



# The Politics of Cultural Memory

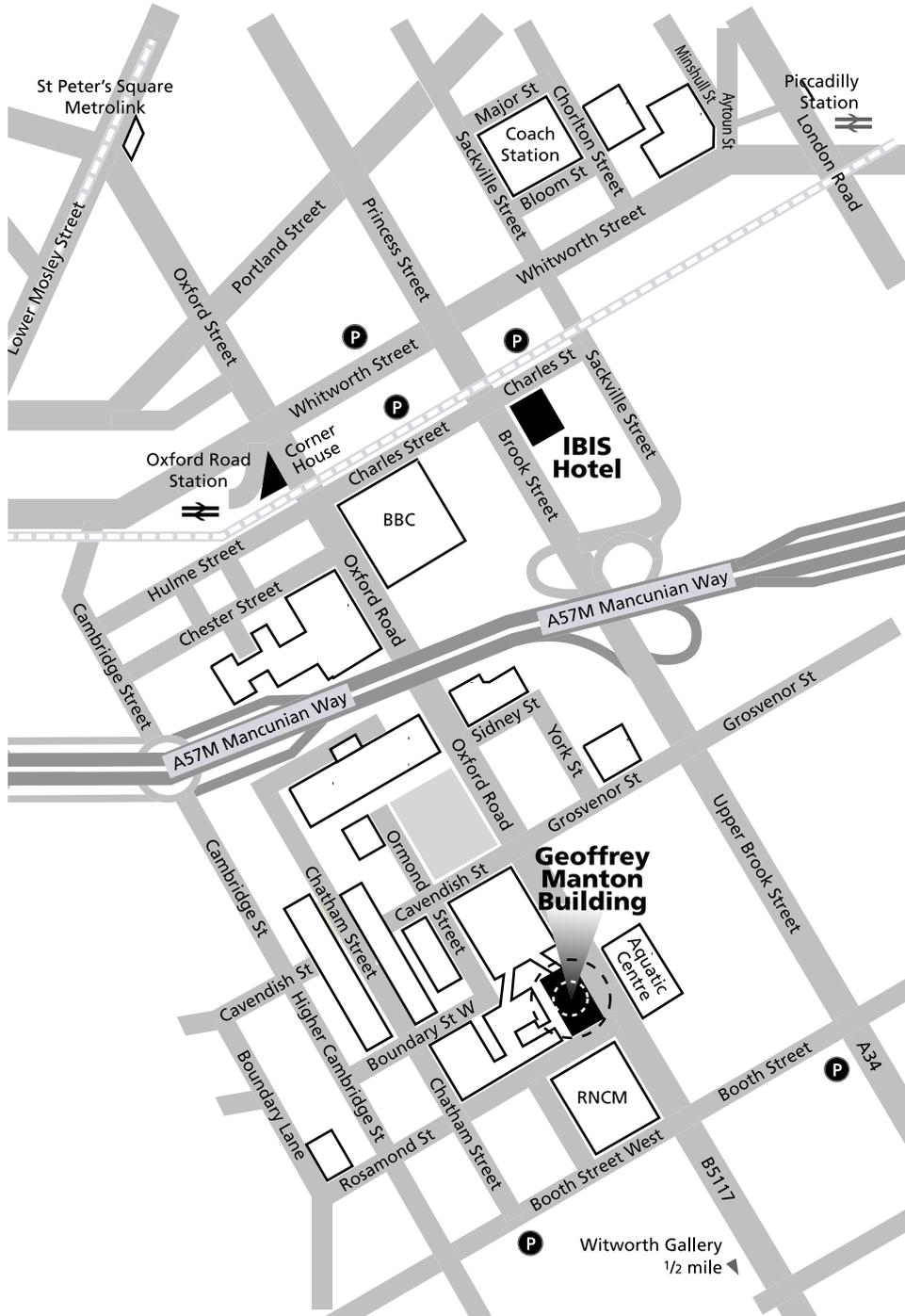
## Conference Programme

Manchester Metropolitan University  
4 - 6 November 2004

Conference organised by:  
The Centre for the Study of Location, Memory and Visuality  
(MIRIAD, Faculty of Art and Design, MMU)  
and the Cultural Memory and Ethics Research Project  
(Dept. English, Faculty of Humanities, MMU)



# Location



## **Foreword**

On behalf of all those associated with The Politics of Cultural Memory I would like to welcome all convenors, speakers and delegates to the conference. There are eight strands running through the conference each offering a different range of perspectives on the rich subject matter that makes up The Politics of Cultural Memory. The conference handbook should guide you through the range of events that take place as part of the conference. A separate timetable gives the full listings and timings of all the papers.

## **Acknowledgements**

With any conference there are many people to thank. Susannah Radstone for agreeing to give the Plenary Lecture; Ella Chmielewska, Shani D’Cruze, Farida Vis, Guy Westwell for their help in convening strands; Kathy Rae Huffman at Cornerhouse; Clare Gannaway at the Whitworth Art Gallery; Anna Fridbjörnsdóttir, Mariana Pinheiro. Particular thanks should be given to: Jim Aulich, Fionna Barber, Lucy Burke, Richard Crownshaw, Simon Faulkner and Divya Tolia-Kelly (Geography Department at the University of Durham).

**Steven Gartside**  
Conference Organiser



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## General Information

### Timetable

Thursday 14.00 – 16.30 Registration – Manton Building, MMU  
17.30 – 20.00 Plenary Lecture and Reception Whitworth Art Gallery

### Friday

08.00 – 09.00 Registration  
09.00 – 10.30 Academic Sessions  
10.30 – 11.00 Tea and Coffee  
11.00 – 12.30 Academic Sessions  
12.30 – 14.00 Lunch  
14.00 – 15.30 Academic Sessions  
15.30 – 16.00 Tea and Coffee  
16.00 – 17.30 Academic Sessions  
18.00 – 20.00 Reception - Cornerhouse  
20.00 Conference Dinner - Moso

### Saturday

08.00 – 09.00 Registration  
09.00 – 10.30 Academic Sessions  
10.30 – 11.00 Tea and Coffee  
11.00 – 12.30 Academic Sessions  
12.30 – 14.00 Lunch  
14.00 – 15.30 Academic Sessions  
15.30 – 16.00 Tea and Coffee  
16.00 – 17.30 Academic Sessions  
17.30 Close

All academic sessions take place in the Manton Building.  
A full timetable of all strands and speakers is included in the conference pack.

### Location

All of the conference events including the receptions, and conference dinner are located on Oxford Road. There is a map on the inside cover of the handbook to help locate the venues. It is worth noting that Oxford Road is very long. From the Manton Building you should allow 15/20 minutes to walk to the Whitworth Art Gallery, and 10/15 minutes to walk to Cornerhouse. The road is very busy and there is never a shortage of taxis or buses (on this stretch of road, bus numbers 41,42,43, 45,46, 141,142, 143 are all fine to catch).

## **Registration**

Atrium – Manton Building, Oxford Road

The registration desk will be open on Thursday from 14.00 – 16.30, and on Friday and Saturday from 8.00 – 9.00.

## **Lunch and Refreshments**

All refreshments will be available in the Manton building. Tea and coffee will be served in the morning and afternoon on both the Friday and Saturday.

Lunch will be served from 12.30 – 14.00.

## **Conference Assistants**

Conference Assistants will be available throughout the conference to provide information, directions and technical assistance.

