

Forum

Das Fachmagazin des Bundesarchivs

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Zu diesem Heft

„Archive und Erinnerungskulturen“ – so lautete schon der Titel von Ausgabe 2021 des Fachmagazins Forum des Bundesarchivs. Auf den ersten Blick scheint Einigkeit darüber zu bestehen, dass Archive die Basis für eine offene, diskutierbare Erinnerungskultur sind, dass ein von politischer Einflussnahme unabhängiger Zugang zu archivischen Quellen die Voraussetzung für eine ergebnisoffene und überprüfbare Erforschung der Geschichte eines Landes, einer Institution oder einer Person bildet. Und doch findet Überlieferungsbildung kaum einmal völlig objektiv statt, verfolgen Archive mitunter einen eigenen erinnerungspolitischen Ansatz, sind ein allgemeiner, freier Zugang zu Archiven und die Möglichkeit einer unbeeinflussten Erarbeitung und Veröffentlichung von Geschichtserzählungen nicht einmal europaweit eine Selbstverständlichkeit.

Die „European Archives Group“ umfasst die Leitungen der Nationalarchive der Europäischen Union sowie Repräsentanten der Einheit für „Transparency, Document Management & Access to Documents“ der Europäischen Kommission. Zum „European Board of National Archivists“ (EBNA) gehören darüber hinaus die Nationalarchive weiterer europäischer Staaten. Die beiden Gremien kommen im halbjährlichen Rhythmus im Land der jeweiligen EU-Ratspräsidentschaft zum fachlichen Austausch zusammen, doch waren die persönlichen Zusammenkünfte seit Frühjahr 2020 wegen der Pandemie ausgesetzt. Das Bundesarchiv wäre im Herbst 2020 Gastgeber gewesen und hatte in Anbetracht

des obigen Befunds ein hohes Interesse daran, die turnusmäßige Sitzung nachzuholen und einem einzigen inhaltlichen Gegenstand zu widmen: „Archives and the Culture of Remembrance“.

Der Einladung des Bundesarchivs zur außerordentlichen EBNA/EAG-Konferenz in die Landesvertretung von Rheinland-Pfalz in Berlin-Mitte sind vom 24. bis zum 26. August 2022 Vertreterinnen und Vertreter fast aller Nationalarchive der EU-Staaten, Norwegens und der Schweiz sowie des Archivs der EU in Florenz gefolgt. Auf besondere Einladung zum ersten Mal in diesem Kreis anwesend war auch der Leiter der nationalen Archivverwaltung der Ukraine, der in einem eigenen Vortrag die Folgen des russischen Angriffskrieges für die Arbeit der Archive in seinem Land darstellte. Insgesamt nahmen etwa 45 Personen an der nicht-öffentlichen Konferenz teil.

Das vorliegende Forum-Heft vereinigt alle auf der Konferenz gehaltenen Vorträge, die in deutscher oder englischer Sprache gehalten wurden. Der Vortragsstil wurde für die schriftlichen Fassungen in der Regel beibehalten. Die Gliederung der Vorträge in diesem Band folgt im Wesentlichen der Einteilung der Konferenzbeiträge in verschiedene Sektionen. Die Ausgabe 2022 des Forum erweitert damit die Perspektive des Vorjahreshefts auf den gesamten europäischen Raum und lädt zur Entdeckung von nationalen Besonderheiten der Erinnerungskultur, aber auch von landesübergreifend vergleichbaren archivischen Beiträgen auf diesem vieldiskutierten Feld ein.

Das vom Bundesarchiv gewählte Konferenzformat, zu einem Schwerpunktthema engagierte Vortragende vieler Staaten anzuhören statt eine komprimierte nationale „Leistungsschau“ zu bieten und sich im Übrigen auf die pflichtgemäße Erledigung fortlaufender Tagesordnungs-

punkte zu beschränken, wurde von den Gästen sehr positiv aufgenommen. Dieser Ansatz könnte im Idealfall auch den künftigen EBNA-Konferenzen als Foren des supranationalen inhaltlichen Austauschs neuen Auftrieb geben.

Für die Redaktion
Dr. Tobias Herrmann





Ulrich Herbert

Die Vergangenheit, die Erinnerung und die Quellen. Deutsche Erfahrungen

„Das Geheimnis der Erlösung heißt Erinnerung“ – dieser Satz wird in Deutschland oft zitiert, wenn es in Reden bei offiziellen Gedenkfeiern um die Untaten und die Opfer des NS-Regimes geht. Wenn man sich nur recht erinnere, so der Tenor solcher Reden, werde alles gut, und Versöhnung sei nahe.

Das ist aber wohl doch komplizierter. In seiner berühmten Rede zur Erinnerung an die 40-jährige Wiederkehr des Kriegsendes sagte Bundespräsident Weizsäcker: „Das jüdische Volk erinnert sich und wird sich immer erinnern. Wir suchen als Menschen Versöhnung. Gerade deshalb müssen wir verstehen, daß es Versöhnung ohne Erinnerung gar nicht geben kann.“¹ Bei dem chassidischen Weisen Baal Schem Tow hieß es: „Das Geheimnis der *Erlösung* heißt Erinnerung“; das beschrieb die Fundierung der jüdischen Identität in der Erinnerung.² Bei Weizsäcker entsteht für die Deutschen die durch die Erinnerung mögliche Erlösung in der *Versöhnung* – und das beschreibt die Sehnsucht der Deutschen nach Vergebung. Kein geringer Unterschied – und schon sind wir mitten im Thema.

Aber was ist eigentlich mit „Erinnerung“ gemeint? In Deutschland haben heute nur noch etwa 10 Prozent der Deutschen eigene Erinnerungen an den Zweiten Weltkrieg und die NS-Zeit. An was sollen sich junge Deutsche heute erinnern,

wenn sie 50 Jahre nach Kriegsende geboren wurden? Das kann also nicht gemeint sein. Es geht hier eher um eine kollektive Art und Weise des Erinnerns. Im Deutschen hat „Erinnern“ einen doppelten Sinn. Es meint zum einen das persönliche Erinnern an etwas selbst Erlebtes (*remember*); zum anderen bedeutet es, dass ich jemanden anderen an etwas erinnere, etwa an ein Ereignis oder einen Termin (*remind*). Nach Aleida Assmann aber meint Erinnern (im Sinne von *remember*) das Nachdenken und den Austausch persönlicher Erfahrungen, während „Gedächtnis“ (*memory*) ein Programm zur Selbstbindung größerer „Wir-Gruppen“ meint, etwa die diversen Rituale, mit denen Nationen ihre Vergangenheit lebendig halten.³

Gedächtnis (*memory*) aber ist kein natürlicher oder selbstläufiger Prozess, was der Begriff ja assoziieren mag, sondern das Ergebnis von kulturellen und politischen Auseinandersetzungen, getrieben von Interessen, politischen Zielen und Strategien von Einzelnen, aber vor allem von Gruppen. Wer die Geschichte besitzt, gewinnt die Gegenwart, und selten wurde uns das auf so brutale Weise verdeutlicht wie derzeit in Russland. Es geht also um Erinnerungskämpfe, genauer: um die Verbreitung von Narrativen und um die gültige oder doch hegemonale Interpretation der Vergangenheit. Es ist nun gewiss einsichtig, dass diese Erinnerungskämpfe in Deutschland am

schärfsten dort geführt wurden, wo es um die politisch und moralisch stärkste historische Belastung der Deutschen ging – um den Mord an den europäischen Juden, den Holocaust. Welche Entwicklung die Beschäftigung mit dieser deutschen Vergangenheit seit der Nachkriegszeit nahm, welche Rolle dabei ehemalige Nationalsozialisten, Historiker, Juristen und Politiker seit der Nachkriegszeit spielten und wie sich das im Verlauf der Jahre veränderte, will ich in der Folge in vier Schritten näher erläutern und dabei prüfen, welche Bedeutung den Erinnerungskämpfen jeweils beikam.

1. Mystifizierung und Entzeitlichung des Judenmords

Nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg spielte der Judenmord bei den Debatten über die Nazi-Vergangenheit zunächst kaum eine Rolle. Es gab Wochenschauberichte mit Bildern von Leichenhaufen in Bergen-Belsen und Dachau, sodass der Eindruck entstand, die Juden seien in den Konzentrationslagern im Reichsgebiet getötet worden. Absurde Vorstellungen verbreiteten sich wie die, dass nur deutsche Juden getötet worden seien oder dass überhaupt keine Juden umgebracht worden seien, die befänden sich alle in Israel. Zwar gab es durch die Verhandlungen der Nürnberger Nachfolgeprozesse schon einige genauere Kenntnisse, aber zum einen war der Judenmord in Nürnberg kein Hauptanklagepunkt, zum anderen erreichten die Dokumente der Nürnberger Nachfolgeprozesse, obwohl später publiziert, in Deutschland fast niemanden und interessierten auch nahezu niemanden. Nach dem Krieg hatte man in diesem Land genug anderes zu tun, vor allem die Niederlage zu verschmerzen und mit dem Wiederaufbau des zerstörten Landes zu beginnen, zumal durch den aufkommen-

den Kalten Krieg jedenfalls die Westdeutschen ebenso schnell wie unerwartet (und unverdient) wieder als Partner umworben wurden. Mit Gründung der Bundesrepublik 1949 war der Judenmord kein Thema mehr, allenfalls eine Metapher.⁴

Das lag auch daran, dass zwar alle oder fast alle Deutschen die Schrecknisse des Krieges selbst erlebt hatten, den Bombenkrieg auf deutsche Städte, den Verlust der Väter und Söhne oder die Flucht und Vertreibung aus Ostdeutschland. Die Deportation der Juden aus den deutschen Städten hatte man womöglich mitangesehen oder davon gehört, über die Vernichtungslager im besetzten Polen gab es allenfalls Gerüchte, die man aber leicht ignorieren und verdrängen konnte. Was die meisten auch taten.

Andererseits gab es ja Hunderttausende von Deutschen, die das Vorgehen gegen die Juden vor allem in Osteuropa mit eigenen Augen mitverfolgt hatten und zu einem nicht geringen Teil direkt daran beteiligt gewesen waren. Sie hatten das allergrößte Interesse daran, nichts von diesen Erlebnissen und Erfahrungen preiszugeben. Schon um vor Verfolgung geschützt zu sein und eine Auslieferung (etwa nach Polen) zu verhindern, verbargen sie ihr eigenes Wissen, stritten es ab, hatten nie davon gehört. So war die zentrale Frage bei diesem Thema in Westdeutschland bis in die späten 1950er Jahre (und darüber hinaus) nicht, was damals geschah, sondern *ob* es überhaupt geschehen war. Und wenn es doch geschehen sein sollte, habe es niemand gewusst und niemand wissen können. Entsprechend fielen auch die ersten, vorwiegend von Juden verfassten Bücher über die Massenmorde im Osten unter diesen Vorbehalt – oder wurden nach dem Muster

„Krieg ist immer schrecklich“ oder, je nach Bildungsstand, auch *tu quoque* („Ihr auch“), relativiert.

Vor allem aber wurde der millionenfache Judenmord mystifiziert und entzeitlicht. Welche Formen das annahm, zeigt etwa das Vorwort des deutschen Publizisten Rudolf Hagelstange zu der 1956 erschienenen deutschen Ausgabe der ersten Gesamtdarstellung des Judenmords, Gerald Reitlingers „Die Endlösung“. In diesem Vorwort hieß es:

„Der Deutsche also, dem es ernst ist um die Würde und Ehre seines Volkes, kann dem in diesem Buche abgehandelten Komplex nicht ausweichen, wird ihm nicht ausweichen. Es sollte die Begierde seines Geistes, seiner Seele sein, sich für einige Stunden dem Soge täglicher Geschäfte zu entziehen und die düstere Fahrt anzutreten zu den toten Seelen von Millionen seinesgleichen, die unschuldig hingemordet wurden, weil ein Tyrann es befahl, der in unserem Namen zu handeln vorgab. So duster diese Fahrt und so beklemmend auch die Begegnung mit diesen geopfert Seelen sein mag – unsere Seele, die Seele unseres Volkes wird ihren Frieden und die Gewissheit ihrer selbst nicht wiederfinden können ohne diesen Schattengang, der uns das Licht erst kostbar und rein machen wird, in dem wir gehen. Hier gilt das Wort vom Schaden an der Seele, vor dem der Gewinn der ganzen Welt ein Nichts wäre.“⁵

Dieser Text ist in seiner mythologischen Verstiegenheit – allein sechsmal kommt das Wort „Seele“ darin vor – ein aussagestarkes Dokument, in dem versucht wird, der Lektüre einer wissenschaftlichen Darstellung der von den Deutschen begangenen millionenfachen Massenmorde durch deutsche Leser – mithilfe von Schillers „Bürgschaft“ und dem Markus-Evangelium – einen sittlichen Sinn zu

verleihen. Die Beschäftigung mit dem Judenmord als Katharsis für die Deutschen, ohne die jene für die Westdeutschen so glückliche Wendung der Geschichte seit der Nachkriegszeit (das „Licht, in dem wir gehen“) nicht stabil und lebenswert bzw. „kostbar und rein“ sein könne: Die Juden hingegen sind „geopferte Seelen“, „hingemordet“ von einem anonymen Tyrannen. Es ist wohl kaum ein Text vorstellbar, der von der ja doch gerade erst Vergangenheit gewordenen Wirklichkeit des Judenmords weiter entfernt ist, und er lässt ahnen, auf welche Barrieren aus dumpfer Abwehr, aggressiver Leugnung, mystischer Vernebelung, vor allem aber unentwegter Gegenrechnung des eigenen Leids alle Versuche stießen, über den Massenmord an den europäischen Juden Genaueres und vor allem Richtiges zu erfahren.

Der Text zeigt aber auch, dass nach den Aufklärungskampagnen der Alliierten bei vielen Westdeutschen, wenn nicht eine Verdammung, so doch mindestens eine Art von Tabuisierung des Nationalsozialismus eingesetzt hatte. Damit ging zugleich ein Prozess der Abstrahierung und Entwirklichung der NS-Vergangenheit einher, der die Geschichte gewissermaßen ihres Personals und ihrer Orte beraubte, so dass man sich in der Öffentlichkeit mit einigem Pathos gegen die vergangene Gewaltherrschaft aussprechen konnte, ohne sich nur ansatzweise mit konkreten Orten und wirklichen Menschen zu befassen.

Noch in den ersten westdeutschen NS-Prozessen der 1960er Jahre war diese Umkehrung erkennbar. Es waren die überlebenden Opfer, die vor Gericht als Zeugen über die Massenmorde berichteten, und eines der Hauptthemen bei der Berichterstattung in Westdeutschland war die kaum verhohlene Skepsis

von Journalisten, ob die jüdischen Zeugen das nicht alles, womöglich aus finanziellen Interessen, frei erfunden hätten. Der Judenmord wurde so zu einer von außen an die Deutschen herangetragenen Geschichte, über die sie nichts wussten – eine jüdische Geschichte, keine deutsche.

Eine gewisse Bedeutung gewann hingegen das 1949 erstmals teiledierte Tagebuch von Anne Frank. Es war deshalb so bedeutend, weil anders als durch die Nürnberger Prozesse oder die Berichte über die Gräueltaten in den Konzentrationslagern die Opfer ein Gesicht erhielten, einen Namen und eine Geschichte. Allerdings beschreibt das Tagebuch die Zeit vor der Deportation und Vernichtung; der Blick fällt auf ein Leben in Angst – aber auf ein Leben, zumal im Westen. Anne stammte aus Frankfurt und war mit ihren Eltern in die Niederlande geflüchtet. Auf das weitere Schicksal von Anne Frank wird nur hingewiesen; Bergen-Belsen, wo Anne Frank starb, kommt im Tagebuch nicht vor. Osteuropa, die Massenerschießungen, die Ghettos, Auschwitz, Majdanek bleiben im Dunkeln.

Wissenschaftliche Monographien aber waren lange Zeit Einzelercheinungen; auch die eben erwähnte deutsche Version von Reitlingers „Endlösung“ blieb ohne größere öffentliche Resonanz. Systematische Forschung wurde nicht betrieben. Die Veröffentlichungen von wissenschaftlichen Außenseitern wie Joseph Wulff, Bruno Blau und vor allem von Hans Günter Adler, allesamt Juden, wurden zwar publiziert, aber kaum besprochen und in der westdeutschen Geschichtswissenschaft weitgehend ignoriert, zum Teil mit dem indignierten Hinweis auf „Amateurhistoriker“.

2. Juristische Ermittlungen und „Krieg der Interpretationen“ – die Phase der zweiten Verdrängung

Die entscheidende Veränderung kam nicht aus der Geschichtswissenschaft, sondern aus der Justiz. Mit der Wiederaufnahme der juristischen Verfolgung von NS-Verbrechen, vor allem durch die Einrichtung der Ludwigsburger Zentralen Stelle, begann etwa Anfang der 1960er Jahre eine breit angelegte Untersuchung der großen NS-Verbrechen. Auch wenn im Endergebnis Zahl und Schwere der Verurteilungen angesichts der in Rede stehenden Verbrechen ganz unverhältnismäßig erscheinen, so wurde hier doch von der westdeutschen Justiz ein präzedenzloses historiographisches Experiment begonnen, in dessen Verlauf gegen mehr als 100.000 Personen Vor- und Ermittlungsverfahren geführt und eine noch sehr viel höhere Zahl von Zeugen befragt wurde.

Den Staatsanwälten standen viele Archive offen, und sie nutzten auch die Unterlagen aus polnischen Archiven, was zu heftigen Protesten von Politikern und Journalisten führte, die den Staatsanwälten vorwarfen, auf kommunistische Propaganda hereinzufallen. Ein Großteil der Unterlagen der NS-Behörden befand sich allerdings noch bis in die 1970er Jahre in amerikanischen Archiven und wurde erst dann an die Deutschen zurückgegeben. Es ist deswegen kein Wunder, dass die ersten größeren Arbeiten deutscher Historiker über die Verfolgung und Ermordung der Juden im Kontext dieser Strafprozesse gegen NS-Täter entstanden, etwa die Gutachten für den Auschwitz-Prozess, die den Kenntnisstand über die NS-Vernichtungspolitik über Jahrzehnte markiert und bestimmt haben. Es brauchte lange, bis dieses wissenschaftliche Niveau wieder erreicht wurde.

Dennoch wurde der Judenmord in Westdeutschland nicht zu einem großen, wichtigen Thema, weder in der Öffentlichkeit noch bei den Historikern, die auch die enormen Wissensbestände der Justiz zunächst überwiegend nicht oder nur sehr zögerlich nutzten. Denn während die Staatsanwälte danach suchten, was geschehen war, konzentrierten sich die Historiker auf die Frage, *warum* es geschehen war, wobei gar nicht genau definiert wurde, was „es“ war. Im Mittelpunkt standen dabei die oftmals nur mühsam rekonstruierbaren Entscheidungsprozesse und Widersprüche innerhalb der politischen Führung des Regimes.

Hier entstand nun ein lang währender wissenschaftlicher Streit darum, ob die Ermordung der Juden allein oder doch vorwiegend auf Hitler zurückzuführen war oder sich im Verlaufe eines dynamischen Prozesses in den Jahren 1940 bis 1942 allmählich herausgebildet habe. Jedoch führten diese eher theoretischen Debatten nicht zu einer Intensivierung der Forschung, sondern lediglich zu einem Krieg der Interpretationen, denn an empirisch gesättigten Studien fehlte es nach wie vor. Dieses unübersehbare Defizit war aber nicht, wie zuweilen vermutet, auf die mangelhafte Quellenbasis zurückzuführen. Zwar waren die meisten Archive der Ostblockstaaten westlichen Historikern bis 1990/91 verschlossen, aber die in den USA lagernden NS-Unterlagen waren mittlerweile an die deutschen Archive zurückgegeben worden, und die zugänglichen Archivbestände im Westen und nicht zuletzt die Unterlagen der westdeutschen Ermittlungs- und Strafverfahren gegen NS-Täter waren mittlerweile derart voluminös, dass sie eine intensive Forschungstätigkeit ermöglicht hätten.

Tatsächlich aber kam bei diesen überwiegend theoretischen Debatten westdeutscher (und internationaler) Historiker auch die Auffassung zum Ausdruck, dass man über das Mordgeschehen selbst hinreichend informiert sei, während das eigentliche Problem in dessen politischer Einordnung und säkularer Interpretation bestehe. In dieser Überzeugung, die ja eine verbreitete Ansicht in der Öffentlichkeit widerspiegelte und lange fortwirkte, kann man auch die fortgesetzte Weigerung erkennen, sich ungeschützt und direkt mit dem Geschehen selbst auseinanderzusetzen. Die Konzentration auf die Interpretation des Völkermords und auf die daraus zu ziehenden Schlussfolgerungen besaß insoweit stark entlastende Wirkungen – ein Vermeidungsdiskurs, wie auch 1986/87 beim sogenannten Historikerstreit deutlich wurde.

Ausgangspunkt des Historikerstreits war hier die These des Berliner Historikers Ernst Nolte, wonach der Gulag „ursprünglicher“ sei als der Judenmord. Nolte interpretierte hier den Holocaust als eine Art von putativer Notwehr des europäischen Bürgertums gegenüber dem prognostizierten Willen der Bolschewisten, das europäische Bürgertum zu vernichten. Gegen diese Thesen erhob sich ein öffentlicher Sturm der Entrüstung, angeführt von Jürgen Habermas. Letztlich wurden Noltés Thesen als unhaltbar verworfen. In dieser Debatte wurden aber erneut nicht wissenschaftliche, auf empirischen Studien basierende Positionen öffentlich diskutiert, sondern politische Schlussfolgerungen aus der NS-Zeit in diese zurücktransportiert und aktuell verhandelt. So übernahm der Historikerstreit die Funktion eines Stellvertreterkrieges zwischen den politischen Lagern der Bundesrepublik. Vorrangig ging es dabei um die Frage, ob die NS-Vergangen-

heit und insbesondere der Judenmord mit dem Laufe der Zeit an Bedeutung für die westdeutsche Gesellschaft verlieren – oder ob daraus so etwas wie eine negative Staatsräson der Bundesrepublik werden sollte.⁶

Wissenschaftlich aber erwies sich diese mit großem Aufwand geführte Debatte erneut als ganz unzureichend. Denn der Mord an den Juden war hier eine Chiffre, ein politisches Symbol, das zur Markierung der politischen Identität der Westdeutschen diente, während quellenbasierte Studien über den außerordentlich vielfältigen Ablauf des Massenmords fehlten und die spezifischen Kenntnisse der am Historikerstreit beteiligten Wissenschaftler und Publizisten überwiegend beklagenswert gering waren.

Dazu gab es eine interessante Parallele auf der Seite der politischen Linken. Hier war die konkrete Auseinandersetzung mit der Geschichte des NS-Regimes und seinen Massenverbrechen seit dem Einsetzen der Studentenrevolte der späten 1960er Jahre von einer stark politisierten „Faschismusdebatte“ abgelöst worden, wobei als hervorstechende Kennzeichen des Nazi-Regimes nicht länger der Genozid an den Juden und überhaupt die Massenverbrechen des NS-Regimes angesehen wurden, sondern (in Anlehnung an die kommunistischen Lehrsätze der 1920er Jahre) das Bündnis von Monopollindustrie und Diktatur zur Ausschaltung der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung. Die bemerkenswerteste Blüte dieser Phase westdeutscher Geschichtswissenschaft war ein in riesigen Auflagen verkaufter Quellenband des Marburger Politologen Kühnl, in dem 317 Quellenauszüge abgedruckt waren. Davon behandelten ganze neun den Massenmord an den Juden, darunter ein Bericht über die IG-Farben im Lager Auschwitz, ein Lieferungsbe-

scheid über Zyklon B der Firma Degesch und eine Aussage des Kommandanten von Auschwitz über die Verwertung des Vermögens der ermordeten Juden. Im Vorwort hieß es dazu, diese Quellen zeigten, wohin ein System gelange, das „Profit- und Verwertungsprinzip gegenüber der Mehrheit der eigenen Bevölkerung und gegenüber anderen Völkern durchzusetzen trachtet.“ Der Massenmord selbst wurde nicht dokumentiert, nicht einmal erwähnt.⁷

Dieser Ansatz beherrschte auch die Geschichtswissenschaft in der DDR. In deren Interpretation war der Judenmord jahrzehntelang nicht als Folge einer auf die Juden konzentrierten, rassistisch motivierten Mordstrategie, sondern einer anderen, nur mittelbar auf die Juden gerichteten Zielsetzung erklärt worden – in den 1950er Jahren noch als der Versuch der Machthaber, durch die Verfolgung der Juden die deutsche Arbeiterklasse einzuschüchtern, dann als Nebeneffekt einer auf die Beherrschung und Ausbeutung der besetzten Gebiete gerichteten Strategie. Ein DDR-Wissenschaftler erklärte dazu:

„Historiker der BRD meinen offenkundig, von den Zusammenhängen zwischen Kapitalismus und Faschismus, Bourgeoisie und NSDAP dadurch weglenken zu können, daß sie Rassenwahn und Judentum der faschistischen Führungselite zum gedanklichen Ansatz jedweder Beschäftigung mit der Geschichte des deutschen Faschismus erklären.“⁸

Insgesamt kann man – jedenfalls was die öffentliche Perzeption angeht – die 1970er Jahre durchaus als eine Phase der zweiten Verdrängung bezeichnen. Täter und Tatorte, Helfershelfer und Nutznießer, vor allem aber die Opfer selbst wurden anonymisiert. Die Debatte um

die Interpretation des Nationalsozialismus wurde zum Schlachtfeld des Kalten Krieges und der Debatten um die deutsche Identität.

3. Annäherung von kollektiver Erinnerung und wissenschaftlich belegten Fakten

Seit Anfang der 1980er Jahre entstand jedoch in Westdeutschland wie in den USA aus der zunehmenden Kritik an den schal gewordenen Debatten über „Faschismustheorie“ und Strukturalismus eine neue Hinwendung zum Konkreten, Empirischen, die auch die Geschichte aller verschiedenen Opfergruppen des NS-Regimes berücksichtigte. Im Zusammenhang mit der Erforschung der nationalsozialistischen Mordpolitik lag deren Bedeutung in einer Art von Rekonkretisierung und auch Rehistorisierung der Geschichte des nationalsozialistischen Regimes, was sich in einer wachsenden Zahl von Studien über „Zigeuner“, Behinderte, „Asoziale“, Homosexuelle, Kriegsgefangene, Zwangsarbeiter und andere verfolgte Gruppen niederschlug – schließlich dann auch in breit angelegten Studien über den Judenmord.

Nun wurde, auch in Reaktion auf die in der Öffentlichkeit stark beachtete Fernsehserie „Holocaust“, in der deutschen – zunächst der westdeutschen, nach 1990 dann der gesamtdeutschen – Öffentlichkeit auf breiterer Basis bewusst, welche gigantischen Ausmaße die deutsche Vernichtungspolitik besessen hatte und wie wenig man darüber im Einzelnen tatsächlich wusste.

Um das nur an einem Beispiel zu erläutern: Auf die Frage, wie hoch denn der Anteil der deutschen Juden unter den ermordeten sechs Millionen etwa war, erhielt ich von meinen Kollegen (über-

wiegend Historiker, aber keine NS-Spezialisten) Anfang der 1990er Jahre Antworten wie „Fast alle“, „mehr als die Hälfte“, „Millionen!“. Die Auskunft über den tatsächlichen Anteil (etwa drei Prozent) stieß auf ungläubiges Staunen.

Es wäre ein historiographisches Vorhaben eigener Provenienz, wollte man die außerordentlich intensive, zuweilen geradezu exzessive öffentliche Auseinandersetzung mit der Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus und dem Judenmord in den Jahren zwischen etwa 1985 bis 2005 in der Bundesrepublik nachzeichnen. Stichworte wie Bitburg und Bergen-Belsen im Rahmen des Besuchs Ronald Reagans in der Bundesrepublik, die Rede Bundespräsident Weizsäckers zum 40. Jahrestag des Kriegsendes, der schon erwähnte Historikerstreit, die Debatte über das Buch von Daniel Goldhagen, die Auseinandersetzungen um die Geschichte der Millionen von Zwangsarbeitern und ihre ausgebliebene Entschädigung, schließlich der Streit um das Berliner Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas – all dies führte dazu, dass die so lange verdrängte Vergangenheit des NS-Regimes und vornehmlich der nationalsozialistischen Massenverbrechen in einem zuvor nicht gekannten und auch nicht erahnten Ausmaß weite Teile der deutschen Öffentlichkeit erregten, und zwar der gesamtdeutschen Öffentlichkeit. Denn nach der Wiedervereinigung wurden jene Beobachter, die nun das Ende der deutschen „Vergangenheitsmanie“ erwartet oder erhofft hatten, enttäuscht. Und auch die Versuche, diese Debatten mit nationalistischen Kampfbegriffen wie „Sündenstolz“ und „Gutmenschentum“ zu ersticken, fruchteten nicht.

Die deutsche Öffentlichkeit war nun, knapp fünfzig Jahre nach Kriegsende,

offenbar bereit, sich der ganzen Vielfalt und Furchtbarkeit der Geschichte des deutschen NS-Regimes und seiner Besatzungsherrschaft in Europa zu stellen. Damit gewannen nun auch die in den Archiven lagernden Bestände an Bedeutung. Zum einen waren jetzt auch die osteuropäischen Archive zugänglich, wenngleich diejenigen in Russland nur für wenige Jahre. Aber es erwies sich, dass insbesondere in den Archiven Polens sowie im Baltikum gewaltige Materialien lagen, was die Möglichkeit eröffnete, die deutsche Politik des Massenmords in den einzelnen Besatzungsregionen Osteuropas eingehend und genau zu untersuchen. Ein Gleiches galt für West- und Südeuropa, wobei sich in diesen Ländern die Kenntnisse über Deportation und Ermordung der Juden und auch das Interesse daran als außerordentlich unterschiedlich erwiesen.

Zum anderen waren die Bestände in den deutschen Archiven nun viel stärker bearbeitungsfähig. Hier hatte es bis in die 1980er Jahre hinein immer wieder Probleme gegeben. Zwei Beispiele aus eigener Erfahrung mögen Ihnen das erläutern. Anfang der 1980er Jahre arbeitete ich über die Geschichte der ausländischen Zwangsarbeiter in Deutschland, insgesamt etwa zehn Millionen Menschen. Dazu schrieb ich mehr als 40 Archive deutscher Unternehmen an mit der Bitte um Zugangsgenehmigung – und erhielt bis auf zwei Fälle samt und sonders Absagen oder gar keine Reaktionen. Das hat sich später deutlich geändert, und viele Unternehmen haben in den vergangenen etwa 20 Jahren Untersuchungen zu diesem Thema im eigenen Betrieb angeregt und finanziert. Aber Anfang der 1980er Jahre regierten hier nach wie vor Ablehnung und Verweigerung. Ein zweites, etwas skurriles Beispiel, das auch auf die generatio-

nelle Prägung der Archivare verweist: In einem Landesarchiv suchte ich nach Urteilen der sogenannten Sondergerichte gegen ausländische Zwangsarbeiter sowie gegen Deutsche, denen verbotener Kontakt zu den Ausländern vorgeworfen wurde. Der zuständige, ältere Archivar erklärte mir, diese Akten seien aus Datenschutzgründen gesperrt. Das traf nicht zu, und als ich darauf insistierte und mich beim Archivdirektor zu beschweren drohte, erklärte sich der Archivar bereit, mir aus dem Findbuch einiges vorzulesen, was er für geeignet hielt, denn, so führte er aus, „hier sind ja auch namhafte Persönlichkeiten hier aus der Region betroffen, mir zum Teil persönlich bekannt, und über die kann man hier nicht einfach herumforschen“. Wohlgemerkt: Es handelte sich dabei um die einstigen Richter und Staatsanwälte der NS-Sondergerichte.

Tatsächlich aber gerieten solche Vorbehalte stärker in den Hintergrund, auch bei den Staatsanwaltschaften, die in den 1960er und 70er Jahren gewaltige Verfahren gegen die Spitzen des Reichssicherheitshauptamts, der Berliner Zentrale des Terrors, vorbereitet hatten, die aber in keinem Fall schließlich auch zur Anklage und Verurteilung führten. Als nun auch deren Unterlagen zugänglich wurden, boten sich ganz neue, vielfach erweiterte Forschungsmöglichkeiten.

Dabei kam eine Vielzahl von Tätern, Tatorten, Tathergängen und Opfern in den Blick, von denen man vorher nie gehört hatte. Die neuen Kenntnisse wurden durch die Medien auch viel stärker verbreitet, und so begannen sich kollektive Erinnerung, das öffentliche Gedächtnis im eingangs beschriebenen Sinn, und die wissenschaftlich belegten Fakten über die Verbrechen des NS-Regimes

in Deutschland einander anzunähern. Dieser Prozess war und ist nicht ungefährdet, aber er ist stabil.

4. „Normalisierung“, Internationalisierung, „Meta-Arbeiten“ und Rückbindung an die Quellen

Mit diesen großen Debatten auf enorm verbreiteter Kenntnisgrundlage erreichte die deutsche Auseinandersetzung mit dem Nationalsozialismus in den späten 1990er Jahren ihren Höhepunkt, in gewisser Weise aber auch einen Endpunkt. Zwar wurde weiter öffentlich über diese Zeit gestritten, und immer neue Personalskandale kamen ans Licht. Aber selbst als später die bis dahin noch geheim gehaltene Durchsetzung der westdeutschen Geheimdienste mit hunderterten von schwerstbelasteten einstigen Funktionsträgern des SD und der SS bekannt wurde, als sogar durchsickerte, dass deutsche Behörden Massenmörder wie Eichmann oder Mengele vor der Verfolgung geschützt hatten, führte das nicht mehr zu größeren Eruptionen. Man hielt nun alles für möglich und sogar für wahrscheinlich, sodass unter Beweiszwang stand, wer daran zweifelte. Da es keine Tabus mehr zu brechen, keine bis dahin verdeckten Geheimnisse mehr zu lüften gab, oder doch nur in Form apokrypher Theorien über Adolf Hitler, fiel die Beschäftigung damit in die Bibliotheken und Hörsäle der Historiker zurück – weiterhin ein wichtiges, ja zentrales Thema, aber eben eines der Geschichte.

Zugleich offenbarten sich aber neue Probleme, im öffentlichen wie im wissenschaftlichen Umgang mit der Erinnerung an den Judenmord. Zum einen zeigte sich, dass in den von Deutschland besetzten Ländern die Erinnerung an den Holocaust eine stark nationale Betonung besaß. In Frankreich wusste man wenig

oder gar nichts über die Verfolgung und Ermordung der niederländischen oder der belgischen Juden – obwohl das Vorgehen der Deutschen sich in den drei Ländern kaum unterschied. Ebenso in Ost- und Südosteuropa: Der Holocaust wurde nicht als europäische Katastrophe wahrgenommen, sondern in zum Teil sehr spezifischer Weise als nationale.

Zweitens veränderte sich auch in der Wissenschaft die Art und Weise der Thematisierung des Geschehens. Immer zahlreicher wurden, insbesondere in den westlichen Ländern, die Arbeiten über sekundäre Perspektiven des Judenmords: Bücher über den Holocaust im Film, in Fotografien, in Gedichten, in Comics, über die Kleidung der Deportierten, ihre Lieder, über Liebesbeziehungen im KZ, über Sport im KZ – ein unendliches Tableau der Themen, nahelegend und abseitig, und so häufig, dass die Zahl der Bücher mit solchen Sekundärthemen bald größer war als die über das Kerngeschehen selbst. Mittlerweile ist in englischer Sprache die Zahl der sogenannten Meta-Arbeiten über den Holocaust viermal so hoch wie die über das historische Ereignis selbst.

Ein Drittes: Es ist sehr schwer, die Erinnerung an das Geschehen des Judenmords öffentlich wachzuhalten, und beinahe unvermeidlich, dass sich hier Floskeln und gefühlsbetonte Phrasen einschleichen. Aber mittlerweile sind viele solcher Gedenkveranstaltungen so routinisiert und inhaltsleer, zugleich aber mit hohem Gefühlsaufwand verbunden, dass das historische Geschehen dahinter zurücktritt und trivialisiert wird. Dem entgegenzutreten, die Konzentration auf das Geschehen selbst zu lenken, ist schwer, schon deswegen, weil die Auseinandersetzung mit dieser Vergangenheit bei aller geforderten Kollektivität

doch ein individueller, geradezu einsamer Prozess ist, zumal seit es die Generation der Überlebenden, der Zeitzeugen, nicht mehr gibt.

Ein Versuch, daraus die Schlüsse zu ziehen und sich auf die Sache selbst zu konzentrieren, ist ein größeres Editionsprojekt, das die Quellen des Holocaust in allen davon betroffenen Ländern und Regionen Europas gesammelt und etwa 6000 davon in 16 Bänden publiziert hat. Dieses Projekt des Bundesarchivs, des Instituts für Zeitgeschichte und der Universität Freiburg wurde 2004 begonnen und 2021 abgeschlossen. Es wird derzeit komplett ins Englische übertragen; die ersten vier Bände in englischer Sprache liegen bereits vor.⁹

Diese 6000 Dokumente, ausschließlich vor Kriegsende entstanden, richten das Augenmerk allein auf das historische Geschehen: auf den vulgären Antisemitismus der Nazis, auf das geflissentliche Wegsehen der deutschen Bevölkerung, auf die Gier nach den Besitzständen der Juden, auf die Deportationen, auf die Angst und Verzweiflung der Opfer, auf die Anordnungen der kleinen und großen deutschen Befehlshaber und auf die fast überall in Europa anzutreffende Kollaborationsbereitschaft, wenn es gegen die Juden ging.

Und schließlich treten auch die Dimensionen der Vernichtung klar hervor. In den Passagen über viele Regionen Osteuropas folgen über hunderte von Seiten unentwegt Berichte über Massaker, Mordaktionen, Partisanenbekämpfungaktionen, Erschießungen und Deportationen. So wird die Größenordnung des Mordgeschehens anders als in exemplarisch vorgehenden Monographien, nahezu physisch spürbar. Es sind am Ende die Quellen, die einen authenti-

schen Einblick in das Geschehen ermöglichen und die sich gegenüber allen Vereinnahmungsversuchen als sperrig erweisen.

Die politische Auseinandersetzung mit dem Nationalsozialismus insgesamt, mit dem „Holocaust“ im Besonderen, war während der vergangenen Jahrzehnte in Deutschland wie in anderen Ländern stark von politischen Interessen, generationellen Spannungen und ideologischen Verzerrungen gekennzeichnet. Solches war gewiss ganz unvermeidbar, aber das Ende ist doch absehbar. Auch Publikationen über die Geschichte des „Holocaust“ werden sich dementsprechend ausschließlich an ihrer Qualität, an der Breite ihrer Literatur- und Quellenverarbeitung, an der Schärfe ihrer Analyse und der Überzeugungskraft ihrer Urteile messen lassen müssen – also an professionellen und überprüfbaren Gesichtspunkten. Nun ist dies gewiss bei keinem Gegenstand schwieriger als bei diesem, der ja auch nach 50 Jahren seinen Schrecken und seine Schmerzhaftigkeit nicht eingebüßt hat und in dem Maße, wie der Blick genauer wird, uns umso unbegreiflicher erscheinen mag. Aber nur der stete und unbarmherzige Bezug auf nachweisbare Fakten, auf die seriöse, nachprüfbar Analyse, schützt uns vor der Instrumentalisierung des Geschehens.

Auf der anderen Seite: Nur die Furchtbarkeit und Unbegreiflichkeit des Geschehens zu konstatieren, führt in Leere. Wenn wir auf die rationale Erklärung des Geschehens zugunsten einer bloßen moralischen Identifikation verzichten und den Massenmord im Hinblick auf seine vermeintliche Unerklärbarkeit metaphysisch überhöhen, hieße das, einen Teil dessen zu akzeptieren, was die Grundlage dieses Geschehens aus-

gemacht hat. Und auch der Appell an Empathie und Emotion, verbleibt er isoliert, verliert schnell an Bindungskraft, zumal gegenüber jüngeren Generationen.

Ohne die mühsame historische Auseinandersetzung mit den Geschehnissen selbst, ohne die spezifisch historische Aufklärung ist die gesamtgesellschaftliche Verdrängung des Holocaust – wie aller historischer Großereignisse – unausweichlich. Die Ergebnisse der historischen Erforschung der nationalsozialistischen Massenvernichtungspolitik aber haben einen so komplizierten, in Bezug auf die Täter zudem so viel-

schichtigen, von Konkurrenz, Ambitionen und Interesse, Trivialität, Mordgier und biedermeierlicher Scheinmoral gekennzeichneten Prozess zutage gebracht, dass dieses außerordentlich vielfältige Bild nicht als bindungskräftige, auf das Didaktische reduzierte Metapher für die politische Bildung taugen will und gewissermaßen nicht identifikationsfähig ist.

Nicht zuletzt darin aber liegt die Herausforderung der historischen Aufklärung über den Holocaust vor allem für die deutsche Gesellschaft 80 Jahre nach dem Beginn des Völkermords.



