentation may be performed by a variety of behaviors and, as already pointed out, by using different messages - the range of measures is wide - from verbal statements to body language. This description is consistent with the definition of the American social psychologist Elliot Aronson who places particular attention on the aspect of making an impression on the recipients<sup>512</sup>.

Making an impression on the recipients - conscious or unconscious controlling of relationship with another person (interaction) by selecting of such means of expression that let others to see us as we want to be perceived.

It is about conscious or unconscious controlling of relationship with another person (interaction) and selecting of such means of expression so that others see us as

<sup>510</sup> K. Korzec, *op. cit.*, p. 27 (the author refers to the research of D.L. Schacter, *the Seven Sins of Memory. Insights Form Psychologu and Cognitive Neuroscience*, “American Psychologist” vol. 54/1999).

<sup>511</sup> *Ibidem*, p.13-14 (the author refers to the research of S.P. Morreale, B.H. Spitzberg, J.K. Barge, *op. cit.*; B.R. Schlenkier, M.R. Leary, *Social Anxiety and Self-Presentation*, “A Conceptualization and Model. Psychological Bulletin”, vol. 9/1982).

<sup>512</sup> E. Aronson, T. D. Wilson, R. M. Alert, *Psychologia społeczna. Serca i umysł*, Poznań: Zysk i S-ka 1997, p. 254.

we want to be perceived. The way in which we exert influence on how we are perceived by the environment depends on the goal we want to achieve in a particular social situation. It is not associated with deliberate deception but rather with appropriate emphasizing of real characteristics or behaviors.

Thus, some psychologists, such as Aronson, equate the concept of self-presentation mainly with the manipulation of impression (understood as selecting features that we want to show), defining the phenomenon as a process of controlling the way we are perceived by other people.

Self-presentation - a deliberate action leading to develop in members of the social environment (auditorium) a desired image of ourselves (...) realized (...) by controlling information: about ourselves, other people, views, ideas, results and motives of activity, plans and intentions (...) disclosed to the environment in reality or symbolically”.

Source: A. Szmajke, *Autoprezentacja – niewinny spektakl dla innych i siebie*, [in:] *Złudzenia, które pozwalają żyć*, ed. M. Kofta, Warszawa: PWN 2001, p. 147.

No wonder then from the perspective of the phenomenon of self-presentation, a presentation of a specific topic while controlling the effects of one's impression (by e.g. the observation of the auditorium) is a very complex task. In addition to the content, a presenter also tends to show himself or herself as competent, self-possessed, able to express him or herself in an appropriate manner, capturing attention of the audience as well as generating positive emotions and trust among the audience.

Moreover, the self-presentation in the context of relationships can also be described in terms of social influence. Sociologist Erving Goffman, emphasizing the practical aspect of self-presentation, believed a person remaining among other people tends to create their own image in accordance to his or her needs. Moreover, he also stressed out that presenting a particular vision of oneself influences the behavior of others towards him or her. The relationship between people requires some (even basic) elements of knowledge about them. While people communicate their public image, it gives them another opportunity to learn about own expectations and behavioral tendencies<sup>513</sup>. Keeping in mind that judgments about other people are based on first impression, a person who will choose to self-present, has a wide range of possibilities. The creation of public image and the ability to monitor impression exerted on the audience helps not only during public presentations, but first and foremost, facilitates the functioning in social reality.

The self-presentation strategies that may serve the above objectives are varied. Among the most frequently cited in the literature, researchers outline the following<sup>514</sup>:

a. Ingratiation – providing impression of a nice, attractive, pleasant person, ‘rewarding’ for the partner. Tools: compliments on appearance or intelligence of a part-

<sup>513</sup> A. Kołodziej, *Autoprezentacyjna maska czy spontaniczna ekspresja i « wierność sobie » – problem autentyczności w relacjach interpersonalnych*, p. 4, <http://www publikacje.edu.pl/pdf/9890.pdf>, p. 4 (accessed: 25.05.2015).

<sup>514</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 21 – 22.

ner; agreement with his or her opinions; non-verbal expression of consent (smile, nodding, eye contact);

b. Self-promotion – providing impression of an efficient, competent person, capable of achieving success. Tools: talking about own achievements and talents; demonstrating efficiency in operations; optimistic statements about the effects of actions;

c. Moral worthiness - providing an impression of a morally perfect person, capable of sacrificing in the name of higher values. Tools: emphasizing moral principles as a regulator of one's own behavior and motives; demonstrating compliance of one's own actions with moral principles; provoking „immoral” to repressions against themselves; inducing guilt among observers;

d. Intimidation - providing impression of a threatening, dangerous person, able to inflict pain or trouble on partner. Tools: mean criticizing of somebody's mistakes, public revealing of the partner weaknesses, open threats from a position of strength ('I can hurt'), threatening to 'break off the performance' from a weaker position ('I am going to faint', 'You will be ashamed');

e. Self-handicapping - providing impression of a helpless, dependent person, incapable of efficient actions. Tools: demonstrating of deficiencies, open communicating of one's own helplessness, lowering of achievements (the goal is to get help or 'special rights', aptitudes and skills in action).