## **Plenary Lecture and Receptions**

Thursday 4th November - Whitworth Art Gallery

17.30 - Doors Open

18.00 - Lecture Theatre

We are very pleased to welcome Susannah Radstone to give the opening Plenary Lecture which will begin the conference.

The Plenary Lecture will be followed by a Reception until 20.00.

For those looking for further post-reception drinks *Kro one* is five minutes walk (again on Oxford Road) in the direction of the University. Five minutes in the opposite direction will take you to the 'Curry Mile', where there is almost an excessive choice of restaurants (as long as you like curry). For those searching for a more diverse range of tastes the conference pack includes a restaurant listing giving a range of options which should suit everybody (do feel free to ask conference staff for advice though).

## **Friday 5th November - Cornerhouse 18.00 – 20.00**

A reception will take place in the gallery spaces of Cornerhouse, Oxford Road - three new exhibitions are

currently on show by visual artists using performance and live art to revisit moments in history.

Gallery One - Peter Richards; Gallery Two – Ryan Gander; Gallery Three - Frederic Moser & Phillippe Schwinger. Full details can be seen in the Cornerhouse brochure included in the Conference pack.

## **Conference Dinner**

Friday - Moso, Oxford Road - 20.00

The Conference Dinner will take place at *Moso*, which is situated on Oxford Road, just a little way before the Whitworth Art Gallery.

# 1. CITIES

**Steven Gartside**, Manchester Metropolitan University and  
**Ella Chmielewska**, University of Edinburgh

**Yasmeen Arif**  
Centre for the Study of  
Developing Societies (Delhi)

*The New Past: Remaking  
Downtown Beirut*

One of the most compelling sights of physical destruction raged by the Lebanese Civil Wars, 1975 –1990, was downtown Beirut. As this area straddled the most significant frontline in the city, one that divided Christian East Beirut from Muslim West Beirut, it bore the brunt of a fifteen-year spell of gradual devastation, abandonment and desolation. By the time a cease-fire was declared in Lebanon, downtown Beirut echoed the landscape common to all visuals of a war scarred cityscape – abandoned, burnt, bombed empty shells of buildings, dense undergrowth, frequent sights of squatter inhabitation and dilapidated homes of a few tenacious local residents. The core of the city had been ravaged, its built landscape dismantled and its social and commercial lifeblood drained out. Since 1995, a massive reconstruction project has been launched here to build a new city center, by far one of the world's largest.

Reconstructing this environment, after its brutal and violent defacement, is more than mere rebuilding. It is about architectural mediation between estranged pasts and desired futures. It is an act of healing, one that mends fissured social textures on a material environment. The role of architecture in healing a scarred society where no victors or victims can be named precisely because of the unaccountability of blame in civil violence implies a technique of presenting the imaged past as a palpable device of reconstituting an otherwise disrupted flow of history. My presentation will be about how resurrected tropes of architecture can be transformed into a sensation of the past so that physicality itself becomes a way in which recovery is realized as a visual/tactile journey from the past into the future through the creativity of the present.

'Heritage' architecture in the city of Beirut finds its place in the 'practice' of recovery as a visually palpable force that can capture the past as an image. This imaged texture is harnessed through the techniques of simulation and a distinctive surface is added to the built environment so that the visual presence of past styles (simulated in the present) implies a seamless temporality that not only skims over the devastation of the war, but, at the same time also paints a gloss resistant to the underbelly of contesting histories inevitable in a context of raging civil violence. Even more significantly, it is a technique that defines and fixes the form of the past – immovably so, into the terrain of the future.

In my argument, although the teasing out of a 'surface' is initiated with the 'reading' of a set of signs, suggesting a textual trope, I do not consider it adequate. Rather, I am persuaded to invoke an insight by Nicholas Mirzoeff on a forceful aspect of visual imagery, one that he phrases as sensual immediacy - '...impact on first sight, ...the buzz that separates the remarkable from the humdrum'. It is the 'sensual immediacy' of the surface that makes the impacts of the present with the past. As part of a created landscape, it makes the past a visual event. It provokes a visual energy that assimilates the past as that which is simultaneous to the present within a landscape. Even a fleeting gaze that registers this simultaneity achieves the purported aim of continuation and perpetuation of a space as a temporally anchored place. And, in the fleeting, fragmented gaze that registers the everyday urban, the visual event of the past as an immediate experience invokes a powerful instance of contemporary cultural memory.

**Anouk Belanger**  
Concordia University

*The 'Work' of Cultural Memory in  
the Process of the Spectacularisa-  
tion of Urban Spaces: The Case of  
Montreal's Nightlife and Entertain-  
ment History*

Looking at the history of spectacle and entertainment in Montreal from the time when the city was the only 'wet' area -during prohibition and temperance - in North America, helps us understand the processes where, as a result of a historical organized forgetting, civic boosterism discourses and representations become essentialized as urban cultural imaginary. The 1930s mark a moment in Montreal's history when entertainment and nightlife were crystallized as core to the urban imaginary and as a powerful source of civic pride, and boosterism towards investors and tourists. The following decades tell a tale of struggle over an organized forgetting and a diversified remembrance of the city's cultural memory around spectacle and

entertainment.

The work of cultural memory is a heuristic area to better understand this process where the urban imaginary slides into civic boosterism around the idea of spectacle and entertainment in Montreal. We argue that it is necessary to historicise the dialectical processes at play in recuperating elements of urban memory and imaginary towards civic boosterism in order to understand critically the dialectical process at play in the recent wave of spectacularization of urban spaces.

One way of uncovering this dialectical dynamic is to look, partly from a political economy perspective, into the production of memories, their representation, their experience in ways that they are linked to the production, representation and experience/consumption of time and space in the city. While the process of remembrance can easily be yoked to the exercise of power, it can also keep alive or develop alternative, even oppositional, forms of identification and resistance. In our case study, these are revealed through an analysis of the production of space and the production of cultural memory, where urban experiences, tactics of remembrance and the production of arbitrary and involuntary memory are restored and take center stage.

This paper is based on a historical ethnography of Montreal's spectacle and entertainment history and traditions.

**Justin Carville**  
Institute of Art, Design &  
Technology, Dun Laoghaire

*The City in Ruins: Photography,  
Modernity and the Visualization of  
the 1916 Easter Rebellion*

Almost as soon as it was over, the Easter rebellion at the G.P.O. in Dublin was commemorated in picture post-cards and photographically illustrated pamphlets. Historians have found these photographs of interest for the details of the destruction to Dublin buildings or elements of the rebellion battles the photographs supposedly bear witness too. This paper argues that the photographs are not a historical record but rather a form of history in which the technology and aesthetic of photography draw attention to the modernity of the revolutionary city. Drawing on Siegfried Kracauer's 1927 essay on photography and his posthumously published study of history, the paper explores how the photographs construct an image of the city as an urban space that stood at the cross-roads of being the second city of the Empire and the capital of revolutionary activity. The paper examines the significance of history in the form and content of the photographs and suggests that the photographic commemoration of the Rebellion reflected the modernity of Dublin as a site of physical, social and historical change.

The paper begins by discussing the visualization of Dublin in photographs by the William Lawrence Co. at the turn of the nineteenth century which depicted Dublin as a picturesque imperial city. Lawrence's photographs emphasized the spatial spread of the city which had been redeveloped from the 18th century according to the aesthetic principles of the picturesque. The paper suggests that the city was itself a representation which reflected the tastes and desires of the imperial ruling elite. The photographs represent the urban modernity of imperialism, focusing on its monuments and civic buildings on one hand the social mobility of the ruling classes on the other. The paper then introduces Siegfried Kracauer's study of the affinities between historical reality and camera reality to explore how the discourse of history is embedded in the photographs of the Easter Rebellion. The paper argues that these photographs usher in a new visual order of urban modernity that in its depiction of the city in ruins suggest a very different pictorial order of the picturesque. The paper suggests that the ruins of Dublin in these photographs operate as memento mori and political emblem, responses to the ruin in picturesque representations identified by Malcolm Andrews as closely aligned to historical awareness.