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- 1 Ansprache des Bundespräsidenten im Bundestag, 8. Mai 1985 https://www.bundespraesident.de/SharedDocs/Reden/DE/Richard-von-Weizsaecker/Reden/1985/05/19850508_Rede.html (aufgerufen am 1.11.2022).
- 2 Sefer Ba'al Schem Tov, II, 190 § 8, <http://www.hagalil.com/2011/02/versoehnung/> (aufgerufen am 1.11.2022).
- 3 Roland Detsch, *Erinnern in Deutschland. Was bedeutet eigentlich Erinnerung?* Aleida Assmann im Gespräch, in: Goethe-Institut von Januar 2011, <https://www.goethe.de/ins/br/de/kul/fok/cul/20809570.html> (aufgerufen am 1.11.2022).
- 4 Ich folge hier meinen Überlegungen in: Ulrich Herbert: *Holocaust Research in Germany. The History and Prospects of a Difficult Discipline*, in: Thomas Schlemmer/Alan E. Steinweis (Hg.): *Holocaust and Memory in Europe. German Yearbook of Contemporary History*, Bd. 1, Berlin/Boston 2016, S. 17-48.
- 5 Rudolf Hagelstange: Ein Vorwort, in: Gerald Reitlinger: *Die Endlösung. Hitlers Versuch der Ausrottung der Juden Europas 1939-1945*, Berlin 1956, S. XIIIff.
- 6 Vgl. Ernst Nolte: *Das Vergehen der Vergangenheit. Antwort an meine Kritiker im sogenannten Historikerstreit*, Berlin 1987; Jürgen Habermas: *Eine Art Schadensabwicklung*, Frankfurt 1987; „Historikerstreit“. Die Dokumentation der Kontroverse um die Einzigartigkeit der nationalsozialistischen Judenvernichtung, München/Zürich 1987; Ulrich Herbert: *Der Historikerstreit. Politische, wissenschaftliche, biographische Aspekte*, in: Martin Sabrow (Hg.): *Zeitgeschichte als Streitgeschichte. Große Kontroversen nach 1945*, München 2003, S. 94-114.
- 7 Vgl. Reinhard Kühnl (Hg.): *Der deutsche Faschismus in Quellen und Dokumenten*, Köln 2000.
- 8 Kurt Pätzold: *Von der Vertreibung zum Genozid. Zu den Ursachen, Triebkräften und Bedingungen der antijüdischen Politik des faschistischen deutschen Imperialismus*, in: Dietrich Eichholtz/Kurt Gossweiler (Hg.): *Faschismusforschung. Positionen, Probleme, Polemik*, Berlin (Ost)/Köln 1980, S.181-208, hier S. 182.
- 9 *Die Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden durch das nationalsozialistische Deutschland 1933-1945 (VEJ)*, hg. von Bundesarchiv, Institut für Zeitgeschichte und Lehrstuhl für Neuere und Neueste Geschichte der Universität Freiburg, 16 Bde., München 2008-2021; engl. Ausgabe: *The Persecution and Murder of the European Jews by Nazi Germany, 1933-1945 (PMJ)*, Berlin/Boston 2019ff.



Michael Hollmann

Erinnerungspolitik in Deutschland und das Bundesarchiv

„Von den Deutschen lernen“. So hat Susan Neiman ihr Buch betitelt, in dem sie der im Untertitel formulierten Frage nachgeht, „Wie Gesellschaften mit dem Bösen in ihrer Geschichte umgehen können“. Der Titel der 2019 erschienenen amerikanischen Originalausgabe ist sogar noch etwas prägnanter: „Learning from Germany. Race and the Memory of Evil“.¹ Bei der Lektüre wird schnell klar, dass Susan Neiman, die 1955 in Atlanta geboren wurde, schon seit vielen Jahren in Berlin lebt und in Potsdam Philosophie lehrt, keineswegs im Sinn hat, die in Deutschland oft so apostrophierte „Vergangenheitsbewältigung“ unkritisch zur Blaupause für andere Länder und Gesellschaften zu erklären, die mit dem Problem konfrontiert sind, eine diktatorische Vergangenheit oder andere „schlimme“ Perioden ihrer Geschichte aufarbeiten zu müssen. Ihr Anliegen ist es vielmehr, am Beispiel der Auseinandersetzung mit der nationalsozialistischen Gewaltherrschaft, dem von Deutschland verschuldeten Zweiten Weltkrieg und vor allem mit dem Holocaust, dem Porajmos und anderen rassistisch motivierten Gewaltverbrechen zu zeigen, welche Wege, aber auch Umwege eine Gesellschaft beim Umgang „mit dem Bösen in ihrer Geschichte“ nehmen kann.

Die psychologisch naheliegende Technik im Umgang mit einer schlimmen Vergangenheit besteht darin, diese Vergangenheit und alle damit verbundenen Schuldgefühle einfach zu verdrängen und alle Verantwortlichkeiten von sich zu weisen.

Susan Neiman zitiert in diesem Zusammenhang Friedrich Nietzsche mit einem Aphorismus aus „Jenseits von Gut und Böse“, der die psychologische Disposition meisterlich auf den Punkt bringt:

„Das habe ich getan, sagt mein Gedächtnis. Das kann ich nicht getan haben, sagt mein Stolz und bleibt unerbittlich. Endlich gibt das Gedächtnis nach.“²

Es liegt auf der gleichen Linie – und ein Blick in die Geschichte liefert leicht unzählige Beispiele –, dass nach dem Ende gewaltsamer Konflikte die Beendigung der Gewalt meist explizit an ein gegenseitiges Vergessen gebunden wird, damit nicht die Erinnerung an Unrecht und Niederlage den endlich gefundenen Frieden vergiftet.³ Allerdings zeigt die Weltgeschichte auch, dass diese Rechnung in aller Regel nicht aufgeht, der unterdrückte Stolz nur auf Zeit zum Schweigen gebracht werden kann und die – wie Jan Assmann das beschrieben hat⁴ – quasi in einer Krypta eingemauerte Erinnerung an Gewalt und Unrecht früher oder später umso wirkmächtiger und toxischer wieder an die Oberfläche dringt und neues Unheil hervorbringt.

Die deutsche Geschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts ist geprägt von Entwicklungen und Ereignissen, die den Stolz der in Deutschland lebenden Menschen auf „ihr Land“ in einer Weise verletzen, dass man die Erinnerungen an die Kolonialherrschaft und die mit ihr verbundenen Verbrechen, den Ersten Weltkrieg, die

nationalsozialistische Gewaltherrschaft in Deutschland und Europa und schließlich die kommunistische Diktatur in der ehemaligen DDR gerne verdrängen oder zumindest modifizieren möchte, damit sie erträglich werden.

Hier ist Deutschland nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg aber tatsächlich neue Wege gegangen. Und selbst wenn diese Wege keineswegs gerade, die Motive keineswegs eindeutig positiv waren, lohnt es sich, dem von Susan Neiman gewiesenen Pfad zu folgen. Allerdings soll im Folgenden der bei Susan Neiman weniger im Zentrum stehenden Frage nach den Quellen unseres Wissens über das „Böse“ in der jüngeren deutschen Geschichte und damit der Basis unserer Erinnerungskultur nachgegangen werden.

Dies soll in zwei Schritten geschehen: Zunächst sollen kurz die jüngsten Debatten um die Fragen der Erinnerungskultur in Deutschland skizziert werden. Anschließend soll dann am Beispiel einiger Stationen aus der Geschichte des Bundesarchivs bzw. seiner Vorgängerarchive deutlich gemacht werden, wie entscheidend die jeweils spezifische Konstellation von Überlieferungsbildung und Zugänglichkeit für einen fruchtbaren Umgang mit schlimmer Vergangenheit in einer offenen und demokratischen Gesellschaft ist.

Geschichte als politisches Argument

Eigentlich bedarf es im Sommer des Jahres 2022 keiner ausführlichen Begründung, dass Geschichte in politischen Debatten als Argument dienen und selbst in kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen als Waffe genutzt werden kann. Es sind geschichtliche Argumentationen, mit denen der russische Präsident Wladimir Putin und seine Verbündeten bis hin

zur Orthodoxen Kirche Russlands die Ansprüche Russlands zunächst auf die Krim, dann auf den Donbass und schließlich auf die ganze Ukraine zu legitimieren versuchen.⁵ Und selbst zwischen den Mitgliedsstaaten der Europäischen Union kommt es immer wieder zu Debatten über vermeintliche und tatsächliche Ereignisse in der wechselseitigen Geschichte, die auch heute noch als offene Fragen wahrgenommen werden.⁶

Das Phänomen der historischen oder historisierenden Legitimation ist keineswegs neu, sondern vielmehr uralt. Eine schlüssige Geschichtserzählung anbieten zu können, kann mitunter entscheidend sein in der Auseinandersetzung mit politischen Gegnern im Innern und sogar mit konkurrierenden Staaten – auch wenn diese Erzählung bewusst wichtige Fakten weglässt oder einseitig deutet.

Es hat den Anschein, als käme wohl kein Staat und keine politische Gemeinschaft darum herum, Geschichtspolitik zu betreiben. Ein wichtiges Medium dieser Geschichtspolitik ist die öffentliche Erinnerung als Teil der politischen Kultur eines jeden Landes, das öffentliche Erinnern an frühere Größe und große Siege oder an erlittenes Unrecht und schwere Niederlagen. Nicht nur strahlende Sieger, auch tragisch gescheiterte Kämpfer können als Helden ein wirkmächtiges Identifikationspotenzial entfalten.

Geschichte verpflichtet. Sie verpflichtet einzelne Menschen und Gruppen, sie verpflichtet Regierungen und ganze Staaten und Gesellschaften. Damit wird auch öffentliches Erinnern zur politischen Verpflichtung.

Die öffentliche Erinnerung in Deutschland

Über der öffentlichen Erinnerung in Deutschland liegt seit Jahrzehnten der Schatten von Auschwitz. Nach dem völligen Zusammenbruch des deutschen Staates nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg mussten die Deutschen nicht nur den Wiederaufbau ihres Landes betreiben und die vielfältigen Folgen von Zerstörung, Flucht und Vertreibung in den Griff bekommen, sie mussten sich – nicht immer freiwillig und aus eigenem Antrieb – auch mit der nationalsozialistischen Gewaltherrschaft auseinandersetzen und vor allem mit dem Völkermord an den europäischen Juden, den Sinti und Roma und anderen aus rassistischen Gründen für nicht lebenswert erachteten Minderheiten und Völkern. Der Name des Vernichtungslager Auschwitz ist zur Chiffre geworden für diesen Zivilisationsbruch.

Auch wenn der erste nationale Gedenktag seit den 1950er Jahren der Erinnerung an die Niederschlagung des Aufstands in der DDR am 17. Juni 1953 galt, bestimmte spätestens seit dem Amtsantritt der Sozialliberalen Koalition unter Willy Brandt die Aufarbeitung des Nationalsozialismus und des Zweiten Weltkriegs das öffentliche Gedenken – der Kniefall Bundeskanzler Willy Brandts am 7. Dezember 1970 bei der Kranzniederlegung am „Ehrenmal für die Helden des Warschauer Ghettos“ wurde zur Ikone dieser Veränderung. Der millionenfache Mord an den Juden in Deutschland und in den besetzten Teilen Europas rückte Ende der 1970er Jahre in den Mittelpunkt der öffentlichen Erinnerung; auch der Begriff „Holocaust“ fand erst in dieser Zeit nach der Ausstrahlung der gleichnamigen US-amerikanischen Serie Eingang in den öffentlichen Sprachgebrauch.⁷ Das

präsenteste Symbol des öffentlichen Holocaust-Gedenkens ist das 2005 in der Mitte Berlins fertiggestellte Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas.

Es würde zu weit führen, die Entwicklung der Erinnerungskultur in Deutschland im Detail nachvollziehen zu wollen. Wichtig ist an dieser Stelle, dass die Erinnerungskultur im Laufe der Jahre eine immer stärkere Fokussierung auf den Holocaust und die Opfer der nationalsozialistischen Rassenpolitik erfahren hat. Hierin – in dem Umstand, dass die Täter und ihre Nachkommen versucht haben, die Perspektive der Opfer einzunehmen – sieht Susan Neiman übrigens eine Besonderheit des deutschen Vergangenheitsdiskurses.⁸

Es ist jedoch aus verschiedenen Gründen angebracht, den Status quo der deutschen Erinnerungskultur kritisch zu betrachten, die hier nur knapp und ohne Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit angerissen werden können.

Mit einiger Berechtigung wurde schon frühzeitig darauf hingewiesen, dass auch andere Minderheiten Opfer des nationalsozialistischen Rassenwahns wurden und in großer Zahl in den Konzentrations- und Vernichtungslagern getötet wurden. Als Ergebnis dieser Diskussion wurde z. B. in unmittelbarer Nähe des Reichstagsgebäudes und nur wenige hundert Meter vom Holocaust-Mahnmal entfernt das Denkmal für die im Nationalsozialismus ermordeten Sinti und Roma Europas errichtet und 2012 eingeweiht. Andere Gedenkort erinnern an die Angehörigen weiterer Opfergruppen, so das Denkmal für die im Nationalsozialismus verfolgten Homosexuellen und der Gedenk- und Informationsort für die Opfer der nationalsozialistischen „Euthanasie“-Morde.

Mit der Etablierung von Gedenkorten und Gedenktagen – der 27. Januar wird auf Initiative des früheren Bundespräsidenten Roman Herzog seit 1996 in Erinnerung an die Befreiung des Vernichtungslagers Auschwitz durch die Rote Armee als Gedenktag an die Opfer und Verfolgten des Nationalsozialismus begangen⁹ – geht fast zwangsläufig eine Ritualisierung des Gedenkens einher, welche die Gefahr der inhaltlichen Entkernung in sich birgt. „Tränen ohne Trauer“ lautet daher auch der Titel des im Juli 2021 erschienenen kritischen Buchs von Per Leo.¹⁰

Eine hitzige Debatte hat sich im letzten Jahr über das lange Jahre unwidersprochene Postulat der Singularität des Holocaust entzündet. Im Hintergrund der Diskussion über die Thesen von Michael Rothberg¹¹ und Anthony Dirk Moses – Moses ging sogar so weit, von einem „Katechismus der Deutschen“ zu sprechen, in dessen Zentrum das Singularitätspostulat als Dogma stünde¹² – steht die Frage nach den Zusammenhängen zwischen den kolonialen Verbrechen des Deutschen Kaiserreiches in Afrika, Ozeanien und China und den Verbrechen des nationalsozialistischen Deutschen Reiches. Obwohl außerhalb Deutschlands der Zusammenhang zwischen Kolonialismus und NS-Rassenmord schon seit längerem diskutiert wird, ist das Thema für die deutsche Öffentlichkeit vergleichsweise neu. Heftig debattiert wird nun die Frage, ob die Fokussierung auf die nationalsozialistischen Gewalttaten nicht den Blick auf die kolonialen Verbrechen des Kaiserreichs verstellt hat. Und umgekehrt wird die Frage aufgeworfen, ob nicht die neue Betonung der Kolonialverbrechen – für die emblematisch der Völkermord an den Herero in Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika,

dem heutigen Namibia steht – eine Relativierung des Holocaust zur Folge hat.¹³

Tiefgreifende Veränderungen

Abschließend sollen zwei wichtige Veränderungen der deutschen Gesellschaft vorgestellt werden, die eine kritische Reflexion der traditionellen Erinnerungskultur unumgänglich erscheinen lassen. Im Laufe der letzten Jahrzehnte hat sich die deutsche Gesellschaft zu einer Einwanderungsgesellschaft entwickelt, zu der mittlerweile sehr viele Menschen gehören, die schon deshalb keinen persönlichen Bezug zum Holocaust haben, weil ihre Vorfahren erst nach 1945 nach Deutschland eingewandert sind. Lange Zeit standen sie – scheinbar aus guten und offensichtlichen Gründen – außerhalb der traditionellen Erinnerungskultur und waren deshalb auch nicht Adressaten der zur Erinnerungskultur gehörenden historisch-politischen Bildungsarbeit. In dem Maße aber, in dem diese Menschen den berechtigten Anspruch erheben, ein integraler Teil der deutschen Gesellschaft zu sein, muss diese Gesellschaft als Erinnerungsgemeinschaft auch ihre Bedürfnisse berücksichtigen. Sie müssen sich nicht nur die deutsche Geschichte und die aus ihr resultierenden Verpflichtungen zu eigen machen, sie bringen auch ihre eigenen Geschichten mit, die bislang für die deutsche Erinnerungskultur nicht von Belang waren. Dies ist ein überaus komplexer Vorgang, dessen weitere Entwicklung aus meiner Sicht nur schwer abzusehen ist, dem die deutsche Gesellschaft insgesamt aber nicht aus dem Wege gehen darf.

Eine zweite tiefgreifende Veränderung der deutschen Gesellschaft ergibt sich aus der Wiedervereinigung. Da in der DDR eine gänzlich andere Erinnerungspolitik betrieben und demzufolge eine

gänzlich andere Erinnerungskultur gepflegt wurde, müssen Menschen, die ihre politische Sozialisation in der ehemaligen DDR erfahren haben, die Gelegenheit erhalten, ihre Positionen in eine konstruktive Weiterentwicklung der (bundes)deutschen Erinnerungskultur einbringen zu können. Auch das ist keine leichte Aufgabe.

Aus all dem geht – hoffentlich – deutlich hervor, dass die deutsche Erinnerungskultur auch in Zukunft stark von Veränderungen geprägt sein wird. Die Entwicklung ist nur schwer abzusehen. Von entscheidender Bedeutung wird aber sein, dass der mühsam erreichte Zustand erhalten werden kann, an dem – um noch einmal Nietzsche zu bemühen – nicht mehr der Stolz, sondern vielmehr das Gedächtnis den Ton angibt.

Archive und Erinnerungskultur

Und hier kommen nun endlich die Archive ins Spiel: Im Prozess des Erinnerns nimmt das Archiv als Gedächtnisinstitution eine zentrale Funktion wahr. Das Archiv ist der Ort, an dem historische Narrative, die mehr sein wollen als persönliche Erinnerungen, erarbeitet werden können. Im Archiv liegen die Quellen jeder historischen Erzählung. Und im Archiv muss sich jede historische Erzählung – um ein berühmtes Diktum von Reinhard Koselleck zu zitieren – dem Veto-Recht der Quellen stellen.¹⁴

Damit steht das Archiv zwischen dem Geschichtsmythos und seinen toxischen Geschichtsverfälschungen auf der einen und einer wissenschaftlich fundierten Geschichtsdebatte auf der anderen Seite. Angesichts dieser fundamentalen Bedeutung müssen für jedes Archiv einige

grundlegende Fragen beantwortet werden. Denn die Einordnung eines Archivs in seinen spezifischen Kontext ist die erste Stufe der Quellenkritik und damit Voraussetzung jeder wissenschaftlichen Einordnung des Aussagegewerts archivalischer Quellen!

Wer unterhält das Archiv? Warum wurde das Archiv eingerichtet? Hat es besondere Aufgaben? Ist das Archiv in seinen archivfachlichen Entscheidungen unabhängig oder weisungsgebunden? Ordnet es sich in einen bestimmten Traditionskontext ein? Arbeitet in dem Archiv professionelles Personal, das unabhängige Bewertungsentscheidungen trifft und fachgerecht erschließt? Wer hat Zugang zu dem Archivgut? Gibt es exklusive Rechte auf Aktennutzung oder ein allgemeines gesetzlich geregeltes Zugangsrecht für alle?

Die Antworten auf diese Fragen lassen erkennen, ob wir es mit einer Gesellschaft zu tun haben, in der offen und diskursiv nach der historischen Wahrheit und den daraus erwachsenen Verpflichtungen gesucht wird, oder mit einer Gesellschaft, die mit Blick auf die Erinnerungskultur geschlossen ist und quasi von oben gesagt bekommt, wie die eigene Geschichte zu lesen ist. Im ersten Fall darf eine Gesellschaft darauf hoffen, auch eine schlimme Vergangenheit bewältigen zu können. Im zweiten Fall muss eine Gesellschaft ständig damit rechnen, dass die nicht ordentlich zu Grabe getragenen Toten als Wiedergänger zurückkehren und erhebliches Unheil anrichten.

Wenn im Folgenden vor allem die Erinnerung an die nationalsozialistische Gewaltherrschaft Gegenstand der Betrachtung ist, bedeutet das, dass die Erinnerung an die deutsche Kolonialherrschaft und die kommunistische Dik-

tatur in der DDR bewusst zurückgestellt wird. Das ist ausschließlich dem Umstand geschuldet, dass der gegebene Rahmen eine ausführliche Betrachtung auch dieser konstitutiven Felder deutscher Erinnerungskultur und -politik nicht zulässt.

Motive für die Einrichtung von Archiven

Selbstverständlich ist es der primäre Zweck von Archiven, Erinnerung zu ermöglichen – Erinnerung an abgeschlossene Verträge, an bestehende Rechte und Pflichten oder an das Zustandekommen politischer Entscheidungen. In gewissem Sinne bedeutet die Einrichtung und Unterhaltung eines Archivs eine „Vorratshaltung für einen ungewissen Bedarf der Zukunft“.¹⁵

Aber schon die Motive, ein Archiv einzurichten, müssen sich nicht immer in dieser unbestimmten und potenziell offenen Gedächtnisfunktion erschöpfen, sondern können sehr bestimmte und in einer nahen Zukunft liegende Zwecke verfolgen. Das zeigt die Gründung des deutschen Reichsarchivs 1919, also der Vorgängerinstitution des Bundesarchivs.¹⁶

Die Gründung des Reichsarchivs

Als die Oberste Heeresleitung im Oktober 1918 angesichts der bevorstehenden Niederlage, aber noch vor Abschluss des Waffenstillstands die 1914 bei Kriegsbeginn aufgelöste Dienststelle des Oberquartiermeisters für Kriegsgeschichte wieder einrichtete, bestand ihre ursprüngliche Absicht nicht darin, am Ende ein Reichsarchiv zu gründen. Vielmehr sollte frühzeitig dafür Sorge getragen werden, dass die ungeheuren Mengen an Unterlagen, die während des Krieges entstanden waren, gesichert

würden, um anschließend für propagandistische Zwecke ausgewertet werden zu können. Früh hatte man erkannt, dass gleich nach dem Schweigen der Waffen die öffentliche Auseinandersetzung um die Deutung der Ursprünge und des Verlaufs des Kriegs einsetzen würde. Um hier sowohl der Propaganda der Kriegsgegner begegnen zu können als auch für die innenpolitische Debatte gerüstet zu sein, mussten die Akten unter die Kontrolle des Militärs gebracht und nur unter seiner Aufsicht ausgewertet werden können.

Als jedoch bekannt wurde, dass eine der Forderungen der Siegermächte in der Auflösung des Großen Generalstabs und seiner Teilorganisationen bestehen würde, änderte die Heeresleitung ihre Strategie und betrieb seit Mai 1919 die Einrichtung eines Reichsarchivs, damit „die amtliche Kriegsgeschichtsschreibung als eine nicht nur militärische, sondern auch nationale und wissenschaftliche Aufgabe fortgesetzt werden“ könne.

In einer Denkschrift vom Juli 1919 wurde Folgendes ausgeführt:

„In seinen Archiven und in seiner Bibliothek verwaltet der Generalstab nationale Güter, die nicht nur grossen materiellen, sondern auch in ihrer Art einzig dastehenden ideellen Wert besitzen. Der Generalstab hält es daher für seine Pflicht, auf die Erhaltung, zukünftige Verwaltung und Auswertung dieser unersetzlichen Güter hinzuweisen und einen dahinzielenden Vorschlag zu unterbreiten.“

Die Denkschrift plädiert vehement für eine privilegierte amtliche Auswertung der Kriegsakten, deren Ziel es sein müsse, „dem seelisch, geistig und physisch niedergebrosenen Volke den Glauben

an sich selbst wiederzugeben.“ Und kein Mittel wäre „dazu so geeignet als die Wiederbelebung der Erinnerung an die Grosstaten während des Weltkrieges.“

Diese Aufgabe wollte die Heeresleitung jedoch nicht der akademischen Wissenschaft überlassen. In ihren Augen konnte nur eine amtliche Geschichtsschreibung wirklich und wirksam dem „Lügenfeldzug der feindlichen Propaganda“ entgegentreten, der „heute bereits deutsches Wesen und deutschen Namen vergiftet.“

Tatsächlich folgte die Reichsregierung diesem Plan und beschloss am 5. September 1919 die Umwandlung der Dienststelle des Oberquartiermeisters für Kriegsgeschichte in ein ziviles Reichsarchiv unter der Aufsicht des Reichsministers des Innern. Im Rahmen der Kabinettsberatung äußerte auch der der SPD angehörende Reichswehrminister Gustav Noskes die Ansicht:

„Das deutsche Volk ist heute national so verlumpt, daß alles geschehen muß, um es vor allem national wiederaufzurichten. Durch nichts kann dies wirksamer erreicht werden, als durch die Beleuchtung der stolzen Erinnerungen aus dem Weltkrieg.“

Es lag nicht in den ursprünglichen Absichten der Reichsregierung oder gar der Heeresleitung, dass das neue Reichsarchiv, das am 1. Oktober 1919 seine Arbeit aufnahm und seit 1920 in Potsdam ansässig war, sich rasch zu einem Reichsarchiv im eigentlichen Sinne des Wortes entwickelte. Zwar kam das Reichsarchiv seinem Auftrag, die Geschichte des (Ersten) Weltkriegs zu schreiben mit Sorgfalt nach; mit der zeitnahen Übernahme umfangreicher ziviler Überlieferungenrelativierte sich

aber die militärische Prägung in kurzer Zeit. Die Transformation der ursprünglich beabsichtigten Tarnorganisation in ein richtiges Archiv von hohem fachlichen Rang verdankt sich in den Folgejahren der Beharrlichkeit der zivilen Archivare und ihrem Streben nach einer methodisch-wissenschaftlich abgesicherten Methode der Überlieferungsbildung und Erschließung.

Die Gründung von Zentralem Staatsarchiv und Bundesarchiv

Nach dem Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs richtete die Führung der Sowjetischen Besatzungszone zunächst ein Deutsches Zentralarchiv (DZA) ein, das die Arbeit des Reichsarchivs fortsetzen sollte. Im Gefolge der doppelten Staatsgründung von 1949 errichtete aber die Regierung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland ein Bundesarchiv in Koblenz, während die Tätigkeit des DZA auf die DDR beschränkt blieb und daher auch 1973 die Umbenennung in „Zentrales Staatsarchiv der DDR“ erfolgte.¹⁷

Beide Archive waren zu Beginn faktisch Archive ohne Akten, da die Unterlagen der Reichsministerien und Reichsbehörden – je nachdem, welcher Siegermacht sie in die Hände gefallen waren – in die Vereinigten Staaten, nach Großbritannien oder in die Sowjetunion verbracht worden waren. Das Archivgut des Potsdamer Reichsarchivs war ebenfalls beschlagnahmt und nach Moskau verbracht worden. Das Ziel dieser Aktionen war ursprünglich die Vorbereitung der alliierten Kriegsverbrecherprozesse, doch blieben die Akten zum größten Teil bis Mitte der 1950er Jahre in Alexandria bei Washington, London und Moskau. Dann erst erhielten das Bundesarchiv und das Zentrale Staatsarchiv ihre historischen Bestände zum großen Teil zurück; noch

heute liegen sowohl in verschiedenen staatlichen Archiven Russlands als auch in den National Archives der USA deutsche Reichsakten.

In der Bundesrepublik wurden die Bestände den Zuständigkeiten entsprechend auf das Bundesarchiv und die staatlichen Archive der Länder sowie kommunale Archive verteilt. Dabei war von größter Bedeutung, dass die Westalliierten die Akten nur unter der Bedingung zurückgaben, dass deren Nutzung sofort und ohne archivische Schutzfristen möglich sein würde. So konnten die in Koblenz – und später auch in Freiburg – verwahrten Reichsakten die Grundlage der beginnenden wissenschaftlichen Erforschung des Nationalsozialismus sowohl für die deutsche wie für die internationale Forschung werden.¹⁸

Auch die Rückgaben aus der Sowjetunion gelangten nicht alle in das Zentrale Staatsarchiv in Potsdam. Abgesehen von den umfangreichen, als Trophäe in der Sowjetunion bzw. heute in Russland zurückgehaltenen deutschen Archivalien konnten sowohl das Parteiarchiv der SED als auch das Ministerium für Staatssicherheit die zurückkehrenden Akten zunächst sichten und die Teile entnehmen, die beide für ihre Arbeit brauchen konnten.¹⁹ Der Forschung standen die in das Zentrale Staatsarchiv gelangten Unterlagen nur in sehr eingeschränktem Maße zur Verfügung. Während westdeutsche Forscher grundsätzlich keinen Zugang erhielten, war dies für Bürger der westlichen Siegermächte in einem gewissen Sinne schon möglich, aber alles andere als einfach, sodass von dieser Option faktisch nur sehr geringer Gebrauch gemacht wurde.

Neue Nutzungsmöglichkeiten nach der Wiedervereinigung

Diese Situation änderte sich erst mit dem Untergang der DDR und der Integration insbesondere des Zentralen Staatsarchivs der DDR, des Militärarchivs der DDR und des Staatlichen Filmarchivs der DDR in das Bundesarchiv im Gefolge der deutschen Wiedervereinigung 1990. Seitdem gilt das Bundesarchivgesetz als Zugangsgrundlage auch für die bis dahin unter dem Recht der DDR verwahrten Unterlagen. Mit wenigen Jahren Verzug folgten auch die Archive der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei und der sogenannten Massenorganisationen der DDR, deren inhaltlicher Schwerpunkt aber weit überwiegend auf der Nachkriegszeit liegt.²⁰ Das Ergebnis war ein regelrechter Run der Forschung auf die ihrem Zugriff lange entzogenen Reichsakten, durch den die wissenschaftliche NS-Forschung und damit die Aufarbeitung der NS-Diktatur wesentliche Impulse erhielt.

Einen bedeutenden Zuwachs von Unterlagen aus der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus erfuhr das Bundesarchiv im Jahr 1990 mit der Übernahme des sogenannten NS-Archivs der Stasi. Wie bereits erwähnt, konnte das Ministerium für Staatssicherheit in den 1950er Jahren die aus der Sowjetunion rückgeführten Akten zunächst auf Material durchsehen, das für die Zwecke der Stasi von Belang sein könnte. Dieses Material wurde von der Stasi zum kleineren Teil in ihre operativen Vorgänge übernommen, zum größeren Teil aber einfach in Magazinen eingelagert, die für die dauerhafte Sicherung von Archivgut völlig ungeeignet waren.

In den 1950er und 1960er Jahren wurden diese Unterlagen für die Erstellung

der sogenannten Braunbücher genutzt, in denen die DDR die NS-Belastung der bundesdeutschen Eliten aufzudecken versuchte. Eine flächendeckende Auswertung und damit „Enttarnung“ vieler Alt-Nationalsozialisten in der Bundesrepublik fand aber nicht statt – wie im Fall des BDC aus heute nicht nachvollziehbaren Gründen.

Mit der Entdeckung des selbst für viele DDR-Archivarinnen und -Archivare unbekanntes NS-Archivs der Stasi kamen zum Beispiel viele Unterlagen des Reichsgerichts und des Volksgerichtshofs wieder zum Vorschein, darunter die Akten betreffend das Verfahren gegen die Münchener Widerstandsgruppe „Die Weiße Rose“. Besonders frappierend war die Entdeckung der Unterlagen betreffend die massenhafte Ermordung kranker und behinderter Menschen im Rahmen der sogenannten „Euthanasie“-Aktion T 4 – eine Abkürzung, die auf die von unserem Veranstaltungsort nur wenige Schritte entfernt liegende Tiergartenstraße und die Hausnummer 4 zurückgeht. Die Aufarbeitung der NS-Krankenmorde und damit auch die Klärung vieler persönlicher Schicksale konnte damit um die Jahrtausendwende erst beginnen.

Eine systematische Aufarbeitung des NS-Archivs der Stasi und die anschließende Rückordnung der Unterlagen in die ursprünglichen Provenienzzusammenhänge erfolgte in der ersten Hälfte der 2000er Jahre. Auf diese Weise konnten viele vermeintliche und schmerzliche Überlieferungslücken in den Beständen des Bundesarchivs, aber auch anderer Archive geschlossen werden.²¹

Noch größere Auswirkungen hatte die Übergabe des unter Verfügungsgewalt der USA stehenden Berlin Document

Center an das Bundesarchiv im Jahre 1994. Auch diese zumeist personenbezogenen Unterlagen waren im Vorfeld der Kriegsverbrecherprozesse in Berlin zusammengeführt worden. Den Zugang hatten die USA jedoch aus nur schwer nachvollziehbaren Gründen sehr restriktiv gehandhabt. Der wissenschaftlichen Forschung standen die Mitgliederkarteien der NSDAP, ihrer Gliederungen und angeschlossenen Verbände nicht zur Verfügung. Die Klärung von NSDAP-Mitgliedschaften war ein komplizierter Vorgang, da Anfragen an das BDC in konkreten Einzelfällen nur auf dem Weg über das Bundesarchiv zugelassen waren und kein gesetzlicher Anspruch auf Auskunft bestand. Rückschauend muss man sagen, dass diese restriktive Zugangspraxis ein wesentlicher Grund dafür war, dass die NS-Belastung so vieler Amtsträger und Beamten zu ihren Lebzeiten nicht bekannt wurde und diese in der Bundesrepublik ein unbehelligtes Leben führen konnten.²²

Die Übergabe an das Bundesarchiv, wo die BDC-Unterlagen nun unter die Zugangsregeln des Bundesarchivgesetzes fielen, hatte zur Folge, dass viele vermeintlich beantwortete Fragen zur NS-Geschichte nun unter dem personalen Aspekt neu gestellt wurden. Zum Beispiel wurde aus „Medizin im Dritten Reich“ jetzt „Ärzte im Dritten Reich“. Die Auswirkungen waren enorm, da nun viele einflussreiche Personen aus Politik, Verwaltung, Wissenschaft und Kunst mit einer NS-Vergangenheit konfrontiert wurden, die sie bis dahin erfolgreich verschweigen und verdrängen konnten.

Den letzten „Großbestand“ aus der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus übernahm das Bundesarchiv 2019. Der Bestand der Deutschen Dienststelle für die Benachrichtigung der nächsten Angehörigen

von Gefallenen der ehemaligen deutschen Wehrmacht, die auch unter der Bezeichnung Wehrmachtauskunftsstelle bekannt ist, umfasste ca. 80 laufende Kilometer an personenbezogenen Unterlagen der deutschen Streitkräfte des Zweiten und in geringerem Umfang auch des Ersten Weltkriegs.²³ Auch diese Unterlagen standen bis zum Übergang an das Bundesarchiv

einer „normalen“ archivischen Nutzung nicht zur Verfügung. Seit 1. Januar 2019 gelten jedoch auch für diese Unterlagen die Zugangsregeln des Bundesarchivgesetzes. Der Forschung, vor allem aber vielen an der Geschichte ihrer Familie interessierten Menschen steht nun im Verbund der Gesamtüberlieferung des Bundesarchivs ein ungeheurer Fundus personenbezogener Unterlagen zur Verfügung, um das Schicksal gefallener oder vermisster Angehöriger zu klären oder genaueren Aufschluss über eine prägende Lebensphase ihrer aus dem Krieg zurückgekehrten Männer, Väter und Großväter zu gewinnen.

Arolsen Archives und Lastenausgleichsarchiv

Nachdem ich bislang von Unterlagen zur Geschichte des Dritten Reichs gesprochen habe, die in den Jahren 1933 bis 1945 entstanden sind und erst nach und nach ihren Weg in das Bundesarchiv gefunden habe, sollen nun auch Unterlagen angesprochen werden, die zum größten Teil zwar erst nach 1945 entstanden sind, die aber dennoch wichtige Quellen zur Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus bzw. zu seinen Folgen darstellen.

An ihrer Familiengeschichte interessierten Menschen steht im Bundesarchiv ein ungeheurer Fundus personenbezogener Unterlagen zur Verfügung.

Zunächst sei kurz über die Unterlagen des Internationalen Suchdienstes des Internationalen Komitees des Roten Kreuzes in Bad Arolsen hingewiesen, die heute auch unter der deutlich grif-

figeren Bezeichnung Arolsen Archives firmieren. Millionenfach dokumentieren diese Unterlagen das Schicksal von Opfern der nationalsozialistischen

Gewaltherrschaft, die in den Konzentrations- und Vernichtungslagern umgekommen sind oder nach ihrer Befreiung als Displaced Persons zum Teil jahrelang nach einer neuen Bleibe suchen mussten. Im Gegensatz zu den Täter-Unterlagen im Bundesarchiv kommt hier die Opferseite ohne Vermittlung durch die Dienststellen des NS-Regimes zu Wort; die Arolsen Archives stellen damit sowohl der Schicksalsklärung als auch der wissenschaftlichen Forschung einen unverzichtbaren Quellenfundus zur Verfügung, ohne den die Geschichte der NS-Gewaltherrschaft allzu einseitig aus der Perspektive der Täter geschrieben werden müsste.²⁴

Die Bundesregierung hat in den 1950er Jahren bewusst auf die Übernahme dieser Unterlagen verzichtet und sie in der Obhut des Internationalen Roten Kreuzes belassen. Der Nutzung der Unterlagen für die wissenschaftliche Aufarbeitung und Forschung war diese Entscheidung freilich nicht zuträglich, da auch das IKRK ein extrem rigides Zugangsreglement einführte. Erst mit dem Rückzug des IKRK und der Unterstellung der Arolsen Archives unter eine Internationale Kommission wurden die Unterlagen geöffnet und ein transparentes und modernes Benutzungswesen etabliert.

Beschlossen werden soll der Reigen der Beispiele mit dem Lastenausgleichsarchiv, das am Standort Bayreuth die Bestände des Bundesarchivs zum Lastenausgleich zusammenfasst und so die Verluste der aus den früheren deutschen Ostgebieten vertriebenen Menschen ebenso dokumentiert wie die Bemühungen der bundesdeutschen Gesellschaft, diese Vertriebenen in der Bundesrepublik zu integrieren und in gewissem Maße für ihre Verluste zu entschädigen. Es bedurfte 1988 eines besonderen Gesetzes, um die eigentlich zum Teil in die Zuständigkeit der Landes- und Kommunalarchive fallenden Unterlagen zentral im Bundesarchiv zusammenführen zu können. Schon dieser Umstand deutet an, dass mit der Einrichtung dieses Teils des Bundesarchivs auch politische Absichten verfolgt werden sollten: Zum einen sollte natürlich die gewaltige gesellschaftliche Leistung dokumentiert werden, 12 bis 14 Millionen Menschen dauerhaft integriert zu haben. Auf der anderen Seite lässt die Begründung des Gesetzes keinen Zweifel daran, dass in Bayreuth ein möglichst vollständiger Überblick über die deutschen Verluste nach Kriegsende entstehen sollte, der natürlich ein Politikum ersten Ranges darstellen würde. Es ist ein Zeichen der Hoffnung, dass das Lastenausgleichsarchiv heute ein Ort der Begegnung geworden ist, an dem die Nachkommen der Vertriebenen mit den Nachkommen der neuen Bewohner der Ostgebiete zusammentreffen und ins Gespräch kommen – die ihrerseits aus den früheren polnischen Siedlungsgebieten in Belarus und der Ukraine vertrieben worden waren.

Das Bundesarchiv und die Erinnerungskultur

Abschließend sollen nun noch die Rolle des Bundesarchivs für die Erinnerungs-

kultur und die besonderen Aufgaben betrachtet werden, die es in diesem Rahmen zu erfüllen hat.

Es ist hoffentlich deutlich geworden, dass es nicht damit getan ist, Archivgut zu sichern und dauerhaft zu bewahren. Entscheidend ist – wie die Beispiele zeigen sollten –, dass die Unterlagen für die Schicksalsklärung, die juristische und gesellschaftliche Aufarbeitung und die wissenschaftliche Forschung auch tatsächlich zur Verfügung stehen. Erst nach der Öffnung sowohl des BDC als auch des NS-Archivs der Stasi konnten viele persönliche Verantwortlichkeiten systematisch aufgearbeitet werden. Nun erst bekamen die Täter wirklich ein Gesicht, nun erst wurde erkennbar, wer alles und in welchem Maße an den Verbrechen des NS-Regimes beteiligt war. Es wurde aber auch deutlich, wie viele zum Teil schwer belastete Männer und auch Frauen in der Bundesrepublik ein gutes und erfolgreiches Leben führen konnten, ohne dass sie für ihre Taten zur Rechenschaft gezogen werden konnten. Sicherlich spielten viele von ihnen beim Neuaufbau nach 1949 eine durchaus positive Rolle; ihrer Verantwortlichkeit mussten sie sich aber nicht stellen, und sie haben wohl auch das Ihre getan, um die „böse Vergangenheit“ nach Möglichkeit zu verdrängen. Erst auf der breiten Grundlage aller verfügbaren Quellen konnte die moderne Behördenforschung die tatsächlichen Kontinuitäten und Brüche zwischen den Regierungen und Verwaltungen des Dritten Reichs und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland erforschen und herausarbeiten.

Es ist die „natürliche“ Aufgabe des Bundesarchivs, der historischen Forschung, der historisch-politischen Bildung und überhaupt jeder interessierten Person das Archivgut des Bundes zur Beantwortung

tung der jeweiligen Fragen zur Verfügung zu stellen. Dazu reicht es allerdings nicht aus, das Archivgut in guten Magazinen sicher zu verwahren, zu erschließen und den Benutzerinnen und Benutzern, die den Weg in die Lesesäle des Bundesarchivs finden, zur Einsicht vorzulegen.

Das Bundesarchiv interpretiert seine Rolle schon seit vielen Jahrzehnten nicht passiv, sondern hat vielmehr die dem jeweiligen Stand der Technik entsprechenden Methoden und Formen aktiv genutzt, um die Benutzerinnen und Benutzer an das Archivgut heranzuführen. Dazu gehörten und gehören Editionen wie die Akten der Reichskanzlei,²⁵ deren abschließender Band für die Jahre 1944 und 1945 erst vor wenigen Wochen der Öffentlichkeit übergeben wurde. Dazu gehören auch Publikationen wie das Gedächtnisbuch zur Erinnerung an die ermordeten Juden, das nach zwei gedruckten Auflagen mittlerweile als online frei zugängliche Datenbank geführt und aktuell gehalten wird.²⁶

Um die Erinnerung an die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus auch im aktiven Gedächtnis eines breiten Publikums wach zu halten, beteiligt sich das Bundesarchiv unterstützend an wissenschaftlichen Großprojekten wie der 16-bändigen Edition über die Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden, deren Abschluss im kommenden Jahr mit einer vom Institut für Zeitgeschichte, dem zeitgeschichtlichen Lehrstuhl der Universität Freiburg und dem Bundesarchiv veranstalteten Tagung offiziell begangen wird.²⁷

Und schließlich bedarf es der Erwähnung, dass das Bundesarchiv sowohl die Projekte der European Holocaust Research Infrastructure (EHRI) als auch

der International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) aktiv unterstützt.

Im Zeitalter der Digitalisierung gehört auch die Bereitstellung von digitalem Archivgut über die Internet-Plattform *invenio* zu den Aufgaben des Bundesarchivs. Gerade mit Blick auf die schon in wenigen Jahren beginnenden Centennarien zur Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus ist das Bundesarchiv schon seit mehreren Jahren bemüht, bis zum Jahr 2028 alle relevanten Unterlagen aus der Zeit des Dritten Reichs bis zum Beginn des Zweiten Weltkriegs online in digitaler Form der Allgemeinheit zur Verfügung zu stellen. Anschließend sollen bis 2033 auch die zentralen Überlieferungen für die Jahre 1939 bis 1945 folgen.