Regardless of such tactics, the researchers also point to two styles of self-presentation which may indicate that the selection of an appropriate self-presenting strategy depends on personality traits:

a. aggressive-assertive style - 'people presenting this style are demonstrating needs to have positive qualities, which includes bragging. They assume personal responsibility for the results of their own actions, because they expect success and strive to achieve prestige and the confidence arising from success. They are focused on developing their capabilities and other features that help them to present themselves in a positive and praiseworthy way. They are able to make complex strategic self-promoting actions to improve their reputation'<sup>515</sup>;

b. passive-defensive style – people tend to 'protect, maintain or defend the attacked or threatened identity of their own self by hiding their weaknesses, as well as avoiding personal responsibility for their own action, fearing failure that involves caution and risk minimization'<sup>516</sup>.

It seems that effective presenters who want to do well during public appearances incorporate strategies similar to those described herein as 'self-promotional' and their style of presenting refers to the aggressive-assertive style. However, this still requires further research.

<sup>515</sup> A. Szmajke, *op.cit.*, p. 156.

<sup>516</sup> B. Wojciszke, *Autopromocja i autodeprecjacja: Kwestionariusz Stylów Autoprezentacji*, [in:] *Psychologia Jakości Życia*, 1, Warszawa 2002, p. 147.

## Public speaking as a stressful event

Due to the complex nature of presentation as a social situation as well as the need to control one's image, public speech is not an easy task and any incurred errors committed during its progress - from substantial mistakes to technical problems - can alter the impression that we want to make on the audience. The awareness of being observed by the audience certainly contributes to this already difficult task.

European studies show that a large part of the population (24% according to data collected in Sweden) feels strongly stressed during public appearance<sup>517</sup>. According to data from the United States (in the 1970s) almost 50% of respondents express greatest fear while delivering public speeches. In a similar study, also conducted in the United States but almost thirty years later, only 24% of the 1001 subjects declared they felt confident presenting in public<sup>518</sup>.

This data confirms the fear of making a mistake during a presentation is common. It seems that on the one hand we live in a world requiring to speak in public which gives many opportunities to practice social skills, while from the other hand, we still experience fear, most likely not stemming from the appearance itself but from the fear of presenting ourselves in a bad light. The basic reaction that potentially protects us from unwanted consequences when making mistakes during a self-presentation is to avoid stressful situations. This phenomenon is already visible among young children<sup>519</sup>. Consequently it can be assumed that fear of presentation is a natural phenomenon - commonly present, regardless of age.

Upon giving a public speech, people experience characteristic physiological reactions - increased heart rate, increased skin conductance, shortness of breath and unpleasant symptoms stemming from problems in the gastrointestinal tract. Interestingly however, the way we approach our physical states depends on the level of threat we attribute to a situation of public speech. Those who are more afraid of presenting will have a tendency to assign greater value to the physical symptoms (perceived by all)<sup>520</sup>. Presenters are also subject to the phenomenon of 'illusion of transparency'<sup>521</sup> - they think their internal states such as emotions, thoughts and physiological conditions are clearly visible to the observers, which is not (always) the case. This can increase stress, simply because the presenter initially wants to hide it and is convinced it is notice-

<sup>517</sup> K. Korzec, *op.cit.*, p. 6-12

<sup>518</sup> K. Korzec, *op.cit.*, p. 6, according to questionnaire Roper Starch Worldwide Survey from 1998, carried out for the American National Communication Association and Bruskin/Goldring Research *America's number 1 fear 1973*.

<sup>519</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 7.

<sup>520</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 8 (based on the theory of emotion of Schachter i Singer, por. S. Schachter, J. Singer, *Cognitive, Social and Psychological Determinants of Emotional State*, „Psychological Review”, no. 69/1962, p. 379-399).

<sup>521</sup> *Ibidem*, (based on research of K. Savitsky, T. Gilovich, *The illusion of transparency and the alleviation of speech anxiety*, „Journal of Experimental Social Psychology”, no. 39/2003, p. 618-625).

able to the audience, which ironically and automatically contributes to its increase. It is worth being aware of this phenomenon. According to studies it can reduce anxiety during public speaking.

Taking into consideration the self-presentation, scientists rarely observe situations in which people express no fear with regards to their image and are confident that the impression they make is consistent with their expectations. In most cases the subjects of self-presentation are afraid of failing to achieve the intended goal. It is associated with the phenomenon of social anxiety disorder (severe in some people) that may be caused by a situation like public presentation. If an unforeseen circumstance occurs during presentation (eg. technical failure), (every) presenter will experience embarrassment (an emotion manifested by blushing or inability to get oneself out of an unpleasant situation). It is usually a source of growing anxiety, in light of the research however, embarrassment is accepted by the audience as an apology for the committed error<sup>522</sup>. Thus, being aware of this phenomenon can also assist people who choose to avoid public appearances.

Finally, it is worth mentioning the metaphor of social life as a theater. The roles played by people in the 'theater of life' have been already mentioned by Shakespeare and then further developed by Erving Goffman in the field of social research. Such vision assumes perceiving presenters as actors playing a role in the social world constructed by other people (audience) with whom they interact, which in turn influences, (consciously or unconsciously), the way of self-presentation. The role we play primarily depends not on who we are, but in what situation we currently are. While being on 'stage' we behave differently than being "behind the scenes".

In a similar way, we can treat public speaking as playing a role in a particular situation. The question is how authentic we really are while putting on a kind of mask? Looking for an answer to this question we have to realize that functioning of social reality will always contain the elements of self-presentation as a natural form of interacting with the environment. Presenting before an audience is only a small part of this reality, containing in a nutshell its most important features - the sender, the recipients, the transferred content and the situational context.

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<sup>522</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 16 (based on research of L.A. Withers, *To err is human: Embarrassment, Communication, Apprehension, Attachment and Attribution Styles*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Connecticut, 2002).

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