The paper is inter-disciplinary in its approach to the study of the photographic image drawing on theories of representation relating to photography, national identity, historicism, post-colonialism and cultural geography. The paper concludes by arguing that the photographic post-cards represented the geographical imagination of Irish cultural nationalism of a space on the point of change from imperial to revolutionary city.

**Ella Chmielewska**  
University of Edinburgh

*Place memory (re)inscribed:  
a close reading of the iconosphere  
of Warsaw*

Italo Calvino's invisible city "does not tell its past, but contains it like the line of a hand, written in the corners of the streets, the gratings of the windows, [...] the poles of the flags, every segment marked in turn with scratches, indentations, scrolls." Warsaw, where historically the east-west boundaries of Europe were continually re-drawn, is invisible in a different way. In the words of a local writer Marta Zielinska, Warsaw, "deprived of the sufficiently solid and immutable base of materiality – seeks its sanctuary in [...] ideal entities [...], in words and in letters." This city does tell, or rather re-tell, its past. Indeed, its visual presence manifests itself largely through what is written on its skin and one can trace its memories through a literal reading of the numerous symbols, plaques and inscriptions on buildings. But this is not a city of palimpsests for each new layer was written after the slate was wiped clean so that no older traces could bear witness.

The city's memory is framed through the consecutive re-inscribing of its surface by the alternating forces of history: political, linguistic and cultural. Each used a different code, different language of symbols; the skin of the city even experienced a visual rewriting in different alphabets. Each new layer of the city's iconosphere (its signs, inscriptions, visual messages) with its logos is inscribed into the great tabula rasa of the entirely erased material base. It remains prominent and stable in the urban landscape for a limited period only: until the next major historical shift crosses it out, and re-inscribes anew. The completeness of past erasures is evidenced most dramatically in the pithy inscriptions set in the pavement of the central city square. Each reads: HERE WAS THE INTERSECTION OF... followed here by names of streets that are no more. These words are the only visible traces of the city's memory of the shape of its streets, complexities of its local social life, specificity of its ethnic milieu and its local logos.

This paper examines the contemporary iconosphere of Warsaw in relation to the memories of its urban past. Through a close reading of one significant place, in specific moments of history, the paper inquires into the memory inscribed in a place that is situated on political quicksand: its material substrata constantly re-drawn, erased, and re-configured. How can we examine the memory of a city that is entirely a memorialization: with only a few vulnerable traces remaining, only a few walls that still remember? How can we examine a memory of a city that exists only in inscriptions and images, in its iconography that survived the material and human witnesses to the traumas of erasures?

**Christine Lavrence**  
Université Laval/Celat

*Memory, Amnesia and Agency in  
Monumental Belgrade*

This paper is based on research undertaken in Belgrade, examining the troubled relation between memory and history in its key monumental spaces. In this research I investigate key memory sites within the city and trace their fluctuations and transformations during Serbia's recent accelerated history. First I examine Republic Square (Trg Repulika) that contains the first national monument commemorating Serbian autonomy from the Ottoman Empire, which is arguably the most "symbolically charged" site in the city. The second memory site examined is the Tito memorial compound, featuring Tito's grave. The compound also features a museum that commemorates an annual socialist commemorative parade, which celebrated World War Two and the "brotherhood and unity" ideal for 42 years during the Yugoslav federation. Third, I will examine a monument to the NATO bombing (Vecna Vatra) constructed by the Milosevic regime in the year 2000.

There are two central and seemingly contradictory thematics that guide the analysis of these memory sites. First, I am interested in exploring the collusion between remembering and forgetting that is so often linked with the monumental. As Musil has written "There is nothing as invisible as a monument". I examine how these monuments are implicated in politics that marks the absence of memory and exiles reflections on the past rather than facilitating them.

On the other hand, I am interested in examining the productivity of these monuments. I examine how key monuments in Belgrade are stages that facilitate and stage a re-imagining of the contours of memory at various historical junctures. While this often entails the appropriation of these memory sites by new regimes, (in this case socialist or nationalist variations), I also investigate how the anti-Milosevic opposition movement of the nineties mapped out a spatial politics in reference to these places. I investigate how opposition demonstrations - which lasted for months on ends and involved hundreds of thousands of participants in 1991, 1996 and 2000 – appropriated these memory sites to stage resistance to the regime. Thus, the tensions between the closures and potentials for openings that monuments represent will be probed within the context of Belgrade.

**Liedeke Plate**  
University of Nijmegen

*Engendering Cultural Memory,  
Revisiting the Paris 'Topoi'*

In his most recent novel, the Dutch author Remco Campert tells the story of a writer who returns to Paris on the occasion of the French translation of a book of his, entitled *The Art of Forgetting*. Centring on the writer's encounter with an elegant Parisian woman who appears familiar but whom he cannot recall, and who eventually turns out to be the mother of his son, the novel appears at times little more than a guide to the French capital. Starting in front of the Panthéon, it takes us along to all the touristy places: on the metro, up the Eiffel Tower, along the Seine, through the Luxembourg Gardens and into the cafés of the Boulevard Montparnasse. Linking the sense of déjà-vu imparted by the well-known sites—the geographical and cultural topoi—with the standardized content of the plot—the literary topoi—the novel dramatizes the gendered dimensions of cultural memory in the text's intertextuality. In the difference between the man's art of forgetting and the woman's bodily inscription of their shared past, we read the story of Paris as a narrative of sexual difference that highlights the conflicting investments, the differential solicitations. As the sighting of famous Paris spots becomes the citing of a whole range of narratives of Paris (including that of the author's biography), literature appears not just a repository of cultural memory, but a theatre in which cultural memory is produced as representation.

In this paper, I propose to focus on the Paris topoi to examine the gendered aspects of cultural memory. Although feminist scholarship has long been concerned with issues of memory, the memory discourse has remained relatively impervious to questions of gender. Bringing together notions of art as a technology of gender (de Lauretis) with ideas of literary (and artistic) practices as technologies of memory (Sturken; Hirsch & Smith), this paper puts forward the trope of the topos (as a site where geographical, cultural and literary loci commune are mapped onto one another) as a particularly interesting terrain for the examination of the dynamics of gender at work in the interplay between memory, narrative, place and visibility. Having become cliché, the Paris topos becomes a commonplace that is also (and etymologically), a stereotype cast, serving to imprint and reproduce images mechanically. As much a must-see as a must-cite, the literary lieux de mémoire revisited in Campert's novel underscore the fact that cultural memory is about contested claims to knowledge and power and that, as Susan Sontag writes about "photographs that everyone recognizes": "What is called collective memory is not a remembering but a stipulating: that this is important, and this is the story about how it happened, with the pictures that lock the story in our minds."