Zu den Aufgaben des Bundesarchivs gehören selbstverständlich genauso die Erforschung, Aufarbeitung und Erinnerung der Geschichte des deutschen Kolonialismus und der kommunistischen Diktatur in der DDR. Es ließen sich ganze Tagungen damit bestreiten, auch über die Überlieferungsgeschichte zu diesen schwierigen Epochen deutscher Zeitgeschichte zu sprechen. An dieser Stelle muss der Hinweis genügen, dass die Digitalisierung und Online-Stellung aller Archivalien des Bundesarchivs zur Geschichte der deutschen Kolonialherrschaft in Afrika, Ozeanien und China bereits abgeschlossen ist. Jeder Internet-Nutzer kann die Akten des Reichskolonialamts sowie die betreffenden Unterlagen der Reichskanzlei und der Reichsämtler schon heute im Internet in hoher Qualität einsehen und nutzen.²⁸

Wer nur den aktuellen Stand der Zugänglichkeit zu den Quellen zur Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus im Blick hat, kann leicht die Frage stellen, warum die deutsche Gesellschaft so

lange gebraucht hat, sich dieser Geschichte zu stellen. Und gleiches gilt für den deutschen Kolonialismus und die SED-Diktatur in der DDR. Ein Blick auf die Geschichte der Bestände des Bundesarchivs macht dagegen deutlich, dass ohne umfassende und allgemeine Zu-

gänglichkeit der archivalischen Quellen die Aufarbeitung einer schlimmen Vergangenheit Stückwerk bleiben muss und fatale Folgen haben kann. Und es liegt nicht zuletzt in der Verantwortung des Bundesarchivs, für die Sicherung und die Zugänglichkeit zu sorgen.



Prof. Dr. Michael Hollmann ist Präsident des Bundesarchivs.

- 1 Susan Neiman: Von den Deutschen lernen. Wie Gesellschaften mit dem Bösen in ihrer Geschichte umgehen können, Berlin 2020. Einem Beitrag in der Zeitschrift *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* 71 (2021), Heft 40-41, S. 9-13, gibt Neiman den gleichen Titel, schließt ihn jedoch diesmal mit einem Fragezeichen ab: „Von den Deutschen lernen?“.
- 2 Vgl. Friedrich Nietzsche: *Jenseits von Gut und Böse* (Kritische Studienausgabe, Bd. 5), Berlin 1999, S. 86. Den Hinweis auf diesen Aphorismus verdanke ich Susan Neiman, die ihn in ihrem 2020 erschienenen Buch zitiert (wie Anm. 1, S. 546).
- 3 Vgl. dazu etwa Christian Meier: *Das Gebot zu vergessen und die Unabweisbarkeit des Erinnerens. Vom öffentlichen Umgang mit schlimmer Vergangenheit*, München 2010; Jon Elster: *Die Akten schließen. Recht und Gerechtigkeit nach dem Ende von Diktaturen*, Frankfurt/Main 2005.
- 4 Vgl. z. B. Jan Assmann: *Krypta. Bewahrte und verdrängte Vergangenheit. Künstlerische und wissenschaftliche Explorationen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses*, in: Bernhard Jussen (Hg.): *Archäologie zwischen Imagination und Wissenschaft*; Anne und Patrick Poirier (*Von der künstlerischen Produktion der Geschichte* 2), Göttingen 1999, S. 83-99.
- 5 Vgl. z. B. Detlef Pollack: *Der heilige Krieg des Patriarchen*, in: *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* vom 14.3.2022, <https://www.faz.net/-gsf-an3rp> (aufgerufen am 3.11.2022).
- 6 Hingewiesen sei z. B. auf die geschichtspolitischen Forderungen Griechenlands und Bulgariens an Nordmazedonien im Kontext der Verhandlungen über den Beitritt Nordmazedoniens zur Europäischen Union. Vielfältige Anregungen zu diesem Thema geben auch die Sammelbände Etienne François/Kornelia Kończal/Robert Traba/Stefan Troebst (Hg.): *Geschichtspolitik in Europa seit 1989. Deutschland, Frankreich und Polen im internationalen Vergleich*, Göttingen 2013 und Zsuzsa Breier/Adolf Muschg (Hg.): *„Freiheit, ach Freiheit ...“: Vereintes Europa, geteiltes Gedächtnis*, Göttingen 2011.
- 7 Zur Bedeutung der Fernsehserie „Holocaust“ vgl. Frank Bösch: *Zeitenwende 1979. Als die Welt von heute begann*, München 2019, S. 363-395.
- 8 Vgl. Susan Neiman: *Von den Deutschen lernen?* (wie Anm. 1), S. 10f.
- 9 Vgl. die Proklamation Bundespräsident Roman Herzogs vom 3. Januar 1996 in BGBl. 1996 I, S. 17.
- 10 Per Leo: *Tränen ohne Trauer. Nach der Erinnerungskultur*, Stuttgart 2021.
- 11 Vgl. Michael Rothberg: *Multidirektionale Erinnerung. Holocaustgedenken im Zeitalter der Dekolonisierung*, Berlin 2021.
- 12 Anthony Dirk Moses: *Der Katechismus der Deutschen*, in: *Geschichte der Gegenwart* vom 23.5.2021, <https://geschichtedergegenwart.ch/der-katechismus-der-deutschen/> (aufgerufen am 3.11.2022).
- 13 Vgl. dazu Susan Neiman/Michael Wildt (Hg.): *Historiker streiten. Gewalt und Holocaust. Die Debatte*, Berlin 2022.
- 14 Zum „Vetorecht“ der Quellen vgl. Reinhart Koselleck: *Standortbindung und Zeitlichkeit. Ein Beitrag zur historiographischen Erschließung der geschichtlichen Welt*, in: Ders./Wolfgang J. Mommsen/Jörn Rüsen (Hg.): *Objektivität und Parteilichkeit in der Geschichtswissenschaft* (Beiträge zur Historik 1), München 1977, S. 17-46.

- 15 So bezogen zunächst auf Bibliotheken Michael Knoche: Der Bibliothekar als Gatekeeper der Wissenschaft, in: Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung vom 2.9.2015, <https://blog-archiv.klassik-stiftung.de/bibliothekar/> (aufgerufen am 3.11.2022).
- 16 Vgl. dazu Michael Hollmann: Die Gründung des Reichsarchivs, in: Rainer Hering/Robert Kretschmar/Wolfgang Zimmermann (Hg.): *Erinnern an den Ersten Weltkrieg. Archivische Überlieferungsbildung und Sammlungsaktivitäten in der Weimarer Republik* (Werkhefte der Staatlichen Archivverwaltung Baden-Württemberg A 25), Stuttgart 2015, S. 29-61. Dort finden sich auch die Nachweise der nachstehend zitierten Quellen.
- 17 Zur doppelten Archivgründung in den beiden deutschen Staaten nach 1945 vgl. Friedrich P. Kahlenberg: *Deutsche Archive in West und Ost. Zur Entwicklung des Staatlichen Archivwesens seit 1945*, Düsseldorf 1972; Hermann Schreyer: *Das staatliche Archivwesen der DDR* (Schriften des Bundesarchivs 70), Düsseldorf 2008 sowie demnächst Peter Ulrich Weiß: *Deutsche Zentralarchive in den Systemumbrüchen nach 1933 und 1945* (Geschichte der Gegenwart 30), Göttingen 2022.
- 18 Vgl. dazu Astrid M. Eckert: *Kampf um die Akten. Die Westalliierten und die Rückgabe von deutschem Archivgut nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Transatlantische historische Studien 20), Stuttgart 2004.
- 19 Vgl. dazu Henry Leide: *NS-Verbrecher und Staatssicherheit. Die geheime Vergangenheitspolitik der DDR* (Analysen und Dokumente 28), Göttingen 2005, S. 153-156.
- 20 Vgl. dazu Christoph Stamm: *Wem gehören die Akten der SED? Die Auseinandersetzung um das Zentrale Parteiarchiv der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands nach 1990* (Schriften des Bundesarchivs 79), Düsseldorf 2019.
- 21 Vgl. dazu Sabine Dumschat: *Archiv oder „Müll-eimer“? Das „NS-Archiv“ des Ministeriums für Staatssicherheit der DDR und seine Aufarbeitung im Bundesarchiv*, https://www.bundesarchiv.de/DE/Content/Downloads/Aus-unserer-Arbeit/ns-archiv-des-mfs1.pdf?__blob=publicationFile (aufgerufen am 3.11.2022).
- 22 *The Holdings of the Berlin Document Center. A guide to the Collections*, Berlin 1994.
- 23 Vgl. Wolfgang Remmers: *Deutsche Dienststelle (WASi) 1939-1999. 60 Jahre im Namen des Völkerrechts*, Berlin 1999.
- 24 Umfängliche Informationen finden sich unter <https://arolsen-archives.org/> (aufgerufen am 3.11.2022).
- 25 Vgl. Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Hg.): *Akten der Reichskanzlei. Weimarer Republik*, Boppard 1968-1990, <http://www.bundesarchiv.de/aktenreichskanzlei/1919-1933/0000/index.html> (aufgerufen am 3.11.2022); Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Hg.): *Akten der Reichskanzlei. Regierung Hitler*, Boppard 1983, München 1999-2012, Berlin/Boston 2015-2022.
- 26 Nach der zweibändigen gedruckten Erstauflage von 1986 erschien 2006 eine wesentlich erweiterte vierbändige zweite Auflage. Seit Ende 2007 wird das Gedenkbuch online geführt und infolge kontinuierlicher Verbesserung der Informationslage quartalsweise aktualisiert, vgl. <http://www.bundesarchiv.de/gedenkbuch/intro.html.de> (aufgerufen am 3.11.2022).
- 27 Institut für Zeitgeschichte München-Berlin/Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg/Bundesarchiv (Hg.): *Die Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden durch das nationalsozialistische Deutschland 1933-1945*, München 2008-2015, Berlin 2016-2021.
- 28 Einen übersichtlichen Zugang bietet die Seite <https://www.bundesarchiv.de/DE/Navigation/Entdecken/Kolonialgeschichte/kolonialgeschichte.html> (aufgerufen am 3.11.2022).

~~SECRET~~

ARRIVÉE
PRÉFECTURE - C.L.
** - 3 AOUT 1957 **
N° de clt. 7.644

PREFECTURE DE BATNA

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NOM et PRENOMS :

DATE et LIEU de : Né en 1926 à MENAA - Originaire des OULED
NAISSANCE CHELIH.

Trouvé blessé dans la région de AFSIL en RW 28 et ramené par les éléments d'une unité en opération à l'hospital de BISKRA.

CIRCONSTANCES DE SON PASSAGE A LA REBELLION

Passé à la rébellion en Janvier 1955.

Son jeune frère ainsi que deux de ses cousins ont assassiné l'ancien Caid KALLA de MENAA. A la suite de cet assassinat a été ramassé par la harka d'ARRIS. Lui, réussit à s'enfuir à ce moment là et rejoint le groupe de BOULAID Mohamed. Part de BENI FERAH pour la TUNISIE le 9 Mai 1957 avec 9 ou 10 hommes sous le Commandement de MECHELECK Belgacem, (Chef de groupe de BOULAID Mohamed), avec comme point de destination TADJEROUINE où ils sont arrivés 12 jours après soit vers le 21 Mai.

ITINERAIRE SUIVI : VERS LA TUNISIE

- Djebel Azreg
- Taghda
- Belhioud
- Ayed Anza
- MSail
- Tizougoune
- Moussa El Ayati

.../...

Jean-Charles Bédague / Isabelle Dion

Giving Access in France to Archives Relating to Algeria: What Methods? What Assessment? What Prospects?

By a decree of 22 December 2021, the French Government decided to open up in advance to the public a significant number of archival documents relating to the Algerian War. Let us begin by reviewing the legal mechanism underlying this decision in order to fully understand its scope.

Opening Archives

In French law, „opening“ archives means shortening the periods of incommunicability that apply to them, and thus allowing free access to anyone who wishes to consult or reproduce them, regardless of their approach (academic, personal, genealogical, etc.). This procedure, called, in our archival jargon, „general derogation“ (*dérogation générale*), has already been tried and tested in France, since it was activated on eleven occasions for the archives of the Second World War between 1998 and 2017, and on two occasions before 2021 for the archives of the Algerian War (in 2019 for the sources relating to the disappearance of Maurice Audin; in 2020 for the files of the missing of the Algerian War, kept at the National Archives).

With regard to the period of the Algerian War, only those archives that were not already freely communicable were, of course, eligible for opening, i. e. a minority of them. In fact, documents relating to cases brought before the courts, and documents relating to investigations carried out by the judicial police, for which the common communicability period is set by the archives law of 15 July 2008 at seventy-five years from the date of the document. Most of the other documents relating to the Algerian War were subject to a fifty-year time limit and were therefore freely communicable since 2012 at the latest.

But if the opening of the archives on 22 December 2021 should be given a special place, it is not so much because of the legal mechanism that made it possible, as because of its scope, which is unprecedented.

In France, this opening is a premiere. First of all, from the point of view of the archive services concerned, since all those who could keep judicial or judicial police archives on the Algerian War benefit from the decree. The documents kept at the National Archives, the National Overseas Archives, the De-

partmental Archives, the Diplomatic Archives, the archive services of the Ministry of the Army and the archive service of the Paris Police Prefecture are open.

The period covered by the opening is as broad as possible, since it concerns documents relating to events that occurred during the war, i. e. from 1954 to 1962, but also those that occurred after Algeria's independence, up to 1966, the date of the last attacks committed by supporters of French Algeria – a period of twelve years that makes it possible to cover the conflict right up to its aftermath, and therefore in all its complexity.

The decree is also drafted in such a way that it does not refer to any archival reference („shelf mark“) or any particular archival fonds. It is in a way „universal“, covering *a priori* all of the fonds within the perimeters concerned, but also files included in larger fonds, for example of a court that had to judge other cases, or even isolated documents within files (for example, a judicial police report in an administrative file). This approach, which had already proved its effectiveness when the Second World War judicial archives were opened in 2015, avoided the need for archivists to carry out a long and tedious search prior to the decision to open the archives; above all, it avoids oversights and makes it possible to cover collections which, for one reason or another, have not yet been identified or, consequently, transferred to a public archive, but will be in the future.

Three exceptions only

A measured assessment of the risks only led to three exceptions to this opening, with a view to preserving information that is still sensitive, par-

ticularly with regard to the intimacy of sexual life or the security of certain people. This concern for balance thus required the exclusion from the scope of the decree of documents relating to people who were minor at the time of the events; those, classified only, whose disclosure is likely to undermine the security of named or easily identifiable persons involved in intelligence activities; and those whose disclosure undermines the intimacy of sexual life. These documents, which the archives law of 2008 already considered to be more sensitive since it assigned them a longer communicability period – in this case 100 years – could nevertheless still be consulted by people who request it, and in particular researchers, through the individual advance consultation authorisation procedure.

One must emphasise one last point, which is not insignificant: the implementation of the 2021 opening is immediate and does not require any other formality than the filing of an access request with the archive service concerned. It does not imply, indeed, as was the case in 2015 for the judicial archives of the Second World War, the systematic and material declassification, and therefore the prior identification, of documents that would have a classification mark. This is a beneficial effect of a law of 30 July 2021, which now provides that, by way of exception, documents falling under the seventy-five year time limit, i. e. the documents which are the subject of the present opening, are *de facto* declassified as soon as a period of fifty years has expired. All of the documents concerned here were thus already declassified *de facto* even before they were opened by general derogation, and could therefore be made acces-

sible to all without any other formality than the publication of a general derogation decree.

The context of the opening of archives related to Algeria

The opening of archives permitted by the decree of 22 December is not, however, an isolated measure from the point of view of access to French archives relating to Algeria in general, and to the Algerian War in particular. It is part of a broader context, bounded, one might say, by two interventions by the French President Emmanuel Macron: firstly, his statement of 13 September 2018 in which he recognised the assassination by France of Maurice Audin, and secondly, his press release of 26 January 2022 taking stock of the measures implemented to „appease the memories of colonisation and the Algerian War“, between which took place the report submitted to him by Benjamin Stora in late January 2021. This desire to „look history in the face“, to use Emmanuel Macron's words, to carry out „a never-ending work of memory“, to use Benjamin Stora's words, obviously finds and has found expression in the field of archives.

As I said before, two decrees preceded the one I just mentioned; one concerned the archives relating to the disappearance of Maurice Audin (9 September 2019), the other the files of the missing of the Algerian War produced by a Commission between the late 1950s and early 1960s (9 April 2020). However, the legal provisions for opening up archives does not in itself sum up the work carried out by the archive administration, in this case the Interministerial Service of the Archives de France, to facilitate access, particularly for non-specialist audiences. Allowing free communication of archives is never enough if their iden-

tification and retrieval are not facilitated, if their transmission, understanding and appropriation are not ensured.

Facilitating the retrieval

In 2020 and 2021, two orientation guides were published on our national portal FranceArchives¹, one on sources relating to the missing of the Algerian War, the other on those, written, sound and audiovisual, relating to the Harkis. As a result of important interministerial work (in France, the Ministries of the Army and of Foreign Affairs have autonomy for the management of their archives), written with the support of historians specialised in the subject, these guides offer an overview of the archives relating to these two themes, regardless of where in France they are kept; they direct users, whatever their level of knowledge of the organisation of archives, to the main collections likely to provide answers to their research; they also point out gaps, pitfalls and ways of bypassing them. A third guide is being prepared on sources relating to the French repatriates from Algeria.

Ensuring the transmission

Since academics are not the only audience, the archive services have also increased the number of actions intended to show and understand the sources of the Algerian War, and even more broadly those of the common history between France and Algeria. It is impossible to list here, as there are so many, all the publications, exhibitions, and online access to archives relating to Algeria – an overview of the action carried out in this respect by the National Overseas Archives will be given in the following. In addition to these „classic“ productions of archive services, departmental

and municipal archives could be closely associated with a network of memory sites of the history of France and Algeria, in terms of the sources that they preserve on the places, people or events thus highlighted. Let us mention the plaque inaugurated at the Thol camp in the Ain department, or the stele in homage to Emir Abdelkader inaugurated in Amboise. The archives will also be part of the project for a museum of the history of France and Algeria, relaunched last July in the wake of the Stora report, which is to be hosted by the city of Montpellier, in particular to enrich its documentary portal.

The responsibility of the archivists

As we can see from this brief overview, the recent opening of the archives, while it has benefited, like any decision of this type, from significant media coverage, is not isolated and can only be understood by being aware of the multiform and long-term action implemented by the archive services to facilitate access to and understanding of the archives of the Algerian War. This action, whatever form it takes, is based on values and methods that are specific to all the memory projects in which the archive administration takes part, namely the ambition to facilitate access to documents while respecting the higher interests of the Nation; the desire to contribute to historical documentation through a scientific, i. e. documented, neutral and objective, approach to sources; and the desire to maintain a strict division of competencies between making archives available, which is part of its public service mission, and their exploitation, which is the responsibility of public research and civil society.

The example of the Overseas National Archives

The National Overseas Archives (ANOM) keep approximately 8 kilometers of archives relating to Algeria. In this set, we can distinguish the archives of the various ministries which were in charge of Algeria in France (Ministry of the Interior, Ministry of Algerian Affairs, Ministry of the Sahara), the archives of public (Common Organization of Saharian Regions [OCRS]) or private (Bank of Algeria) organisations and the archives partly repatriated from Algeria at the time of independence.

As for all the other territories, the repatriation of the archives was done according to a criterion: France brought back the archives of sovereignty, such as the archives of governors, police, files of European personnel, but also historical records, such as colonization records, while management records that could be used for the Algerian administration (public works, finance, teaching...) remained in the country. The conditions of repatriation were closely linked to the local situation. There was destruction on both sides, voluntary or not. At the moment we have no information on what is kept in Algeria and accessible to researchers and citizens.

The archives of the former French territories have been kept in Aix-en-Provence since 1966. The Archive repository was built for this purpose. As for the other territories the identification of archives relating to Algeria which arrived in bags was made from the transfer lists that accompanied them (for the so-called current archives it is still kept in the offices at the time of the transfers). Sometimes the

archives had already been filed (this is the case of so-called historical archives, such as political correspondence, colonisation files) and more detailed inventories were already kept in the archives repositories created by France in Algeria. Sometimes there was no inventory. If the important files were the subject of quick filing, the others were accessible only through an archivist.

The particular importance of archives related to Algeria within the ANOM

Algeria is the territory which, in the ANOM, occupies the biggest amount of linear meters, ahead of Indochina (about 3.5 km). Archives related to Algeria are also those that generate the most requests by e-mail (nearly 70 % of e-mail received), but also the most negative responses, since on average 50 % of the requests should not have arrived at the ANOM, because the archives on which these requests are based are not stored there. Algerian researchers constituted before the Covid crisis the first foreign nationality in the reading room, followed by North Americans.

Finally, the archives relating to Algeria have always been the subject of the particular attention on the part of the archivists in the ANOM (two archivists are responsible for the sector), and the most important result from the point of view of scientific treatment in recent years.

The approach of the ANOM has always been to make the archives they hold as accessible as possible while trying to reconcile the requests of different audiences: citizens asking to find documents concerning them, applicants for rights (certificates of career, military

identification statements, etc.), and researchers. With this in mind in 2004 the ANOM website and the *Etat général des fonds* were conceived, the latter providing a description of all the archives kept, whether filed or not. From 2007 to 2008 detailed inventories that provide access to a collection or part of archives were put online. It is this set that is regularly enriched.

Questions of memory have become over the years more and more present. Therefore it became essential to draw up an inventory of the archives concerned and to establish a schedule of filing and accessibility concerning them.

Analysis of the present situation

Filings

75 % of the archives were filed in 2019. The filing then focused primarily on the following archives:

- the General Government of Algeria (in particular the archives of the civil and military cabinets);
- police services (*Renseignements généraux, services régionaux de la police judiciaire*);
- prefectures (notably *services des liaisons nord-africaines and sous-préfectures*).

Some less contemporary series, such as the U serie relating to assistance and hygiene, the O serie relating to economic affairs, or larger archives such as the military cabinet of the General Government during the Second World War, or the archives of the *communes mixtes* (which represent more than 500 linear meters of archives) had, however, not been filed.

Inventories

Of the 1,000 inventories in the reading room, only 80 related to archives concerning Algeria. 355 inventories were accessible online, the others only in the reading room of the ANOM.

The digitised archives

Sixteen collections had been digitised, of which more than 600,000 images were already accessible online:

- the archives of the *bureaux arabes* of Algiers, Orania and Constantine for the period 1830-1922 (series I, II, J, JJ and K, KK from the collection of the General Government of Algeria);
- the registers of the minutes of the councils of Government from 1832 to 1870 (sub-series 3F from the archives of the General Government of Algeria).
- Added to this set are the registers of births, marriages and deaths of Europeans (717,028 images) and the *registres matricules militaires* (427,945 images). But almost a million images were waiting to be published online.

Objectives

Filings

The objective is, by 2024, to have filed more than 1,000 linear meters. A program of filing has been established. Filings on large sets will be completed, such as the archives of the prefecture of Constantine; likewise, the series of *non-lieu* from the Algerian courts of the regions of Constantine and Algiers. It is a collective work of archivists.

In order to speed up filing, the ANOM chose to sign a public contract with a company. The priority has been given to the filing of archives of *communes mixtes*. The ANOM keep 53 record groups of *communes mixtes*, and about twenty

of them are filed. These archives, in addition to series important for the history of colonization, contain documents relating to the Algerian war.

Inventories and research guides

The ANOM have signed a contract of digitalization of paper catalogues with the objective of publishing them online, in order to help researchers prepare their visit and to gain better knowledge of the archives kept. This contract was launched in 2021. 110 new inventories relating to Algeria are online on our website, in addition to the 80 available previously.

In order to facilitate the orientation of researchers, the ANOM plan to draft a guide for administrative research on Algeria (research on nationality, civil status, military recruitment, land, etc.) in connection with other centers of archives such as the National Archives and the *services archives* of the Ministry of the Armed Forces and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. We are also considering a digital tool to facilitate access requests, maybe a chatbot.

The lack of information relating to archives before 1962 currently kept in Algeria is indeed detrimental to the orientation of researchers and individuals, in particular Algerian citizens, ever more numerous to request ANOM for documents that we do not hold (civil status, cadastre, notarial archives, civil and correctional judgments, etc.), but also for French citizens looking for civil status records of their ascendants for example.

Digitisation

Once the inventories are completed, the last digitised collections that were pending, such as the archives of the *senatus-consulte* which concern the prop-

erties of the tribes, will be published online. Recently the sub-series 2T (trial of the leaders of the 1871 insurrection), 2NN (registers of sequestration and indigenous property, Oran), 4M (general investigation files in application of the law of 1926) have been published online. Finally, the ANOM will launch a digitisation contract for archives relating to Algeria starting with the indigenous property in the department of Oran, the archives relating to the property being frequently requested by mail. By 2024, we hope to make accessible online 70 additional linear meters. This amount may seem small compared to the amount held in total, but digitising archives is a complex procedure, since it requires many operational steps: checking the quality of the filing of the boxes, carrying out a fine verification of the archives, establishing metadata so that holdings are more easily identifiable. Finally, after having controlled the

scanning results, the images have to be linked to the existing inventories.

Distribution

The ANOMs are also very involved in the field of shared memory. It is thus planned to provide Algeria with a copy of the new inventories that will be produced as well as with copies of the digitised archives. It is certain that to work with Algerian archivists would be very useful for the research. For example, the ANOM have established a working groups with Vietnamese archivists with the aim of creating a web page on the FranceArchives portal explaining the constitution and the division of archives between the two countries with references to the websites and the inventories. This work is done within the spirit of the re-establishment of the diplomatic relations between France and Vietnam fifty years ago.



Jean-Charles Bédague is Deputy director in charge of management, communication and promotion of archives at the Interministerial Service of the Archives of France.



Isabelle Dion is Director of the Overseas National Archives.

1 See <https://francearchives.fr> (aufgerufen am 28.10.2022).



Archives, mémoires et identités métisses

Un regard sur le projet de recherche « Résolution-Métis » en cours aux Archives de l'État

FR NL

Exposition



Karin Van Honacker

A Challenging Theme in Belgian History and the State Archives' Commitment to Making Accessible, Valorising and Sharing Colonial Heritage

Although the Belgian State Archives has a decades-long tradition in commemorative activities, it is clear that we have seen a shift in the last 10 to 15 years away from ad hoc events towards a more systematic approach to some aspects of the nation's past. This shift is also oriented towards more continuity in the works that are carried out, more project-based working, more international consultation and cooperation. And finally, more publicity – or at least attempting to achieve it – geared towards a more diversified and broader public.

Given Belgium's colonial past, the large number and diversity of archives created in that context and the current interest in colonial heritage, this is clearly a priority area of work.¹

When the Belgian Archives Act of 1955 was modified in 2009, the archives of the Federal Public Service (FPS) Foreign Affairs destined for permanent preservation could finally be transferred to the State Archives. An agreement protocol was concluded between both institutions and the necessary preparations began; the actual transfer of the „Africa Archives“ – that is to say the public records of the Belgian colonisation in Congo, Rwanda and Burundi – started

in 2016. So far, 4 kilometres of the 9.5 kilometres of archives have been transferred from the FPS Foreign Affairs to the National Archives in Brussels. In order to guarantee maximum accessibility to these archives, they remain accessible during the whole transfer procedure.

Accessibility as main objective

„Maximum accessibility“: That is the clearly stated objective of the State Archives. In the course of the decade in which the Africa Archives were kept by the FPS Foreign Affairs, access to the records was hindered by obstacles regarding both logistics and content. Now that they are preserved at the National Archives, they can be accessed by everyone – although of course some specific access conditions may still apply – and the corresponding finding aids are also freely available for researchers, which has not been the case when they were kept at the FPS Foreign Affairs. Furthermore, it is a permanent concern of the archivists in charge of managing the Africa Archives to continually improve and update existing finding aids, to write new finding aids and to integrate all of these helpful tools into the online search engine of the State Archives.

In addition to the archives of the former Ministry of the Colonies, the State Archives preserves and manages various other public archives about the colonisation as well as countless related private archives. In order to help the user in his or her research, already in 2012 the State Archives published a search guideline in French and Dutch titled *Congo. Archives coloniales/Congo. Koloniale archieven*. It can be downloaded for free on the website of the State Archives,² although it is now ten years old and not altogether up to date.³ Around the same period, the authors of this search guideline also brought together images and texts for the realisation of an online exhibition titled *Archives I presume. Traces of a colonial past in the State Archives* which also has an English version.⁴

A major step in the identification and description of the archives about Congo Free State, Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi was the publication in September 2021 of the „guide to the sources on colonial history“ (*Guide des sources de l'histoire de la colonisation*). This guide in French is a kind of GPS to colonial archives that enables citizens and researchers from across the world to precisely find out who on the Belgian territory preserves which sources relating to the colonial past. Over 1,500 references on almost 2,300 pages offer descriptions and context for all colonial archives and collections kept in Belgium, their respective significance for research and links to other archives and collections. The introductory part to the guide places the archives about the Belgian colonisation within the international debate about the topic and raises sensitive questions about the sharing of cultural heritage, the restitution of archives to Africa and the culture of re-

membrance. The guide also offers a detailed historiographical assessment and identifies ways to retrieve sources about the Belgian colonisation that are preserved abroad. Finally, a section containing hundreds of illustrations completes the work. In addition to the print version, the publication is fully available online in open access. This way, the research guide addresses the needs of science and society and fulfils our duty to remember.⁵

Given the importance of the guide for researchers at home and abroad, the scientific publishing house commissioned a promotional video that can also be viewed on YouTube.⁶

The work of the „Africa Archives“ unit

Some five years ago, a special unit „Africa Archives“ was set up at the State Archives under the direction of Pierre-Alain Tallier; it is composed of archivists, project collaborators⁷ (mostly historians) and logistics collaborators. The expertise of this team is recognised and appreciated throughout Belgium. Five of its members were for example consulted at a hearing of the „Special Parliamentary Commission on Congo Free State and the colonial past of Belgium“ at the end of 2020.⁸ Declassification, decontamination, digital sharing, providing access, decolonisation of archives and decolonisation through archives are key issues that were put on the table by the delegation of the Africa Archives unit, and which were also picked up in the report presented by the experts of the special commission in late 2021.⁹ This voluminous report also addresses the core missions of the State Archives and a number of projects currently carried out within our institution.

One of these projects deserves more than special attention, since it has a significant impact on the lives of people: the project *Résolution-Métis*.

On 29 March 2018, the Belgian parliament unanimously voted for a resolution regarding the segregation from which suffered the Métis – that is to say children of an African mother and a Belgian father – born during the Belgian colonisation in Africa.¹⁰ This resolution is the achievement of a long fight for recognition carried by the Métis and their descendants. On 4 April 2019, Prime Minister Charles Michel expressed his apologies: „In the name of the federal government, I present my apologies to the Métis of the Belgian colonial era and their families for the injustices and the sufferings they have endured“ (Reuters). The government also expressed „the deepest compassion for the African mothers whose children were snatched from them“ (BBC). In the *Résolution-Métis*, a number of requests towards the federal government were made, among which access to archives that enable to (re-)write the history of colonial Métis and to trace back their birth names, their biological parents and their family history.

Implementation of the Résolution-Métis

In 2019, after the resolution was passed, a working group was set up in order to work out how the resolution should be implemented. This group was composed of members from the association *Métis de Belgique*, the State Archives, the AfricaMuseum, the FPS Justice, the FPS Foreign Affairs, the cabinets of the Prime Minister, of Foreign Affairs, of the Interior, of Equal Opportunities and Science Policy, and of academic experts.

The working group has assessed that research into the segregation of the Métis as a consequence of the Belgian colonisation should be carried out by a project team of expert historians and archivists in two parts:

Part 1 (four years): Setting up a database collecting information on the individual, family and collective paths of Métis people as a consequence of the colonisation;

Part 2 (four years): Carrying out a broad historical study, in particular to find out the responsibilities of civil and religious authorities in the segregation of Métis people.

In addition, the project team should commit itself to provide information to Métis and their descendants upon request about the files pertaining to them and where to find relevant information – a responsibility that the members of the team take very much at heart and to which they are very committed.¹¹

After three years' activity the project team has set up a website „Research project *Résolution-Métis*“¹² and an online exhibition „Métis. Archives, memory and identity. A look upon the research project *Résolution-Métis* at the National Archives“.¹³ Both are available in a French and a Dutch version.

Further projects of the State Archives

Furthermore, the State Archives carries out a number of other projects to make colonial documentary heritage accessible and to share it:

- „SHARE – Supply a Fair and Transparent Access to a shared Heritage – the

„Africa Archives“ – to implement Decolonised Research about Belgian colonisation in Congo, Rwanda and Burundi (1885-1962)“. The first objective is to provide access to the archives created in the context of the colonisation of Congo and by the administration of Rwanda and Burundi; the second objective of this project is the study of interracial violence;

- „GUSANGIRA – Improving access to and sharing the colonial archives on Rwanda and Burundi“. Gusangira means „sharing“ in Kinyarwanda and Kirundi. Sharing is indeed the central aspect of a project that is aimed at improving access to Belgian colonial archives about Ruanda and Burundi by drafting catalogues and setting up various strategies for sharing documents, among others through digitisation;
- „DIGICOLJUST – Colonial Violence, Subaltern Agency and Shared Archival Heritage“ aims to offer concrete and durable digital tools for a shared access, by cataloguing, digitising, online storage and publication of the trial records of the military courts of the Congo Free State (1885-1908) and of the Belgian Congo (1908-1960), where Congolese soldiers and Belgian officers were tried by military courts for violations of military and civilian law.

More information about these and other projects can be found on the website of the State Archives. Valorisation tools that are developed for better access to and sharing of colonial heritage shall indeed also be made available online.

In addition, the Belgian government committed itself to sharing the public and private archives about Rwanda in

a digital format, as it is a common archival heritage. A delegation of Rwandan professionals travelled to Belgium in August 2019 for a meeting with their Belgian colleagues (AfricaMuseum, FPS Foreign Affairs and State Archives) and to present their priorities. The teams of the AfricaMuseum and the State Archives are now busy cataloguing and digitising the selected records.

For some ten years now, AfricaMuseum and State Archives have been running a joint project aimed at vocational training of African archivists within the framework of the Belgian development cooperation. The training is composed of a module with theoretical lessons (which were first given at the AfricaMuseum in Tervuren and now at the *École du Patrimoine Africain* (Porto-Novo, Benin) and an advanced training in Belgium. Through this programme, the State Archives welcomes and forms trainees on a regular basis.

Last but not least

Not only through online tools – the website of the State Archives as well as topical websites, online FAQs, integration in search engines and databases of the State Archives, online exhibitions... – does the State Archives actively commit itself to sharing the results of research in and valorisation of colonial archives. The Africa Archives unit has also realised a series of videos about various aspects of their work such as the transfer of records to the State Archives and making the Africa Archives accessible, the planning and objectives of different research projects, the publications and in particular the guide to the sources on colonial history already highlighted above. These videos are available on YouTube.¹⁴

To wrap up, let us briefly focus on the introduction chapter of the guide to the sources of colonial history, titled *Ouvrir les archives coloniales* (Making colonial archives accessible), which is a substantial chapter in terms of volume (23 pages) but especially in terms of content. Its author, Marie Van Eeckenrode, delicately dissects sensitive issues, possible opportunities and traps around the sharing of cultural heritage, the return of archives to Africa and the construction of a commemorative culture, which illustrates once more the commitment of the State Archives, and in particular of the „Africa Archives unit“, to make progress in different fields of this vast topic. But the final paragraph – with which I would like to conclude – touches the core of the issue:

„Penser les archives comme un patrimoine commun est un point de départ.



*Mais prendre en main la question des archives coloniales, améliorer significativement l'accès, numériser, fournir une réflexion de fond permettant de déconstruire les cadres de pensée hérités de la période coloniale... rien de tout cela ne peut reposer sur le seul dynamisme d'archivistes engagés, rien de tout cela ne se fera sans volonté politique et sans moyens supplémentaires.*¹⁵

(„Considering archives as a shared cultural heritage is a starting point. But in order to address the issue of the colonial archives, to significantly improve access to them, to digitise them and propose in-depth considerations that enable us to deconstruct the frames of thought inherited by the colonisation... none of this can rely solely on the dynamics of committed archivists, and none of this shall see the light of day without political support and additional funding“).

Dr. Karin van Honacker is the head of the International and external relations department of the State Archives in Belgium.

- 1 This text closely follows the presentation given on the subject at the extraordinary EBNA meeting „Archives and the Culture of Remembrance“ which took place in Berlin on 25–26 August 2022. Within the planned time frame, it was not possible to discuss colonisation in itself. Those wishing to know more about the context will soon be able to learn about the existing literature in an easy way through a bibliography on the colonial history of Belgium (Congo, Rwanda and Burundi) that is currently being finalised by the State Archives. Nor does this paper address the urgent need to declassify colonial archives that are not yet accessible due to their „classified“ status.
- 2 See Lien Ceuppens/Guy Coppieters: Congo. Koloniale archieven/Congo. Archives coloniales (National

Archives, Zoekwijzers 34/Jalons de recherche 36), Brüssel 2012.

- 3 See <http://www.expocongo.be/content.php?m=1&l=en> (aufgerufen am 28.10.2022).
- 4 Pierre-Alain Tallier/Marie van Eeckenrode/Patricia van Schuylenbergh (Hg.): Belgique, Congo, Rwanda et Burundi. Guide des sources de l'histoire de la colonisation (19e-20e siècle). Vers un patrimoine mieux partagé!, 2 Bde., Turnhout 2021, <https://www.brepolonline.net/doi/epdf/10.1484/M.STMCH-EB.5.127294> (aufgerufen am 28.10.2022). To download: <https://www.brepolonline.net/doi/pdf/10.1484/M.STMCH-EB.5.127294?download=true> (PDF, 120 MB) (aufgerufen am: 28.10.2022).

- 5 See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=30VNNjRCJWA&list=PLWJZokYytf3cMGxyOylCseXbTWaxkUU5&index=7> (aufgerufen am 28.10.2022).
- 6 See <https://arch.arch.be/index.php?l=en&m=practical-information&r=our-reading-rooms&d=nab2&p=colonial-archives> (aufgerufen am 28.10.2022).
- 7 The transcript of the presentation by the archivists of the „Africa Archives“ unit and the subsequent exchange of views with the members of the special commission can be found on the Parliament's website: https://www.dekamer.be/kvvcr/pdf_sections/pri/congo/IV_20201019.pdf (S. 19-38) (aufgerufen am 28.10.2022).
- 8 The expert report can be found on the website of the Parliament: <https://www.lachambre.be/FLWB/pdf/55/1462/55K1462002.pdf> (French version) (aufgerufen am 28.10.2022), <https://www.dekamer.be/FLWB/PDF/55/1462/55K1462003.pdf> (Dutch version) (aufgerufen am 28.10.2022).
- 9 See <https://www.lachambre.be/FLWB/pdf/54/2952/54K2952007.pdf> (aufgerufen am 28.10.2022).
- 10 See <https://arch.arch.be/index.php?l=fr&m=nos-projets&r=projets-de-recherche&pr=projet-resolution-metis> (aufgerufen am 28.10.2022).
- 11 See <https://www.metis.arch.be/> (aufgerufen am 28.10.2022).
- 12 See <https://www.expometis.arch.be/> (aufgerufen am 28.10.2022).
- 13 See <https://arch.arch.be/index.php?l=fr&m=nos-projets&r=projets-de-recherche> (aufgerufen am 28.10.2022).
- 14 See <https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLWJZokYytf3cMGxyOylCseXbTWaxkUU5> (aufgerufen am 28.10.2022).
- 15 Marie van Eeckenrode: Ouvrir les archives coloniales, in: Pierre-Alain Tallier/Marie van Eeckenrode/Patricia van Schuylenbergh (Hg.) : Belgique, Congo, Rwanda et Burundi (wie Anm. 4), S. 47.

Handschrifterkennung

← Zurück

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Für Excellenz

beehre ich mich auf die Zuschrift vom 26. d. M.
 Folgendes zu erwidern.

**Rudolf Manga Bell, geb. 24. März 1875 in
 Kamerun, evang., ist an Ostern d. J. aus
 der Lateinschule (Progymnasium) in Aalen**

Das K. Rektorat des Gymnasiums
 Ulm

Ulms, den 20. d. J. 1896.

betreffend
 Rudolf Manga Bell
 aus Kamerun

Ulms, den 20. d. J. 1896.

Sehr geehrte Herr
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Euer Exzellenz

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Andrea Hänger

Erinnerung ermöglichen – neue Zugänge zur Kolonial- geschichte durch KI-gestützte Handschriftenerkennung

Die Auseinandersetzung mit der kolonialen Vergangenheit ist ein zentrales aktuelles Thema in Deutschland in Politik und Forschung. Lange Zeit war die Erinnerung an diesen Teil der deutschen Geschichte von dem alles überragenden Thema des Holocaust überlagert.¹ Es ist daher höchste Zeit, den Umgang mit der Erinnerung an diese Zeit und ihre Quellen zu beleuchten.

Neben Gebieten in Afrika – Togo, Kamerun, Deutsch-Südwestafrika und Deutsch-Ostafrika – verfügte Deutschland in der Zeit von 1880 bis zum Ende des Ersten Weltkriegs über Besitzungen im Pazifik (Samoa sowie Deutsch-Neuguinea mit Mikronesien) und in China (Kiautschou/Tsingtao). In diesen Gebieten wurde jeweils eine deutsche Verwaltung nach preußischem Muster aufgebaut, die das deutsche Herrschaftsgebiet nach und nach ausdehnte. In Berlin war die Kolonialabteilung des Auswärtigen Amtes für die Belange der Kolonien zuständig, aus der 1907 das Reichskolonialamt hervorging.

Die Überlieferung der Verwaltungen vor Ort wie auch die des Berliner Ministeriums bilden heute die einzigen schriftlichen Quellen zur Geschichte dieser Gebiete in dieser Zeit. Diese Überlieferung spiegelt allein und ausschließlich die Perspektive des Besatzers wider. Den-

noch liefert sie den Nutzenden wertvolle Informationen über die Regionen in dieser Zeit. Diese Überlieferung des Bundesarchivs, die zudem viele Kriegsverluste aufzuweisen hat, ist allerdings bei weitem nicht vollständig.² Die Akten der deutschen Verwaltung vor Ort befinden sich in den Archiven der ehemaligen Kolonien, aber auch in denen der nachfolgenden Kolonialmächte, wie zum Beispiel in Australien im Falle von Samoa oder Deutsch-Neuguinea.

Das Bundesarchiv hat inzwischen alle Bestände zur Kolonialgeschichte digitalisiert und online gestellt.³ Damit ist der wichtigste auch politische Auftrag erfüllt, jeder Person weltweit Zugang zu dieser Geschichte voraussetzungslos zu ermöglichen. Doch was heißt im Kontext einer mehr als 100 Jahre alten Behördenüberlieferung voraussetzungslos? Die Arbeit mit diesen Akten erfordert neben Grundkenntnissen archivischer Ordnung und Verzeichnung natürlich auch die Kenntnis der deutschen Sprache und vor allem die Fähigkeit, die alte deutsche Handschrift lesen zu können, eine Fähigkeit, die auch bei vielen deutschen Nutzenden nicht vorausgesetzt werden kann.

KI-Projekt

Das Bundesarchiv hat sich daher entschieden, ein Projekt zur KI-gestützten Transkription der kolonialen Überlieferung durchzuführen. Das Projekt soll dabei unterstützen, Geschichte aus vielen Perspektiven erzählen zu können. Bei Projektbeginn im Frühjahr 2021 gingen die beteiligten Partner davon aus, dass der Projektschwerpunkt auf der Etablierung komfortabler Suchfunktionen und in der Integration in die Präsentationsplattform des Bundesarchivs liegen würde, während das Thema der Texterkennung als mit vorhandener Software lösbare Aufgabe gewertet wurde. Tatsächlich hat sich aber die Verbesserung der Texterkennung mehr und mehr zum Projektschwerpunkt herausgebildet. Das Projekt wird vollständig agil umgesetzt und befindet sich zurzeit kurz vor der Fertigstellung des so genannten MVPs, des Minimal viable Products, d. h. einer voll funktionsfähigen, aber noch reduzierten Version. Als nächstes steht der Ingest des Gesamtbestandes an, das sind 10.000 Akten mit 1,6 Millionen Seiten.

Für die Texterkennungssoftware sind die vorliegenden Akten eine echte Herausforderung. Bei vielen Texten handelt es sich um annotierte Konzepte mit vielen Anmerkungen, die neben dem eigentlichen Text aufgebracht sind. Um die Software zu trainieren, wurde in erheblichem Maße so genannte Ground Truth-Daten benötigt. Dazu hat ein Team von fünf Archivarinnen und Archivaren Beispieldokumente transkribiert und auch mit einem eigens dafür entwickelten Softwaretool zeilenbasiert die jeweils vorgeschlagene Transkription des Programms korrigiert. Gleichzeitig wurden in die Texterkennungssoftware zeitgenössische Wörterbücher eingebunden, allen voran das Deutsche Koloniallexikon. Die Qua-

lität der Texterkennung lässt sich angesichts der Heterogenität der Dokumente nicht pauschal bewerten. Daher wurde eine Matrix entwickelt, welche die Dokumente verschiedenen Schwierigkeitsstufen zuordnet und die Erkennungsrate nicht pauschal berechnet, sondern nach Kategorien. Selbstverständlich lässt sich die Erkennungsrate durch wiederholte Trainingsläufe immer weiter verbessern, diese waren vor allem in der Kategorie der besonders schwierigen Texte signifikant. Hier fehlen allerdings noch Erfahrungswerte, wie „perfekt“ die Ergebnisse sein müssen respektive wie wir unsere Ansprüche an solche Hilfsmittel formulieren möchten.

Definitiv erreicht wurde eine komfortable Suche. Die Suche läuft nicht nur über die Transkription, sondern mit Hilfe einer so genannten Perception Matrix werden auch die Originaltexte durchsucht und dem Nutzenden verschiedene Treffer, die nach Wahrscheinlichkeit bewertet werden, angeboten. Die Treffer werden gehighlightet und können sowohl im Original als auch in der Transkription direkt gefunden werden. Ausdrücklicher Schwerpunkt im Projekt war die Möglichkeit, im Anschluss an eine Suche oder direkt durch eine Akte zu blättern und sie in der Transkription lesen zu können.

Eine besondere Herausforderung stellt die im Projekt angestrebte Übersetzung dar. Wie in anderen Texterkennungsprojekten auch ist die Textqualität der Transkriptionen nicht ausreichend, um bei einer automatisierten Übersetzung so präzise Texte zu liefern, dass eine Suche auf der Übersetzung sinnvolle Ergebnisse liefern könnte. Daher wird nun der Ansatz verfolgt, nicht-deutschsprachigen Nutzenden die Möglichkeit zu geben, nach Begriffen in englischer oder

französischer Sprache zu suchen. Der Begriff wird dann automatisch übersetzt, in den Texten gesucht und die Nutzenden erhalten die Seiten mit den entsprechenden Treffern angezeigt. Dann können sie die entsprechenden Transkriptionen über ein verlinktes Übersetzungsprogramm übersetzen.

Die nächste Herausforderung besteht in der Integration der entwickelten Funktionalitäten in die vorhandene Anwendungslandschaft. Bis dahin wird die Anwendung separat in den Lesesälen des Bundesarchivs zur Nutzung bereitstehen.



Das Projekt zur KI-basierten Handschrifterkennung kolonialer Überlieferung macht diese Quellen auf neue Art zugänglich und räumt damit bisherige Zugangshürden aus dem Weg.

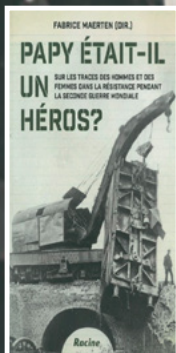
Dr. Andrea Hänger ist Vizepräsidentin des Bundesarchivs.

- 1 Vgl. Bartholomäus Grill: Wir Herrenmenschen. Unser rassistisches Erbe. Eine Reise in die deutsche Kolonialgeschichte, München 2019. Vgl. Ulrich van der Heyden: Geschichte der deutschen Kolonialherrschaft, <https://archivfuehrer-kolonialzeit.de/history> (aufgerufen am 19.10.2022) mit weiterführender Literatur.
- 2 Vgl. speziell zur Überlieferung zu Kamerun: Andrea Hänger/Sabine Hermann: Un périple mouvementé: numérisation des documents d'archives des autorités coloniales allemandes du Cameroun, in: La gazette des archives 256 (2019), S. 237-245.
- 3 Vgl. <https://invenio.bundesarchiv.de/invenio/main.xhtml> (aufgerufen am 19.10.2022).

**KOEN AERTS
DIRK LUYTEN
BART WILLEMS
PAUL DROSSENS
PIETER LAGROU**

WAS OPA EEN NAZI?

**SPEUREN NAAR HET
OORLOGSVERLEDEN**



Dirk Luyten

Accessing Archives on the Second World War and its Aftermath in Belgium: Audiences and Tools

The Second World War is a cardinal point in the Belgian history of the 20th century and in the country's collective memory. The archives about the Second World War and its aftermath therefore carry a particular significance for historians and anyone concerned.

From the perspective of those who were directly concerned, the Second World War was indeed a profound experience. For some 15% of the eight million Belgians at the time, the war and the occupation had a direct impact on their lives. An estimated 200,000 persons had to endure forced labour in Germany for months or years; about 100,000 persons were subject to some penalty for collaboration, slightly more than half of which were sentenced by a military court in charge of penalising collaboration. More than 25,000 Jews and 353 Roma were deported, only a handful returned. About 140,000 persons were recognised as armed resisters, some 10,000 as civil resisters.¹

In addition, the impact of a war is tangible from one generation to the next. Today, it is mainly the grandchildren of persons who lived during the Second World War that are searching for information about the war in general and the fate of their ancestors in particular. Archives are the most appropriate source of information: a characteristic of the occupation and its

aftermath is that the authorities created comprehensive files containing personal data in order to process the consequences of the war and the occupation, by sanctioning, compensating for material damages, granting damages or pensions, and by valorising the engagement in the resistance through material or symbolic means. These judicial and administrative files provide quite reliable information about a particularly moving phase in the lives of the persons concerned.

Very soon after its end, the Second World War has raised historiographical questions and still does so today. The demand for archives is present with researchers, not only for the archival holdings just mentioned, but also from other institutions, ministries and services. These archives not only concern the institutions of the Belgian state which continued working during the occupation, but also new institutions which were created in the context of the bureaucratisation of society, a typical feature of Nazism.

In other words, archives about the Second World War are relevant, not only for researchers but also for everyone who has a personal or familiar interest in the war events. How and by which tools are the demands of these two groups met?

The Research and Documentation Centre for the History of the Second World War

The particular status of the Second World War in the Belgian history was only institutionally translated in 1967 when the „Research and Documentation Centre for the History of the Second World War in Belgium“² was set up with the aim to „take all necessary measures to catalogue, safeguard and select all documents or archives related to the Second World War in Belgium, including the period leading up to the war and the consequences“. This new institution started its activities two years later.³

With regard to archives, this meant that the institution collected copies of the American microfilms of German archive holdings about occupied Belgium, the so-called GRMA (German Records Microfilmed at Alexandria) archives. In addition, archives were systematically acquired from private individuals and organisations, including those of the resistance, that were represented on the governing boards of the Centre. The Centre not only collected archives but also diaries and personal witnesses, and large-scale surveys were started to gather records and testimonies from the catholic clergy and from those in forced labour in Germany. The General Military Prosecution Office in charge of prosecuting collaborators also transferred archives, for example the archives of collaboration parties that were seized in the course of the investigations. The voluminous photo collection of the Centre originates for a significant part from the procedures to impose sanctions on collaborators as well. These records were systematically made accessible for research. As from the 1970s, researchers of the Centre held interviews with per-

sons involved in the decision-making process during the occupation, but also with for instance militants involved in the resistance.⁴

The documentation work of the Centre also facilitated research on the Second World War and gave impulses to historiography, to which researchers of the Centre contributed.⁵ The Centre moreover had its own scholarly journal, *Cahiers d'Histoire de la Seconde Guerre mondiale/Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van de Tweede Wereldoorlog*, devoted specifically to the history of the Second World War in Belgium. Right from the creation of the Centre, the inclusion of the large public was a core concern, which was addressed through cooperation with (popular) newspapers, journals, books for a wide audience or audio-visual productions about the Second World War, and by responding to individual questions.⁶

The Centre was able to become a driving force for research, as public records from the 1940s were still not fully accessible in the 1970s, still insufficiently catalogued and only partly transferred for permanent preservation to the State Archives.

There were exceptions though, such as the archives of the war victims service that was in charge of the administration for the compensation of war victims and of managing a number of statutes of national recognition. This service also held microfilms from German archives that were relevant for its missions and quite soon led a policy of making parts of its archives accessible for historical research.⁷

As from the late 1980s, criminal files of convicted collaborators that were still preserved by the military justice could

be accessed in a restricted manner and upon individual request for historical research. I shall get back to these archives later, but I would already like to point out one particular aspect of the Belgian memory of the Second World War, namely the criticism around the punishment of collaboration expressed by the proponents of Flemish nationalism, which was one of the pillars of the collaboration. In Flemish nationalist circles, a discourse was fostered that depicted the Flemish people and Flemish nationalists as victims of the punishment of collaboration, while the role of Flemish nationalism in the collaboration with the German occupant was blanked out or minimised.⁸

Government-funded research

As from the late 1990s, the historiography about the Second World War was stimulated by government-funded research about specific aspects of the occupation⁹ with a pre-defined research scope. This research was about the persecution of the Jews and was initially in line with the international trend to assess the spoliation of Jewish goods with a view to restitution. In 1997, a Study Commission on Jewish Assets was set up that published its final report four years later.¹⁰ The commission was led by a researcher of the „Study and Documentation Centre for War and Contemporary Society“ (CegeSoma), which was the new name given to the „Research and Documentation Centre for the History of the Second World War in Belgium“ in 1997. The commission was mandated to use all the archives relevant for its missions. This was an opportunity to get a better view of the ar-

chives, especially about financial aspects of the occupation, to start making these archives more accessible and to address new research topics such as the history of the diamond sector in the Second World War.¹¹

From 2004 to 2006, the Belgian government funded research about the potential involvement of Belgian authorities in the persecution of the Jews. This research was entrusted to CegeSoma and resulted in two voluminous books titled *La Belgique docile/Gewillig België* (2007), of which a vulgarised version financed by the Communauté française was published in French, which was also translated into Dutch.¹² This reveals a tendency to make historical research intelligible for the large public.

It is indeed no coincidence that the research results were published both in French and in Dutch. In fact, the collective memory about the Second World War and its aftermath in Belgium is not a shared memory. While in Flanders, as mentioned earlier, parts of the public opinion has some understanding for the collaboration, the point of view is different in French-speaking Belgium, where collective memory is mainly centred around the resistance.¹³ In academic historiography, this cleavage is much less pronounced, and there is rather an academic consensus, for example around the prosecution of the collaboration. Publishing research results in two national languages ensures that everyone, independently of their mother tongue, has access to the same information.

In fact, the collective memory about the Second World War and its aftermath in Belgium is not a shared memory.

The research into the murder of Lahaut was also funded by the government and entrusted to CegeSoma. Here too, the history in the wake of the Second World War is contested. Julien Lahaut, president of the Belgian Communist Party, was killed in 1950 in a context of political tensions around the so-called Royal Question – the question if King Leopold III who had played a controversial role during the occupation could again sit on the throne – and around the early Cold War. Who committed the murder became clear in the 1980s already, but now research focussed on the broader context and on who may have ordered the murder. Intensive archival research in different types of archives such as judicial archives, but also business archives, indicated the role of an anti-communist secret network that was financed by a subsidiary of *Société Générale*, the most important holding company of the country. The research results were published in a book in 2015, again in Dutch and French.¹⁴

Recently, a new government-funded research has started at CegeSoma on the role of the national railway company in the deportation of Jews, Roma, political prisoners, and of those who were sent to Germany for forced labour.¹⁵

New tools and activities

The two institutions that played a role in stimulating research into the Second World War and its heritage – that is to say CegeSoma and the service for war victims – were integrated into the State Archives in 2016 and 2018 respectively and continued their activities. In 2016, the situation had changed significantly in comparison to the 1970/80s,

both with regard to the archives about the Second World War and its consequences, and its public and users.

The situation regarding the archives was much better now. Large archive holdings had been transferred to the State Archives and were made accessible. To give but just one example: the voluminous archive about the war damages in the Second World War that provides particularly detailed information about the war damages to homes, businesses and infrastructure in all Belgian provinces.¹⁶ This sort of archives that is mainly composed of individual and personal files, opens many research perspectives: assessing war damages in general, the history of businesses, but also for research on the history of architecture and interior design. The records are also useful for reconstructing the life stories of individuals throughout the war.

And this is the second shift that has occurred recently: the rise in questions from descendants about a particular phase in the personal life of their ancestors that had a deep impact on their own lives. This applies for descendants whose ancestors came into conflict with the law, were active within the resistance, had worked in Germany or taken part in the struggle against the German invasion of Belgium as servicemen, were prisoners of war or persecuted Jews. This interest in personal war stories was stimulated by a series of TV-documentaries „Children of the collaboration / Resistance / Holocaust“. Such very specific questions can best be addressed on the basis of the aforementioned archive holdings containing personal files. Enabling research in these files is one of the basic services that the institutions that preserve such archives have to provide.

Recently, CegeSoma has developed tools destined specifically for non-professional historian users to make information about the Second World War and its aftermath accessible to them and to facilitate research.

In 2017, the website „Belgium WWII“ which addresses the large public that is interested in the history of the Second World War was launched.¹⁷ The website is available in Dutch, French and (partly also in) German and provides scientifically sound information on the Second World War and its aftermath in short, comprehensible articles. These articles penned by experts are written in a generally understandable language in order to spread scientifically substantiated information about the Second World War as largely as possible. The articles are visually attractive and illustrated by original source material.

Two research guides, published in 2017 and 2020 respectively, titled *Was opa een nazi?/Papy était-il un nazi*¹⁸ and *Was opa een held?/Papy était-il un héros?* (Was granddaddy a Nazi resp. a hero) help non-specialised researchers to find their way through the archives. State Archives/CegeSoma personnel either have written these publications or made contributions to them. Both guides, which were published at the same time in Dutch and French, offer a synthesis of the historiography about collaboration and punishment of collaboration and resistance respectively. The second part is an archive and sources guide that presents relevant archive holdings and provides information about the different sources that can be found in them.

There is an increasing number of questions from descendants about a particular phase in the personal life of their ancestors affecting their own lives.

Digitisation is used to provide better access to archives, not only for national but also for international users. The State Archives/CegeSoma has undertaken digitisation projects or has participated as partner in such projects.

Indeed, right from the start in 2010, CegeSoma was a partner institution of the „European Holocaust Research Infrastructure“ (EHRI), in the framework of which projects funded by the European Commission are carried out to provide digital access to the largely scattered Holocaust archives and to improve their traceability, to link archives from different countries and continents, and to facilitate and stimulate international research.¹⁹ The State Archives is currently collaborating in the reshaping of EHRI from a project-based network to a permanent European research infrastructure.

„WIKIBASE-resistance“ is a project by CegeSoma to help find information about persons involved in the resistance more easily by feeding key personal data in a structured manner into a database that originates from archives with files containing requests about the status of national recognition. This way, these archives – which are of great importance for the descendants of those who were involved in the resistance – are made accessible in an adequate manner. Furthermore, the database shall also serve in the future when research methods of the Digital Humanities are applied.²⁰

Digitisation is also used to facilitate digital access to archives. For the already mentioned archives concerning war damages for instance, the index cards of

the persons and companies who applied for a compensation have been digitised and are available online.²¹

One last field in which the State Archives is active concerns the access conditions to archives about the punishment of collaboration. These archives were transferred to the State Archives which is in charge of managing them, making them further accessible and providing services to the public, while granting access to these records is still a competence of the judicial authorities. The documents are accessible for scientific research, but descendants of those who came into contact with the military justice system

wishing to access records about their ancestors are not authorised to do so in every case. The State Archives is working to find an arrangement so that the consultation of these records would also be possible for the descendants on the basis of a general rule. These archives concern a contested past for which there is much societal interest, and precisely for this reason it is preferable to allow access as freely as possible – provided that guarantees for the protection of personal data are given – so that everyone who is interested can build his or her own opinion on the basis of authentic records.



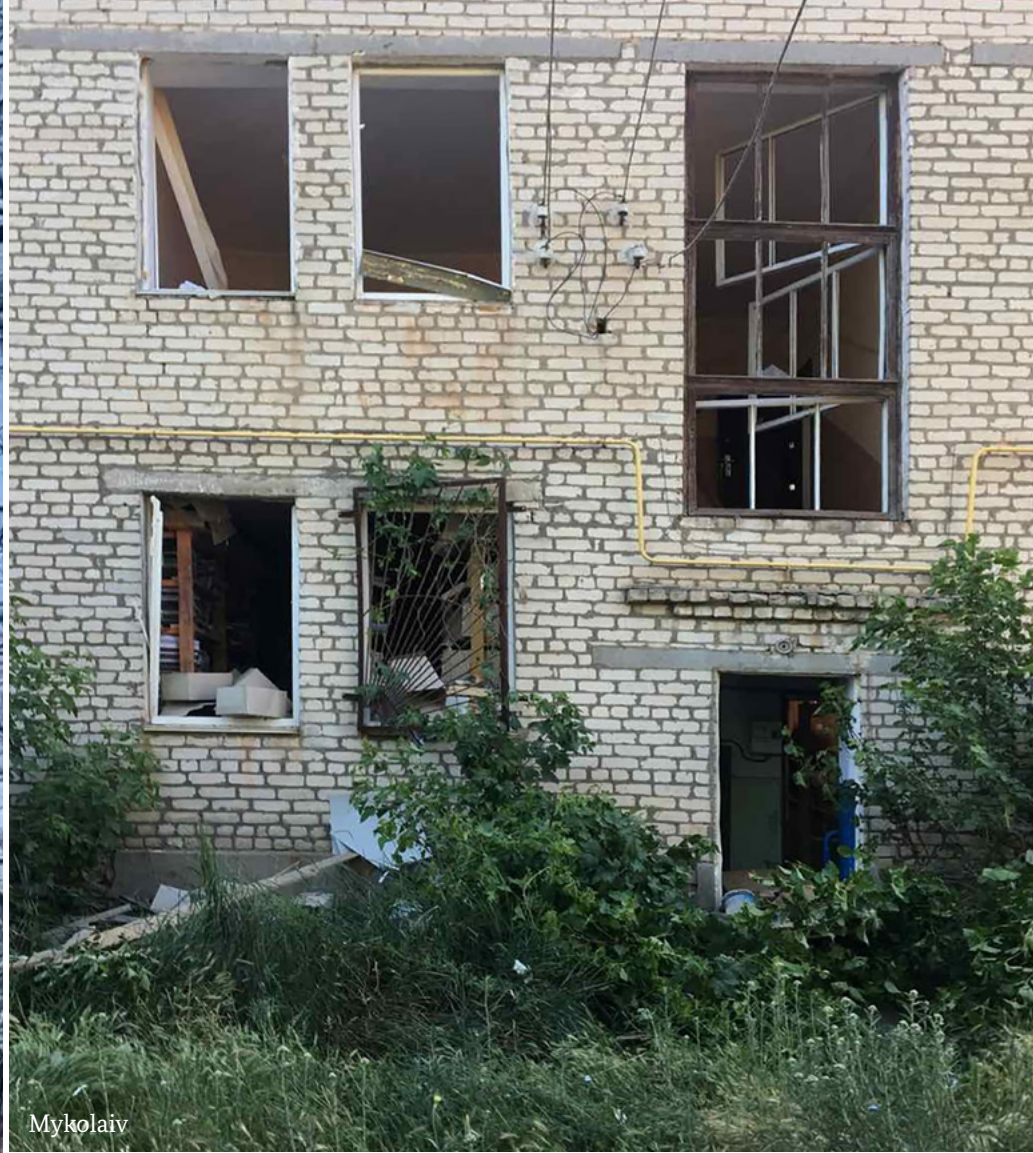
Dirk Luyten is responsible for research at CegeSoma, the fourth operational direction of the Belgian State Archives.

- 1 The estimation of 15% was made by historian Prof. Dr. Koen Aerts. For the figures, we can refer to the historiographical parts in the publications mentioned in footnote 18.
- 2 For a general overview in context see Nico Wouters: The Second World War in Belgium: 75 years of history (1944-2019), in: Journal of Belgian History 49 (2019), S. 12-81, https://www.journalbelgianhistory.be/nl/system/files/article_pdf/ART_Nico_Wouters_BTNG-RBHC_2019.2-3.pdf (aufgerufen am 24.10.2022).
- 3 See <https://www.cegesoma.be/en/interviews-conducted-cegesoma-researchers> (aufgerufen am 24.10.2022).
- 4 To give but one example: the book *L'an 40* (the year 1940), co-authored by Prof. Dr. J. Gotovitch, the second Director of the Centre, remains until today a reference in the historiography of the Second World War in Belgium. See J. Gerard-Libois/J. Gotovitch: *L'an 40. La Belgique occupée*, Brüssel 1971.
- 5 Digitally available on the website of the Journal of Belgian History: <https://journalbelgianhistory.be/en> (aufgerufen am 24.10.2022).
- 6 For instance the book of scientific collaborator at the Centre Willem C. M. Meyers: *Hoe België Wereldoorlog II overleefde!* (How Belgium survived World War II), Brüssel 1975.
- 7 One of the important archival collections for the pioneering research on the Holocaust of Maxime Steinberg in the 1980's were the archives of the war victims service. See Maxime Steinberg: *L'étoile et le fusil. La traque des Juifs 1942-1944*, Bd. 1, Brüssel 1986, S. 14.
- 8 Luc Huyse/Steven Dhondt/Bruno De Wever/Koen Aerts/Pieter Lagrou: *Onverwerkt verleden. Collaboratie en repressie in België 1942-1952*. Een update na dertig jaar, Tiel 2020, S. 19-20.
- 9 *De bezittingen van de slachtoffers van de jodenvervolging in België: spoliatie, rechtsherstel, bevindingen van de studiecommissie*, Brüssel 2001.

- 10 For instance Griet Maréchal: Vijanden en verdachten. Het archief van het sekweste na de Tweede Wereldoorlog, in: Jan Art/Luc François (Hg.): *Docendo Discimus. Liber Amicorum Romain Van Ennoo*, Bd. 1, Gent 1999, S. 57-73.
- 11 Eric Laureys: Meesters van het diamant. De Belgische diamantsector tijdens het nazibewind, Tielt 2005.
- 12 Emmanuel Debruyne/Frank Seberechts/Nico Wouters/Lieven Saerens/Rudi Van Doorslaer: *Gewillig België. Overheid en jodenvervolgning tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog*, Antwerpen/Amsterdam/Brüssel 2007; Dies.: *La Belgique docile. Les autorités belges et la persécution des Juifs en Belgique durant la Seconde Guerre mondiale*, Brüssel 2007; Anne Roekens: *La Belgique et la persécution des Juifs*, Brüssel 2010; Anne Roekens: *Belgische overheden en de Jodenvervolgning*, Antwerpen 2011.
- 13 Nico Wouters/Dirk Luyten: A Consensus of Differences. *Transitional Justice and Belgium's Divided War Memories*, in: Nico Wouters (Hg.): *Transitional Justice and Memory in Europe (1945-2013)*, Cambridge/Antwerpen 2014, S. 95-132.
- 14 Emmanuel Gerard/Widukind De Ridder/Françoise Muller (Hg.): *Wie heeft Lahaut vermoord? De geheime koude oorlog in België*, Brüssel/Löwen 2015; Emmanuel Gerard/Widukind De Ridder/Françoise Muller (Hg.): *Qui a tué Julien Lahaut? Les ombres de la guerre froide en Belgique*, Brüssel/Waterloo 2015.
- 15 Research: The SNCB/NMBS and deportations during WWII, <https://www.cegesoma.be/en/news/research-sncbnmbs-and-deportations-during-wii> (aufgerufen am 24.10.2022).
- 16 François Antoine: *De individuele dossiers 'Oorlogsschade aan private goederen' (Tweede Wereldoorlog)* (Zoekwijzer 33), Brüssel 2011; Pierre-Alain Tallier (Hg.): *Puin en weder-opbouw. Oorlogsschadedossiers Tweede Wereldoorlog enverwante archieven: Bronnen voor een veelzijdige geschiedenis van de 20ste eeuw* (Reeks Studia 137), Brüssel 2012.
- 17 See <https://www.belgiumwwii.be> (aufgerufen am 24.10.2022).
- 18 Koen Aerts/Dirk Luyten/Bart Willems/Paul Drossens/Pieter Lagrou: *Was Opa een Nazi? Speuren naar het oorlogsverleden*, Tielt 2017; Dies.: *Papy était-il un nazi? Sur les traces d'un passé de guerre*, Brüssel 2017; Fabrice Maerten (Hg.): *Was Opa een held? Speuren naar mannen en vrouwen in het verzet tijdens WO II*, Tielt 2020; Ders. (Hg.): *Papy était-il un héros? Sur les traces des hommes et de femmes dans la résistance pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale*, Brüssel 2020.
- 19 See <https://www.ehri-project.eu> (aufgerufen am 24.10.2022).
- 20 See <https://www.cegesoma.be/en/node/2110> (aufgerufen am 24.10.2022).
- 21 See https://search.arch.be/nl/zoeken-naar-archieven/zoekresultaat/ead/index/eadid/BE-A0545_007278_006995_FRE/node/c%3A0./sluit/c:0.#:c:0 (aufgerufen am 24.10.2022).



Kharkiv



Mykolaiv



Luhansk



Luhansk



Mykolaiv



Luhansk

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Anatolii Khromov

Ukrainian Archives during Wartime

This is the first time Ukraine is being presented at the extraordinary EAG/EBNA conference. A great responsibility rests on my shoulders, in view of the fact that I have to represent Ukraine and Ukrainian archives under conditions of the ongoing Russian war against Ukraine. I am honored to take this opportunity to speak about the current state of affairs of the Ukrainian archival field and activities of Ukrainian archives during wartime.

Since the beginning of the full-scale invasion by the Russian army on 24 February 2022, the archives of Ukraine, just as the Ukrainian nation as a whole, are facing lots of challenges and losses. The Archives of the Ukrainian Security Service in Chernihiv was burned down, which stored more than 12,000 files of documents about the KGB and the repression of the Ukrainians by the Soviet regime in the 20th century.

Also, several buildings of archives were damaged by shelling in Kharkiv, Mykolaiv and Lysychansk (Luhansk region).

From the territories of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions that are controlled by Ukraine all the documents were evacuated, but we have information that documents from Volnovakha were stolen to the archives of the so-called DPR and LPR. The situation of the Archives of the Kherson region, the territory which was very quickly occupied, is complicated.

Unfortunately, there is no safe place in Ukraine today. Even with all the needed resources it is impossible to prevent losses. Evacuation is not a panacea, because transport arteries of the East and South of Ukraine are very often too dangerous because of the shelling and bombing. Even so, as for now, we can state only 1-2 % of losses in those regions (out of 86 million of storage units of the National Archival Fond of Ukraine).

It should be noted, that thanks to the effective work of the fullscale Ukrainian archivists on the first day of fullscale invasion, all the secret documents were destroyed as prescribed by order, to make sure an enemy would not have a chance to put a hand on it.

Horribly, it is not the first time Russia is acting like a barbarian state. Back in 2014, after breaking all the laws with the annexation of Crimea, Russians took all the fonds of the State Archives of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol and illegally included it to the archival fond of the Russian Federation. They did the same in Donetsk and Luhansk. Even the documents of Ukraine's independence (1991-2014) were stolen. This is a huge problem for Ukraine, not only due to the loss of a documentary heritage, but also because Russians are actively using some single documents in their political propaganda, without a proper context, hiding the truth and changing historical evidence for their own advantage. The State Archival Service of Ukraine already

initiated the implementation of sanctions against everyone involved in stealing, occupation and destruction of the archival fonds of Crimea, Donetsk and the Luhansk regions. The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine adopted the decree of 12 July 2022, that applies to eight individuals and six organizations responsible for the removal and destruction of archival documents stored in archival institutions in the temporarily occupied territory.

Current projects

Nevertheless, the work of archives in Ukraine is continuing, to the possible extent and on those territories, where it is safe. We are continuing our digitisation projects, with the help of our partners, such as the corporation FamilySearch International (USA). 13 archives (ten regional and three central) already have a memorandum and are actively carrying out the digitisation of documents of genealogical nature.¹

Also, the FamilySearch online-resource is now available in Ukrainian language, which is our very significant accomplishment, especially during wartime, because it allows Ukrainians to search for their relatives without any language barriers.²

A remarkable achievement was the signing of an agreement with Archives Portal Europe in 2020, which provides for an integration of the Ukrainian archives to the European archival community. The register of unique documents of the National Archival Fond of Ukraine is already added to the Portal.

In addition, the State Archival Service of Ukraine created and presented an inter-archival search portal in May this year

to help researchers and users find the documents from Ukrainian archives online. Today the documents of three central state archives are posted on the portal, and we are working on fulfilling the resource.³

In general, in the past two years the rate of digitisation in Ukrainian archives increased by 500 %. Due to the massive volume of the documents it is still not enough, but we are planning to digitize all the key documents of the people's interest in the recent 5-10 years.

To achieve this goal, we are actively engaging in cooperation with different international colleagues. Another important project was implemented together with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Since the end of June 2022, the documents from Ukrainian archives regarding the Holocaust are now available online – it is 10 million pages about the tragedy in the history of the Jewish nation. It is a significant achievement because with such a joint project Ukraine once again refuted one of the main myths of Russian aggressive anti-Ukrainian propaganda about the „anti-Semitic“ and „Nazi“ essence of the Ukrainian people.

Moreover, to ensure the safety of the digital copies, we signed an online storage agreement with the National Archives in the United Kingdom to back up copies of selected documents. Ukrainian archives are housing unique documents from XII century till the present times, and it is not only the history of Ukraine and Europe, it is world history. That is why the Ukrainian archival community and we, as a central executive body in the archival field, are doing our best to preserve it for our next generations.

The State Archival Service of Ukraine initiated in Ukrainian archives a collection of documents of all nature and origin related to the current Russian war in Ukraine. We believe that this is an important thing to do, in order to save all the facts, aspects and features of our present life in war conditions for future researchers and scientists as well as reveal all the terrible Russian war crimes.

In conclusion, the State Archival Service of Ukraine along with all the Ukrainian archives and archival institutions terminated agreements with Russia and Belarus and stopped communication and processing of requests. This is the right decision, when they are bombing our cities, killing civilians and children just in the middle of Europe. The International Council of Archives also deprived Russia's institutions of their membership status. We do appreciate it and are very grateful for the support and the understanding of our foreign colleagues. It is seen not only by words of support, but also in actions. Ukrainian archives got material aid: safes, paper for restoration, safety bags for evacuation of documents, etc. And we are still receiving letters with the offers to help. It means a lot.



With the aim of saving Ukrainian archives, the State Archival Service of Ukraine opened a charity account. The donations will be used for the recovery of archives' coordinated work and activities, as well as for the purpose of preserving the documentary heritage of Ukraine in conditions of Russian aggression.⁴

At the same time, we appeal to those of our colleagues, who are still maintaining any contacts or sticking to agreements with an aggressor country. There should not be any exceptions for Russian institutions. All archives of the Russian Federation are serving the will of the Russian government and its bloody leader. Russia should be isolated from a civilized world, because this country has already shown that it cannot and does not want to follow any rules of a civilized society.

Ukraine and its archival community stand for a civilized world and way of living. We are open for cooperation and partnership and we believe that together we can save the past and ensure a peaceful and bright future for next generations.

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1 The most recent examples: <https://bit.ly/3pYIVsM> (aufgerufen am 19.10.2022), <https://bit.ly/3wDNXP9>, (aufgerufen am 19.10.2022), <https://bit.ly/3wKWXlv> (aufgerufen am 19.10.2022).

2 See <https://www.familysearch.org/uk/> (aufgerufen am 19.10.2022)

3 See <https://searcharchives.net.ua/> (aufgerufen am 19.10.2022).

4 See <https://bit.ly/3cvxTZ1> (aufgerufen am 19.10.2022).



Matevž Košir

The Culture of Remembrance in Slovenia

History is often written according to the dictates of authority and politics, but personal stories, memories, new discoveries and research into archival documents also shape the understanding of our past. This is especially true of the „difficult times“, periods marked by violence and totalitarian ideologies. We still uncover certain aspects of the Second World War and its aftermath in Slovenia. They are so deeply embedded in post-war history that they blend into its narrative through a mixture of common-sense assumptions and familiarity. The confrontation with the issue of redressing historical wrongs galvanised politicians and researchers into thinking and researching. The same goes for the questions related to Jews and, more specifically, the study of the Holocaust on Slovenian soil. It was not until around the year 2000 that such a field of research took shape and began to consolidate.¹

The Nazis and their collaborators destroyed the economically significant and well-organised Jewish community in the territory of today's Slovenia during the Second World War. Jews of Prekmurje, the largest community on Slovenian soil, were deported to the Auschwitz death camp in 1944. Approximately 800 Jews² lived in Slovenian territory before the Second World War. Only around a hundred of them returned after the end of the war, and most left soon afterwards because of the measures taken by the new communist authorities. After 1945, the Jews

in the territory of present-day Slovenia were erased and relegated to the margins of historical memory.

It was not until the 1990s that the long-standing public, political and professional silence about the Holocaust and its consequences on Slovenian soil ended. In 1992, reconstruction and renovation work began on the former Maribor Synagogue, and the city's new cultural centre opened its doors to the public in April 2001. The 2004/05 Holocaust exhibition comprehensively presented the genocide and drew attention to its tragedy and magnitude. The exhibition subsequently toured several other museums and high schools. Since 2007, the Maribor Synagogue has been steadily involved in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' dedicated project group, active within the framework of international cooperation in Holocaust education, remembrance and research. Working simultaneously with state institutions and civil society, including educational and scientific institutions, is beneficial.

The restitution demands of the Jewish Community of Slovenia intensified the interest in historical sources. Since 2000, and especially in 2005, the Jewish Community has been making increasingly vocal demands to the Slovenian state for restitution of the civil and property rights of Slovenian Jews, victims of the Holocaust, and compensation for their property confiscated during and after the Second World War.

In 2008, the Slovenian government declared that International Holocaust Remembrance Day on 27 January would also become the National Holocaust Remembrance Day. In November 2008, a group of experts, university professors, representatives of museums and archives, the Foreign Ministry and the education sector travelled to Israel for a week-long training about the Holocaust. Yad Vashem Museum organised the training and acquainted the participants with all the critical issues related to teaching and researching the Holocaust. A boom in Holocaust studies in Slovenia followed. In 2010 and 2011, Sinagoga Maribor organised the first comprehensive scholarly presentation of the Holocaust in Slovenia. The organiser sought to capture the complexity of the approach to dealing with the individual thematic strands of the Holocaust and did so through cooperation with several institutions, such as the Maribor Gymnasium (secondary school), the Institute for Contemporary History and the Study Centre for National Reconciliation. The partners pursued this approach with the ambitious „Shoah – Let Us Remember“ project. In December 2011, after five years as an observer, Slovenia became a full member of the International Holocaust Group (ITF for Holocaust), that furthered stimulating activities in this field. This international organisation is now called IHRA (International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance).

Historical research on Slovenian Jews and the Holocaust

2012 saw the publication of the first edited volume on the Slovenian Jews and the Holocaust.³ The book presented the medieval history and the 19th century, during which prejudice against Jews in Central Europe crystallised into politi-

cally articulated anti-Semitism. The main part of the volume is devoted to a devastating account of the Holocaust on Slovenian soil. The contributions complete the narrative of events in Prekmurje in the fateful year 1944, when the largest group of Jews was deported to Auschwitz, and address the fate of the Jewish survivors after 1945. The last part of the volume thus thematically introduces post-war confiscations and politically-motivated show trials against the Jews, demonstrating that class, rather than nationality, was at stake. This period justified the systematic, efficient, ideologically supported erasure of Slovenian Jews from public memory. The volume also highlights how knowledge and teaching about the Holocaust in Slovenia have been inadequate or misleading. In this sense, the editors Hannah Starman and Irena Šumi note that their book is not only a historical account of the events, and indeed not a pleasant read, but a wake-up call that will hopefully be heard.

Scholars published two more books on the Jewish community in Slovenia on the eve of the Holocaust in 2012.⁴ This research filled a gap by tackling a wholly ignored topic – the study and presentation of Jewish immigration and Jewish residence on Slovenian territory. Until then, very few monographic publications offered a comprehensive overview of Jewish presence and studied the residents of Jewish origin on Slovenian territory from various scholarly perspectives. The book by the historian Andrej Pančur on the Jewish community in Slovenia on the eve of the Holocaust is an essential contribution to a more comprehensive presentation of the Jews in the present-day Slovenian territory. The author is the first to present a demographic list with individ-

ual names of the members of the Jewish ethnic community on the territory of the present-day Republic of Slovenia, taking into account the historical changes in the country's borders. In his analysis of the Holocaust victims, the author emphasised the quantitative approach. The third book, also published in 2012, was a book on the historical memory of the Prekmurje Jews.⁵

The first edited volume and monograph on Slovenian Jews and the Holocaust, published in 2012 and 2013, paved the way for a series entitled „Slovenian Jews and the History of the Holocaust“ (2013-2019).⁶ The subsequent volumes include papers and articles from the scholarly gatherings „Shoah – We Remember“, organised annually by the Maribor Synagogue Centre for Jewish Cultural Heritage on International Holocaust Remembrance Day. The research also examines the persecution of the Slovenian Roma.

Since 2010, Sinagoga Maribor and the University Library of Maribor have also organised several international academic gatherings entitled „One Name Every Year“ as part of the increasingly renowned project „Shoah – Let Us Remember“. Scholars of Jewish history presented contributions that focused on individual stories, hitherto largely unknown to the public and historiographically unexplored. Conceived in cooperation with the Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, the gatherings of scholars contribute to the wide-ranging effort of remembering and learning about the Holocaust. Those meetings aim to publicly present the latest research findings on the history of the Holocaust and anti-Semitism and shed light on the life stories of the Righteous

Among the Nations and those of individuals who succumbed to the Nazi merciless killing machine during the Second World War.

Based on the examples quoted above, we can conclude that the field of Jewish studies in Slovenia exists, and it specifically aims at shedding light on and analysing the Holocaust.⁷ This effort was not only historiographical but a necessary and ultimately successful intellectual intervention. The research has revealed a deeply rooted and unqualified conviction that the history of Slovenian Jews and Roma is not Slovenian but somewhat foreign history. The proliferation of studies and research, and the media presence on Jewish issues, have had a moderating effect on such perceptions.

Holocaust education in schools

Slovenian primary and secondary schools have also participated in Holocaust education. In 2010, the magazine „History at School“ published a thematic issue entitled „Teaching Holocaust History“.⁸ The thematic issue presents the history of the Holocaust, the history of Jews in Slovenia, and numerous examples of good practices of Holocaust education and teaching. Another textbook-reader, entitled „Land of Shadows“, was published in 2012. It is both a textbook-reader destined to be used as a pedagogical tool to accompany history lessons in primary and secondary schools and a tribute to the annihilated Jewish community in Prekmurje. The booklet gives prominence to the poignant story of survivor Erika Fürst. A complementary electronic resource includes contributions presented within the international project „The silenced Holocaust: the memory of the deportation

of the Prekmurje Jews“ (2010-2012).⁹ Schools have also been involved in the observance of International Holocaust Remembrance Day.

In 2013, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs published a brochure entitled „Unknown Traces“.¹⁰ The booklet examines Judaism, anti-Semitism and the Holocaust within Slovenian history and has been distributed to all primary and secondary schools in Slovenia. Sixty teachers have received training in Holocaust education at the Yad Vashem Museum in Israel since 2009. In 2021, in collaboration with Yad Vashem, the Slovenian Institute of Education organised a webinar on the Holocaust designed for teachers and well received. In partnership with the *Mémorial de la Shoah* in Paris, the Institute also proposes many Holocaust-related activities for schools, in line with the „Recommendations for Teaching and Learning about the Holocaust“ (IHRA 2020). Many schools have also adopted the Crocus Project, which consists of children planting yellow saffron (crocus) bulbs in gardens and lawns around schools to commemorate the lives of children murdered in the Holocaust.