**Sharon Rosenberg**  
University of Alberta

*Re-building (for) the Future on the  
Remains of the Dead: Exploring  
Monumental Politics at Ground Zero*

Articulations of the mnemonic sign "9/11" conjure an excess of images. Prominent among these have been repeated representations of the planes entering the World Trade Centre towers and the immediate aftermath of New York City in chaos - covered in ruins - as some fled for their lives and others were buried on site. Prior major events of social rupture that have been publicly remembered have usually involved a period of lapse between the initial events and any extended public memorialization, beyond the specifically affected communities. In contrast, the intensity and magnitude of public memorial response during the first year following 9/11 (and since, to differing degrees) has effectively blurred the boundaries of what differentiates "the event" from "after", "those affected" from those who were "not". Bearing in mind that the weight of public memorialization is complexly and differently lived in the specificities of people's lives, the almost immediate collapse of time between the events and practices of memorialization prompts a series of key questions: Have the normative expectations of public memorialization been shifted through keeping the events of 9/11 in the foreground of living memory? What might this shifting mean for future events of social rupture, both on and beyond North American landscape? What effect might a shift in normative practice have for the terms of conceptualizing public memorialization?

In this paper, I will offer a preliminary engagement with such larger questions through deliberating on the monument design competition. My argument is that monumentalization is caught in a paradox of, on the one hand, endeavouring to settle the past for the future and, on the other hand, haunted by a past that cannot settle. That is, the demand on the monument is that it communicate a memory for the future, in an effort to secure for future generations a fixed and stable representation of what happened, why and the terms of binding living to dead. On the other hand, this particular monument is always and already unsettled by the past that cannot be rendered as over, because there are unidentified remains on site, because living memory cannot be tied so neatly to normative framings, because the public memory of the events of 9/11 is contested – albeit with little allowance for that contestation in

“official” American framings at this time. This paper will endeavour to tease out this paradox, to consider how loss and their remains at the site of ground zero push at the edges of thought about “America” as a sociality, are contained by that thought, and also remain as an irreconcilable haunting.

### **Pam Skelton**

Central Saint Martins College  
of Art and Design

*Conspiracy Dwellings and Objects:  
the Stasis Ring Unveiled*

This is a multidisciplinary art project involving artists, sociologists and historians that sets out to document the 500 plus KW's (kospirative wohnungen) (Stasis meeting places) which have been identified in Erfurt capital of Thuringen our target city in the former GDR. This will form the primary material for a major video/ photographic exhibition and publication made possible by the collaboration with the Stasis Archives Centre (Aussenstelle Erfurt der Behörde für die Unterlagen des Ministeriums für Staatssicherheit der ehemaligen DDR).

The architecture of the city becomes here both the material and receptacle of our investigation where buildings and spaces will be examined as evidence of semi-enduring three-dimensional inscriptions of past events. Here we set out to find where the meeting places were situated, what do they look like and ask how can we understand them today? In asking these questions 'Akte KW' gives material form to historical facts by visually recording the interior's and exteriors of these 'meeting places' active in the 80's.

#### Meeting places

In these designated meeting places a Stasis officers and there unofficial employees (informers) would on a regular basis meet. Here, ordinary members of the community would be instructed by their Stasi officer to spy on colleagues, family and/or friends. Their reports often contained banal but potentially personal incriminatory information on targeted individuals who were under surveillance. These clandestine meetings were situated throughout the cities in civic and domestic spaces, in hotels, café's, homes, cars, public buildings, offices and objects that were established specifically for the purpose of meetings etc. It was as if the city was a receptacle for these secret locations, 'blank spaces' absorbed by the urban geography.

#### Background to the project

Dr. Achim Heinrich and Pam Skelton have been devising this project over the last 15 months with the help of the Stasis Documentation Centre in Erfurt. (Aussenstelle Erfurt der Behörde für die Unterlagen des Ministeriums für Staatssicherheit der ehemaligen DDR). Achim Heinrich is a scientific researcher (Environmental Epidemiologist) who in the 80's in Erfurt was an activist in a local Environmental Action Group. The group and its members were the subject of Stasis surveillance. Dr Heinrich recalls that at one point that 'informers' were the groups most numerous participants! Since unification Dr. Heinrich in his role as a part time historian has been studying Stasis surveillance patterns particularly in the case of the Environmental Group that he was involved with. The proposed presentation considers the results of the fieldwork to date and will explore the issues, dynamics and problematic of the project. This will be an illustrated talk that will follow the initial stages of the project to where it is 'now' and show documentation gathered and issues raised.

### **Lisa Sumner**

McGill University, and  
**Anouk Belanger**  
Concordia University

*A forgotten but familiar tune: Re-  
membering Afro-Montreal's legacy  
in the city's 'golden age'*

During the Prohibition period active in much of North America, Montreal began to capitalize on its tradition of relaxed attitudes regarding drinking and dancing. For a few solid decades, Montreal provided a veritable oasis for visitors seeking a reprieve from the Puritanical restrictions exercising a sobering control elsewhere.

Alcohol undoubtedly built and funded much of Montreal's decadent heyday and remained indispensable in ensuring a club's survival, yet its significance in contributing to cultural milieu and ambience remains bound up and mixed with the ascension of cultural forms like bebop, chorus lines and burlesque, forms advanced by the city's dynamic Black community. The city's golden age was fuelled by multiple fast-talking and frenetic influences including jazz and free pouring liquor, which would begin to fade under the interrogative lights and dour political climate shifts of Mayor Drapeau's Montreal emerging in the mid-1950s. In addition, the shifting technology and

popular tastes favouring television, recorded music and rock music, created conditions inhospitable to the survival of lavish Montreal nightlife.

Disappeared from the formal landscape, only the rundown Chez Paree, and a small street recently named after pioneering club proprietor Rufus Rockhead adjacent to the Lachine Canal's trendy new loft district, remains of Montreal's clubland past. These vestiges offer little homage to Montreal's diasporic black culture which catapulted Montreal on to the world-stage of urban entertainment. The important historical connection between Harlem and Montreal's jazz scene has been largely forgotten, and in the process, significant contributions of the Afro-Montreal community under recognized.

With the passage of time, the living collective memory of this exceptional period in Montreal's past becomes increasingly fleeting, so, as Walter Benjamin has suggested, it is the task of the researcher and social historian to record these distant scenes so that their longevity will extend past the period of their immediate deterioration. In terms of current nightlife, a handful of determined artists, clubowners and documentarians are attempting to record and revive the cabaret tradition with occasional evenings scattered throughout Montreal. Evidently some degree of cabaret interest is active in the city, and this can optimistically be read as a certain amount of contemporary curiosity, and respect, of Montreal's historic folies.

This paper is based on fieldwork in Montreal as part of a larger project on the popular history of alcohol in the city.

**TEA (Jon Biddulph, Peter Hatton, Val Murray, Lynn Pilling)**

*Boat Trip: Nothing but Flowers; An encounter with the Manchester Ship Canal. Artists rework the traditional boat trip as a live event to investigate the multiple identities within this post-industrial environment.*

An examination of the experience and structure of a boat trip reveal a particular experience of an area: intimate but passive within the boat and physically distanced from the area being explored. The tour guide's insights into locations en route are selective and subjective, combining the anecdotal and factual in an inevitable fabrication. The trip is a time-based performance for both guide and audience.

The form engages through the act of sailing with the physicality and scale of the environment, the constructing of a commentary a critical engagement with the environment and specific locations within it. As artists we were both participators in and observers of an inevitably complex, shifting situation. By recording in a number of media our walks, actions and encounters at a number of sites throughout the margins of the canal, we were able to identify specific locations to research further or revisit.