Memorial sites

In 2010, the Minister of Sports and Education delivered the inaugural speech and unveiled the first memorial to the victims of the Holocaust in the Republic of Slovenia. Created on the initiative of the SAZU Scientific Research Centre, the monument is called „The Forgotten Suitcase“ and is located in front of the Murska Sobota railway station. A bench and a forgotten suitcase are a poignant reminder of 1944 when hundreds of Prekmurje Jewish families were transported from this station to Auschwitz.

The Jews deported to their deaths were only allowed one suitcase with a maximum of 20 kilograms. Only a handful of Jews returned from Auschwitz after the war.

In 2014, Holocaust survivor Erika Fürst and the Mayor of Murska Sobota unveiled a memorial plaque marking the site of the former synagogue. The last rabbi of Murska Sobota died in Auschwitz concentration camp, but the synagogue, built in 1908, survived the war undamaged, only to be torn down by the local authorities in 1954.

A year later, in 2015, the Municipality of Murska Sobota took another step toward redressing the injustice inflicted upon the Jews of Murska Sobota and preserving the memory of the Jewish community in Prekmurje. The local authorities rebuilt the monument on the site of the once well-kept Jewish cemetery, corrected its inscription to reflect accurately historical facts, and renamed the park the „Jewish cemetery“.

Since 2012, Slovenia has been laying the memorial stones – stumbling blocks commemorating Jews who were exiled, deported or murdered during the Nazi occupation of present-day Slovenia. The German artist Gunther Demnig has been working on the *Stolpersteine* art project since 1994, but the initiative has long since transcended the German borders and become a pan-European project. It is dedicated to the memory of all victims of Nazism who lost their lives in concentration camps during the Second World War. The project's core is a cobblestone memorial block (dimensions: 10 x 10 cm) engraved with the victim's details (name and surname, date and place of birth, deportation and death). The me-

morial brass stone is embedded directly underfoot, in the pavement or roadway where the victim last lived or worked.

Maribor was the European Capital of Culture in 2012. At that time, the City of Maribor organised the first installation of the memorial stones in Slovenia as part of the „Shoah – Let Us Remember“ project. Gunter Demnig and the then Slovenian President Danilo Türk laid the first stones in July 2012. On that occasion, Gunter Demnig installed twelve *Stolpersteine* commemorating the lives of two Maribor Jewish families. In August 2018, the German artist laid 23 more stones in Ljubljana, the capital of Slovenia, in the presence of Slovenian President Borut Pahor. Gunter Demnig also oversaw the 2019 installation of additional paving stones in Lendava, on the main street, in front of the former homes of several Jewish families, and in Murska Sobota, where the paving stones, according to the principle of one paving stone for one name resurrect three Jewish families from the recently nameless and forgotten victims of Nazism. In 2020, for the third consecutive year, the Ljubljana municipality remembered the victims of the Holocaust by laying additional seventeen memorial stones in the streets of the Slovenian capital. In July 2022, Gunter Demnig installed memorial stones in Šalovci and Lendava as part of the project „Never Forget – Remembering the Holocaust and building tolerance and solidarity in the EU“.

Commemoration events

Slovenia has organised events to mark the International Holocaust Remembrance Day on 27 January since 2008, and the National Archives of the Republic of Slovenia¹¹ have contributed

to the commemorative events alongside the above-mentioned partners. On 27 January 2022, the President of the Republic delivered the keynote speech at the central ceremony for the victims of the Holocaust in Murska Sobota, and the lights illuminated the facade of the Slovenian Parliament in remembrance of the victims of the Holocaust as the National Assembly joined the World Jewish Congress and UNESCO's #WeRemember project. Those actions underlined the importance of remembering past atrocities and injustices and upholding common human values and fundamental human rights.

Commemoration of the International Holocaust Remembrance Day led to other events, including the festival of Tolerance, organised by the Mini theatre – Jewish Cultural Centre in Ljubljana. Its first edition took place from 4 to 8 February 2015 in Ljubljana. The festival has since become an annual event, running into its eighth edition in 2022. The festival promotes the idea of tolerance and features an essential educational programme for young people, but the core of its activities remains dedicated to the Holocaust. The 2021 programme, for example, included screenings of Holocaust-themed films, an exhibition on the Holocaust in Ljubljana based on the Silberstein/Savić family case study, presentations of new memorial stones, panel discussions on Holocaust remembrance in post-Communist Eastern Europe, several book launches, a concert, etc. The Ljubljana House of Tolerance Festival enjoys the honourable patronage of the President of the Republic of Slovenia, which singles it out as an important cultural event.

Different perceptions of the Second World War

The decline of socialism, and the subsequent pluralisation and democratisation of politics and society at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s, initiated a change in public perception of the Second World War and its aftermath in Slovenia. A gradual process of coming to terms with a less familiar history of the Second World War had begun. It brought to light many themes that had been silenced, marginalised or erased at the time of Yugoslavia. The Second World War has not only become the focus of new historical scrutiny but also fueled political debates and ideological conflicts. We have witnessed decades of an increasingly fierce cultural struggle over memory that confronts the supporters and the opponents of the partisan resistance. While the former focus on the positive aspects of Yugoslav communism, the latter denounces the civil war and the struggle for the victory of the communist revolution. This ongoing cultural battle has perpetuated an unresolved attitude towards the Second World War and its aftermath in Slovenia.

History is both an interpretation of the past and a dialogue between the past and the present. Discussions around the commemoration of the Second World War in Slovenia reveal the existence of different and sometimes conflicting collective memories. Such diverging collective memories are not unusual, but within the Slovenian society, they point to a major divide between the perceptions of the Second World War and its aftermath.

A gradual process of coming to terms with a less familiar history of the Second World War had begun.

During the Second World War and in the immediate post-war period, people suffered countless bitter experiences and human rights violations – forced deportations, executions, extrajudicial killings, mock trials, illegal arrests, expropriations and other purges –, and many of those traumas remained unresolved in the post-war order in Slovenia.

Among the critical aspects of Slovenian history, we find the post-war extrajudicial killings subject to a code of silence in the Slovenian public sphere until the period of democratisation. The second half of the 1980s brought about the idea of national reconciliation (concerning post-war killings).¹² The notion of reconciliation was accepted as a principle in 1989, but it immediately sparked a controversy about its modality and content. Two months after the first free elections in 1990, the newly formed state organised a reconciliation ceremony, but it failed to address reconciliation comprehensively and systematically. The issue of reconciliation, only partially resolved and relieved of its contradictions and drawing criticism from all sides, remains a permanent feature of the Slovenian socio-political scene. The legislator adopted legal solutions as a matter of political compromise and considerably disregarded historical findings.

Jews are absent from the Slovenian reconciliation ideology and do not play any role in this conflict.¹³ Nevertheless, both sides agree on the need to commemorate the Holocaust, conveniently forgetting its own attitude towards the Jews. Whilst the Slovenian collaborationists actively participated in the Holocaust on Slovenian soil, the victorious com-

munist regime persecuted the surviving Jews as class enemies and erased them from public memory. Expropriation was a major stake here, and class affiliation, rather than national, religious or racial belonging, was decisive.¹⁴

The difficult way to reconciliation

In 1990, the first independent Slovenian government established a Commission in charge of issues related to the designation and regulation of burial sites, first and foremost in the areas of Kočevski Rog and Teharje. The Commission was renamed „Government Commission for the Resolution of Issues Related to All Concealed Burial Sites“ in 2015. The lack of an appropriate legal basis constrained and limited its activities for a long time. However, public discussion of the issue and media attention intensified and peaked in 2009 with the discovery of the Huda Jama burial site. The discovery revealed the depth of the conflict and the usual discomfort that accompanies uncovering forgotten chapters of Slovenian history. In 2008, the Government of the Republic of Slovenia established the Study Centre for National Reconciliation to investigate the violations of fundamental human rights and freedoms perpetrated by totalitarian regimes in Slovenia in the 20th century. In 2015, the legislator adopted the Law on Concealed War Graves and the Victims' Burial. The law, among others, regulates the issue of the final dignified burial of victims of war and post-war violence in the territory of the Republic of Slovenia. Despite the progress that has been made, we are still far from any form of closure.¹⁵

Successive Slovenian governments made some commendable symbolic actions, but overall, reconciliation was largely

unsuccessful. This failure is reflected in the persistence of ideological conflicts linked to the recent past. It is worth noting that this schism has deepened in the past few years. The political elites are largely responsible for the persistence of such conflicts that serve their interest in distracting the public from the problems at hand. Political mobilisation is instrumental in deepening the divisions related to the perception and the understanding of history. The use of harsh rhetoric certainly does not contribute to an objective interpretation of past events, still less to a peaceful coexistence of the two groups holding radically different opinions. One-sided assessments of the past, blaming the adversary, selective silence, exaggeration and embellishment, and contextual undermining¹⁶ are building blocks of a sharply divided historical memory.

The champion builders here are the veterans' organisations, increasingly younger in their composition yet equally persistent in their resentment and hostility. Commemorative events, veterans' magazines and other media reflect this state of affairs, often exacerbated by solid support that the veteran organisations receive from a segment of the political elite and some of the leading media and finance. On the other side of the divide, leading politicians increasingly provoke by staging factional commemorative events.

The contributors to public debate in Slovenia have reduced the customarily dynamic process of giving sense to the past and reconstructing historical truth from the patchwork of memories to a single struggle: the interpretation of the history of the Second World War and its aftermath. The struggle has consoli-

dated into two diametrically opposed positions, with their respective audiences primarily defined along political lines. The Slovenian public pays considerable attention to history and communities still identify in relation to it. The reconstruction of the past after the fall of the Iron Curtain is becoming more and more a struggle for ideological dominance between two groups that seem to be stuck in time and ideological perceptions and want to assert only one truth rather than seriously confront the past in all its complexity. Both sides approach the issue emotionally, but the underlying motives are often quite different and primarily political. Exclusivism is the key word here. The two groups perceive and understand the events of the Second World War either exclusively as a liberation struggle or exclusively as a civil war between revolution and counter-revolution. Onesided interpretations also dominate public discourse, and the result of all this is a genuine impossibility of constructive dialogue.

Slovenian debates on recent history are not unlike discussions that take place elsewhere in Europe. Whilst topics such as the Second World War, post-war violence and life under the authoritarian regimes of the 20th century are not uncommon, such debates in Slovenia shun any form of dialogue and take a problematic, highly politicised turn. Ideological-political platitudes rather than realistic arguments set in a historical context dominate the public debate. Such a climate is hardly conducive to a successful national reconciliation based on mutual understanding and respect between different social groups and a

mutual acknowledgement of past mistakes, wrongs, and injustices.

However, a (perhaps growing) section of the public is either totally or increasingly indifferent to this conflict. Analyses of public opinion show that the majority does not want the past to be exploited for political purposes that divide the nation.

Conclusion

In conclusion, we can establish that the image of the Second World War in Slovenian historiography and public opinion has changed fundamentally in the

The reconstruction of the past is becoming more and more a struggle for ideological dominance between two groups.

last two decades. We have already illustrated this in our discussion of the Holocaust in Slovenia. As Prof. Peter Vodopivec¹⁷ notes in one of his

interviews, it is not only the inevitable revision of the dominant depiction of the Second World War in Yugoslavia and in Slovenia during Communism that has changed the image of communist politics and the liberation movement but also the improved understanding of the bourgeois party politics, the collaboration, and the victims of violence. In recent decades, many historical studies, scientific monographs, debates, commemorative literature, and local and thematic books have been published on the Second World War in Slovenia.¹⁸ The Archives of the Republic of Slovenia significantly contributed to this effort by publishing a series of archival sources relating to this period.

The current memorial landscape in Slovenia comprises various memorials, cemeteries and burial sites, such as the memorial park on the site of the branch

of the Mauthausen concentration camp in Ljubelj, dedicated museum collections in Slovenian museums, recorded memories and testimonies of all victims of war violence, execution memorials, a permanent exhibition and memorial to Slovenian exiles in Brežice, numerous Partisan memorials (including the most imposing one in Dražgoše), killing sites where Home Guard (collaborators, anti-communists) were executed mostly after the end of the Second World War, the Teharje Memorial Park, monuments to the victims of mock trials, political and class opponents, TIGR memorials, etc. Equally important is the project aiming to list all the victims of the Second World War in Slovenia. Between 1997 and 2012, the Institute for Contemporary History carried out scientific historiographical victim research that established a list of names of the victims.¹⁹

Since 2013, the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial Museum has been preparing a joint exhibition project bringing together all the successor states of the former SFRY. The project requires completed lists of Slovenian concentration camp inmates and additional data for the lists of victims who perished in the National Socialist concentration camps.

In July 2017, the President of the State Borut Pahor, the President of the Na-

tional Assembly Milan Brglez and the Prime Minister of Slovenia Miro Cerar unveiled the Memorial to the Victims of All Wars in Ljubljana. The inauguration of the monument, also known as the Memorial of Reconciliation, represents one of the few symbolic events dedicated to reconciliation. In his keynote speech, the President of the Republic stressed the importance of shared national memories, regardless of their potentially contradictory interpretations among the public. The latter was, in principle, rather favourable to the memorial. Still, its appearance leaves a lot to be desired and is probably one of the reasons why the concrete proposal has elicited discordant and even violent reactions.

The collective memory of the Second World War and its aftermath remains a topical issue in Slovenian society. Let us hope, however, that future debates and manifestations become more inclusive and dialogue-based, able to transcend ideological-political struggles for historical interpretation and capable of confronting different perspectives with more self-reflection and greater knowledge of and respect for scholarly historical findings and original archival documents.



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- 1 Uvod, Slovenski Judje in Holokaust (Introductions, Slovenian Jews and the Holocaust), 2012.
- 2 Neznane sledi (Unknown traces) 2013, S. 4. Other sources quote lower figures of Jews (A. Pančur 2011).
- 3 See Irena Šumi/Hannah Starman (Hg.): Slovenski Judje, Zgodovina in Holokavst. Pregled raziskovalnih tematik (Slovenian Jews, History and the Holocaust, A Review of Research Topics), Maribor 2012.
- 4 See Andrej Pančur: Judovska skupnost v Sloveniji na predvečer holokavsta (Jewish Community in Slovenian on the Eve of the Holocaust), Celje 2011.
- 5 See Marjan Toš: Zgodovinski spomin na Prekmurske Jude (Historical memory of Prekmurje Jews), Ljubljana 2012.
- 6 Zborniki: Slovenski Judje zgodovina in holokavst (Edited volumes: Slovenian Jews and the Holocaust 2-6), 2013-19.
- 7 The following authors have written extensively on this subject in the above-mentioned proceedings and publications, as well as elsewhere: Irena Šumi, Hannah Starman, Oto Luthar, Andrej Pančur, Renato Podbersič Jr., Boris Hajdinjak, Martin Pogačar, Marjan Toš, Klemen Jelinčič Boeta, and many others.
- 8 History at School (2010), H. 1-2.
- 9 See Oto Luthar: Po robovih spomina. Antisemitizem in uničenje prekmurske judovske skupnosti (On the edges of memory. Antisemitism and the destruction of the Prekmurje Jewish community), 2012.
- 10 See Oto Luthar/Martin Pogačar: Neznane sledi: judovstvo, antisemitizem in holokavst v slovenski zgodovini (Unknown traces: Judaism, anti-Semitism and the Holocaust in Slovenian history), Ljubljana 2013.
- 11 See Tjaša Konovšek: Forgive and Forget. Political Reconciliation and Collective Memory in Post-Yugoslav Slovenia, in: Adam Wiesner/Monika Vrzgulova (Hg.): Memory of the communist past, Bratislava 2020, S. 48-50.
- 12 See Irena Šumi: Slovenski antisemitizem, živ pokopan v ideologiji slovenske narodne sprave (Slovenian anti-Semitism, buried alive in the ideology of Slovenian national reconciliation), in: Časopis za kritiko znanosti 43 (2015), S. 69-84.
- 13 See Hannah Starman: Twice Disowned by Slovenia? The Holocaust, Postwar Trials of Jewish Textile Manufacturers, and a Six-Decade Quest for Justice, in: Holocaust and Genocide Studies 32 (2018), H. 2, S. 173-206.
- 14 For more information see the reports of the Government's Commission for the Resolution of Concealed Burial Sites: Hudo zlo iz Hudih Jam. k ponatisu Poročila Komisije Vlade RS za reševanje vprašanj prikritih grobišč v mandatu 2005-2008 (Terrible evil from Caves of Evil. Appendix to the reprint of the Report of the Committee of the Government of Slovenia for resolving the issue of concealed burial sites in the 2005-2008 mandate), Ljubljana 2009; Mitja Ferenc/Mehmedalija Alić/Pavel Jamnik (Hg.): Huda Jama. Hidden behind eleven barriers. Report 2, Ljubljana 2012; Jože Dežman (Hg.): Resnica in sočutje: prispevki k črni knjigi titoizma. Poročilo 3: poročilo Komisije Vlade RS za reševanje vprašanj prikritih grobišč (Truth and compassion: contributions to the black book of Titoism. Report 3: report of the Commission of the Government of the Republic of Slovenia for the resolution of the issues of clandestine graves) 2009-2011, Ljubljana 2011; Jože Dežman (Hg.): Nemoč laži. poročilo 4 Komisije Vlade RS za reševanje vprašanj prikritih grobišč 2011-2018 (The powerlessness of lies. Report of the 4th Commission of the Government of the Republic of Slovenia to address the issue of clandestine burial sites), Ljubljana 2019; Jože Dežman (Hg.): Pravica do groba. Republika Slovenija in vojni grobovi. 5. poročilo Komisije Vlade RS za reševanje vprašanj prikritih grobišč (The right to the grave. The Republic of Slovenia and war graves. 5th Report of the Commission of the Government of the Republic of Slovenia for the Resolution of the Issue of Concealed Graves), Ljubljana 2021.
- 15 See Mateja Čoh Kladnik (Hg.): Revolucionarno nasilje, sodni procesi in kultura spominjanja (Revolutionary violence, judicial processes and a culture of remembrance), Ljubljana 2014.
- 16 See Tone Slodnjak: Boj za zgodovino. in: Kolektivni spomini in polpretekla zgodovina v slovenski družbi (Fighting for history. Collective Memories and Semi-Past History in Slovenian Society), Ljubljana 2012.
- 17 See Peter Vodopivec: Noben narod ni rojen samo iz kulture (No nation is born of culture alone), in: Delo, 27.12.2016, S. 13.
- 18 It is impossible to list them all in the space of this brief discussion, so here are just some of the leading scholars in the field: Bojan Godeša, Damjan Guštin, Tamara Griesser-Pečar, Vida Deželak Barič, Božo Repe, Zdenko Čepič, Nevenka Troha, Boris Mlakar, Jože Pirjevec, Jože Možina and many others.
- 19 See <https://www.sistory.si/zrtve> (aufgerufen am 3.11.2022).



Komunikacja i transport

Województwo łódzkie posiadał własny system komunikacji publicznej. W 1925 roku uruchomiono pierwszą linię tramwajową, która do dziś jest jedną z najważniejszych form transportu miejskiego. W 1928 roku powstała pierwsza linia autobusowa, a w 1930 roku uruchomiono pierwszą linię kolejową. W 1935 roku uruchomiono pierwszą linię trolejbusową.

Rzywki, kino, teatr

Województwo łódzkie posiadało bogatą kulturę. W 1925 roku uruchomiono pierwsze kino, a w 1930 roku uruchomiono pierwszy teatr. W 1935 roku uruchomiono pierwszy teatr operowy.

Sport

Województwo łódzkie posiadało bogatą kulturę sportową. W 1925 roku uruchomiono pierwsze boisko sportowe, a w 1930 roku uruchomiono pierwszy klub sportowy. W 1935 roku uruchomiono pierwszy klub piłkarski.

Wyjazdy do uzdrowisk - popularne kurorty i ośrodki

Popularną formą spędzenia wolnego czasu były wyjazdy do miejscowości uzdrowiskowych w polskich górach - Zakopanem, Krynicy oraz Wąle i polszem prezydencie Ignacym Mościckiego, w Karpaczu Włodzkiem - ośrodku sportu zimowego, Jaszczowie i Wąchocku ze słynną kuracją, nad Buzycynem - Jaszczowie i Pólkami, w gminie - Mianówku i Cieluchowie.

4 ARCHIWA RODZINNE NIEPODLEGŁEJ

Życiorys rodziny 1918-1939

ŻYCIE CODZIENNE

ARCHIWA RODZINNE NIEPODLEGŁEJ

POLSKA AKADEMIA NAUK

TOWARZYSTWO NAUKOWE WARSZAWSKIE



Paweł Pietrzyk

The Culture of Remembrance in the Activities of Polish State Archives

The concept of „culture of remembrance“ has been used in the Polish scientific discourse recently. Since its appearance over a dozen years ago, there has been a debate over the definition of this term and its meaning. In recent years, scientific studies on this subject have become available in Poland, both translations of books by foreign authors into Polish, as well as native studies (including those created in the academic environment of the University of Warsaw). Examples in this area are the Polish editions of studies by authors such as Jan Assmann¹, Paul Connerton², or Astrid Erll³. A classic book, known to many historians in Poland, is the work of the outstanding French historian, medievalist and co-founder of the famous *Annales* school, Jacques Le Goff, entitled „History and Memory“.⁴

The result of the work of the Polish scientific community, operating as part of the Polish-German research project, was the preparation of an important publication: „Modi memorandi. Lexicon of the culture of memory“.⁵ The lexicon aims at facilitating interdisciplinary understanding in research on memory and fostering the integration of the community that deals with this issue in Poland. For the first time, the authors of the study also included research on collective memory in Central and Eastern Europe, going beyond the achievements of Western European and American researchers.

The State Archives in Poland do not participate directly in the scientific debate on this issue, but they participate in many practical activities that can be qualified as the implementation of programs in the field of culture of remembrance. They are primarily involved in the way of talking about the past, educational and outreach projects that shape the historical memory of citizens and can affect their sense of national identity. As part of international cooperation, archives participate in projects that integrate European partners in their thinking about the common past or help to understand the memory culture of neighboring countries.

The Polish State Archives

The State Archives are institutions in which vast source knowledge about the past is collected, and by making these materials available to all interested, the archives have an impact on the way of transmitting knowledge about the local history and the history of entire countries, shaping the collective memory of society, local communities and international communities.

The Polish state archives, which celebrated their 100th anniversary in 2019, are institutions established for perpetual care over the documentary heritage of the Polish state and society created for over 900 years (from the 12th to the

21st centuries).⁶ The resources of the state archives⁷ are the treasury of the collective memory of the nation, they document the position of Poland on the political and civilizational map of Europe, they are a testimony of the place of Poland and Poles among other countries and nations over many centuries.

The activities of the state archives are part of the policy of protecting the cultural heritage of the state, the broadly understood dissemination of historical knowledge and shaping the historical memory of the society. The archives also constitute an important part of the public administration in Poland and have to deal with its current challenges. Their task is to respond to both the current and future needs of state institutions and the nonstate sector, especially those entities that produce materials important for today's society and future generations.

The network of state archives in Poland, managed and coordinated by the General Director of State Archives, is centralized, which facilitates joint actions on a national scale and ensures a uniform policy in approach to solving various issues. This organizational model also favors the exchange of information and experience between state archives and other memory institutions in Poland.

The basic goals for the state archives in Poland in the coming years are set out in the document published in 2021 entitled „Strategy for the development of the State Archives for 2021-2030“. The strategic tasks of the state archival service focus on three main areas: archival heritage (its protection and disclosure), competent staff and archives as modern offices. The strategy defines

state archives as institutions that care for the past, are embedded in the present and are future-oriented. In common understanding, state archives are primarily memory institutions, treasuries of knowledge, but also offices of public trust, important for citizens. An important part of the cultural heritage gathered in archives predisposes them to conduct broadly understood education of the society and popularize historical knowledge contained in stored sources.

Despite the enormous losses in the archival resource suffered since the fall of the Polish state at the end of the 18th century and in the years of two world wars, state archives in Poland store over 360 km of historical material from the period from the Middle Ages to the present day. The archives are the oldest memory institutions with both a source base and professional staff prepared to conduct various types of projects which can be addressed both to the scientific community and to ordinary citizens.

This does not mean, however, that they are the only institutions dealing with issues related to the culture of remembrance. The State Archives operate in a specific social environment, and an important area of their activities is the development of cooperation with institutions that have related goals. One of such partners for over 20 years is the Institute of National Remembrance, established in 1999 for a specific purpose after the collapse of the communist system in Poland. This institution not only has its own separate archive, but also deals with, inter alia, extensive research and popularization work in relation to issues from the recent history of the Polish state. It should be noted, however,

that both the subjective and objective scope of the Institute's activities as well as the chronological scope of archival materials that can be collected by this institution has recently been significantly expanded.

New institutions in Polish culture of remembrance

In recent years, numerous institutes have also been established, the activities of which coincide, to a greater or lesser extent, with the tasks already carried out by other state memory institutions, including the State Archives. The most important institutions that cannot be ignored here are: the National Heritage Institute, the Pilecki Institute, the National Thought Heritage Institute, and the War Loss Institute. The National Heritage Institute is in fact the successor of the Monuments Documentation Center existing since 1962 and deals with collecting and disseminating knowledge about monuments and setting standards for their protection and conservation.

The remaining institutes are basically new cultural institutions subordinated to the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage, established over the last five years. In 2016, the Center for Research on Totalitarianisms named after Witold Pilecki was established, then connected with the Institute of Solidarity and Valor and known as the Pilecki Institute. The main activity of the Pilecki Institute focuses on undertaking and supporting activities aimed at commemorating and honoring people living, deceased or murdered, people of merit for the Polish Nation, supporting scientific research in this field, but also collecting book collections and archives serving this purpose. The Institute of the Heritage of the Na-

tional Thought named after Roman Dmowski and Ignacy Jan Paderewski was established in 2020. The scope of the Institute's activities includes, inter alia, implementing the policy of remembrance in the field of the history and heritage of Poland, including the achievements of Polish socio-political thought, with particular emphasis on national, Catholic-social and conservative thought, as well as inspiring, supporting and disseminating phenomena in science, culture and art referring to the heritage of Polish history.

Finally, at the end of 2021, the Jan Kar-ski Institute for War Losses was established. Its tasks include: initiating and conducting scientific research aimed at comprehensively determining and describing the effects of World War II for the Republic of Poland, as well as for Central and Eastern Europe; initiating international cooperation in the field of research on the effects of World War II; conducting educational and popularizing activities in this area as well as conducting, publishing, and documenting activities. This multitude of different types of memory institutions causes, on the one hand, a certain information and competence chaos, on the other hand, it additionally involves the State Archives, because they are the natural source base for this type of activity.

Regardless of the changing social environment, the State Archives remain the main executors of socially important undertakings. These are, among other projects of the nature of social actions, not only addressed to the broad circles of society, but also involving citizens in their implementation. An important area integrating the State Archives with society is joining the celebrations of various types of anniversaries related to shaping

national memory, surrounded by historical events important for citizens and the state. Due to the fact that archives operate as a nationwide network, they are centers for integrating society both nationwide and within local communities. Archivists play an important role in building the so-called small homelands and the historical awareness connected with them. Importantly, when implementing educational programs and popularizing historical knowledge, archivists focus on the comprehensive presentation of sources, and not on their interpretation, which is the task of historians. This allows the recipient to interpret the content of the sources on their own and not imposed from above, and, thus, favors the perception of the State Archives as objective institutions, independent of current political trends.

Anniversary initiatives

An important element of reaching the recipient is also the way of presenting historical sources. In recent years, the State Archives in Poland have more and more often come to their users from closed offices and rooms, offering open-air exhibitions easily accessible to everyone, located in the most frequented by domestic and foreign points – most often historic city centers. The online exhibitions and thematic portals are also attracting more and more interest.⁸

In the last two years, despite the difficulties associated with the threat of a pandemic and limitations in direct interpersonal contacts, state archives in Poland have successfully implemented several large projects related to the shaping of the policy of remembrance. These initiatives focused on important anniversary events in the recent Polish history,

but also important for society, such as: World War I and the reconstruction of an independent state after 1918, the Polish-Bolshevik war in 1920, the establishment of the trade union „Solidarity“, and collapse of the communist system.

100 years of independence – family documents

The initiative enjoying great public interest and having a nationwide character was the archival program initiated in 2019 on the wave of the state celebrations of the 100th anniversary of regaining independence. It was addressed to every person in Poland and abroad who had family documents that showed the role of people unknown in history textbooks in the process of rebuilding the independent Polish state. Family archives, often collected over many generations and underestimated by professional researchers, have become the focus of the National Archives network. As part of the nationwide campaign, consultation points were established in each of the archives, where archivists provided advice and practical tips on how to protect these priceless sources.

Within two years, many family memorabilia owners, despite their emotional ties with the documentation, decided to donate their private collections to the resource of state archives. They were systematically scanned and presented on the project's website. They were also used to prepare a nationwide open-air exhibition, which has traveled around Poland for over two years, arousing the interest of local communities in several cities. The exhibition consisted of five thematic sections, which presented: national and religious cross-section as well as multiculturalism of the families

of the Second Polish Republic, their diverse social status from peasant families to aristocracy, participation in the defense of the Independence and the struggle for its borders, everyday life in the years of the Second Polish Republic, and the role of women in the reborn state. The exhibition was based on materials from family collections donated by numerous donors to the resources of the State Archives⁹ all over Poland.

It was accompanied by a catalog presenting both the rich illustrative material from the family archives and the historical commentary on the individual thematic sections of the exhibition. The competition (entitled „Notes of a family archivist“), announced as part of the project, for the preparation of written works presenting the history of individual families and their role in the reconstruction of an independent state, also aroused great interest. The whole action resulted in the activation of wide social masses, people of different ages and with different education who joined the project.

Events in commemoration of the Battle of Warsaw

Another example of this type of activity was the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the Battle of Warsaw in the war between Poland and Bolshevik Russia in 1920/21, which took place in 2021. This historic event is an important symbol not only in Polish, but also in European history. The Battle of Warsaw won by the Polish side and the detention of the Russian army in the outskirts of the capital interrupted the march of Russian troops towards Western Europe. The battle, referred to in Polish histo-

riography and national memory as „the miracle on the Vistula“, is considered by historians to be one of the most important war battles in the history of the world, and certainly of this part of Europe. The English diplomat Vincent Edgar d'Abernon had no doubts about the enormous significance of the events in Poland in August 1920, writing in his famous book about the eighteenth decisive battle in the history of the world: „In many historical situations, Poland was the bulwark of Europe against the Asian invasion. But at no time were the merits made by Poland greater, at no time was the danger more dangerous“.¹⁰

For Poles, it is a key event that saved the newly regained independence in 1918, after more than 120 years of slavery and the lack of its own statehood. On this occasion, in August 2020, the State Archives throughout Poland prepared over 20 events popularizing knowledge on this issue based on historical materials stored in the archives. An important element of the project was the opening of the open-air exhibition entitled „The Battle of Warsaw was the guarantor of peace in Europe“, co-organized with the Łazienki Królewskie Museum. Over 40 thematic boards show the events of the Battle of Warsaw against the background of the situation in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe (Finland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Romania, Ukraine) and their paths to independence.

The state archives have made available a number of unique source materials for the exhibition. One of the mentioned themes was the example of the Polish-American brotherhood of arms,

The Battle of Warsaw of 1921 is an important symbol not only in Polish, but also in European history.

which was the participation of a group of American airmen in the war of 1920. In this way, young American volunteers repaid the „honor debt“ for the participation of the Polish heroes Tadeusz Kościuszko and Kazimierz Pułaski in the war of independence of the United States almost 150 years earlier. Recruited in Paris in the summer of 1919, before leaving for Poland, they were said goodbye by the then prime minister and world-famous pianist Ignacy Jan Paderewski. Included in the ranks of the Polish army, they formed the backbone of the 7th Fighter Squadron Tadeusz Kościuszko and made a significant contribution to the military success of the Polish army. The most famous of them was Merian Cooper, later a famous director in Hollywood. The film „King Kong“, made by him in 1933, in which he used his pilot skills, brought him worldwide fame. The inclusion of the archives in the anniversary celebrations of the Battle of Warsaw was an attempt to recall the common European memory and common historical experiences that were shared by several countries in this part of Europe.

Remembering the establishment of Solidarność

In 2021, the state archives also joined the celebration of another anniversary that is fundamental to Polish history and national identity: the 40th anniversary of the establishment of Solidarity, the first legal and independent union organization in communist countries. The event was accompanied by a scientific conference entitled „Do not forget those days“ and the exhibition and publication presenting the sources of the history of NSZZ *Solidarność* kept in the resources of the State Archives. Apart from sci-

entists from various academic centers, witnesses to history took an active part in the event.

The above-mentioned examples of anniversary initiatives confirm the importance of state archives in actively shaping the historical awareness of the society and show methods of reaching wide social circles with a specific historical message, shaping the memory of nations about specific events in the past.

International cooperation

Similar actions and projects undertaken by state archives on the domestic basis are also carried out as part of international cooperation. In view of its complex history and the special geographical location of Poland between the eastern and western cultural circles, many activities of the scientific and archival communities in Poland are aimed at deepening Poland's integration with neighboring countries, but also at showing Poland's place in the European family.

An example of activities aimed at deepening the integration of Central and Eastern European countries and referring to the common past and historical memory was a project initiated by the Lithuanian State Archives in 2018. This initiative was prepared in reference to the 100th anniversary of the end of World War I and of the regaining of independence of Central and Eastern European countries for several years. The international archival exhibition entitled „The End of World War I: Decisive Turn Towards Modern Europe“ was the result of cooperation between Lithuania, Poland, Belarus, Georgia, Finland, and Ukraine. The exhibition was an opportunity to

exchange knowledge and information about archives, but also to look for similarities and analogies, as well as for differences in the common historical experience, which was the independence of several neighboring nations. This analysis was possible thanks to direct contacts of archives' employees, but above all thanks to the rich resources of archival sources preserved in individual countries.

Memory of the World program

Historical experiences of memory institutions in Poland related to huge losses in cultural heritage, including archival resources, are the reason for a special sensitivity to the problems of protecting and securing the heritage of the past centuries for future generations. This is evidenced by, among others, the enormous involvement of the Polish archival community in programs carried out under the patronage of UNESCO. One of the best known is the „Memory of the World“ program, initiated at an international conference in Poland in 1996. This program is the response of the international community to the severe losses suffered by documentary heritage in the 20th century, mainly as a result of armed conflicts. Understanding that it is necessary to take all possible actions to protect this heritage is especially common in Poland. All memory institutions, including state archives, not only try to permanently protect the saved cultural goods, but also to ensure universal access to them and constantly raise public awareness of their importance and significance.

Broad circles of society are becoming aware of the importance of sources from the past for shaping the national identity.

The result of these activities is a significant number of entries of Polish objects on both the world and national lists of the UNESCO „Memory of the World“ program. Currently, the world list includes 17 unique objects from Polish institutions, which puts Poland in third place in the world (after Germany and Great Britain – both countries have 23 entries).¹¹ Additionally, the national list currently includes 58 historical documents and collections, ranging from priceless documents from the Middle Ages to historical materials from the Second World War. The last, fourth edition of the national list, organized in June 2021, was an opportunity to widely popularize Polish history and the most valuable monuments of literature from several historical periods. The accompanying open-air exhibition was presented in nine cities in Poland, arousing considerable interest in various groups of society.

Successive editions of the National List of the UNESCO „Memory of the World“ Program and the accompanying „Memory of Poland“ program implemented by the network of State Archives are initiatives of great importance on a national scale. The aforementioned undertakings make it possible to make the broad circles of society aware of the importance for shaping the national identity of the sources from our past that have survived to the present day. At the same time, they are an opportunity to popularize knowledge about unique documents that constitute an outstanding testimony to the common spiritual and cultural heritage.

Polish heritage abroad

A significant part of the Polish archival heritage consists of collections stored outside the Polish state. Polish institutions in exile arose as a result of successive waves of political and economic emigration and also as a result of historical events such as national uprisings in the nineteenth century or two world wars. Currently, about 20 million Poles live outside Poland, half of whom, or about 10 million, live in the United States. The result of this huge emigration during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was the establishment of many Polish institutions abroad, including centers storing important historical materials. The oldest Polish emigration institutions were established in the 19th century (the Polish Library in Paris, the Polish Museum in Rapperswil in Switzerland), others were established in the interwar period (the Polish Museum in Chicago) and during or after World War II (the Józef Piłsudski Institute in New York, the Polish Institute of Arts and Science in New York, the Piłsudski Institute in London, the Polish Library in London, the Polish Institute and the General Sikorski Museum in London).

These institutions, which store priceless historical material and museum objects, also act as centers of scientific and cultural life in individual countries. They also bring the history and culture of Poland closer to local communities.

Thanks to the change in the political situation in Poland after 1989, in fulfilling this important mission, Polish organizations abroad are supported, in various forms, by national institutions. It was

An unbiased and reliable analysis of past events is an indispensable element of the discourse about the present and the future.

also possible to freely exchange ideas and experiences in the field of collecting, sharing and securing Polish cultural heritage scattered in various parts of the world for future generations. For over 20 years, the State Archives have been implementing a longterm program of support for Polish institutions outside the country. Currently, cooperations are carried out with more than 25 emigration centers, located in seven countries, located on four continents: in Europe, North and South America and Australia. In the years 2006-2020, almost 300 trips of archivists and conservators to European countries, the Americas and Australia were organized. The activities of Polish archivists are not only steps to protect Polish cultural heritage in exile, but also a way to build unique ties between the country and emigration and to popularize Polish culture and history, which serves to maintain the national identity of the next generations born and raised outside the country of their ancestors.

European Archive Colloquia

Building a common European memory of the past is facilitated by international conferences devoted to the analysis of common experience and the exchange of knowledge between national archives of individual countries. The Polish State Archives have been actively participating in this type of activities for years.

This year, in Poland, a new series of international conferences addressed to national archives in Europe was initiated under the name: „European Archive Colloquia“. They are a reference to the meetings held for several years in Poland and enjoying considerable in-

terest under the slogan *Colloquia Jerzy Skowronek dedicata*. Currently, the inaugurated conferences are to be held every two years, and their aim is to maintain the tradition of integrating European archivists and discussing topics important to them in the widest possible audience. This year's conference was organized under the title „Scattered Heritage. Displacement and recovery of archives in Europe after the First World War“. Its aim was to refer to the common experience of European countries and archives in the field of protection of cultural heritage, including archival resources in conditions of particular threats, e. g. in the event of various armed conflicts.

This topic, like the issue of historical politics or the role of archives in maintaining national identity, has gained relevance in the present situation, at the time of the brutal Russian aggression against Ukraine. Therefore, during the conference in Krakow, a special panel was held devoted to the current situation of Ukrainian archives and their historical resources. The deliberations were attended by a delegation of Ukrainian archives and representatives of eleven European countries who presented presentations based on the historical experience of individual countries.



The aim of this year's conference was to recall historical events important for the fate of European archives, mainly from the period 1918-1939, but also to analyze the current situation of cultural goods in Europe, especially in the context of a new huge threat to the multicultural heritage accumulated in Ukraine.

Archives and the culture of remembrance

The above-mentioned conference, as well as other activities of the Polish State Archives indicated above, show that national archives in Europe are important institutions in the debate on the culture of remembrance and the past of individual states and nations. Moreover, they are the most predisposed institutions to analyze these issues due to their vast resources, their experience in popularizing knowledge about the past and the role they play in contemporary societies. It is worth emphasizing that an unbiased and reliable analysis of past events, based on archival resources, is an indispensable element of the discourse about the present and the future.

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- 1 Jan Assmann: *Collective memory and cultural identity*, Warsaw 2003; Ders.: *Cultural memory. Writing, remembering and political identity in ancient civilizations*, Warsaw 2008.
- 2 Paul Connerton: *How societies remember*, Warsaw 2012.
- 3 Astrid Erll: *Culture of memory. Introduction*, Polish edition, Warsaw 2018.
- 4 The book had several editions in Poland, the last one in 2007.
- 5 Magdalena Saryusz-Wolska/Robert Traba/Joanna Kalicka (Hg.): *Modi memorandi. Leksykon kultury pamieci*, Warsaw 2014.
- 6 The network of state archives in Poland was established after independence on the basis of the decree of the head of state, Józef Piłsudski, of 7 February 1919. The archives, however, operated much earlier. The oldest public state archive was established in 1808 under the name of the National General Archive (now the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw).
- 7 An example is the website devoted to the three Silesian Uprisings (1919, 1920, and 1921) prepared by the State Archives in Opole and the State Archives in Katowice, see <https://opole.ap.gov.pl/other/powstancy-slascy> (aufgerufen am 3.11.2022), or a website about the war between Poland and Bolshevik Russia in 1920, prepared by the Archives of Modern Records in Warsaw, see <https://1920.gov.pl/intro/> (aufgerufen am 3.11.2022).
- 8 According to the English historian and diplomat Edgar Vincent D'Abernon, the Battle of Warsaw 1920 was the 18th decisive battle in the history of the world. A similar opinion was expressed by Norman Davies in his book on the Polish-Bolshevik war. See Edgar Vincent D'Abernon: *The eighteenth decisive battle of the world: Warsaw, 1920*, London 1931 (Polish edition 1932, 1988 and 1990); N. Davies: *White Eagle, Red Star: The Polish-Soviet War 1919-20 and the Miracle on the Vistula, 1972* (Polish edition 1997). Compare too: Adam Zamoyski: *The Battle for the Marchlands. A history of the 1920 Polish-Soviet War*, Ann Arbor 1981; Adam Zamoyski: *Warsaw 1920. Lenin's Failed Conquest of Europe*, New York 2008 (Polish edition 2009).
- 9 Edgar Vincent D'Abernon: *The eighteenth decisive battle of the world* (wie Anm. 8), S. 10.
- 10 The jubilee publication was entitled: Dariusz Rymara/Krzysztof Kowalczyk/Marek Kietlińskiego (Hg.): *Nie zapomnijcie tamtych dni... Źródła do dziejów Niezależnego Samorządnego Związku Zawodowego „Solidarność” z lat 1980–1989 w archiwach państwowych*, Warszawa 2020.
- 11 The full list of Polish facilities is available on the program's website: <https://webarchive.unesco.org/web/20220331150301/http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/memory-of-the-world/register/access-by-region-and-country/pl> (aufgerufen am 3.11.2022).



לְשָׁנָה טוֹבָה תִּכְתְּבוּ וְתַחֲתֵמוּ

גַּם אֲתֵם

Herzlichen Glückwunsch
zum Neuen Jahre.

Cristian Anița

Jewish Traces in Archival Funds in Romania

Jewish traces on Romania's territory of today were discovered in archeological sites from the former Roman province Dacia, but we cannot speak about a real settlement of the Jewish population in this area until the Middle Ages. The first Jewish communities' settlements date from the XVI century in Walachia and Moldavia, mainly in the capitals, Bucharest and Iasi. In the XVII century Jews settled in Transylvania as well, in the capital of the principality, Alba Iulia. The communities from the three principalities were small, but, in spite of an unfavorable political context, prospered over the next centuries. At the end of the XIX century a massive Jewish immigration is registered, mainly in Moldavia, Bukovina (part of Moldavia occupied by the Austrians in 1775) and North Transylvania. Later the immigration extended to Walachia, too, while immigration from the east of Pruth river, i. e. Bessarabia, to Moldavia grew after 1812, a fact that has been ascertained ulterior.

The newly arrived people – mainly *Ashkenazim* Jews from the former Polish territories occupied by Austria and Russia in 1772 – were integrated into the older communities of these regions, especially in the main urban centers, or they established new small towns known as Moldavian or North Transylvanian *shtetl*. In the south, in Walachia and Banat, later in Dobrogea, existed communities of *Sephardim* which became stronger due to the immigrants

from the Ottoman Empire (where they lived since the end of the XV century). It is useful to specify that the Jewish *Ashkenazi* represented the majority of the Romanian Jews.

Jewish population in numbers

There are some relevant statistics pertaining to the number or percentage of the Jewish population in these territories. Even though they refer to different periods of time I decide to make the following specifications: in 1774 in Moldavia lived 1,323 Jewish families; in 1803 in the same space we have 11,732 Jewish people, and by 1820 their number increased to 18,912, representing about 8% of the population. In 1848 their number reached 60,000, and in 1859, according to official statistics, the number was 124,867 Jewish people, meaning 8.53% of the total population.

For the Jewish demographics in Walachia we do not have precise data, but we know that they were less numerous. Some sources mention 1,500 families or 5,000-6,000 people at the beginning of the XIX century. In 1831 there are, probably, 3,114 Jews and in 1859 9,301.

According to official statistics in 1899 there were no less than 269,015 Jews in Romania, representing 4.5% of the country population (5,912,520 inhabitants). In 1912 the number of the Jewish population was 239,967, meaning 3.3% of the total amount of inhabitants.

The reduction of the Jewish population number is explained most probably by the most important emigration towards other lands, mainly the United States of America. In 1930 in Romania was made a very complex census. From the total amount of 18,000,000 people, 756,930 or 4.2% of the population were Jewish. They were spread unequal by comparison to the local population from the different provinces of the country: in Bukovina they were 10% of the population, 7.2% in Bessarabia, 7% in Crişana-Maramureş, 6.7% in Moldavia, 2.5% in Transylvania, 2.3% in Muntenia, 1.5% in Banat, 0.5% in Dobrogea, 0.2% in Oltenia. Bucharest had 75,480 Jewish people, meaning 12% of the city's population. Most of the Jews lived in the cities. In the spring of 1941, after the ceases of territories from the previous year (Bessarabia, North of Bukovina and North of Transylvania) in Romania, 302,090 Jews from a total population of 13,492,983 were registered. Finally, in 1947, 428,312 Jewish were registered in Romania, including North Transylvania.

Nationalism and integration

Towards the middle of the XIX century in what will soon become Romania appeared a problem known as the „Jewish issue“. Finding itself in full process of defining its identity, the Romanian nation knew frenzied controversies pertaining to who was Romanian and was not. The nationalism was the ideology that mobilized a great deal of the energies that finally lead to the construction of the modern Romanian state.

The end of the First World War led to major changes in Romania from a political, social and economic point of view. Through special laws, like the Constitution of 1923, the Jews became Roma-

nian citizens. The progress was obvious, the involvement of the Jews in the political life took place within the democratic or the radical left Romanian parties, but mainly within their own political democratic organizations.

Without trying to evade the situation, 1920-1930 were the best years, not only for Romania, but also for the Jewish population in this country. But the inter-war period was the witness of the growth of the radical right parties in Romania, as in large parts of Europe. The most important radical parties in Romania were the League of Christian National Defense, conducted by the old anti-Semite A. C. Cuza, and the Iron Guard, founded by a disciple of Cuza, Corneliu Zelea Codreanu. These two parties had an anti-Semite doctrine declaring the Jews as main enemy of Romania and the cause of all evils of state and society.

The Holocaust in Romania

The deterioration of the political and social status in inter-war Romania prepared in a way the strongly anti-Semite environment of the Second World War period, when in Romania the Holocaust became a reality. In the 1940s the Romanian authorities had an attitude of extreme harshness towards the Jews: from the imitation of the racial laws from Nuremberg in August 1940, to issuing a large number of anti-Semite acts with Romanian „specificity“, depriving of the rights of the Jewish population and its spoliation, ending with the crimes against the Jews in Bucharest in January 1941, the pogrom of Iasi from June 1941, the massacres in Bessarabia and North of Bukovina, and later in Transnistria, the deportation of a huge number of Jewish people from the terri-

tories recovered by the Romanian Army, the execution by shooting or starvation etc., using the whole destroying arsenal of those years when the Romanian rulers thought that the moment to „solve“ the Jewish issue has arrived.

The Holocaust specialists consider that between 270,000 and 400,000 Romanian and Ukrainian Jews were killed in the East of today's Romania, in Bessarabia, in North Bukovina and in Transnistria during 1941 and 1944.

Postwar emigration

The postwar period dealt with the confrontation of several orientations among the Romanian Jews: the Zionists, which wanted the emigration to Palestine and the establishment of the state of Israel; the communists, which were in favor of the remaining of the Jews in Romania and the construction of the communist state; and a third category wanting to remain in Romania and to integrate in the society, keeping the Jewish identity. The large majority chose to emigrate, including the old communist Jews, eliminated or alienated by the Romanian colleagues during 1950 and 1960. This last aspect (regarding the emigration of the communist) is an example of the history's ironies. It is considered that today in Israel live about 400,000 Jews of Romanian origin.

Due to the Holocaust and the postwar emigration a community that used to be very strong is now on the edge of disappearance. Today in Romania, there live less than 10,000 Jews, mainly old people. Nevertheless, in the last 15 to 20 years immigration from Israel can be noticed, as well as numerous businessmen from Israel investing in Romania who are not necessarily Jews of Romanian origin.

Most of the members of this group are in Bucharest.

Archives from Romania containing documents referring to Jews

For the history of the Jews in Romania we have different sources: archives, press for the XIX and XX centuries, memoirs, oral history for the last decades. But no doubt that the most important sources are the archival ones. In Romania, there are numerous organizations creating and preserving archives. The holdings with documents pertaining to the history of the Jews are preserved are the National Archives of Romania (with documents from the XIII century up to XX century); the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (after 1831), the Military Archives (starting with the second half of the XIX century) and the Archives of the National council for the Study of the Security Archives (the documents created by the political police of the communist regime; and documents from the inter-war period and the second world war period).

Archival sources pertaining to the history of Jews in Romania in the National Archives of Romania and its branches

1. Documents preserved at the Directorate of the Central National Historical Archives (DCNHA)

DCNHA administers about 70 km of documents in its repositories in Bucharest. The documents pertaining to the Jews can be found in several funds. The most relevant are those created by the administrative or public order departments and by the secret services. There are several funds referring solely to the history of the Jews in Romania:

The fund „Jewish Communities from Romania“ contains documents from 1818 to 1951 (statutes, reports, memoirs, lists of members) reflecting the activity and the organization of Jewish societies and communities from Bârlad, Botoșani, București, Focșani, Giurgiu, Ploiești, Târnăveni etc. and of some Zionist organizations. The documents from 1940 to 1945 (memoirs, reports, studies, lists, proceedings etc.) mainly reflect the situation of the Jewish population from the Romanian territories occupied by the Soviet Union after the ultimatum of 26 June 1940, the discrimination policy of the government in Bucharest during the Second World War (the persecution of the Jewish population, closure of Jewish shops, the expropriation of Jewish properties, internment of Jews in camps etc.), the situation of Jews in the Golta camp and the emigration of Jews from Romania.

The documents from 1945 to 1948 (memoirs, reports, lists, proceedings, posters etc.) refer to the repatriation of the Jews from the camps in the USSR, Germany, and Poland, the actions undertaken by the American Joint Distribution or by other foreign Jewish organizations for helping the Romanian Jews to leave the country, the emigration of the Jews to Israel, the activity of the Romanian Jewish Communities Federation and the Jewish Democratic Committee.

The fund „Central of Romanian Jews“ contains the correspondence of this organization (that functioned in Romania during the Second World War) with the presidency of the Council of Ministers, the county branches of the Central Romanian Jews, the reports on the activity of the organization, the account balance, the petitions of Jews to be excepted from forced labor.

The fund „The Jewish Democratic Committee, 1945-1953“ contains 50 files with documents regarding the Romanian Jews during the first period of the communist regime.

In the funds and collections created by the Romanian Communist Party or upon its request we can find numerous documents regarding (also) the history of the Jews from Romania. Here are collected documents from 1921 to 1989, some of those referring to the Jewish members of the Party, others to the Jewish community in general.

The fund „Personal files of the anti-fascist fighter made by the Ministry of Interior“, former „fund 95“, contains files regarding the communist activity of some Romanian or foreign citizens, many of them Jewish, between 1917 and 1944; the fund „Trials opened by the departments of Justice, Security and Gendarmerie against the communists, militants of workers movement and of mass organizations“, former „fund 96“, contains documents from 1917 to 1944, including documents pertaining to the trials of ethnic Jews; the fund „Participation of Romanian volunteers in International Anti-Fascist Brigades in Spain and in French Resistance“ contains documents from 1937 to 1956 that are important for the history of Romanian Jews, considering that many of the volunteers and the resistant were Jews. The fund „Association of the former anti-Fascist political prisoners from Romania“ contains documents from 1947 to 1958.

DNHCA also has some personal and family collections pertaining to the history of Jewish, such as the collection „A. C. Cuza“ with documents from 1880 to 1949 regarding the activity of

the founder of the Romanian anti-Semitism, the leader of the League for National Christian Defense; „Gheorghe Alexianu“ with documents belonging to the former governor of Transnistria between 1941 and 1944; „Max Ausnit“ with documents from 1933 to 1946 regarding the life of one of the most important industrialists – ethnic Jew – from inter-war Romania.

2. Documents preserved by the County Branches of the National Archives of Romania – some examples

Documents preserved at Suceava County Branch

Numerous documents from the county branch of Suceava – a region covering mainly the South of Bucovina, while the North of the old Romanian province was incorporated in the USSR – contain information about the Jewish population. Civil status data may be found in the funds of all town halls for the localities of the Old Kingdom. For the localities from Bucovina (former part of Austria until 1918) there are civil status registers made by the Register Offices of the Jewish communities from Câmpulung Moldovenesc, Gura Humorului, Rădăuți, Solca, Suceava and Vatra Dornei for the period of 1843-1906. Information regarding the economic, social and cultural life of the Jewish inhabitants and on the organization of the Jewish cultural societies are in all funds created by the administrative bodies.

The economic activity of the Jewish population, their properties, the percentage of the Jewish companies are reflected in the financial and economic funds (see the fund „The Administration of the German and Jewish Assets Suceava“, with documents from 1940 to 1948; „The National Center for

Naturalization, Baia County Commission, 1940-1945“).

The Organization of the Jewish communities, the religious activity is presented in the documents from the funds created by the „Jewish Community Câmpulung Moldovenesc“, with documents from 1944 to 1950; the „Jewish Community Fălticeni“, 1927-1947; the „Jewish Community Gura Humorului“, 1944-1950; the „Jewish Community Liteni“, containing documents only for 1946; the „Jewish Community Moldovița“, 1947-1948; the „Jewish Community Rădăuți“, 1928-1950; the „Jewish Community Suceava“, 1943-1950; the „Jewish Community Siret“, 1944-1950; the „Jewish Community Vama“, 1945-1947; the „Jewish Community Vatra Dornei“, 1927-1950).

The level of education or the social conditions of the Jews may be deduced from the school funds; for example, the fund „The Jewish High School Suceava“ has documents from 1919 to 1948; the fund „The Israelite Elementary School for Boys Falticeni“ has documents for the period 1897-1944; the fund „The Israelite Elementary School for Girls Fălticeni“ has documents from 1899 to 1944. Information on the cultural activity of the Jews and the relations with the Romanian population can be found in personal papers.

Documents preserved at Timis County Branch

In the archives of the capital of Banat are important documents pertaining to the history of the Jews from this part of Romania.

The Civil Register Collection contains birth, marriage and death certificates from different mosaic communities, written in German, Hungarian and Hebrew.

School Education is represented by few funds: „The Israelite Confessional Theoretic High School for Boys Timisoara“ contains documents (in Romanian): school registers, catalogues, correspondence of the period 1919-1948; „The Commercial Israelite High School For Boys Timisoara“ has documents for 1922-1947; „The Israelite Confessional Theoretic High School for Girls Timisoara“, 1923-1948; „The professional Israelite course for industrial and commercial apprentices Timisoara“, 1938-1941; „The Israelite Confessional Elementary School Timisoara II“, 1927-1948.

For the postwar period, the fund „The Democratic Jewish Comity Timisoara“ is very important, with documents (in Romanian, Hungarian and Yiddish) from 1944 to 1953, created by the Democratic Jewish Committee Timisoara and by the Democratic Jewish Comity Lugoj. We can also find a few documents of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Organization Timisoara. The documents of this fund contain instructions and propagandistic material, reports, proceedings of meetings, plans of activity, notes, statements, lists of names, autobiographic references, correspondence pertaining the establishment, the organization and the activity of the Democratic Jewish Committees in Timisoara and Lugoj in areas like propaganda, ideology, culture, education, social matters. The documents refer mainly to the attitude towards the Zionist movement, beginning with the attitude of tolerance in the first years after the war and ending in a virulent fight and the dissolution in the meeting of 23 December 1948. In connection with the Zionist movement problem appears a massive emigration of Jews. From Lugoj we have two lists of names of those who requested passports to emigrate to Israel and the statements of those who gave up on their departure.

The social aspect is related to unemployment, the establishment of handicraft cooperatives, the qualification and the „re-stratification“ of the population. The cultural activity and education appear as instruments in fighting against Zionism and in dissemination of the Marxist-Leninist ideology; the Mosaic community and other ethnic or religious communities are co-opted by the obligation to send periodic reports and to present the propaganda material in synagogues. References to the unification of the cult and to gradual dissolution of the houses of prayer are made.

Periodically, the members of the Jewish Democratic Committee were evaluated in order to discover and reveal the Zionist or bourgeois elements, and the state of mind of the population is described.

The materials reflect the policy of the Romanian Communist Party in 1947-1949. References to the discovery of the fascists, Iron Guard members, war criminals, anti-Semite manifestations and Holocaust commemoration are made.

Documents preserved at Bacău County Branch

The funds created by the Jews in Bacău county are very important, with information covering all the aspects of the communities' life.

The fund „The Jewish Community Bacău“ contains documents from 1907 to 1950: the act of establishment of the Jewish Community Bacău, the background of the Jewish Community Bacău, the monography of the Jewish Community Bacău, the statement and regulation of the House of Pension of the Community, correspondence with the supervisors, the Jewish international organizations, other Jewish communities,

administrative organizations, companies, banks, Jewish institutions regarding the social, economic and cultural activity of the Jewish community and its organizations (schools, synagogues, hospitals, associations), the financial condition of the Community members, the Romanian citizenship for Jews, the revision of the Jewish citizens, the state of the Jews from Ukraine, the anti-Semitic propaganda, Zionist manifestations, the census of the Jewish population, the aid for the Jewish refugees from Bucovina, Transnistria, the legal situation of the Romanian Jews, the establishment of an asylum for old people, individual questionnaires of the members of the community, subscriptions, lists, grants for the support of Jewish institutions, for the poor students, aid for the Jews from Ukraine, of the Jews from Romania, contestations by Jews against expropriation, pertaining to the activity of some institutions coordinated by the community, calls, publications, posters, invitations, manifests, announcements regarding the celebration of some holidays, historical events, anti-Semitic manifestations, calls of Zionist organizations, of historical parties, commemorations, elections, obituaries, aid for those who suffered from disasters, petitions of the Jewish citizens (for citizenship, releasing of certificates of fortune, aid for illness, funerals, poverty, exception from the taxes, petitions for joining the community, religion education, Jewish associations), leasing contracts, poverty certificates, taxes for Jewish inhabitants, documents regarding the community's properties, donations of some Jews for the Jewish National Fund, for the Jewish institutions (hospitals, theatres, schools), inventories of the mobile and immobile goods of some Jewish institutions, the census of Jewish students, of the Jewish population who should offer

different things to the state (during the Second World War), different materials (reports, proceedings, nominal lists, statistics regarding the Jewish institutions: the Jewish Community Bacau, schools, hospitals, synagogues, cemeteries, the community cantina, Jewish associations organization, activity, employees), materials regarding the election of the leaders of the community, of the religious leaders of the Israelite community (regulations, publications, election lists, vote bulletins declaration of agreement), lists of Jewish Romanian citizens from 1923 (when the Constitution was adopted), of the Jewish dead of the First World War, with the war widows and orphans, of those who paid taxes, of the Jewish refugees from Bessarabia and Bukovina, of the poor Jews receiving aids, of the pensioners of the Community, of the synagogues from Bacau, proceedings of the meetings regarding the aid for the families of the Polish refugees and of those caged (in 1939), of the dissolution of the Jewish associations „Fraternal“ and „Tămăduirea“, complains of community members regarding the taxes for some institutions, reports regarding the activity of the Jewish communities from Bacau region, of social assistance, tax registers of the Jewish population, inventory registers for library, registers regarding the social environment of the Jewish children, payrolls of community's employees, Jewish or Jewish-related newspapers and magazines (random issues of „Curierul Israelit“ (1921-1923, 1939), „Viitorul“ (1923), „Eretz Israel“ (1922-1923), „Presa, Universul“ (1923), „Dimineața“ (1923, 1926), „Reformatorul“ (1923), „Lumea“ (1924), „Telegraful“ (1924), „Bacăul“ (1926), „Tribuna Evreiască“ (1923)), financial records of the community and of the coordinated organizations (budgets, balances, account reports, tax registers, financial journals,

registers of expenses and income for each Jewish organization), bulletins, account balances received from other Jewish communities (Huși, Moinești, Piatra Neamț, Brăila, Galați).

The fund „The Jewish Community Moinești“ with documents from 1939 to 1945 contains correspondence with the Federation of the Union of Jewish Communities of Romania, the Jewish Community Bacău regarding the functioning of the Jewish schools from Moinești, the school staff, the inventory of the buildings belonging to the Jewish Community of Moinești, roll register of direct payment etc.

The fund „The Jewish Community Țirgul Ocna“ with documents from 1932 to 1945 contains correspondence with the Federation of the Jewish Communities, with other Jewish communities, administrative organizations regarding the economic situation of the Jewish people from Țirgul Ocna, of the Jewish organizations from the town, tax payment, requests of subvention for Jews from Bessarabia, for the reconstruction of the synagogues devastated in 1928, petitions of Jewish citizens to the Jewish community for aids, hiring, donations to the community, the background of the synagogues from Țirgul Ocna, lists of the organizations subordinated to the community, of poor Jews, local Jewish doctors, dentists, of the refugees in Țirgul Ocna, of school staff, of the Jews from Caiuti, of the community's properties from the Old Kingdom, materials regarding the organization and functioning of the Community, organization of the elections, regarding the activity of the Israelite schools, invitations to different events, lists of subscriptions for the Army, of confiscated properties, financial records.

The fund „The Association Înfrățirea (Aghidas Haboinim) Bacău“ contains documents from the period 1893-1920 regarding: petitions to solve the litigations among the members, records of enlisting (report on civil status and fortune), calls to meetings, the account balance, invitation to the commemoration of Theodor Herzl, proceedings of the meetings.

In the fund „Association Fraterna Bacău“, 1888-1940, we can find petitions to join the association (civil status data, occupation, request for aid, for solving litigations), calls to meetings, proceedings of the meetings (for elections of the board, financial evaluations, general meetings), the account balance, bills of the invoices sent to the association, contestations of exclusions from the association, obituaries, invitations to different events, subscription lists, association regulation, financial records.

Of high importance are also the funds created by the Jewish schools:

- „The Elementary Israelite-Romanian School for Boys *Feiviș Klein* Bacău“, 1893-1949, contains: catalogues, staff registers, correspondence with the ministry of education, local department for education Iasi, the school inspector Bacău, the Jewish Community of Romania, the Association Trusteeship of the Coral Temple of Bucharest regarding the functioning of the school, the reparation of the building, the education process with special attention on teachers' knowledge of traditional languages and objects, the payment of the staff, school reports, the organization of school celebrations, teaching courses in Hebrew under the supervision of „Tarbut“ Cultural Associations, the school budget, the damages produced by the 1940 earth quake, the school curricula, the call of

the World Jewish Congress regarding the suffering of the Jews, the establishment of a department of Yiddish language, petitions to issue school certificates, school registers, proceedings of the school Committee's meetings, registers of enlisted students, lists of class certificates, correspondence registers, staff registers, inspection proceedings, etc.

- „The Elementary Israelite School for Girls *Kultura* Bacău“, 1904-1957, represents an interesting fund: catalogues, staff registers, correspondence with the ministry of culture and education, the prefecture of Bacău, the school inspectorate of the XII circumscription Bacău, the school inspector Bacău, the municipal committee Bacău, the Jewish community Bacău, other schools from the country, the local council Bacău regarding the participation of the Jewish students and staff in the national celebration, the participation of the teachers in the general conferences of the school staff, statistics, school reports, exams, certificates of activities of the school staff, the appointment and the payment of the school staff, the implementation of acts of education in private education, the intense use of Romanian language in private schools, the elimination of the Romanian symbol from documents issued by private schools, the school budget, acts of commitment of the school staff, lists of students, inventory of the school assets, initiating courses for illiteracy, the restitution of

the belongings of the Jewish community Bacău, the functioning of two Yiddish classes within the school, the census of the children within the school circumscription, school registers, inspection registers, etc.

- In the fund „The Israelite School *Buhuși*“, 1900-1948, we can find catalogues, exam register, proceedings of the examination commission, school registers, inspection registers.
- The fund „The Elementary Israelite Mix School *Moinești*“, 1924-1941, contains catalogues, correspondence with the School Inspectorate of the XII region Bacău regarding the education process, the authorization of the school and staff, administrative issues, the school budget, the schedule, lists of students and staff.
- The fund „The Elementary Israelite-Romanian Mix School *Târgu Ocna*“, 1938-1941, contains correspondence with the School Inspectorate of Prut county, school inspectorate of Bacău county, the federation of the union of the Jewish communities of Romania regarding the number of Jewish children attending school courses, the appointment of the staff, statistics, school curricula, the education process, exams, results of school activities, schedules, the school budget, the background of the institution etc.



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2^e DIRECTION GÉNÉRALE

PROVINCE DE BRABANT

2^e SECTION

ARRONDISSEMENT DE BRUXELLES

(SURETÉ PUBLIQUE)

COMMUNE DE SAINT-GILLES



N^o 6993.-

DEMEURE

Rue Emile Feron, n^o 133

chez ses parents.

960 Impr. H. & M. Schaumans, Brux., 14610.

1 ^o RENSEIGNEMENTS destinés à établir l'identité de	NOM ET PRENOMS	LIEU ET DATE DE LA NAISSANCE (1)
L'étranger Sa femme Ses enfants  	R O T E N B E R G Liba <u>Marjem</u>	Lodz (Pologne) 11 Janvier 1909 <i>J. Rotenberg</i> <i>parents.</i> <i>fact</i>
2 ^o Lieu et date du mariage	Célibataire.	
3 ^o a) Prénoms, lieu et date de naissance du père du chef de famille.	Chaim Jakob	Zyrardow (Pologne) 1881
b) Nom, prénoms, lieu et date de naissance de la mère du chef de famille	SKOSOWSKI, Dina	Skierniewice id. 1883
4 ^o Profession	O/de fabrique.	
5 ^o Domicile légal à l'étranger (2)	SKIERNIEWICE (Pologne).	
6 ^o Dernière résidence à l'étranger (3)	idem	
7 ^o Date de l'arrivée en Belgique.	17 juin 1926.	
8 ^o Résidences antérieures en Belgique (4)	-----	
9 ^o Date de l'arrivée dans la Commune	17 juin 1926.	
10 ^o Nature des papiers, leur état, autorités qui les ont délivrés, lieu et date de leur délivrance (5)	Passeport série E 256212 642 délivré le 9 avril 1926 à Skierniewice.- Visa n ^o 4849 délivré à la légation belge à Varsovie, le 14 juin 1926 (valable pour TROIS MOIS).-	
11 ^o Est-il réfugié politique?	-----	
12 ^o Conduite et antécédents	-----	
13 ^o Déclaration au sujet de la volonté exprimée par l'étranger de résider plus de six mois	Plus.	
14 ^o Observations	-----	

Signature de l'étranger.

Saint-Gilles, le vingt-huit juin 1926.



M. Rotenberg

LE BOURGMESTRE,

A. Briant

(1) Indiquer la province, le département ou la régence, l'arrondissement, le cercle ou le canton et le pays.
 (2) Si l'étranger a été autorisé à établir son domicile en Belgique, indiquer la date de l'arrêté royal, la localité, la rue et le numéro.
 (3) Indiquer la rue, le numéro, le pays, la province, l'arrondissement, etc.
 (4) Indiquer la rue, le numéro et l'époque des séjours.
 (5) Ne transmettre des papiers que dans le cas où il existerait des doutes sur leur authenticité ou leur applicabilité aux porteurs.

Elinor Kroitoru

IHRA Guidelines for Identifying Relevant Documentation for Holocaust Research, Education and Remembrance

During his Chamberlin Lecture at Lewis & Clark College, Holocaust survivor and Nobel Prize winner Elie Wiesel said:

„An immoral society betrays humanity because it betrays the basis for humanity, which is memory. An immoral society deals with memory as some politicians deal with politics. A moral society is committed to memory: I believe in memory. The Greek word alethia means truth, things that cannot be forgotten. I believe in those things that cannot be forgotten, and because of that, so much of my work deals with memory... What do all my books have in common? A commitment to memory.“¹

This important extraordinary EBNA/EAG conference, „Archives and the culture of remembrance“, stresses the important role of archives in the human tradition of remembrance.

Though this presentation was part of the session on „Culture of remembrance in Jewish contexts“, Recital 158 of the GDPR – an important element of the „Monitoring Access to Holocaust Collections“ Project of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) – relates more broadly to material on „political behavior under former totalitarian state regimes, genocide, crimes against humanity, in particular the Holocaust, or war crimes.“

Although so many years have passed, Holocaust research is still a task of putting together a huge puzzle, sometimes without having all the pieces. As the last eyewitnesses sadly depart, the archives have become the only source to tell the story of this mass murder and insufferable war.

What follows is a short review of the history of the IHRA, its mission and the „Monitoring Access to Holocaust Collections“ Project.

Overview of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA)

The IHRA is an intergovernmental organization which unites governments and experts to strengthen, advance and promote Holocaust education, research and remembrance worldwide.

The IHRA was founded in 1998 by the Swedish Prime Minister Göran Persson when he discovered that many school children lacked knowledge about the Holocaust. He decided to launch a debate in parliament about Holocaust education in Sweden, which resulted in the Swedish information campaign entitled „Living History“. This led him to realize that the fight against ignorance about the Holocaust needed international partnership. So, he approached

US President Bill Clinton and UK Prime Minister Tony Blair and got their support for establishing a task force, which has developed into the international organization we know today.

The IHRA's mission was launched in 2000 during the Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust, which was attended by historians, politicians, and heads of state from 45 countries. The Forum created the Declaration of the Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust, the founding document of the IHRA. It emphasizes the importance of education, remembrance and research about the Holocaust. Article 7 of the Stockholm Declaration states: „We share a commitment to throw light on the still obscured shadows of the Holocaust. We will take all necessary steps to facilitate the opening of archives in order to ensure that all documents bearing on the Holocaust are available to researchers.“²

Today, the IHRA has 35 Member Countries and ten Observer Countries.³ The IHRA carries out internal projects, seeks to influence public policymaking on Holocaust-related issues and develops research focused on lesser-known aspects of the Holocaust.

The IHRA has defined two major priority missions: Countering distortion and safeguarding the record of the Holocaust and the genocide of the Roma.

The IHRA's involvement in advancing access to archival material on the Holocaust

It became clear to the IHRA that even today, over 75 years after the end of the Second World War, researchers still have

difficulty, especially throughout Europe, locating and gaining access to documentation concerning the Holocaust. Therefore, in 2014 a project was set up within the IHRA to map the problems of access to Holocaust documentation.

A large user survey was conducted. Its findings highlighted two main barriers: legal barriers – mainly privacy protection laws – and physical barriers – disorderly collections, lack of search tools, inaccessible archives and more.

During the project, the formulation of the GDPR regulations reached its final stages. Thanks to this project and the IHRA's intervention, we were able to add in Recital 158 a directive that gives exceptional status to documentation from the Holocaust period.

This was an important step, but it soon became clear that the inclusion of Recital 158 in the GDPR alone would not automatically translate into change on the ground. There are still many documentation collections that are closed and inaccessible, for legal and other reasons.

That is why IHRA has set up a follow-up project that started operating in 2020 in order to continue to monitor access to Holocaust documentation and offer practical tools to allow access.

The project works in two parallel directions:

- Continue mapping notable cases of access to Holocaust collections
- Trying to find ways to address challenges to access, first and foremost with the help of the „gatekeepers“ themselves, as the participants of the conference are.

Improving uptake of Article 89 and Recital 158 GDPR with guidance on identifying Holocaust-related materials

During an initial online meeting of the project with EAG/EBNA members September 2020, we asked how many of the institutions were familiar with Recital 158 of the GDPR and implement it in their ongoing work. Although some of the participating archives had knowledge of Recital 158, not one of them answered positively to the second question.

Chapter 9 Art. 89 (1) and (2) of the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) read:

„1. Processing for archiving purposes in the public interest, scientific or historical research purposes or statistical purposes, shall be subject to appropriate safeguards, in accordance with this Regulation, for the rights and freedoms of the data subject. These safeguards shall ensure that technical and organisational measures are in place in particular in order to ensure respect for the principle of data minimisation. Those measures may include pseudonymisation provided that those purposes can be fulfilled in that manner. Where those purposes can be fulfilled by further processing which does not permit or no longer permits the identification of data subjects, those purposes shall be fulfilled in that manner.

2. Where personal data are processed for scientific or historical research purposes or statistical purposes, Union or Member State law may provide for derogations from the rights referred to in Articles 15, 16, 18 and 21 subject to the conditions and safeguards referred to in paragraph 1 of this Article in so far as such rights are likely to render impossible or seriously impair the

*achievement of the specific purposes, and such derogations are necessary for the fulfilment of those purposes. [...]*⁴⁴

Recital 158 provides further explanation of Article 89 of the GDPR and reads as follows:

*„[...] Member States should also be authorised to provide that personal data may be further processed for archiving purposes, for example with a view to providing specific information related to the political behavior under former totalitarian state regimes, genocide, crimes against humanity, in particular the Holocaust, or war crimes.“*⁴⁵

We realized that one possible barrier to implementing Recital 158 is the lack of a clear, unified, practical definition of „Information related to the Holocaust“.

In 2012, the IHRA introduced a working definition of Holocaust related materials:⁶

- Holocaust-related materials must have their origin in the period from the end of the First World War, extending forward to the close of DP camps in the 1950s.
- Materials must pertain to the legal, political, social, economic, and cultural status of groups that became subject to state policies and/or persecution during the core period of 1933-1945.
- Exceptions to these time limits: materials from Holocaust war crimes trials; testimonies about the Holocaust and its deniers; Holocaust commemoration and memorialization; asset and compensation-related materials; records that are part of larger collections yet remain relevant to Holocaust history.

Although the IHRA working definition of Holocaust-related materials is broad and extensive, it cannot cover all types of documents and materials created and collected over the years in archives and other entities all over the world.

Therefore, the project drew up the „Guidelines for Identifying Relevant Documentation for Holocaust Research, Education and Remembrance“. These general guidelines help identifying and classifying documents and materials which cannot be defined under the working definition.

The purpose of the Guidelines include:

- Assisting archives and other entities in assessing their collections and allowing access to relevant documentation.
- Identifying and classifying documents and materials which cannot be defined under the IHRA working definition.
- Assisting researchers and other users obtain access to Holocaust-related materials.

Open access means allowing researchers and the public to find and use Holocaust-related documentation for research, education, and remembrance. Open access does not take precedence over privacy regulations, but rather encourages archives to implement these principles with good judgement in a way that balances interests of privacy with the competing imperatives of open Holocaust research.

When identifying and classifying documentation, the following guidelines should be kept in mind:

– Holocaust-related documentation should be classified in an open-ended way, both geographically and in terms of time of creation:

- Geographically – Holocaust documentation can originate from sources anywhere in the world and could be held today in any country.
- Time frame – The temporal parameters of Holocaust documentation extend backward to the beginning of the twentieth century until present day. This includes, for example, documents related to displaced persons (DP) camps, Holocaust war crimes trials, testimonies about the Holocaust and its aftermath, police and prosecutor records, migration files, person-search files and materials regarding restitution and compensation efforts, testimonies, memoirs and other „victim sources“, and commemoration efforts.
- These records include documents created or held on local, regional, national and international levels.

– A collection is Holocaust-relevant as soon as one document or file within it is Holocaust-related. In many cases, file descriptions in the archival catalogue do not necessarily imply that the documents in the file are Holocaust-related. It is advised that the file and documents in it be examined in light of the IHRA working definition and these Guidelines.

– The following is a list of examples of documentation that may be defined as Holocaust-related materials. This is not an exhaustive list:

- Documentation of Jewish pupils and teachers in local schools and universities (Ministry of Education files)
- Documentation of ID cards, passports, records of citizenship, and residence (Ministry of Interior or police files)
- Fascist racial „science“ and anti-Jewish policy
- Flight from Fascist-occupied countries
- Refugee communities in various countries
- Censuses and property censuses of Jews and enforcement of anti-Jewish measures
- Records about collaborators (National and local offices of Ministry of Interior, Police and municipalities)
- Cadastre records of real estate ownership
- Banking and insurance companies' records
- Art dealerships and auction houses' records
- Museum and library acquisition and other records
- Tax and notary records, chamber of commerce, and other financial documentation in public and private archives, including records of auditing
- Church records
- Employee files in private and public institutions
- Documentation regarding confiscation, looting, and dispossession of property
- Hospital records
- Archives and records of Jewish congregations and communities
- Rescue and humanitarian support by neutral countries, including visa policy for refugees
- Personal data in records regarding the de-nationalization processes
- Social relief records
- Files regarding reintegration of victims in the post-war societies, social welfare measures, and laws in favor of former victims.

Examples of less obvious Holocaust-related material

An example which under normal circumstances would not be considered a Holocaust related document is the birth record of Vittorio Procacia, a man born in Rome in 1901.⁷ However, in 1940 someone added the word „Jew“ to the record, changing its natural character and making it Holocaust-related. This man was indeed persecuted for his affiliation with the Jewish religion.

In another example, shown at the beginning of this article, we see a Belgian immigration questionnaire containing a photo, filled out by Liba Rottenberg in 1926.⁸ She was deported from the Dossin barracks to Auschwitz-Birkenau on 11 August 1942 and murdered. Although this document is from 1926, it is the only remaining official document that proves this woman existed

and commemorates Liba Rottenberg, including her photograph and full details.

Conclusion

As mentioned above, the GDPR allows EU member states to implement Recital 158 in their national legislation, helping support research and our understanding of the Holocaust and other atrocities. The IHRA is promoting this addition to

national legislation on the level of diplomacy and policy making. But as we all know, legislative changes take time.

Therefore, we encourage national archives to, where they can and especially when determining access to Holocaust-related material, interpret Article 89 in a flexible way, in light of Recital 158.⁹ This would represent a small, but significant step towards bolstering society's „commitment to memory“.



Elinor Kroitoru is Senior Researcher at the IHRA „Monitoring Access to Holocaust Documentation“ project.

- 1 Elie Wiesel: Building a Moral Society, in: Chamberlin Lecture at Lewis & Clark College, 1995.
- 2 IHRA: Stockholm Declaration, 2000, <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/about-us/stockholm-declaration> (aufgerufen am 2.11.2022).
- 3 See <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/about-us/countries-membership> (aufgerufen am 2.11.2022).
- 4 Regulation (EU) 2016/679 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 27 April 2016 on the protection of natural persons with regard to the processing of personal data and on the free movement of such data, and repealing Directive 95/46/EC (General Data Protection Regulation); see <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/eli/reg/2016/679/2016-05-04> (aufgerufen am 2.11.2022).
- 5 Ibidem.
- 6 „IHRA Working Definition of Holocaust-Related Materials“, see <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/resources/working-definitions-charters/working-definition-holocaust-related-materials> (aufgerufen am 2.11.2022).
- 7 State Archive of Rome, Stato civile, Registro nascite (Civil Status, Birth Records) Year 1901; see https://www.antenati.san.beniculturali.it/detail-nominative/?s_id=33522170 (aufgerufen am 2.11.2022).
- 8 National Archives of Belgium (NAB), Aliens' Police, Foreigners' file nr. 1.311.041.
- 9 Due to insight gained in informal discussions after the presentation, it is important to stress that, although the responsibility of implementing Recital 158 belongs to the states, there are cases where archivists are asked to allow access to documentation, in cases which are not clear-cut. In these cases, the IHRA urges the archivists to make their decision on access in light of Recital 158 and the Guidelines.



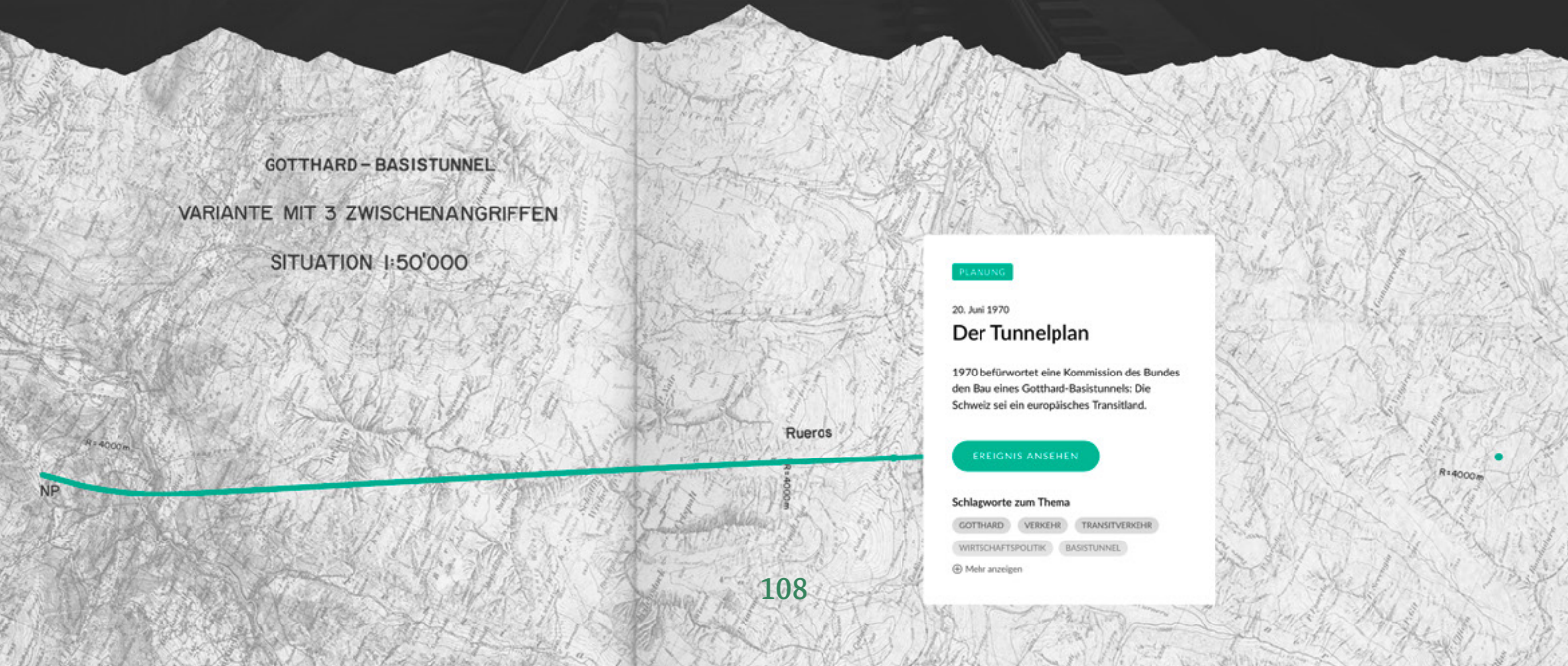
Willkommen im Alptransit-Portal
Entdecken Sie die Neue Eisenbahn-Alpentransversale
und ihre Geschichte

JETZT DIE GESCHICHTE ENTDECKEN



**Die Neat, die neue Eisenbahn-Alpentransversale,
ist das grösste Schweizer Verkehrsprojekt der letzten Jahrzehnte.**

Die Neat stärkt die Stellung der Schweiz in Europa und verbindet den Norden mit dem Süden des Kontinents. Ihre bekanntesten Bauten sind die neuen Bahntunnel durch den Lötschberg, den Gotthard und den Ceneri. In der Entstehung der Neat kommt ein Jahrhundert Eisenbahngeschichte zusammen. Wer die Neat versteht, versteht die Schweiz und ihre Transitfunktion für Europa.



GOTTHARD - BASIS-TUNNEL
VARIANTE MIT 3 ZWISCHENANGRIFFEN
SITUATION 1:50'000

PLANUNG

20. Juni 1970
Der Tunnelplan

1970 befürwortet eine Kommission des Bundes den Bau eines Gotthard-Basistunnels: Die Schweiz sei ein europäisches Transitland.