Each location was reconstructed as an episode or sequence using video, photography and audio. The episodes unfolding as the actual boat trip proceeded. This accumulation of representations denied a single perspective and emphasised the location or place as a complex, multilayered interaction between personal and collective memory and imagination, the physical environment and lived experience of it.

These video and audio sequences or episodes were accompanied by a found or constructed text read live or the recorded voices of people living or working at that location. These constructs have the same function as the tour guide's commentary on a boat trip, highlighting particular locations as being of particular interest or significance. The video exploration or record of a site on the bank of the canal available on the boat disrupts the passive gaze at a distant location.

At the conference the delegates will be taken on a real time video journey along selected sections of the Ship Canal. This will be a further re working or re-representation of an event that has taken place. The representation a means of addressing the issue of documentation of live events and presenting what is essentially evidence of an event. This will comprise of the bank of the canal passing by at the speed of a travelling boat. Specific locations on the bank trigger another screen to appear. This will be one of the aforementioned episodes or sequences. The artists will read out live the relevant text.

## CITIES

**Nina Lager Vestberg**  
Birkbeck College

*Belleville rendez-vous: photography meets memory in the work of Willy Ronis*

This paper will suggest that Pierre Noras famous definition of the concept *lieux de memoire*, as situated between memory and history, provides an especially useful departure point for thinking about the kind of photography usually classified as documentary, reportage or photojournalism. In particular, the paper will address how photographs may be considered as such sites of memory in themselves. This idea will be explored in relation to a specific collection of images by the French photographer Willy Ronis, produced in Paris in the first post-war decade.

Throughout the 1950s, the city of Paris and its streets was one of the privileged themes of so-called humanist photography. This brand of documentary photography dominated the French illustrated press of the post-war period, and is exemplified in the work of practitioners like Ronis and Robert Doisneau, among others. The presentation will concentrate on the work of Willy Ronis in and around Belleville and Menilmontant, two adjoining working-class neighbourhoods in Eastern Paris characterised by strong revolutionary traditions and a succession of immigrant communities. Significantly, these areas also underwent a comprehensive process of demolition and redevelopment in the post-war period, as part of the urban modernisation process which the sociologist Louis Chevalier later designated the assassination of Paris. Belleville-Menilmontant became the object of an extended focus in Ronis's career from 1947 onwards, documented in an eponymous book which was first published in 1954 and then reissued in three revised editions between 1984 and 1999. Across its various incarnations, the mutable collection of photographs that constitutes Ronis's book offers a nostalgic vision of a Parisian quartier populaire preserved and forever suspended in the moment before its disappearance. Consequently, it will be argued that this book can be considered as much a work of memory as of photography. One purpose of this paper will be to explore how such a work of visual memory sets up an idealised image of a place which has not only been lost, but which perhaps never really existed. Another will be to ask whether photographs which are otherwise considered hopelessly mired in nostalgia might still function productively as documents of cultural memory.



## 2. CONTESTED HISTORIES

### Farida Vis

Open University

### Anne Brewster

University of New South Wales

*White memory: a poetics*

Whiteness has emerged in late twentieth-century Australia as a site of destabilisation and anxiety as we see, for example, in White Australia's repudiation both of the continuity and persistence of the 'past' in the 'present' and of the ongoing psychic and corporeal racialised interconnectedness of Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples.

One strand of scholarly investigations of both the instability and persistence of neo-liberal whiteness is marked by the personal turn. This can be seen as a belated response to the mobilisation, in the 1980s, of discourses of experience and memory, especially by minoritarian constituencies such as working class subcultures, women, youth, and racial and ethnic minorities.

Whiteness studies writing which mobilises life history, autobiographical and personalised narratives and interviews literalises the leakage of the categories of the private and the public. It investigates the 'micropolitics of racial cross-traffic', that is, the performances of self staged within institutional structures and practices of whiteness.

I would like to suggest that subjectivity becomes radically othered in a self-reflexive textuality where whiteness experiences a splitting and doubling and the white subject becomes simultaneously an index and a critic of whiteness. Deleuze argues that 'Memory is the real name of the relation to oneself, or the affect on self by self'. Shannon Jackson describes 'the act of remembering a condition such as white privilege' as being 'like trying to recall an experience that you slept through'. Katrina Schlunke says, 'to remember is to remember whiteness'.

This paper mounts a fictocritical investigation of a 'post-retrieval' poetics of memory. Writing, in this undertaking, is characterised as a technology of memory, and memory as *tekhne*, writing. According to John Frow's 'logic of textuality', the text is a closed system and the past is a function of that system. If repetition is constitutive of memory, then a writing which investigates the poetics of memory will take as its basis the idea that repetition is non-original, that beginnings are recursive and self-doubling.

A writing motivated by the poetics of memory mimics the 'origin' effect and its reversals. This oscillation is summarised in Deleuze's poetic aphorism: 'forgetting is the impossibility of return, and memory is the necessity of renewal'. I want to investigate the point of beginning. In the anticipation of beginnings is embedded a narrative trajectory, but it is only the outline, the ghost of a trajectory. The insistence of repetition creates a condition of hauntedness - memory locked together with its supplement, forgetting. I have been using collage and the fragment to investigate the discursivity of memory. In this paper I'd like to investigate the poetics of memory mobilised by these two forms, and their refunctioning of closure, syntax, referentiality and narrative.

### Felicity Collins

La Trobe University, Australia

*National history wars and the politics of recognition in Australian cinema after Mabo*

This paper proposes that cinema is one of the public spaces in which Australians have been able to experience the aftershock of the historic Mabo decision. This shock decision by the High Court overthrew the nation's founding myth of *terra nullius* in 1992. However, the full impact of Mabo was not felt in the nation's cinema until a cycle of Indigenous-settler films appeared in 2000-3. During the 1990s, fierce debates (dubbed the 'history wars') about native title, the stolen generations and frontier massacres had little direct impact on Australian cinema. But a cultural intervention strategy devised by Bridget Ikin at SBS-TV has resulted in a somewhat belated cycle of films influenced by the history wars. These films are diverse in genre and setting, ranging from the colonial frontier to 1950s courtroom drama to contemporary tragi-comedy set in cosmopolitan Sydney. Yet despite their differences, the films ask the audience to bear witness to the on-going trauma (of afterwordness) of the nation's colonial origins. This intervention by public television in the history wars is all the more remarkable given that the neo-conservative Howard government (which

during the 1990s successfully demonised the Republic, Reconciliation, Refugees, 'black armband history' and 'cultural elites') was elected to its third term in office when most of these films were being released. This paper will look at the politics of cross-cultural recognition espoused by four films which register the on-going trauma of Australia's founding myth: *Black + White* (Craig Lahiff, 2002), *The Tracker* (Rolf de Heer, 2002), *Black Chicks Talking* (Leah Purcell, 2002), and *Japanese Story* (2003). These films are part of a new, post Mabo moment in Australian cinema which aimed to shock the nation into new modes of self-recognition.

**Therese Davis**  
University of Newcastle  
(Australia)

*Backtracking: Lost, Stolen and Found Histories in Rabbit-Proof Fence*

The Australian feature film *Rabbit-Proof Fence* (Phillip Noyce, 2002) was prompted by and responds to *Bringing them Home* (1997): the controversial national inquiry into the thousands of Aboriginal children forcibly taken from their families by Australian state authorities from 1900 to 1970, an inquiry that changed the face of Australia's self-understanding. While not the first film to deal with this subject, *Rabbit-Proof Fence* is a 'breakthrough film'. It earned more than \$AUD1.2 million in its first week of screening, reversing the historical lack of interest by Australian audiences in films about Aboriginal people. More than this, it became the film of the 'Stolen Generations', providing a set of powerful images that captured the popular imagination of both young and older Australians.

Following on from Felicity Collins' discussion of the politics of recognition in post-Mabo cinema, this paper will show how *Rabbit Proof Fence* is a cultural vehicle for re-tracing the past – that is, a means for recovering what director Phillip Noyce calls 'stolen histories': the experiences of Indigenous Australians that until recently non-indigenous Australia largely refused to recognise. It does this partly by drawing on narrative techniques and visual devices from popular Hollywood genres to create a compelling adventure story. The paper will also show how this film about a young Indigenous girl's determination to return home performs some backtracking of its own. Retrieving and reworking a number of key elements of the lost child mythology from classic Australian films such as *The Back of Beyond* (Heyer 1954), *Walkabout* (Roeg, 1971) and *Picnic at Hanging Rock* (Weir, 1975), the film enables an experience of cultural memory that leads to a new, post-Mabo understanding of land, landscape and settler-Indigenous relations.

**Rachel Garfield**

*Towards a Re-articulation of cultural identity: A critique of Four Contemporary Jewish Artists*

This paper aims to look at art that is dealing with history as a way of thinking through the formation of subjectivity in relation to contemporary notions of diaspora. Many artists who are engaged with exploring their cultural identity rely on tropes of history and memory as a way of signaling their relationship to a history of oppression. The concern within this paper is to explore this within the particularity of Jewish Identity. I will be looking at the artists Joshua Sofaer, Rachel Lichtenstein, Ruth Novaczek and Pam Skelton. While each artist's work is distinct, to some extent it represents a snapshot of the current concerns of artists exploring how they understand their claim to a Jewish identity.

Eastern Europe has held a powerful place in the Ashkenazi Jewish psyche. The continuum of Jewish life and of persecution has been elided by the Holocaust in much Jewish cultural output. Peter Novick in "The Holocaust in American Life" outlines some of the reasons for the rise of the centrality of the Holocaust and argues against using history for drawing any lessons. Paul Gilroy in "Joined –Up Politics and Post-Colonial Melancholia" posits that the continuing harking back to the Second World War in British culture is part of a wider picture of melancholia and stasis bound up with the loss of empire and a simpler past when, supposedly, the British knew who they were: both positions are pertinent for exploring the politics of cultural memory.

In this paper I will argue that artists who make recourse to cultural memory in their work need to grapple with the prevalence of conservative ethnocentrism. What kind of contemporary subjectivity is being invoked in the referencing of the injustices of past oppressions or the salvaging of "lost" tradition? Questions of authenticity and inverted privilege within a pantheon of victim hood have to be addressed in order to formulate a subjectivity that reads the past as a way of effecting the future. Daniel and Jonathan Boyarin have argued for a reading on diaspora that is temporal and state that amongst the possibilities that lie within the notion of diaspora is one of liberation from

the elevation of a sense of place and the mourning for its loss. A willingness to question attachment to place and the stability of the “I” is what marks the work of Joshua Sofaer and Ruth Novaczek. I propose that a disavowal of the stable subject problematises and offers a complex re-articulation of contemporary cultural identity.

**Dina Georgis**  
York University (Canada)

*Cartographies of Expulsion:  
A Queer Diaspora*

This paper seeks to understand the space of diaspora for diasporic people. Few have captured that space more profoundly than Dionne Brand. While all her work has acutely expressed the emotional reality of nostalgia and ambivalence for the homeland, *The Door to the Map of No Return* takes us deeper to the traumas of loss for the generations of people descended not just from European colonialism but from slavery. For these generations, loss is the absence of home. In this text, Brand challenges the myth of home for black people in the diaspora. For her, loss is not marked by a memory of life but of a forgotten memory of expulsion from home for which there is no recovery and no return. The door to such absence leads to more mystery, garbled residues and a haunting silence.

Drawing also on Brand's two novels, *In Another Place* *Note Here* and *At the Full and Change of the Moon*, this paper is interested in theorizing the ontological space of living as a diasporic subject. I suggest that diasporic space is a queer space, not only because queers and diasporic people share the experience of expulsion from home but because expulsion from home is a return to an originary trauma. So though expulsion from the family home and from nation do not carry equivalent emotional realities, they are nonetheless reminiscent of an originary expulsion related to the severing of the originary sexual tie, for which there is also no recovery, even if we pose “solutions” that lend themselves to normative sexualities.

This paper then explores what we can learn from thinking through diasporic experience in relation to queer experience. While aspects of Diaspora Studies can be characterized by a connection to home, or more precisely, by an emotional rejection of loss of home, and Queer Studies by the refusal of looking back, Brand challenges us to look back queerly. Such a return is also a departure because it is not invested in recovering or mending the effects of expulsion but in paying attention to what comes up when we risk facing the door of expulsion. That door leads us to a queer space because it insists on living in expulsion but it is also diasporic because it cannot negate the desire for and attachment to home, even if it is imaginary.

**Divya Tolia-Kelly**  
University of Durham

*Visualising Multicultural  
Landscapes: The Lake District  
National Park*

The nature of Landscape and its use in the figuring of Englishness has become a site of much academic research. Landscape is aesthetically positioned within a set of cultural, social and political discourses about citizenship, nation and an accepted embodied sensibility that is proper and appropriate. In this paper I will examine the contribution of multicultural landscape values to the use and development of the English Lake District. By using historical and contemporary research I will examine the ways in which the aesthetics of the Lake District connect with migrants from Eastern Europe and South Asia, and the ways in which this icon of English National identity is refigured through their landscape experiences (biographical) and their engagements with the aesthetics of the Lake District and landscape through a lens of mobility, and Eastern European and South Asian cultures of nature and landscape.

The research process involved the production of a visual record of these groups' landscape values and experiences whilst living and being within the Lancashire and Cumbria region. The production of visual collages allows for a reading of the groups landscape values beyond oral testimonies. The aesthetics, textures and composition of the visual materials are examined in relation to the groups experiences and values of English landscape in the context of their cultural and biographical landscape values. A multicultural reading of the value of the Lake District National Park is presented where the notion of an English Lake District is also interrogated through considering it as a space of mobility and multicultural influence both in aesthetic terms and in terms of the matter and text of the landscape itself.

**Martha Langford**  
Concordia University

*Agit-prompters: The Workings of  
Memory in Condé and Beveridge's  
Representations of Labour*

Carole Condé and Karl Beveridge have been working collaboratively on the representation of workers and labour issues since the late seventies. Their work has addressed social, political, and economic issues in various sectors and industries, projects that they classify under labour, environment, social action, and health. Maybe Wendy's Right (1979), a photo-novella about a working-class family facing a strike, was their first attempt to translate labour issues into art. It was completely invented, a work of the imagination informed by their own political awakening, or, arguably, its allegorical representation. Maybe Wendy's Right was highly innovative: its structure and motifs have often reappeared over the course of Condé and Beveridge's prolific production. Through this project, the artists became, and still are, political art directors. But one key feature has never been repeated: a storyline fully formed in its authors' imaginations.

Since 1980, in projects such as Work in Progress (1980), Standing Up (1981-2), and Oshawa, A History of Local 222, United Steel Workers of Canada, CLC (1984) and First Contract: Women and the Fight to Unionize (1986), Condé and Beveridge have been basing their work on history and memory. An important aspect of their activity has been the recovery and dissemination of unwritten and unpictured histories of the Canadian trade union movement. Theirs is an archaeological history and my approach to their work is the same.