EREIGNIS ANSEHEN

Schlagnote zum Thema

- GOTTHARD VERKEHR TRANSITVERKEHR
- WIRTSCHAFTSPOLITIK BASIS-TUNNEL

Mehr anzeigen

Philippe Künzler / Stefan Nellen

Alptransit Schweiz – Erinnerung in parlamentarischem Auftrag www.alptransit-portal.ch

Vor rund 15 Jahren hat sich das Schweizerische Bundesarchiv (BAR) dazu entschieden, keine eigenen historischen Auswertungen in Form von Ausstellungen und Publikationen (mehr) zu machen, sondern die Kundinnen und Kunden bei der Auswertung von Archivgut bestmöglich zu unterstützen. Dementsprechend hält die aktuelle Geschäftsstrategie fest:

„Das Schweizerische Bundesarchiv unterstützt Politik und Verwaltung sowie Medien und Öffentlichkeit kompetent und rasch bei historisch-politischen Analysen“ und „entwickelt das bestehende digitale Angebot entlang den Kundenbedürfnissen von Öffentlichkeit und Verwaltung weiter.“

Im Einklang mit diesem Selbstverständnis unterstützt das Schweizerische Bundesarchiv die Erinnerungskultur im Land durch seine Angebote. Vor diesem Hintergrund ist auch das Alptransit-Portal des Bundesarchivs zu sehen, welches Dokumente, Filme, Pläne und weitere Unterlagen zur Neuen Eisenbahn-Alpen-transversale (Neat) zur Verfügung stellt.

Die Neat ist das größte Verkehrsprojekt der letzten Jahrzehnte und verbindet

den Norden mit dem Süden des Kontinents – mit neuen Tunnels durch Gotthard, Lötschberg und Ceneri sowie mit ausgebauten Anschlussstrecken.

Schon um 1950 kam die visionäre Idee einer neuen Eisenbahn durch die Alpen auf. Viele Wege führen nach Mailand. In den 1960er Jahren prüften Fachleute mehrere Tunnelvarianten durch die Alpen. 1999 begannen nach langwierigen Planungen und politischen Auseinandersetzungen zwischen den Landesteilen und politischen Gruppierungen die Bauarbeiten, die zielstrebig realisiert worden sind.

Am 14. Juni 2007 wurde der Lötschberg (35 km), am 1. Juni 2016 der Gotthard (57 km) und schließlich am 1. September 2020 der Ceneribasistunnel (23 km) in Betrieb genommen, also insgesamt

rund 115 km Bahntunnel mit den jeweiligen Zufahrtstrassen.

2016 hat das BAV das Bundesarchiv mit der digitalen Erinnerung an das größte Infrastrukturprojekt der Schweiz beauftragt.

Mit dieser wichtigen Nord-Südverbindung durchs ganze Land

ist die Neat ein Stück europäischer Schweizer Geschichte. Dementsprechend war dieses epochale Bauwerk auf allen Ebenen politisch sehr präsent. Im Schweizer Parlament hatten die zuständigen Kommissionen für Verkehr und Fern-

meldewesen, in denen Parlamentarierinnen und Parlamentarier beider Kammern Einsitz haben, die Oberaufsicht.

Der Auftrag für ein solches Erinnerungsportal geht auf die Empfehlung dieser zuständigen Kommissionen zurück. Vor der Eröffnung des zweiten Neat-Tunnels 2016 hat das Bundesamt für Verkehr (BAV) schliesslich das BAR mit der digitalen Erinnerung an das grösste Infrastrukturprojekt der Schweiz beauftragt.

Der vorliegende Beitrag thematisiert die Rolle und die Zusammenarbeit der Archive und die Erwartungen der Politik rund um die digitale Dokumentation eines mythisch aufgeladenen Megaprojekts sowie die methodische und inhaltliche Umsetzung dieser Anforderungen.

Zusammenarbeit zahlreicher Institutionen

Nicht nur die Neat entfaltet ihr Potential erst im grenzüberschreitenden Kontext. Auch für den Bau des Portals musste das Schweizerische Bundesarchiv BAR Grenzen überschreiten. Die Unterlagen zur Neat im eigentlichen Sinne sind nicht alle beim Bund und schon gar nicht schon alle im BAR. Einerseits sind wir für dieses Portal also auf die Zusammenarbeit mit anderen Archiven (wie dem Staatsarchiv Tessin, dem Staatsarchiv Uri oder die Stiftung Historisches Erbe der Schweizerischen Bundesbahnen) und weiteren Institutionen wie etwa der Alptransit Gotthard AG oder dem Schweizer Verkehrshaus in Luzern angewiesen – eine Zusammenarbeit, die bestens geklappt hat.

Andererseits war für das Gelingen des Portals auch die gute Zusammenarbeit innerhalb der Bundesverwaltung, namentlich mit dem BAV, eine zentrale Voraussetzung. Alles in allem waren 71 Institutionen am Portal beteiligt. So sind virtuelles Portal und realer Tunnel ein Werk gelungener Zusammenarbeit.

Vor der Erinnerung

Bevor Archivgut genutzt werden kann, ist es wichtig, dass überhaupt Archivgut vorhanden ist. Im Zusammenhang mit

Wir wollen die Entstehung der Gegenwart als Geschichte willentlicher Entscheidungen begreifbar machen.

der Gestaltung dieses virtuellen Portals hat sich die Gelegenheit geboten, bundesintern, aber auch zusammen mit den Partnern des

BAV, die Archivierung einer kohärenten Neat-Dokumentation zu planen und sicherzustellen – eine wichtige Voraussetzung für die künftige kritische Auseinandersetzung mit diesem faszinierenden Thema.

Der Bau der Neat reiht sich ein in eine jahrhundertealte Kommunikationsgeschichte der Nord-Süd-Verbindung über – und seit dem 19. Jahrhundert auch durch – den Gotthard, diesen oft als mythisch bezeichneten Schweizer Berg. Vom frühen Säumerwesen über den Bau des ersten Gotthard-Eisenbahntunnels, den Bau des Straßentunnels bis zur Vollendung des neuen Eisenbahnbasistunnels sehen wir uns mit einer facettenreichen Geschichte und umfangreichen Quellenbeständen konfrontiert. In diesem Kontext steht der Gotthard für Öffnung, und er hat über die Schweiz hinausweisende verkehrspolitische Bedeutung mit all ihren Auswirkungen auf die Mobilität von Menschen und Gütern.

Keine Geschichtsschreibung durch das Archiv

Auch wenn die NEAT mit der Eröffnung von nationalen und internationalen Medien als ein erfolgreiches Infrastrukturprojekt gefeiert wurde, so scheint es doch wahrscheinlich, dass kritische Fragen dazu künftig nicht ausbleiben werden. Zumal die Politik jahrelang über das Vorhaben gestritten hat – und dieses nach der Eröffnung des Gotthard-Straßentunnels eigentlich schon beerdigt hatte. Was die Politik in ihrer Gegenwart lebhaft debattiert, wird häufig auch ein lebhaft diskutiertes historisches Thema, zu dem wir gerne Grundlagenmaterial bereitstellen.

Was können wir zu diesen Diskussionen beitragen? Wir können die Entstehung der real existierenden Neat-Lösung dokumentieren. Wir können sie als Ergebnis einer Auswahl von verschiedensten, unterschiedlich motivierten, ungleich gut begründeten Optionen erkennbar machen. Wir können sie auch in der langen Geschichte des alpenüberwindenden Verkehrs einbetten.

Was wir weder wollen noch können: Wir schreiben nicht die oder eine offizielle Geschichte der NEAT. Wir bieten Quellen an zur Interpretation sowie verschiedene Zugänge dazu.

Wir stellen aber nicht nur Grundlagen für die Geschichtsschreibung bereit, sondern wollen die Entstehung der Gegenwart als Geschichte willentlicher Entscheidungen begreifbar machen – und zwar so, dass möglichst viele dazu einen Zugang finden.

Charakter des Alptransit-Portals

In einem zeitgemäßen, modular konzipierten Online-Portal werden der in-

teressierten Öffentlichkeit Informationen, technische Dokumente, Visualisierungen, Bilder und Medienberichte zur Geschichte der Neat einfach und strukturiert zur Verfügung gestellt. Das Design ist deshalb modernen Erfordernissen angepasst und soll einen schnellen Zugang ermöglichen. Dem Publikum werden im Portal unterschiedliche Einstiegspunkte angeboten, um sich über das komplexe Großprojekt der Neat in Originaldokumenten, Bild, Ton und Video zu informieren. Aber nicht nur die Öffentlichkeit, sondern auch „Special Interest Groups“ sollen sich auf dem Portal über die Neat informieren: z. B. Historiker, Verkehrsexpertinnen oder Eisenbahninteressierte. Deshalb muss das Portal ganz unterschiedlichen Ansprüchen genügen.

Technisch umgesetzt haben wir die Vorgabe, dass wir nicht selber die eine offizielle Geschichte der Neat schreiben wollen, indem wir alternative Zugänge zu den Informationen anbieten. Seien diese thematisch, oder via unterschiedliche Darstellungen oder Suchoptionen. So bietet die Übersicht etwa die Möglichkeit, sich alle Ereignisse gesamthaft anzeigen zu lassen, oder geordnet nach Politik, Gesellschaft, Planung, Bau. Oder Nutzerinnen und Nutzer können die Ereignisse dieser mehr als zweihundertjährigen Geschichte über eine Zeitleiste chronologisch nachverfolgen.

Visualisierung von Dossiers

Wir haben aber Inhalte im Portal nicht nur redaktionell aufbereitet, sondern wollen auch das Archivmaterial zur Neat (insgesamt 4000 Dossiers) so umfassend wie rechtlich möglich online zugänglich machen. Zu diesem Zweck haben wir in Kooperation mit dem

Schweizerischen Sozialarchiv einen IIF-Viewer entwickelt, der es ermöglicht, nicht nur einzelne Dokumente herunterzuladen, sondern ganze Dossiers integral online durchzusehen, zu lesen und zum Beispiel Dokumente direkt miteinander zu vergleichen. Da wir einen Standard verwenden, können auch weitere Dokumente, welche in diesem Standard publiziert sind, direkt mit den Unterlagen zur Neat verglichen werden, unabhängig davon, in welcher Applikation diese vorliegen.

Schließlich wollten wir nicht nur eine Suche über das gesamte Portal anbieten, sondern gerade den Expertinnen und Experten ermöglichen, gezielt nach Informationen in den archivierten Unterlagen zu suchen. Deshalb haben wir eine zweite Suche in der IIF-Oberfläche implementiert, welche nur den Voll-

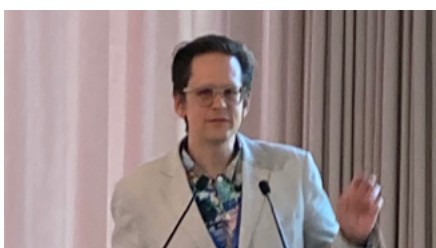
**Dem Publikum werden unterschiedliche Einstiegs-
punkte geboten, um sich über
das komplexe Großprojekt zu
informieren.**

text (OCR) der Unterlagen durchsucht und die Suchergebnisse direkt in den Dokumenten hervorhebt, damit der Wert der Ergebnisse unmittelbar sichtbar wird. Selbstverständlich kann man auch in den einzelnen Dokumenten die Suche weiter verfeinern. Dort wird das aktuelle Ergebnis jeweils gelb hervorgehoben, die weiteren Ergebnisse sind mit blauer Farbe markiert.

Mittels dieser verschiedenen Zugänge über einzelne Ereignisse, über eine thematische oder chronologische Übersicht und über die verschiedenen Suchmöglichkeiten und Darstellungsoptionen können Forschung, Öffentlichkeit, Politik und Verwaltung ihre jeweils eigene Geschichte der Neat schreiben und so zu einer lebendigen Erinnerungskultur beitragen.



Philippe Künzler ist Direktor des Schweizerischen Bundesarchivs.



Stefan Nellen ist Leiter der Abteilung Informationszugang im Schweizerischen Bundesarchiv.



3-7
& 14-15
LOVE
SHOULD
BE LIVED
NO ONE
TEAR NOT
AHEAD

FLORIDA

Inga Bolstad

A national tragedy – preserved for posterity

On 22 July 2011 Norway was hit by two sequential terrorist attacks. The first attack came when a car bomb exploded in the government quarters in Oslo. The second attack occurred less than two hours later at a summer camp organized by the youth division of the Norwegian Labour Party. The terrorist opened fire at the participants. Most of the victims were teenagers under the age of eighteen. The youngest victim was only 14 years old. In the two terrorist attacks a total of 77 people were killed and 242 badly injured. Norway has not suffered an attack with so many casualties since World War II.

The terror attacks came out of the blue. For a small country like Norway, in the far north of Europe, with strong democratic traditions, it came as a big shock. The terrorist attacks were the kind of ground-breaking event that makes you remember where you were when it happened. I was driving with my family from Oslo to our mountain cabin. On our way, we drove past the small island with the summer camp, where the shooting took place. Friends and family worried for us. At 3.30 pm my mother-in-law called to see how we were getting on. Our neighbour also called – and told there had been some tremors in Oslo, but that our house was OK.

The terrorist, a 33-year-old Norwegian male, is described to be a far-right militant ideologist, with an ultra-nationalistic, Islamophobic ideology. The motive for his actions according to his own

testimony was to promote his so-called manifesto. In this compendium of texts, he defends his right to contribute to extinguish multiculturalism as well as the need to deport all Muslims from Europe. His mission is to cleanse Europe from the danger of Islamic occupation.

The National Archives acknowledged at an early stage the importance of collecting and preserving these memorial tributes for posterity. The institution immediately took the leading role in the process of collecting the people's spontaneous material expressions. The numerous tokens of sympathy and regret at this point were found on several sites in the capital, in other cities in Norway as well as in many other places all over the country.

The result of the quick action taken by the National Archives is that we now keep a vast collection of memory materials documenting the people's reaction to the gruesome acts that took place. Some regional state archives as well as several city archives also hold memorial collections.

The commemoration of the attacks

A special logo was designed in 2021, for the 10th anniversary of the terror attacks. It says „We'll never forget“. And the Norwegian people definitely haven't forgotten. Eleven years have passed since this unimaginable tragedy that shook, and still is shaking, Norway.

Several measures have been taken to commemorate the tragedy. This year, a national memorial monument was inaugurated to commemorate all the victims of the terror attacks. It consists of 77 pillars bound together in a wave, each of the pillars symbolizing one victim. There has been hard debate about where the national memorial should be placed, as many neighbours found it undesirable to have it close by and in sight.

There have also been erected several other monuments all over the country to commemorate the victims of the terror attacks.

A 22 July national learning centre has been established by the government in the city centre of Oslo. The purpose of the centre is to work with the mediation of memory and knowledge about the terror attacks.

The rebuilding of the government buildings is still not completed. Two buildings had to be demolished completely and a third had only the skeleton left after the damaged parts were removed. The costs have been high to clean the area after the attack, and even higher to rebuild the government buildings.

How Oslo Cathedral was established as a site of remembrance

During the early morning of 23 July 2011, the Mayor of Oslo and members of the City Council walked silently through the empty streets of Oslo from the City Hall to the Cathedral. On their way, they passed the parliament building, which at the time was heavily guarded by armed soldiers. This walk can, according to the Norwegian sociologist Olaf Aagedal, be seen as a symbolic action or a ritual contributing to the reestablish-

ment of social order. Further, this ritual walk disclosed that there was a strong need for ritual answers in the whole Norwegian population.¹

In the Cathedral, the mayor and members of the City Council lit candles to commemorate the victims of the youth camp massacre and those who had died in the car bomb explosion in the government square. In doing so they encouraged the people of Oslo to do the same.

The following day, Sunday 24 July, a service was held in Oslo Cathedral with broad participation from the Norwegian political leadership, representatives from the Royal family, the Labour party and in particular its youth branch. Increasing numbers of people followed their example. Friends and relatives, ordinary people, religious and political organisations, and the royal family – they all gathered around the Cathedral. The Cathedral was open 24/7 in order to accommodate everyone who wanted to pray and seek comfort. Through all these events, the Oslo Cathedral grounds was established as a public site of condolences and remembrance at a national level.

At the same time, similar public sites of condolences and remembrance appeared all over the country. They were found in all the major cities and the places where the victims came from.

The whole cityscape was changed, and Oslo attracted thousands of people who all wanted to disassociate themselves from the horrific events and express their grief and support for the dead and bereaved. The city was transformed. Petals and stems could be found everywhere in the wake of the Rose march which were held on 25 July throughout the country.

The terrorist attacks created a mass popular response in Norway. An enormous number of flowers, candles, letters, postcards, and other words of condolences along with children's drawings, teddy bears, and other items and tokens were spontaneously laid down on places that became memorial sites in remembrance and sympathy to the victims of the two terrorist attacks.

The memorial sites might be seen as the Norwegian people's immediate – and powerful – response to the terror attacks, overriding in a surprising way all the hatred and wish for revenge that one could have thought would be the reaction to such horrible actions.

Soon discussions began amongst archivists and researchers as well as among the general public whether the material should be taken care of in a long-term perspective or not. The National Archives acknowledged at an early stage the importance of collecting and preserving these memorial tributes for posterity. If it should be taken care of, quick action was needed.

The first reactions of archivists and researchers

The shaping of what became the National Archives appraisal standpoint was outlined in close cooperation with historians and social researchers connected to the University of Stavanger, working on a program dealing with the importance of collective memory in a society, and how a collective memory at a present state connects with the past and the future.

To cope with a national tragedy in a present context was a huge challenge. There was an obvious need for preserva-

tion of the memory documentation. The expressions from thousands of people should be taken care of. Then the possibility to do research on this material should be ensured. The preservation was also a tool for paying respect to victims and their relatives and to all those people that participated in the national process of grief in general. All these considerations favoured preservation of the memory materials.

Reaching out to the public through the mass media turned out to be of crucial importance in the process of establishing an appraisal strategy. Approaching mass media had great public impact and was very successful. The argumentation in favour of permanent preservation and the appeal to municipal authorities and to local archives to cooperate in the preservation of memory materials was highly appreciated throughout the country, and the preservation initiative was strongly supported.

The rationale was stated in the press release:

„The way in which a society processes and uses memories says a lot about that society. It is necessary and important to ensure that the spontaneous expressions recorded here are collected and preserved for posterity.

It is important to preserve all the memories of this tragedy, both for those who expressed their grief and support during these days, but also as documentation for various researchers wishing to study our reactions to the tragedy.

Preserving the expressions of the mourners for posterity is also a way of expressing dignity for those who were killed and lost and for their relatives.“

But how do you collect such material? The National Archives had little experience in this field from before. And there were several challenges: The overwhelming quantity was one thing. Another was the human and ethical circumstances involved. Funerals were being held for the victims every day and people were in mourning throughout the country. What would it look like if hordes of archivists went trampling through the sea of flowers in order to collect personal condolences, drawings and cuddly bears?

We were worried that people wouldn't understand that this work was important. We were also worried that people might think that our work was distasteful. On the other hand – how long could the material be left outside? It rained a lot during that summer and a lot of material had already become saturated – if we wanted to save the collection we would have to act quickly!

Establishing the collection guidelines

In order to prepare for the collecting of the material, we planned the process together with other archives. We had collaborative meetings between several archival institutions in the Oslo region, and together we prepared guidelines on how to undertake our collection work.²

The National Archives also hosted a broad national meeting to discuss common principles for the handling of the memory collections stored in the national, regional, and local archives. Issues of relevance, like archival description and digitisation were on the agenda. Issues related to access and privacy protection and ethics were also discussed.

The guidelines covered issues like the upholding of the provenance, appraisal and conservation and temporary storing of wet and deteriorated materials. A more general challenge was how to properly organize the harvesting on the many sites, the sites ranging from sidewalks to lakes.

The national guidelines shall ensure that the preservation and the description of the memory collections, as well as their digitisation and dissemination, shall be done in the same manner in all archival institutions in Norway. Ethical aspects related to the dissemination of the digitised material, and criteria regarding sensitivity and privacy protection, taking into consideration the interests of victims, survivors and their relatives have been highlighted. Advice on how to deal with such issues is outlined in the manual.³

The guidelines were distributed to all Norwegian archival institutions. They explained the following:

- What to collect: all written words, cuddly toys, flags, objects, religious symbols.
- Flowers and candles were left behind. They could be composted or melted down.
- Organised and systematic collection work: collect and sort by location, date and type of material.
- Photograph locations before, during and after collection work.
- Technical preservation advice in connection with dealing with material damaged by moisture and mould.

The collection work

The collection work in Oslo was decided to start at 2 am at night, to draw as little attention as possible to the collecting process. At that time, the position on preserving remembrance material was announced as official government policy by the ministry in charge, so we got all the backing we needed.

All the memory material that was laid down was collected. The archivists worked in the front line and took care of all the remembrance materials: all kinds of written messages and objects. We wore hi-vis jackets and visible ID cards. We tried to be both discreet and encourage people to engage in conversation. The archivists were followed by the waste disposal authorities who dealt with the flowers and candles that were left behind, not to be preserved.

The work was conducted with great efficiency and a practical approach – attributes maybe not always ascribed to archivists. The National Archives got great help from local authorities and other archive institutions all over the country. They collected material locally and sent it to the National Archives to be preserved.

The public were happy to see that we were treating the remembrance material with respect. We carefully cut condolences off flowers and put them into boxes and bags. It was important to show that we were being considerate. There were often relatives and mourners present. And we avoided collecting remembrance material that had just been laid down.

Consequently, our concerns that the work might be perceived as being offensive proved to be unfounded. Many people had a great need to talk about their own experiences of the days that elapsed after 22 July, and many came precisely because they knew that their condolences would be taken care of for posterity.

We also noticed that the contents of the greetings gradually started to change. The first greetings that were laid down were short and expressed shock and sorrow – gradually they became longer, more reflective and people wrapped them in plastic to protect them from the rain.

The archivists worked in the front line and took care of the remembrance materials: all kinds of messages and objects.

Our experiences with the public were absolutely positive. We received a lot of feedback about the fact that the work that we were doing was very useful and that they appreciated that their memories were being taken care of for posterity.

Many people were interested in seeing what we actually did with the material, and they had a sincere desire to know more about the work of the archive institutions and why it was important to collect material. National media followed our work for over a year. We were also followed up by the foreign press. We spent a lot of time on giving interviews and helping TV teams and radio broadcasters.

And then there was renewed interest when the trial against the terrorist started in February 2012, and during the days around the anniversaries

Remembrance material overview

Currently, we have collected and preserved a total of around 30.000 documents and 4.000-5.000 items. We have received collections from 40 different municipalities, county governors, organisations, and others. We have received large amounts of material from Norwegian embassies and foreign service missions around the world. In total, our collection consists of around 100 shelf metres.

We have also received electronically created documents, such as online condolence protocols and messages on social media (Facebook, Twitter, etc.), and digital photos.

All the collected material has been sorted and systematised. A large part of the written material has been digitised and the 3D objects have been photographed.

When the collection was digitised, we had some discussions whether the material should be published or not. The general attitude at the National Archives was that as much as possible should be made publicly available:

- Our aim was to digitise and photograph most of the collection before the first anniversary of the incident.
- The material had been laid down in public places so that everyone could read it and most people knew that it would be preserved for posterity.
- Legally, we would probably have the opportunity to publish all of the collection, but ethically we had several concerns.

Some colleagues had concerns about publishing the material so soon after the terrorist attack. Many of the messages had been laid down by people suffering from shock and deep sorrow. Even though the messages were to be preserved, it should not be taken for granted that everyone would want their words and feelings to be made public on the Internet. And maybe we should take into account the bereaved and their relatives – so that they had some sort of control over our use of imagery and texts about their own children?

For the sake of the next of kin and in order to safeguard personal concerns, the following guidelines were established about what could be published publicly:

1. What could be published:

- Documents/items with no name or age information (anonymous contributions)
- Documents/items with information about first names (possibly in combination with age)

2. What could not be published:

- Documents/items containing information about full names
- Documents/items containing information with first names (and age) in combination with place names
- Images of victims or text with content about a particular victim
- Text or images that might be offensive

Based on these criteria we selected about 1.200 individual documents and images of 200 items. This was the National Archives' contribution for the first anniversary.⁴

With few exceptions, the collection is digitally available to researchers. Material can also be used in our reading rooms. Several research groups have worked, or are now working, on material on issues related to public memory research, sociology, and religious issues.

So far, there have been few enquiries from private individuals. Many people are happy with the material that has been made available digitally. However, we are prepared for the fact that more of the bereaved will gradually want to take a closer look at the texts and images that relate to their children.

Conclusion

In this paper I have shown why the preservation of the memory collection relating to 22 July is important to the Norwegian people. The numerous, different expressions of sympathy were laid down by the people on what must be regarded as spontaneous memorial sites at a national level. The appraisal initiative was announced publicly by the National Archivist in close cooperation with researchers. It was officially supported by the federal government and conducted in close cooperation with the municipal authority. The media has, with their broad and positive coverage of the whole collecting process, contributed to support the appraisal.

Collecting the memory material after the terrorist attacks has been positive for the National Archives. It has given us a positive standing in the public opinion. The event has also given us great media attention. We have shown that the National Archives take care of the nation's most valuable documents and memories. Many people became aware of the important role of the National Archives for the first time. Others got a broader picture of what archives can and should contain.

We also acquired a greater sense of self-awareness about our role and importance in the preservation of contemporary documentation. I think the archives handled the challenging situation quite well. All the uncertainty regarding how and when to act turned out very well. Maybe it was the results of good planning. Or maybe we simply worried too much.

The National Archives has now in its holdings a valuable collection of documents and objects of high national interest. It's an asset for researchers, for visitors, and for use in exhibitions. There seems to be an emerging trend that archives are more committed to collecting materials in relation to important national events.

We have discussed internally whether all of the material should be preserved. It turns out to be rather challenging to decide that only parts of this kind of memory material should be preserved, which maybe are not quite in accordance with our normal acquisition principles.



Inga Bolstad is the National Archivist of Norway.

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- 1 Sociologist and researcher Olaf Agedal, lecturing about „The territory of Oslo Cathedral as a National Memorial site“ at the conference „The public Grief after July 22“ at the House of Literature in Oslo 12 June 2012 arranged by the Norwegian research institute KIFO.
 - 2 These were the City Archives of Oslo, the Archives of the Norwegian Parliament, the Labour Movement Archive and Library, and the Regional State Archives of Oslo.
 - 3 The guidelines are published at the official website of the National Archives of Norway (in Norwegian), <https://www.arkivverket.no/utforsk-arkivene/nyere-historie-1814-/arkivmateriale-knyttet-til-22-juli-2011> (aufgerufen am 2.11.2022).
 - 4 The selection of digitised materials is published at the official website of the National Archives of Norway, <https://www.digitalarkivet.no/en/source/15749> (aufgerufen am 2.11.2022).



Manuel Melgar Camarzana

The Spanish Experience on Memory and the Role of the Historical Memory Records Center

On 18 July 1936 a military uprising took place against the legally established government of the Second Republic. The failure of the coup led to a civil war between the rebels and the defenders of the Republic, a war that lasted for almost three years.

The war ended on 1 April 1939, and a long dictatorship was established. Francisco Franco, the leader of the rebels, ruled for over thirty-five years, and during his regime Spanish society suffered severe consequences, especially the victims. It is very difficult to give an exact figure, together with the victims of war and repression in the rear-guard on both sides, nationalist and republican sector, the people that fled into exile – France, Soviet Union, Mexico, Argentina, etc. – must be added, as well as those who remained in the country and were held in prisons, labor and concentration camps.

Franco's death on 20 November 1975 put to an end the dictatorship, and a period of transition to democracy started. In this period, Spanish citizens recovered their liberties, and a lot of exiles had the opportunity to return to their motherland.

Several legal dispositions tried to compensate the victims of war during those years, either issued by the central administration or regional governments, dispositions that were merged in the

Historical Memory Law. This law, passed by the Congress of Deputies in 2007, recognizes and extends the rights and establishes measures in favor of those who suffered prosecution or violence during the Civil War and Franco's dictatorship. It condemns the Francoist regime and tries to strengthen the spirit of reconciliation and concord that arose in the period of the transition. At the time when this paper is being written, a new law is going to be approved by the Spanish Parliament, The Democratic Memory Law. Summarizing, the main provisions of these texts are the following:

- Recognition of the victims of political, religious and ideological violence on both sides of the Spanish Civil War and of the victims of Franco's repression.
- Declaration of nullity of resolutions and illegitimacy of organisms such as the Court Martials, the Special Court for the Repression of Freemasonry and Communism, Political Responsibilities Tribunals or the Court for Public Order.
- State's duty in the tracing, identification and eventual exhumation of victims from Francoist repression, whose corpses are still missing and often buried in mass graves, and the elaboration of a map.
- The right to economic compensations for the victims of the repression and

their relatives during the war and the dictatorship.

- The removal of Francoist symbols from public buildings and spaces, except for artistic or architectural reasons, or in case of religious spaces.
- Prohibition of public events against historical/democratic memory, especially at the Valley of the Fallen.
- Granting of Spanish nationality for the surviving members of the International Brigades.
- The right to access the records and archives on the Civil War, the dictatorship, the exile and the internment of Spaniards in concentration camps during the Second World War.
- The creation of the Historical Memory Records Center in Salamanca, that will have the consideration of Democratic Memory Place.

All these processes are reflected in the files and records kept in the Historical Memory Records Center, which has had an important role in those compensations and recognitions, as well as in the recovery of the recent history in Spain.

The predecessors of the Historical Memory Records Center

The Historical Memory Records Center (CDMH) is the most recent step in the institutional evolution of several agencies created by Franco. This process began with very different objectives from today's Center. It started during the Civil War, when its main goal was the seizure of records, books, objects and other effects, in order to provide information to the different repressive bodies that

operated during the regime. With the transition to democracy, these entities changed their names and functions, as they made their records available to researchers and the public. Today, the Center has become an important instrument for providing economic and moral reparation to the victims of war and dictatorship.

On 20 April 1937 the Office for Investigation and Anti-Communist Propaganda (OIPA) was created. Its main objective was the compilation of enemy propaganda material and the organization of counterpropaganda campaigns. In May of that same year, the National Delegation on Special Affairs (DNAE) was set up in order to seize records, objects and other materials of organizations seen as being associated with Freemasonry.

A decree, dated April 1938, created the State Delegation for the Recovery of Records (DERD). However, since the previous summer, in the northern front, recovery teams had begun to seize records and other materials from different archives, libraries, institutions and bodies relating to the republican authorities. These included records belonging to political parties, trade unions, associations, foundations, companies, as well as papers taken from private homes.

At the beginning, delegations were established in different areas of Spain, but the final destination of this confiscated material was the city of Salamanca, which had also hosted the headquarters of the *Generalísimo* for some time. In 1944 the above-mentioned delegations were merged into a new institution, the National Records Management Delegation (DNSD). Its main role would be to continue with the organization and classification of records that had been

seized and provide the information contained therein to various agencies in order to carry out missions of repressive nature. These agencies included the Special Court for the Repression of Freemasonry and Communism, Military Courts, Political Responsibilities Tribunals, and so on. Later, the National Records Management Delegation changed its name to Records Services and was placed under the Ministry of the Presidency.

Records Services was abolished in 1977, in the period of transition to democracy, and the holdings were placed under the control of the Ministry of Culture. In 1979 the Salamanca archive incorporated the Civil War Section of the National Historical Archive. In 1999 the General Archive of the Spanish Civil War was established as an independent body, and kept that name until it was integrated in 2007 in the new Historical Memory Records Center.

The tasks of today's institution

The Historical Memory Records Center, based in the city of Salamanca, was created by Royal Decree in 2007.¹ The Spanish State owns and manages the Center, which reports organically and functionally to the General Department of State Archives, which in turn reports to the Ministry of Culture and Sports.

With the creation of this Center, the Ministry wanted to expand the holdings of the Salamanca archive by integrating other records (either originals or duplicates) from other centers and from public or private institutions. The new mission also included extending the chronological scope to the process of transition and consolidation of democracy in Spain in the late 1970s.

The tasks entrusted to the new Center were the custody of the General Archive of the Spanish Civil War records and their development and preservation. This development consists of recovering, assembling, organizing and preserving original records, including oral testimonies, as well as secondary sources associated with the Second Republic, the Civil War, general Franco's dictatorship, political repression, exile (including the internment of Spaniards in Nazi concentration and extermination camps) and the period of transition to democracy in Spain. The ultimate goal of the Center is to make these records available to all citizens. For some, that can make a difference in their lives: for example, the archive contains hundreds of thousands of personal records that often are requested to claim compensation for wrongdoings committed by Franco's dictatorship. For others, the Center offers the clues to discover what happened to their disappeared loved ones or may simply satisfy their curiosity or facilitate their research work.

At the same time, the Center should advise and support the victims of repression and cooperate in locating records and information to enable them to exercise their rights for moral or financial compensation. To do that, the Center should hold all original records or reliable duplicates of documents relating to the Civil War and the political repression in museums, libraries and State-owned archives. So, the Administration should make the necessary efforts for the signing of agreements with other public or private archives or institutions, national or international, for the collection of oral testimonies that are relevant to that historical period, whether in their original version or throughout reproductions.

Likewise, according to the Historical Memory Law, in order to promote knowledge of this historical period, the records kept in public or private archives constitute Documentary and Bibliographical Heritage, guaranteeing the right of potential users to access and to obtain copies or reproductions. Finally, all public entities must adopt the necessary measures to ensure the protection, integrity and description of those records, with particular emphasis on the ones at greatest risk of deterioration.

The Center is playing a dynamic role in fostering research and in contributing to the dissemination of results through the organization of scientific and cultural events, such as conferences, seminars, book presentations, exhibitions and so on. These activities are complemented by the dissemination of key findings in research via the Web, mailing lists and social networks.

The above-mentioned activities carried out by the Center are complemented by a series of pedagogical actions, mainly addressed to young people, to raise awareness of the most recent periods of Spanish history, from dictatorship to democracy.

Infrastructure and exhibition areas

The Historical Memory Records Center has two locations in the city of Salamanca: the historic building at Gibraltar Street and the new premises at Los Bandos Square, which opened in 2015. The Gibraltar Street building houses the administrative offices, the technical treatment rooms and the research room, as well as three exhibition areas on the ground floor: the permanent exhibition on the Civil War, the permanent

exhibition on Masonry and the recreation of a Masonic Lodge. Adjacent to this building, an annex was built in the late 1990s to accommodate some of the Center's repositories.

The building at Los Bandos Square was rehabilitated between 2011 and 2015. The functional layout of the building is as follows: records repositories in the basement, reading room and library on the third floor, work areas in the low-deck, and areas where permanent and temporary musicological interventions are planned on the ground, first and second floors. The exhibition halls are complemented by other areas for public engagement and educational functions, such as the auditorium, equipped with audiovisual equipment for the organization of cultural events. Additional spaces are used for the consultation and conservation of bibliographic material, record holdings and museum or heritage collections in the custody of the Center.

There is a project for a third building, in Tejares, a neighborhood of Salamanca city, which will be devoted primarily to storing record holdings and museum objects, and to providing restoration workshops and technical treatment rooms.

Cultural heritage: record holdings and collections

Record holdings and collections kept in the Center are made up of those from the Records Services, the Special Court for the Repression of Freemasonry and Communism of the Franco era, and the various record holdings and collections that have been incorporated since 1979.

1. Record holdings and collections from Records Services

With the records, books and objects that were confiscated from various institutions, entities and individuals, two sections were formed: the Special Section and the Political-Social Section, to which the records produced by the Record Services in their daily management should be added.

The Special Section groups together records related to Masonry and other ideas, movements and associations which were repressed by the Franco regime, such as Theosophy, Freethinking and Rotarianism, among others. They were collected with the aim of identifying individuals, groups and institutions belonging to these organizations throughout Spanish territory. This section is organized according to different criteria: personal or institutional files, issues, activities and recovery.

The Special Section also includes a large amount of bibliographic and periodical holdings and collections, many on masonic and theosophical topics, also the result of seizures. Numerous books on occultism or other religions are currently kept in the Center's library. The Center also keeps a significant number of objects and pieces of great historical value, which were confiscated from those organizations, such as bands, aprons, collars, swords and jewelry, among others.

The Political-Social Section consists of records of many types which belonged to the republican administration and institutions, military units, political parties, trade unions, foundations and associations which supported the republican government, as well as records from companies, private businesses and

private families and individuals. Several „series“ were formed with this large volume of records, most of them with geographical criteria, according to the area where these records were seized – Alicante, Aragón, Barcelona, Bilbao, Cádiz, Cartagena, Castellón, Extremadura, Gijón, Jaen, Lerida, Madrid, Santander, Valencia and Vinaroz – that is, territories that remained loyal to the republican authorities. Other series are not classified according to a geographical criterion and come under such headings as *Particular*, *Militar* and *Prensa y Propaganda*.

This Section also includes books, newspapers and periodical and official publications on politics, trade unionism, ideology, history and literature, all of which are kept in the Center's library.

The General Card Index

The most important finding aid to control these records and to search people was the General Card Index. It hosts cards with personal – name and surnames – and political information about the people and organizations retaliated by Franco's regime. The cards were elaborated from the seized documentation during the Spanish Civil War by the troops of general Franco as they were advancing and occupying republican zones.

The cards were created between 1937 and 1963. There are about three million cards with the names of loyal people to the republican government and people belonging to political parties of left side, trade unions and cultural, masonic, theosophical and protestant associations, as well as a good number of international volunteers who came from different countries with the International Brigades.

Due to the great number of cards and the frequent use, the possibilities of errors and mistakes at the alphabetical index were huge. Because of this, and to improve its preservation, a process of digitisation took place some years ago, avoiding this way the handling damages. This digitisation allowed the users to visualize the image of the card and have direct access to the data. The digital images are black and white, so they are going to be digitized again in order to have a preservation and dissemination copy, with all the requirements of the current standards.

The general card index, which had been used since 1937 and during Franco's dictatorship to exert oppressive activities over the population, has been from 1979 to nowadays an important tool in order to find the documents containing relevant information for the victims. The same card index that during the dictatorship was used for repression, now serves for reparation.

Special Court for the Repression of Freemasonry and Communism

The archive holds the records produced by the Special Court for the Repression of Freemasonry and Communism created by the 1940 Law on Repression of Masonry and Communism. It was abolished in 1963 and replaced by the Law and Order Court. However, a liquidation commission continued in existence until January 1971, when the records holdings were transferred to the Salamanca archive. The archive consists of records on judicial proceedings against freemasons and communists, as well as volumes containing, inter alia, sentences, records of meetings and so on.

2. Records holdings and collections incorporated after 1979

Some records holdings and collections have been added to the archive at different times. Among them, the following:

- The *Causa General* Archive: the decree of 26 April 1940 granted broad powers to the Prosecutor of the Supreme Court to pursue potential suspects of crimes committed during the Second Republic and the Civil War. It was superseded by a 1969 decree-law which excluded criminal liability for actions committed prior to 1 April 1939, the date when the republican army surrendered to Franco's forces putting an official end to the Civil War. The *Causa General* records are categorized into eleven main pieces, but the archive contains also records produced by the republican courts which are not included in those eleven pieces.
- Political Responsibilities: the National Court of Political Responsibilities was created by a 1939 law which outlawed all republican political parties, trades unions and social organizations, and provided the seizure of their properties and records. The National Court was the highest court dealing with certain exceptional cases and, although it was abolished by a 27 June 1945 order, it survived in the form of a liquidation commission until its final dissolution in December 1966.
- The Court for Public Order (TOP): this Court was established in 1963 with general jurisdiction over crimes committed throughout the country against the basic principles of the Francoist state and against law and order. It operated from December 1963 until January 1977, when the Political Reform Law

was enacted. These records were transferred from the General Archive of the Administration in 2008.

- Concentration camps and labor battalions: these records, which cover the period 1936-1969, were transferred by the Fiscal Court to the archive in 2010. It is estimated that between 367,000 and 500,000 republican soldiers were part of forced labor battalions, involved in the building or rebuilding of Spanish infrastructure, such as railways, ports, canals, and dams.
- Purges of railway staff: these files were transferred to the archive in 2010, on the basis of an agreement signed between the Ministry of Culture and the Railway Infrastructure Administration. There are some 200,000 files and 60,000 cards.

Other records of great interest are those of associations and private institutions, as well as records and collections from individuals:

- Spanish Federation of Deportees and Political Internees (FEDIP): founded in Toulouse (13 October 1945) it had the primary task of managing the French and German Governments' pensions and allowances for the families of Spaniards who had been in French concentration camps² and in Nazi death camps, especially Mauthausen.
- Spanish Republican Center in Buenos Aires: it held records from the Center itself, as well as from other centers in Argentina which adhered to it over time.
- Bruno Alonso files: Alonso was a political commissar of the republican fleet

who fled to Algeria in 1939 and then to Tunisia. Upon arrival at the port of Bizerte (Tunisia) he was interned in the prison camp of Maknassy. In late 1942 he was exiled from Oran to Mexico City, where he remained until his death in 1977. Alonso's personal archive consists of reports, orders, newspaper articles, correspondence and pictures.

- Dionisio Ridruejo Archive: Ridruejo was an early Falangist who eventually became a democrat and an enemy of the dictatorship. The archive consists of personal and family records, generated in the exercise of their public and private functions, patrimonial records and collections. His personal papers include original manuscripts and typescripts of almost all his works and personal correspondence, newspaper clippings, articles, and photographs.
- Carlos Esplá files: these records come mainly from his exile in Mexico. Records concerning the Aid Board to Spanish Republicans and the Administrative Committee of the Fund for Relief of Spanish Republicans are particularly significant. There is also abundant correspondence with other republican politicians in exile, such as Indalecio Prieto, José Giral, Diego Martínez Barrio and Álvaro de Albornoz.
- José Mario Armero Collection: Armero was a lawyer and journalist. His collection is made up of photographs, postcards and objects, including military items and an 853 poster collection from both war zones.
- Luis García Cerdeño Collection: its core contents refer to the social and political activity of the Spanish exiles in Mexico, and they offer a view of Spain and the

Franco regime from abroad. It consists of records of the institutions of the Republic in the Mexican exile, the Executive Committee of the Spanish Workers' Socialist Party in Mexico, and the Cultural Association Pablo Iglesias, as well as records from the Aid Board to the Spanish Republicans in Mexico and Masonic records of the Spanish Great Orient Lodge.