My paper will explore the many types of labour history and collective memory referenced by Condé and Beveridge's early work. These include: oral history, and especially, the collective memory of workers; the photographic archives of labour, ranging from the heroic to the abject; the visual culture of labour, both high and low; and – where it makes sense to start – their own memories of radicalization, their progress from visual artists to art-workers. Looking at the framework established by their early projects, I will show how the power of memory is evoked as an authoritative source of knowledge that urges us to join the artists in their critique of capitalism. But as Condé and Beveridge have found – as their work asserts – those “layers of memory” complicate the project of visual representation. Their work prompts consideration of the different life courses that converge on the worker, especially the woman worker. The composite characters created by Condé and Beveridge are the embodiments of competing forces and difficult decisions.

**Fran Lloyd**  
Kingston University

*Acts of Self-narration: The politics  
of cultural memory in Zineb Sedira's  
'Mother, Father and I', 2003*

Framing the discussion around current debates in visual culture regarding issues of memory, the politics of location, and the ongoing production of diasporic identities, this paper focuses on Mother, Father and I (2003), a video installation by the London-based artist Zineb Sedira. Commissioned by the Contemporary Art Museum St. Louis, Missouri for its inaugural exhibition, A Fiction of Authenticity: Contemporary Africa Abroad, the work was recently shown at the Cornerhouse, Manchester in Sedira's first solo exhibition in a public gallery, entitled Zineb Sedira, Telling stories with differences.

Mother, Father and I is a triptych. Placed side by side on one wall are two screens on which the artist's mother and father independently recall their different stories of living in French Algeria during the Algerian War, of their subsequent relocation to France and the effects these events have had on their lives. On the opposite wall, a third screen, shows the artist listening intently, in silence, to the stories. Each video is twenty minutes long. Accompanied by English sub-titles and intermittent subheadings that punctuate the narratives, the father recounts his story in French. The mother recounts hers in Algerian Arabic.

Unable to engage with all three screens simultaneously, the spectator attempts to attend first to one parent's account and then the other, attention often shifting between the two, while also aware of the image of the artist as silent listener out of view. The points of convergence and divergence between the parents' painful and differently accented memories in the difficult geographies of colonial and post-colonial Algeria and France are told from different gendered perspectives.

Although the French National Assembly officially recognised the Algerian War in 1999 and some of the archives have now become available, the lack of sites in France which commemorate the war is testimony, as the French historian and sociologist Benjamin Stora notes, that “We don't know how to visualise the war.” In this paper I propose to explore the various strategies that Sedira employs to open up a performative space

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in the present where personal memories and history can intersect while maintaining a sense of multiple and sometimes contradictory positionings. Disrupting and destabilising a universalising history, this performative space offers possibilities for visualising a different future.

### **Amna Malik**

Slade School of Art, UCL

*Sites/Sights of memory:  
trans-cultural artistic practices,  
visuality and the politics of  
memorialising home*

The relationship between location, memory and space is perhaps nowhere more contentious than in the work of artists engaging with postcolonialism, gender and representation. In the work of Zarina Bhimji, Joy Gregory and Alia Syed the individual witness is deployed to create a visual counter-narrative to collective, nationalist or imperial accounts of key historical moments in which 'home' becomes a contested site of trauma and desire. Key to their practices is the agency of the viewing subject in the construction of a visuality that privileges the space of the feminine colonised 'other' that had previously been hidden or silenced by the disciplinary boundaries of nationalist and imperialist master narratives. The emergence of their artistic practices in the mid 1990s is significant because it impinges in important ways with a wider shift in the public profile of women artists in this period. In recent years this rise of women's artistic practice in the public realm and the relative lack of concern with issues of gender has been described by Lisa Tickner as a de-masculinising of creativity. Yet, for this younger generation of artists the issue of gender is not tangential to their concerns with issues of cultural memory and colonialism.

Indeed one might argue that their practices in the mid to late 1990s are located at a crucial moment of transition; a cross-roads between the increased visibility of the 'feminine' and the re-configuration of the postcolonial subject when the nature of representation and identity politics is undergoing a dramatic shift with the publication in 1993 of Paul Gilroy's *Black Atlantic* and Homi Bhabha's *The Location of Culture*.

In some respects these texts have assumed the position of meta-narratives of locational identity and trans-cultural histories that privilege movement or hybridity as the modes of negotiating and inscribing memory within the politics of postcolonial identity. Though Gilroy's and Bhabha's respective positions towards essentialism are very different their politics of memorialising home, subject and language are arguably more complex, in each instance there is a shift from the fixity of identity towards the mobility of location and therefore a sense of self. The aim of this paper is to examine these texts and these works of art as parallel cultural formations that articulated a crucial shift away from a particular account of post-colonialism that dominated the 1980s. The intention is to examine the work of Bhimji, Syed and Gregory as the re-inscription of a gendered subject in the discourse of trans-cultural movement and hybridity that also addresses its boundaries and limitations.

### **Amanda Nettelbeck**

University of Adelaide  
(Australia)

*Remembering and Forgetting:  
'Acceptable Terror' on the Central  
Australian Frontier*

The history of frontier conflict has been a hotly contested one in recent Australian historiography, particularly in the recent Australian 'history wars' debate, in which the terms on which contemporary scholars can identify and document a history of frontier warfare have been discussed, asserted and challenged. For instance, the recent book *Frontier Conflict: The Australian Experience*, which arose from a forum held at the National Museum of Australia in December 2001, is an example of the controversies that arise around the very boundaries of historiography. It is clear that questions about the extent of frontier conflict and its status as documentable event – what happened and how do we know? – are amongst the most controversial questions in contemporary Australian historiography. Yet although undoubtedly important, these are not the only critical questions; just as important, in understanding the culture in which such events arose and their political currency in the present, are other questions: how do we tell, and how do we remember? In what terms was frontier conflict told, and what echoes do those forms of telling leave, to resonate in contemporary social memory?

In the late nineteenth century a contested frontier was just opening up with the expansion of pastoralism into Central Australia. In what terms was this later Australian frontier imagined, administered and reported by those who made it? In contemporary Australia, how is that frontier history recorded in continuing social memory? In some contexts, the Central Australian frontier is remembered as exemplary of a culture of the acceptable violence that still pertained in the late colonial period. In others, that frontier

history is put to the service of a broader national desire to recall a colonial romance with the country.

Drawing upon photographic and documentary archives, which recorded those events at the time, and contemporary cultural media, which remember them, this paper will explore the questions of how this particular Australian frontier history has been told and memorialised. Underpinning these questions is another, one that resonates in much of the debate around Australia's history of frontier conflict: it asks not only what happened, and how those events are told and remembered, but also what, in the service of remembrance, is forgotten.

**Sandra L. Richards**  
Northwestern University

*Houses, Gardens and Gullah people:  
Memory and Identity in Charleston  
(South Carolina) Area Festivals*

I wish to explore relations between memory, place and visibility as they operate in a tourism context in reference to the transatlantic slave trade. Obviously, place is specific, for hosts in the tourism industry must competitively market a particular locale to which clients journey. Yet, for African Americans who undertake tours to slave sites, place is also talismanic in its invitation to remembrance. In that captive people left behind few artifacts that document their existence, and many of the structures in which they were housed have been demolished, absence marks this history. Interestingly, this absence of artifacts—or the visibility of disappearance—offers freedom to the imagination. Memory seems to function as a palimpsest onto which more recent histories of dispossession are written over a history of enslavement; it mixes with and is constituted by a variety of representations of slavery drawn from media like novels, film, or television, (Alex Haley's *Roots*), journalistic travel accounts, parades and rituals (the re-interment of bones in New York's African Burial Ground or of Confederate sailors from the "Hunley" submarine) as well as from political movements (reparations).