Photographic, audiovisual and sound collections

The Center also holds important photographic collections. Besides the photographs kept in the Special Section on Freemasonry and in the Political-Social Section, a series of significant photographic archives and collections have been transferred to the Center over the last 35 years. These collections, in some cases, are very impressive. Among others, the Center holds works by:

- Robert Capa, who recorded the defense of Madrid by republicans and the fall of Barcelona, as well as the exiles in French concentration camps.
- Kati Horna, who documented scenes of everyday life in the rearguard.³
- The Mayo Brothers reflected the political, social and cultural life of exiles in Mexico.⁴
- Albert-Louis Deschamps photographed the fighting in Huesca, the Battle of the Ebro, the advance of Franco's troops towards the sea, the parade along the Paseo de Gracia after the capture of Barcelona and the first days of the surrender of Madrid.
- The images taken by the German photographer Erich Andres offer a per-

spective of places and people taken by Franco's army.⁵

- Agustí Centelles is one of the leading Spanish photojournalists, and his snapshots of the events of July 1936 in Barcelona, the bombing of Lleida in 1937, or the images of the concentration camp in Bram (France), are true icons of the war and its consequences.⁶
- Vicente Nieto draws a visual tour of Spain during the Civil War and the post-war decades.⁷
- Walter Reuter photographed the front of Madrid, Valencia and Catalonia.⁸
- Emil Vedin accompanied the Russian tanks as a physician and at the same time taking photographs of the front and the rearguard, as well as the Spanish children refugees in France.
- Another important collection is Martín de la Madrid, with some images of the Civil War and the post-war period, such as the farewell ceremony to the soldiers of the Condor Legion at the *Virgen del Camino* air base, attended by Franco and the Air Minister Alfredo Kindelan.

Other sources of great interest are the audiovisual and sound material kept in the Center. They include the following: interviews with American veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion or about the Spanish exile in Mexico, BBC Radio recordings containing testimonies on the war through interviews conducted by Michael Portillo, and many other records resulting from different projects related to historical memory funded by the Ministry of Presidency.

A considerable effort has also been made to acquire copies and reproductions of other records kept in public or private institutions which complement the contents of the Center. The recently digitized microfilm copy of the Francisco Franco Foundation files, the digital copy of the International Committee of the Red Cross referred to the war in Spain and the situation of the refugees in Europe, Comintern records related to Spain, and the digital copy of the republican prime minister Juan Negrín's archive attest the Center's ongoing effort to expand its holdings.

Exhibitions and cultural activities

There are currently three permanent exhibitions at the Center: a permanent exhibition on the Spanish Civil War, a permanent exhibition on Masonry, and the reconstructed Masonic Lodge.

Records from a war: Spain 1936-1939

The Center keeps an open exhibition on the Spanish Civil War, its background and consequences. It displays over a hundred records and objects related to the main aspects of the conflict: the political ideas of the different contenders, the battlefield, the rearguard, everyday life, foreign intervention, population movements, repression and exile. All these exhibits are samples which aim at informing the general public, and particularly younger generations, about a fundamental component of our collective history.

The exhibition is accompanied by an audiovisual presentation on the history of the archive, its records, and their use under Franco as a source of information at the service of dictatorship repression.

Freemasonry exhibition

This exhibition displays more than a hundred pieces from the Center's documentary, bibliographic and iconographic holdings, such as records, books, brochures, posters, prints, photographs, jewelry, swords, bands, aprons, collars, and maps.

The display is divided into the following subject areas: ideological bases of Freemasonry, the lodge, the place where the meetings take place, masonic principles, masonic symbolism, Freemasonry in Spain, masonic attributes, persecutions and repression.

Recreation of the Masonic Lodge

The Masonic Lodge is a showroom with original objects seized from the masons by Franco's troops during the Civil War. It has been kept as it was recreated under Franco, as an anti-masonic museum to ridicule Freemasonry and the lodge recreated in the Center offered a distorted image of Masonry. An audio presentation explains masonic philosophy and symbolism, describing the history of the collection and the meaning of its objects.

The exhibition project: Memory and recent history of Spain (1931-1981)

The new headquarters of the Historical Memory Records Center, inaugurated in 2015, is going to host a permanent exhibition tracing the history of Spain from the beginning of the Second Republic in 1931 to the transition to democracy in the 1970s and early 1980s.⁹ This project requires a visitor-friendly and scientifically based narrative, combined with a musicographical presentation designed to meet the expectations of a wide range of potential audiences.

The exhibition narrative is structured into subject areas which, in turn, are subdivided into blocks and thematic units (along the lines of scientific research) in order to articulate texts, collections and exhibition spaces in a coherent manner. Although the exhibition aims to show a permanent collection of materials according to chronological order, it is also complemented by other temporary or mobile displays, along cross-thematic lines. The subject areas of the permanent display are the following: a presentation of the Historical Memory Records Center, the Second Republic (1936-1939), the Civil War (1936-1939), Franco's Dictatorship (1936-1975), the Transition to Democracy (1975-1982).

Accessing the records

The following websites are interesting for those who want to research this period or find a person:

The Spanish Archives Portal (PARES)

The Spanish Archives Portal is a project of the Ministry of Culture for the internet dissemination of the Spanish Documentary Heritage preserved in its network of archives. The Historical Memory Records Center is one of them. This huge online catalogue is the archival information system of the State Archives and the result of a progressive work of description and digitisation across the archives network.

The information system groups all information on a single subject from many repositories or documentary collections from different archives. It is possible to have a copy of the digitized images of records and its descriptive registries.

One of the short-term objectives is to receive and disseminate the new media digital objects and the interoperability with other major dissemination projects, such as the European Archives Portal.

Victims' Website

The main objective of this site is to facilitate access to records relating to the victims of the Civil War, exile and repression during Franco's dictatorship. Citizens have access to this database with the existing references in archives, based on the records that reflect the suffering and violation of human rights during those periods of Spanish recent history.

Database of missing military men of the Spanish Republican Army (1936-1939)

The database contains the names of the people belonging to the republican army during the Spanish Civil War with the right to collect pension for death, disappearance or worthlessness.

Database of Republican military men with graduation

This database is very useful to obtain information about those who were part of the armed forces, public order forces and police corps.

Spaniards deported to Nazi Camps (1940-1945)

After the Spanish Civil War there were a lot of Spaniards who suffered the consequences of World War II. Most of them were in exile in France since 1939 and contributed to the defense of France against Germany. With the French defeat, around 6,000 people were deported to concentration camps, especially Mauthausen (Austria). This database

is very useful to find the Spanish internees in these camps.

Migratory Movements

The Website has been created with the objective of promoting and facilitating

access to documentary sources relating to the Spanish emigration to Latin America in contemporary times, and many exiles are included. It offers free access to any user interested in the records and digitized images of them.¹⁰



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- 1 Royal Decree 697/2007, dated 1 June 2007, whereby the Historical Memory Records Center is created. This Decree develops the second additional provision of Law 21/2005, of 17 November 2005, on restitution to the Generalitat of Catalonia of the records seized during the Civil War kept in the General Archive of the Spanish Civil War.
- 2 Robert Capa (1913-1954) is considered the first correspondent and photographer to specialize in war. These images were given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1992.
- 3 Kati Horna (1912-2000) was Hungarian and moved to Spain in 1937, where she worked as a graphic editor of various anarchist journals, including Umbral. In total, there are about 270 photographic negatives taken between 1937 and 1938.
- 4 There are about 3,861 positive copies, whose negatives are kept in the General Archive of the Nation at Mexico City. They include pictures taken in Spain during the Civil War, but others focus on meetings of the Government and the Courts in Mexican exile, rallies and acts of political and trade union organizations and major republican figures.
- 5 Photographs reflect the atmosphere of the cities in the Francoist rear-guard, major monuments of the cities he visited and combat scenes.
- 6 Considered by many as the initiator of photo-journalism in Spain, his historic images consist of more than 12,000 negatives which were purchased by the archive in 2010. The images are an extraordinary source of graphic documentation for any researcher of the Spanish Civil War and its aftermaths.
- 7 There are about 6,000 photographs reflecting a true portrait of a good part of the Spanish society of the forties, fifties and sixties.
- 8 Walter Reuter (Berlin 1906-Cuernavaca 2005) participated in the war and took pictures of the rear guard. He was a photo reporter, and many of his photographs were published in international magazines and journals.
- 9 Many historians regard the adoption of the Spanish Constitution on 6 December 1978 as marking the end of this period, while others think that the transition process ended with the 1982 electoral victory of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE).
- 10 Further readings: Antonio González Quintana: Fuentes para el estudio de la repression franquista en el Archivo Histórico Nacional, Sección Guerra Civil, in: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia (Hg.): Espacio, tiempo y forma. Serie V (Historia contemporánea 7), 1994; María José Turrión García: El papel de los archivos en la memoria. El Centro Documental de la Memoria Histórica, in: Ministerio de Cultura, Subdirección General de Publicaciones, Información y Documentación (Hg.): Patrimonio cultural de España, Madrid 2009, S. 157-172.

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Отделение № 24.10.65

Б. Клеп 30.9.65

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Csaba Szabó

Die Verarbeitung von sowjetischen Karteien über ungarische Häftlinge

„History is written by the victors“ (Geschichte wird von den Siegern geschrieben), sagte Winston Churchill am Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs, nach dem großen Sieg über Nazi-Deutschland und seine Verbündeten. Churchill formulierte eine leider ewige Wahrheit, die für die Besiegten oft schmerzhaft ist. Allerdings hat der Sieger nicht unbedingt in jedem Krieg recht. Wir Ungarn haben das in unserer Geschichte leider oft erlebt. Denken Sie nur an 1956, als die Sympathie der Welt Ungarn gegen den Aggressor unterstützte, die ungarische Revolution jedoch scheiterte und der Kommunismus in Osteuropa noch 33 weitere Jahre bestand.

Der Zweite Weltkrieg übertraf die Daten von jedem vorherigen Krieg in Bezug auf die Menge der verbrauchten Rohstoffe, die Anzahl der zerstörten und beschädigten zivilen, industriellen und militärischen Anlagen, die Zahl der verlorenen Menschenleben und die der für kürzere oder längere Zeit gefangenen Menschen.

Ab dem Frühjahr 1945 wurden von den Organisationen, die sich mit dem Schicksal der ungarischen Kriegsgefangenen befassten, extreme Angaben über die Anzahl der ungarischen Staatsbürger in sowjetischer Gefangenschaft gemacht: Die verschiedenen offiziellen und halb-offiziellen Meinungen reichten von 150.000 bis 500.000. Selbst die Informationen über die Heimkehrer waren unbestimmt, und die Informationen über die im Ausland Verstorbenen waren manchmal nur Vermutungen, Schätz-

zungen ohne Fakten. Aber wenn es keine Gewissheit gibt, gibt es nur Vermutungen und Warten. Eine Gesellschaft, die jahrzehntelang zur Unwissenheit gezwungen war, konnte nicht über dieses Trauma sprechen. Selbst wenn die Angehörigen nach Hause kamen, sprachen sie kaum. Aber was sollten sie sagen? Ihre Geschichten gaben keine Antwort auf die Verschleppung und das Schicksal von Hunderttausenden. Der „Malenkij-Robot“ und die Welt der GULAG/GUPVI-Lager gesellen sich mit dem Holocaust zu den Schrecken des 20. Jahrhunderts.

Ich werde in meinem Vortrag ausschließlich die ungarischen Forschungsereignisse und -ergebnisse der letzten Jahre vorstellen, die einen Durchbruch in der GULAG/GUPVI-Forschung in Ungarn gebracht haben.

Österreichische Vorarbeiten und neue Impulse für die Forschung zu Kriegsgefangenen

Ein Beispiel für die Recherche in russischen Archiven sind die drei Jahrzehnte andauernden Bemühungen österreichischer Kollegen. In den 2010er Jahren wandten sich ungarische Forscher an einen der führenden Experten zu diesem Thema, Professor Stefan Karner, den inzwischen pensionierten Leiter des *Ludwig Boltzmann Instituts für Kriegsfolgenforschung* in Graz. Das Boltzmann-Institut hatte bereits Jahre zuvor die Akten aller österreichischen Kriegsgefangenen, rund 130.000 an der Zahl,

aufgearbeitet und dabei viel Erfahrung sowohl im Verständnis der russischen Archivorganisation als auch in der Verhandlungsführung gesammelt. Bereits 1989 trafen Stefan Karner und seine Mitarbeiter in Moskau ein. Sie verfügen über ausgezeichnete Kenntnisse der russischen Geschichte, Kultur und Sprache.

Das im 2015 begonnene GULAG-Gedenkjahr hat in Ungarn in der Tat dazu beigetragen, nicht nur das Interesse der historischen Fachwelt und der betroffenen Öffentlichkeit, sondern das Bewusstsein des Publikums für die Opfer zu schärfen. Während der Gedenkfeiern 2016-2017 wurde mit zahlreichen Veranstaltungen, Gedenktafeln, Ausstellungen und Konferenzen an die Tragödie erinnert. Tausende von Familien wurden an einen zum Schweigen gebrachten Teil der Geschichte erinnert, an das Schicksal ihrer Großeltern und Urgroßeltern.

Das GULAG-Gedenkjahr in Ungarn diente nicht nur dem Gedenken und der Vertiefung des Respekts, sondern gab auch der Forschung einen echten Anstoß. Archivalische Forschung und Digitalisierung haben sich beschleunigt. Online- und traditionelle Veröffentlichungen sind inzwischen weit verbreitet.

Das Gedenkjahr fiel mit der Neuorganisation des Gemeinsamen Ungarisch-Russischen Archivausschusses nach einer siebenjährigen Pause mit neuen Mitgliedern zusammen.

Nach langer Vorbereitung und einem persönlichen Treffen in Moskau zwischen Dr. Zsuzsanna Mikó und Dr. Csaba Szabó sowie Andrei Nikolayevich Artyizov, Leiter der Archivagentur der Russischen Föderation (Rosarchiv) wurden im russischen Militärarchiv (RGVA – Russisches Staatsarchiv für Militärgeschichte)

fruchtbare Verhandlungen über die Offenlegung von in Russland aufbewahrten Archivdaten über fast 600.000 ungarische Staatsbürger geführt.

Zur Klärung der methodischen Fragen der Bearbeitung und zur Unterstützung der ungarischen Fälle zog das Ungarische Nationalarchiv Professor Stefan Karner als Experten hinzu, der mich in Moskau bei meinen Verhandlungen mit Vladimir Petrovich Tarasov, dem Generaldirektor des russischen staatlichen Militärarchivs, unterstützte. Am 10. Oktober 2017 unterzeichneten Stefan Karner, der damalige Leiter des Boltzmann-Instituts, und ich in der ungarischen Botschaft in Wien eine Vereinbarung. Gemäß dieser Vereinbarung wird das Boltzmann-Institut als ständiger Berater der ungarischen Seite in ungarisch-russischen Archivfragen fungieren, einschließlich der Arbeit des ungarisch-russischen gemeinsamen Archivausschusses.

Inaugenscheinnahme der Karteikarten und Vorbereitungen des Projekts

Stefan Karner und seine Grazer Kolleginnen und Kollegen leisteten wirklich nützliche Hilfe. Ebenfalls als Ergebnis der Verhandlungen konnten Hauptarchivar Dr. Róbert Fiziker (Ungarisches Nationalarchiv) und wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter Dieter Bacher (Ludwig Boltzmann Institut für Kriegsfolgenforschung) im Frühjahr 2018 eine Woche lang die Karteien im Russischen Militärarchiv erforschen. Nach russischen Aufzeichnungen wurden zwischen 1939 und 1953, während und nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg, insgesamt sechs Millionen Menschen in die Sowjetunion verschleppt. Einige von ihnen waren Kriegsgefangene, andere Zivilisten, die interniert und in den

„Malenkij-Robot“ gebracht wurden. Die ungarischen und österreichischen Delegierten versuchten eine Methode zur Aussonderung der die Ungarn betreffenden Dokumente aus den sechs Millionen Akten der russischen Militärbürokratie zu entwickeln.

Nach ihrer Heimkehr berichteten sie ausführlich über die geleistete Arbeit. Nachdem die Erfahrungen ausgewertet waren, begann die Vorbereitung des Projekts. Mit der Durchführung beauftragt wurde ein russischer Dienstleister, der schon lange professionelle Beziehungen zu den Militärarchiven und der Archivagentur der Russischen Föderation unterhielt. Ziel war es, eine russische Datenbank mit sechs Millionen Häftlingskarteien bezogen auf Ungarn zu sortieren, zu digitalisieren und zusammenzustellen.

Für seine durchgreifende Unterstützung wurde Stefan Karner am 27. November 2019 in der ungarischen Botschaft in Wien mit dem Ritterkreuz, dem ungarischen Verdienstorden, ausgezeichnet.

Natürlich hatten die Verhandlungen auch erhebliche finanzielle Auswirkungen. Die Gesamtkosten betragen auch wegen der negativen Auswirkungen der Wechselkursschwankungen mehr als 180 Millionen HUF (damals 538.000 Euro, heute wären es 589.000 Euro).

Die digitalisierte Kopie ist ein wichtiges Detail, da die Daten der ungarischen Gefangenen in russischer Sprache verfasst wurden und es aufgrund der damaligen Bedingungen und der Fähigkeiten der russischen Militärschreiber bereits bei der Aufzeichnung der Daten zu Verzerrungen gekommen sein kann. Bei der Anordnung der Datenbank musste die verzerrte Form berücksichtigt werden.

Mit den verfügbaren Bildern wird es leichter sein, eine strittige Information zu klären.

Andrej Yurasov, stellvertretender Leiter der Russischen Föderalen Archivbehörde (Roszarhiv), kündigte auf einer Pressekonzferenz im ungarischen Parlament am 14. Oktober 2019 an, dass Russland dem Ungarischen Nationalarchiv Kopien der Unterlagen mit den Daten der in sowjetische Gefangenenlager deportierten ungarischen Bürger übergeben wird.

Übergabe und Validierung der Daten

Ende November 2019 lieferte der russische Partner wie vereinbart die Kopien der Karteien und die Datenbank. Insgesamt wurden Karteien über 681.085 Ungarn erstellt. Wir nahmen die digitalisierten Akten auf einem externen Speichermedium entgegen, das mehr als 1.300.000 Bilddateien mit 245 GB enthielt. Noch nie hat ein ungarisches Archiv eine so große Datenmenge erhalten, aber auch im internationalen Vergleich ist eine Informationsübermittlung in diesem Umfang selten.

In den ersten Monaten des Jahres 2020 wurde mit der Validierung der Daten und Bilder begonnen, d. h. mit der Überprüfung, ob die in die Datenbank eingegebenen Daten und die digitalisierten Bilder übereinstimmen. In der Zwischenzeit wurde das Verfahren zur Bearbeitung der Karteien entwickelt. Es wurden mehrere mögliche Lösungen diskutiert. Es schien naheliegend, die Praxis des Militärhistorischen Instituts und Museums des ungarischen Verteidigungsministeriums fortzusetzen, das bereits im Jahr 2017 die Karteien von mehr als 60.000 verstorbenen Kriegsgefangenen bearbeitet hatte. Dies geschah unter Beteiligung russischsprachiger Militäroffiziere. Sie übersetz-

ten einfach die Daten und trafen eine persönliche Entscheidung, wie die Namen von Personen und Orten richtig geschrieben werden.

Es wurde jedoch deutlich, dass diese Methode fünf Jahre und ca. 500 Millionen Forint benötigen würde, um wissenschaftlich fundiert zu sein. Die fünf Jahre wären für die Öffentlichkeit inakzeptabel gewesen, die 500 Millionen Forint für die Politik. Als Reaktion auf das wachsende öffentliche Interesse setzte sich die Leitung des Ungarischen Nationalarchivs das Ziel, die Daten nach einem Jahr zu veröffentlichen.

Es lassen sich vier Arten von Karteien unterscheiden. Die ersten fast 400.000 Karteien sind annähernd identisch. 18 Einträge und Informationen sind verfügbar, falls die Karteien vollständig ausgefüllt sind. Die anderen Dokumente unterscheiden sich dadurch, dass einige Karteien bereits Fingerabdrücke enthielten. Einige der Personalkarteien, die nach 1951 repatriert wurden, waren bereits mit einem Porträt versehen, aber das Formular wurde vereinfacht.

Die Archivare beobachteten mehrere Paradoxe bei der Übermittlung von Daten. Die Akten wurden von einfachen russischen Soldaten auf der Grundlage von Informationen verängstigter Gefangener ausgefüllt. Kollegen fanden zum Beispiel einen Karton mit dem Familiennamen des Häftlings „Hitler“. Laut einem anderen Karton wurde ein Gefangener im 18. Jahrhundert geboren. Es gab noch andere merkwürdige Antworten: Einige gaben ihren Beruf als Bauer an, aber ihren Rang als Ingenieur; Offiziere gaben oft an, einfacher Soldat zu sein. Viele Ungarn aus den Unterkarpaten, Oberungarn, Siebenbürgen und Südungarn sind ebenfalls in dem Register aufgeführt, aber es ist noch

nicht bekannt, ob alle in diesen Gebieten Verhafteten als Ungarn oder mit einer anderen Nationalität geführt wurden. Auch die russische Transkription der ungarischen Namen wirft Fragen auf.

Überraschenderweise enthält die Datenbank keine bekannten Personen, die jahrelang, oft ein Jahrzehnt, in den Lagern von GUPVI/GULAG inhaftiert waren. Gleichzeitig gibt es in der Datenbank aber auch einige wiederkehrende Namen. Aus den Unterlagen geht hervor, dass 90 % der Internierten 1945 in sowjetischen Gewahrsam genommen wurden, danach nur noch selten.

Veröffentlichung, Resonanz und Bedeutung

Ungarische Archivare sammelten alle anfallenden Fragen und versuchten gemeinsam mit ihren österreichischen und russischen Kollegen die strittigen Fälle zu klären. Mit den IT-Abteilungen/Fakultäten der Universitäten und den Dienstleistern wurden fortlaufend Gespräche über die Möglichkeiten und Methoden der Datenverarbeitung mit Hilfe moderner Informationstechnologie – einschließlich Künstlicher Intelligenz – geführt. Ziel war es, eine Datenbank zu erstellen, die im Internet frei zugänglich ist und in der die Angehörigen und Interessierten selbständig suchen können.

Das Ungarische Nationalarchiv hat die Basisdaten im Februar 2021 veröffentlicht. In den nächsten zehn Monaten bis November 2021 besuchten mehr als 330.000 Menschen die Website und führten mehr als 9 Millionen Downloads durch.

Die Verarbeitung von Karteien bringt viele Vorteile mit sich. Aus wissenschaftlicher Sicht werden bedeutende Ergeb-

nisse erwartet: Da die Karteien mehrere Daten enthalten, könnte die Datenbank eine Reihe von sozialgeschichtlichen Forschungen anregen.

Was vielleicht noch wichtiger ist, obwohl es die gründlichen wissenschaftlich-historischen Untersuchungen und Erklä-

rungen nicht ersetzen kann: Dass diese schreckliche nationale Tragödie zusammen mit der anderen großen nationalen Tragödie, dem jüdischen Holocaust, nach jahrzehntelangem Verschweigen und Verheimlichen endlich unverfälscht in das Gedenken der Nation Eingang finden kann.



Dr. habil. Csaba Szabó ist Generaldirektor des Ungarischen Nationalarchivs.

Maßstab für Europa

Frieden und Solidarität,

Dieter Schlenker

Diverse Archival Memories on European Integration – The Role of the Historical Archives of the European Union

The Founders of European Union would have certainly been in agreement with the organisers to place this presentation at the end of this conference. The pro-Europeans in post-War Europe indeed saw the integration of the European nation states into a federation or union as the only way to secure the survival of the European continent after the atrocities of World War II and the Holocaust. Only in the aftermath of such a global disaster, under the pressure of the United States of America towards the Europeans to eventually secure peace, and in the context of the new Cold War arising between East and West, some European governments would agree to give up some of their national powers and share governance in Europe. However, even in this worst political, economic and social scenario in post-War Europe, resistance towards sharing power and agreeing on a common path towards European unity continued to remain strong. Nonetheless, on 9 May 1950 French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman surprised his fellow ministers in Western Europe with a unique proposal to engage in a first-ever European political community. The European Coal and Steel Community was born. In 1957, two other Communities were added to this new European house, the European Atomic Energy Community, and the European Economic Community, the

latter becoming the new hotbed for the Common and Single Market and eventually today's European Union.¹

However, compared to the geographic and political European space, the new Community was considerably small and initially comprised just six countries: France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, The Netherlands, and Luxemburg. During a speech in Zurich, Switzerland, in 1946, former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill had called for the „United States of Europe“, but obviously without the membership of the United Kingdom, similar to the position of US President Woodrow Wilson towards the League of Nations after World War I. On the Western side of the Iron Curtain and for different reasons, the Scandinavian countries as well as the Southern European countries Greece, Spain and Portugal did not join the new Community. The countries in Central and Eastern Europe had no hope to join the Western European Community as they were under the direction of the Soviet Union and economically grouped in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) until the Fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989.²

The new European Communities established various institutions, first in Luxemburg and Strasburg, then in Brussels,

and from the 1970s onwards in other member states. With the progress made from Community to European Union, the economic and political union grew from six to 27 members. Adding more and more responsibilities and joint decision-making to the Union with the treaty changes in the 1990s and 2000s, the EU can be considered the main achievement of European integration.

The Historical Archives of the European Union in Florence

In the early 1950s, the new institutions of the European Communities started their operations equipped with basic registry, protocol and filing services for the current files the institutions produced and kept. Later, some intermediate archives services were added, and archival files stored on premise. Only twenty-five years later with the arrival of Commission President Roy Jenkins in 1977, reflections on the establishment of historical archives and their opening to the public started. These discussions resulted in Council Regulation 354/83 on the opening to the public of the EU-institutional archives after 30 years. One year later, in 1984, the European Commission decided to establish the „Historical Archives of the European Communities“ (HAEU) at the European University Institute in Florence. These Archives became the new single and central preservation and access point for the historical documents of EU institutions.

The written memory of EU institutions deposited at the HAEU in Florence³ has grown continuously in these past 40 years and nowadays comprises almost 10 kilometres of archival holdings. These holdings include those EU institutions, bodies and agencies that have passed 30 years since their establishment and

therefore have historical archives to deposit. The main depositing institutions are the European Parliament, the Council, the Commission, the Court of Justice, the Court of Auditors, and the European Investment Bank. Furthermore, the holdings contain the documents of the Economic and Social Committee (EU body) and those of three EU Agencies, CEDEFOP, EUROFOUND and the European Environmental Agency, from the extensive network of EU Agencies spread over the various member states.⁴

While the European Union and its institutional network built on the unique supranational approach of decision-making is seen as the core achievement of European integration, the approach of Europe-wide regional cooperation has produced a considerable variety of organisations. These were either already established before the Schuman Plan of 1950, or were part of the integration process triggered by the European Community/Union, or finally concerned sectoral integration in specific policy areas or fields of common European interest. These diverse public and private organisations and their individual actors have handed down numerous archives with very different preservation, curation and access conditions and in geographically diverse locations. The following chapters are dedicated to look at some examples or the diverse political, cultural or archival institutions that have created and maintain archives on European integration.

Diplomatic and political archives on the European Union

The European Communities of 1951 and 1957 and their development towards the European Union with the Maastricht Treaty of 1992 were negotiated and cre-

ated upon the will of European national governments. The Paris Treaty was negotiated directly by the governments of the future member states, while starting with the Rome Treaty and its following changes the negotiations took place mostly within the legislative institution of the Community or Union, the Council. The archives of EU member states' governments, in particular the Diplomatic archives, but also the National Archives play a crucial role in interpreting and understanding the history of European integration. The Council and its COREPER and other diplomatic and ministerial bodies have been the place of negotiations and decisions, and these processes are well documented in all the various member states' national and diplomatic archives. National bodies preserve even the Treaties, which laid the foundation for the European Community and Union. The Foreign Ministry of the country that hosted the treaty signature ceremony preserves the original treaty; the Paris Treaty of 1951 is, therefore, preserved in the French diplomatic archives and the Rome Treaties in the Italian Foreign Ministry archives.⁵

An important but less known source on the political discussions on European level is kept in the archives of the Political Groups in the European Parliament, as well as in the more recent European Political Parties and Foundations. These archives have been deposited in different archival institutions and are open for consultation there. The archives of the European People's Party Group were deposited at the German Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in Sankt Augustin. Those of the Green Party Group went to the Archiv Grünes Gedächtnis

at the Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung in Berlin. The archives of the Liberal and of the Socialist Groups in the European Parliament were deposited at the HAEU in Florence.

Archives of organisations established prior to the Schuman Plan

Important groundwork towards European integration had been done before Robert Schuman launched his project of a European Coal and Steel Community in May 1950. Various archival collections on

these initiatives have been handed down to our times. The first organisation with the objective of European integration had been the International Pan-European Union, which started in the Inter-War period with the publication of the book „Pan-Europa“ by Richard Count Coudenhove-Kalergi in 1924. The archives of the head office of the International Pan-European Union at the Hofburg in Vienna, from where Count Coudenhove-Kalergi held large correspondence with personalities from all over Europe on his ideas, set up various national committees and organised international congresses, was removed by the German Naziregime after the *Anschluss* of Austria to the Reich in 1938. From its temporary home in Berlin, the archives were then removed in 1945 by the Red Army and became part of the collections of the Russian State Military Historical Archives in Moscow. The historical archives of this first transnational European organisation are still located there today and since years inaccessible to the international research community.⁶

National bodies preserve the treaties which laid the foundation for the European Community and Union.

The first major organisation to organise Europe's economic reconstruction and recovery after World War II came in with the Marshall Plan launched by the US government in 1948. The Organisation of European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) was created to allocate and distribute Marshall Plan aid, and to establish a (Western) European Recovery Programme (ERP) for the 18 member states that collaborated under the OEEC in the areas of industry, agriculture, energy, and technology, and contributed to free trade and the convertibility of European currencies. The organisation with seat in Paris expanded in 1962 the range of activities to a global scope and changed its name to Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). The OEEC/OECD archives are located at its headquarters in Paris. For a number of years in the early 2000s, the OECD sought a temporary home for its historical archives and deposited the papers at the Historical Archives of the EU in Florence. The temporary relocation was required to give the organization time to prepare a purpose-built, safe and secure new home for the archives at the seat in Paris, and in 2014, the archives returned to Paris. Before the return, the two partners, HAEU and OECD, digitised large documentation pertaining to the European predecessor OECD up to 1962, and a digital copy of these archives is now available in the online database of the HAEU.⁷

Under the new threat of the Cold War, an important element for the cooperation of former Western European war allies emerged in the field of defence and security. The Brussels Treaty of 1948 established the Western Union, which in 1954 changed its name into Western European Union. This alliance initially organised military, but also economic, social

and cultural cooperation initiatives, but then became soon devoid of its main objectives in defence with the foundation of NATO in 1950, and in the economic and social fields with the establishment of the Council of Europe in 1949 and the European Coal and Steel Community in 1951. The WEU was eventually terminated in 2010 and its authorities transferred to the European Union. The archives of the organisation were divided in two parts, the papers of its Executive Board were given to the National Archives of Luxemburg, while the documents of its General Assembly were deposited at the HAEU. The preservation of and access to these archives are, thus, a shared responsibility of the National Archives of Luxemburg and the HAEU in Florence.⁸

Established during World War II, the pro-European federalist movements represented a rich and diverse group of associations, initiatives, foundations and federations, on local, regional, national and European level. Major associations were established in the aftermath of the War, such as the Union of European Federalists (UEF), the European Movement, the Europa-Union, the Council of European Municipalities and Regions, the European Parliamentary Union, and finally the League of Economic Cooperation in Europe. Most of these associations emerged from anti-Nazi and anti-fascist movements in Italy and France. Switzerland then played an important role as secret meeting place for expanding the movements Europe-wide. Their common goal was to regain peace, democracy, economic and social security, and the respect for rule of law and fundamental rights in a federal Europe or a European Union. The movements had their historic moment with the Con-

gress of The Hague in May 1948 that laid the ground for a series of new organisations on European integration, namely the Council of Europe in Strasburg, the College of Bruges and the European Centre for Culture in Geneva. Furthermore, the 1950 European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) of the Council of Europe was a direct result of the 1948 The Hague Congress decisions. Most of the numerous European federalist movements have deposited their historical archives in Florence, which, therefore, provides a unique collection of these archives in a single location. The Council of Europe and the College of Bruges manage their archives at their respective seats. The archives of the League of Economic Cooperation in Europe were split with its first historical part being held at the Catholic University of Louvain-La-Neuve in Belgium and the files since the mid-1980s having been deposited at the HAEU in Florence.⁹

Archives on sectoral integration in Europe

The political project on European integration, with its main achievement in the establishment of the European Communities, but also with the creation of the Council of Europe and other entities, triggered various sectoral initiatives concentrating on specific political, scientific or cultural integration and cooperation projects. In the political sphere, we may mention the European Free Trade Association EFTA, established on the initiative of the British government in 1960 as counter-model to the European Economic Community of 1957. It comprised a number of European countries that did not – or not yet – join the Community. Its founding members were Austria, Denmark, Nor-

way, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom. EFTA established a secretariat in Geneva, and its activities are well documented in the archives of the secretariat, which was deposited and opened for consultation in 2015 at the HAEU in Florence.¹⁰

Following in particular the Rome Treaties of 1957, a whole range of sectoral organisations emerged all around Europe. One sector was that of big science, which was too costly to be financed by single European states. First, the European Space Agency, established in 1975 replacing its predecessor organisations, the European Space Research Organisation (ESRO) created in 1962 and the European Organisation for the Development and Construction of Space Vehicle Launchers (ELDO) of 1960. ESA established headquarters in Paris, where its archives were held until a deposit agreement was signed with the HAEU in 1989. Since then, the historical archives are transferred to Florence in regular shipments and opened to the public.¹¹ The other major European endeavour in the field was the creation of the European Organization for Nuclear Research CERN in 1954, with headquarters in Meyrin, northwest of Geneva in Switzerland. CERN manages and preserves its archives at its seat in Meyrin, where the papers may be consulted.¹²

In the field of culture, an important organisation emerged directly from the Congress of The Hague in 1948, the European Centre for Culture. It took headquarters in Geneva under the leadership of Swiss federalist and writer Denis de Rougemont. The association was created under Swiss law and served as catalyst, think tank and study centre in the field of culture, and developed impressive networks of intellectuals and

artists all over Europe. The archives of the Centre are preserved at the Library of the Graduate Institute at the University of Geneva and open for consultation.¹³ Another initiative in the field of culture, with focus on the intellectual and cultural dialogue between Western and Eastern European intellectuals and artists, was the European Society of Culture SEC established in 1950 in Venice. Its historical archives were deposited at the HAEU with an agreement signed in 2015 and are available for consultation in Florence.¹⁴

While a cooperation in the field of education was already amongst the objectives of the 1948 Congress of The Hague and inscribed into the Rome Treaties of 1957, integration advanced only with slow pace. However, four important organisations were established in this field. The first organisation with European scope was the College of Bruges, established in 1949 as direct result of The Hague Congress of 1948. Founded by federalist and intellectual Salvador de Madriaga, its first rector became Prof. Hendrik Brugmans who introduced the first programme of postgraduate studies and training in European affairs. The archives of the College are preserved in Bruges and may be consulted there.¹⁵ While the College was created under Belgian law, the only real European university was established as transnational organisation by the member states of the European Communities in 1972. The European University Institute EUI still today is governed as an international organisation by EU member states. The Historical Archives of the European Union being part of the EUI, it preserves the archives of the EUI and makes these archives publicly available. Another interesting initiative on the cooperation of universities in Europe

was the Standing Conference of Rectors, Presidents and Vice Chancellors of the European Universities, a non-governmental organisation created in 1964, which merged with other academic cooperation entities in 2001 to form the European University Association EUA with seat in Brussels. The historical archives of the Conference were first located at the University of Geneva and then deposited by the EUA at the Historical Archives of the EU in Florence based on an agreement signed in 2015. Finally, we may mention the European International Training Centre (*Centre international de formation européenne* CIFE), established in 1954 by French federalist Alexandre Marc. CIFE offers different Master programmes in European Studies and International Relations, and its archives were deposited at the HAEU in Florence in 2004 along with the private papers of its founder.¹⁶

A final group of organisations on sectoral integration that emerged after the signature of the Rome Treaties in 1957 were the numerous and still growing number of interest and lobby groups covering all aspects of societal representations towards the EU governance in Brussels. Two major organisations established in the late 1950s were the farmer representation COPA-COGECA and the industrial association Business Europe. COPA-COGECA is a joint venture of two former associations, of which COPA was created in 1958 and COGECA one year later. The two organisations merged in 1962 and became the most influential interest group as regards the Common Agriculture Policy in Europe, one of the cornerstones of the Rome Treaties. The archives of the association are held at its headquarters in Brussels and may be consulted on request. Business Europe is the short version for Confederation of

European Business that emerged from its predecessor organisation, the Union of Industries of the European Community (UNICE) established in early 1958 by industry representations of all six EC founding members. Ahead of its 50th anniversary, the organisation changed its name to Business Europe. Its archives are held at the headquarters in Brussels. During the preparations for the 60th anniversary the material was inventoried and may be consulted on request.¹⁷

On the side of workers' representation, the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) shall be mentioned here. Established in 1973, its historical archives were deposited at the International Institute of Social History (IISH) in Amsterdam, where the papers may be consulted by the public.¹⁸ A final example concerns the European consumer organisation BEUC, established in 1962 by European Commissioner and Vice president of the European Commission Sicco Mansholt, who aimed at creating a representation of EC member states' consumer organisations for the Commission's decision-making processes, in particular in the area of the Common Agriculture Policy (CAP). The BEUC archives have been deposited at the HAEU in 2018 and are open for consultation to the public.¹⁹

Private papers of actors in European integration

The achievements towards a united Europe were based on the will of individuals who worked to reach this goal in different settings and political spheres, in national administrations or in EU institutions, as members in the European Parliament, in federalist movements, interest groups, or any other transnational associ-

ation or organisation. The private papers of these individuals give unique insight about the vision, strategies and networks of the founders of European Union.

Particularly when it comes to the transmission and preservation of private papers, the shared responsibility of different archival institutions in Europe is evident. The founders of the Coal and Steel Community give a striking example for this diverse tradition. On the one side, no particular collection of private papers of French Foreign

Minister Robert Schuman is known, and his actions for European unity are mainly documented in the French Diplomatic archives. The private papers of the first post-War Italian Prime Minister Alcide De Gasperi who fought successfully for the participation of Italy as founding member of the first European Community are an extremely rich and diverse collection of correspondence, memos, newspaper clippings, and photos, covering the whole political life of this extraordinary politician. These papers have been deposited at the HAEU in Florence by the family. Finally, the private papers of the first Western German chancellor Konrad Adenauer, who secured the Western integration of the young Federal German state, are preserved by the Stiftung Bundeskanzler-Adenauer-Haus in Rhöndorf. An overview on the numerous archival sources on Adenauer's work for Germany's Western European integration is provided by the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS).²⁰

Decision makers and high officials of EU institutions often combine work on local, national, European and sometimes even international levels in their political careers. The question on where to de-

The shared responsibility of different archival institutions in Europe is evident.

posit their private papers, therefore, often remains open. National traditions, political party arrangements and individual preferences play a relevant role in the decision on the archival deposit. The private papers of the first President of the European Commission Walter Hallstein (1958-1967) who, as state secretary in the Adenauer government, had participated in the negotiations for the Paris and Rome Treaties from 1951-1957, were deposited at the German Federal Archives (Bundesarchiv) in Koblenz. In 2005, the Bundesarchiv made a microfiche copy available to the HAEU in Florence. The papers of Commission President Francois Xavier Ortoli (1973-1977) on the other hand, although he was covering important roles as Minister in the French government (1968-1972) and as Director General of Total (1984-1990), were deposited at the HAEU in Florence by the Ortoli family. Then, British Commission President Roy Jenkins (1977-1981) deposited his private papers at his former university, at the Bodleian Library in Oxford. Finally, Commission President Jacques Delors (1985-1995) deposited his private papers at the French National Archives, providing a digital copy to the HAEU in Florence of those papers regarding his period as Commission President.²¹

Many Europeans worked as federalists for a united Europe and left a diverse archival legacy. On the one hand, no specific collections of private papers are known of two main pro-Europeans, French Henri Frenay, member of the resistance, President of the Union of European Federalists UEF and participant at the Congress of The Hague of 1948, and German Eugen Kogon, survivor of the Buchenwald concentration camp and first President of the German sec-

tion of the Union of European Federalists.²² On the other side, the spirit and writer of the Schuman Declaration of 1950, Jean Monnet, preserved considerable private archives on his numerous activities for a united Europe. This material is safeguarded by the Jean Monnet Foundation in Lausanne, Switzerland.²³ The papers of the Italian federalists Altiero Spinelli and Ernesto Rossi, authors of the ground-breaking pro-European „Manifesto of Ventotene“, which they wrote in 1941 during their confinement on the island of Ventotene, have been deposited at the HAEU. Lastly, the private archives of Alexandre Marc, member of the French resistance, federalist, co-organiser of the Congress of The Hague in 1948 as board member of the Union of European Federalists and founder of the European International Training Centre in Nice, France, have also been deposited at the HAEU in Florence.²⁴

Archives on European integration – A common heritage and responsibility

The archival heritage on European integration, its location, preservation and access is very diverse, and the collections spread all over the European continent. This diversity documents the numerous different types of initiatives throughout the history of European integration, which was much more than an economic model for rebuilding Western Europe after World War II. It was a complex puzzle of political, social, economic, cultural and educational projects, all with their own ideas, ideologies and strategies, and pointing into different directions. Amongst the multitude of actions, the creation of a supranational Community model has been the most ambitious and most successful of all attempts. The Fall of the Berlin Wall and the integration of

Central and Eastern European countries into the Community, and the important step ahead with the Maastricht Treaty creating the European Union were important milestones for today's European Union, its 27 member states and common political decision-making for 400 million citizens.

The history of the numerous organisations, associations and federations that played and continue to play a key role in European integration is documented in their archives, which are preserved by numerous archival institutions all over Europe. These institutions are either of public or private nature and may work on European, national, regional, and local levels. The complementarity of the

documentation held by different institutions calls for archival cooperation ensuring best possible preservation of and access to the sources, and joint communication to raise the knowledge of European citizens as regards this common cultural heritage.

The Historical Archives of the European Union plays a central role as single preservation and access institution for EU-institutional archives and for numerous private archives of organisations and individuals. Furthermore, the HAEU takes an active role in European networks of archives that preserve the written memory of European integration.



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