I propose to explore such ideas through a case study of the Charleston-Beaufort, South Carolina area. I discuss tours offered by black tour operators in both cities as well as a Gullah heritage festival whose popularity with locals and visitors is increasing. Garden walks, sponsored by the Historic Charleston Foundation, that celebrate current property owners' high status through reference to the past, and tours to plantations such as Drayton Hall and Magnolia, where (African) American history is remembered in the "segregated" environment of a special focus tour (Eichstedt and Small) offer rich analytic comparison of the ways in which memory, place, and visibility interact in and between mainstream and minority communities.

**Katrina Schlunke**  
University of Technology  
Sydney

*Desiring National Memory and the  
Bliss of Forgetting*

Barthes in 'On Leaving the Cinema' suggests like the cinema spectator the 'historical subject is glued to ideological discourse'. He suggests the way of becoming 'unglued' for the cinema goer is to imagine an hypnotic distance, by being fascinated twice over, which enables the viewer to complicate a relation by a 'situation'. Is there 'a possible bliss of discretion' he asks?

How could we use Barthes' insight to think about the ways in which a nation like Australia 'sees' and then fails to 'see' colonial massacre of Indigenous peoples? Does a non-Indigenous population long to forget? How would a different way of seeing the past produce the possibility of a hopeful postcolonialism? Is memory always cinematic now? What new kind of subject would emerge from a different relationship with history, from a different way of 'seeing'? Are we embodied, sexed subjects, we who can 'see' the past? The emphasis on 'seeing' memory is to both engage with the politics of what appears publicly, for example memorials and images in museums and how these calls to the present may be seen by others.

This paper will look at one of the few memorials to Indigenous massacre in Australia – the Myall Creek Massacre Memorial as an incitement to 'see' the past in a deeply contextual way. Here context describes both the 'method and object' of this cultural studies approach. But the deeply contextual is also another way of following Morris's lead to saturate an 'articulated place and point in time' that hopes to make of this single case, this small memorial, a kind of model for ways of seeing the past.

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**Garry Tregidga**

University of Exeter

*Remembering Stocker's Copper: Representations of Community in relation to the 1913 Cornish Clay Strike*

This case study explores the subject of cultural memory at the micro level through reference to a period of industrial unrest in mid-Cornwall before the First World War. Growing demands for higher pay and union recognition occurred throughout Britain at that time. However, the situation in Cornwall by 1913 was more complex than a simple dispute between the forces of capital and labour. Local hostility towards the deployment of police units from Bristol and Wales, combined with traditional differences between the Clay Country villages of mid-Cornwall, led to a combination of both spatial and class conflict.

The paper focuses on the long-term significance of the strike for party politics and ethno-regional identity. Cultural memory ensured that the strike remained a powerful icon of the local Labour movement throughout the middle decades of the twentieth century. The rise of socialism was therefore more successful in the western villages of the Clay Country than many other sub-regions of Cornwall. Public history events then started to play an important role in sustaining cultural remembrance, notably as a result of the 1963 radio commemoration of the strike and a popular BBC television dramatisation, entitled 'Stocker's Copper', in the following decade. Significantly, it will be shown that these popular representations of the past in the changing political climate of the 1970s meant that the strike was now incorporated into the cultural tradition of the Cornish ethno-regionalist movement. A younger generation of political activists saw the events of 1913 from a local rather than a class perspective and in the early 1980s a Cornish nationalist pressure group even co-opted the year of the strike into its title.

These developments are considered within an interpretative framework derived from oral narrative studies. Alessandro Portelli's *The Battle of Valle Giulia* demonstrates the importance of conflict (war, industrial militancy or student protest) for studies of memory and personal/public identity. In this particular case a variety of group and individual oral history interviews are used to highlight the range of representations that exist as a result of cultural memory. Interestingly, many of the accounts are given by individuals who were not alive at the time, thereby showing the long-term significance of the strike for subsequent generations. Through a reconstruction of the past these narratives therefore serve a practical purpose in enabling the community to consolidate and articulate a contemporary sense of identity.

**Simon Turner**

University of Nottingham

*Mis-shapen memories, patternless paths: history, karma, and the aesthetics of uncertainty in Lan Cao's 'Monkey Bridge'*

Marita Sturken, *Tangled Memories* has asserted that, "The writing of an historical narrative necessarily involves the elimination of certain elements," and in relation to the Vietnam war, the necessity for "narrative closure" enforces silence upon the Vietnamese people themselves. They are denied subjectivity within the confines of American popular memory and history, which both tend to view the conflict primarily, often exclusively, as an American tragedy.

In light of Sturken's analysis, I propose to look closely at Lan Cao's *Monkey Bridge* (1997), a semi-autobiographical fiction written by a Vietnamese-American author, which focuses upon the disparity between personal memory, and the officially sanctioned accounts of historical events contained within the texts of any given era. In this instance, the disparity is exacerbated by the fact that the narrator, Mai, is Vietnamese, and her memories of her country are markedly different from the American perspective, which limits its understanding of Vietnam to the parameters of war.

My paper will follow two parallel strands. Firstly, I will consider the ramifications of Mai's confrontation with American 'misrepresentations' of the war, in historical and fictional texts. Canonical works like *The Deer Hunter* come under fire for their casually racist portrayals of the Vietnamese; whilst at a crucial moment in the novel, Mai finds herself challenging the authority of historical studies written by Americans, for Americans, which evade the Vietnamese altogether. I will compare the American re-writing of history with the Vietnamese perspective, which shows a greater historical awareness by placing the 'American war' within a broader context of colonial aggression.

In addition, I will look at Mai's uncovering of her own personal history, as she untangles the narrative contained in her mother's journal. Again, personal memory and textual history are placed in opposition, as the idyllic vision of her childhood which Mai has assumed true, proves itself to be a false construction, designed by Mai's mother to protect her from the revelation that her grandfather was in fact a Vietcong agent. What

emerges, and this will form the basis of my conclusions, is a work that is concerned with the uncertainty of memory in all its manifestations; an uncertainty that engenders a fracturing of Mai's identity. The novel is, however, ultimately redemptive, and it is through an engagement with the contradictions inherent to her own history that she is capable of constructing a cogent self.

### 3. NARRATIVES, ETHICS AND POETICS

**Lucy Burke**

Manchester Metropolitan University

**Åsa Andersson**

Leeds Metropolitan University

*Photo-Poetic Practice and Spaces of Cultural Memory*

The contemporary viewer of photographic images is probably aware how images can be manipulated. Yet we often consider a photograph to function as a gathering witness of external events, held as a fragile inscription mediated via light and optics. This paper will expand upon this notion and present ways to visually suggest internal lingering memories or fantasies of experiential and culturally located encounters using the camera as a co-producer.

My photographic practice explores different cross-cultural encounters where I use small often domestically related objects that are picked up in charity shops, souvenirs or things that friends have given to me (by others often considered to be kitsch). The objects are from different cultural contexts and are brought together or appropriated to form new image worlds located between fact and fiction. A recent project explores "The Anglo-Japanese Park" by creating sequential open photo-poetic 'narratives'. I combine documentary images (of parks) with staged photographs using small objects within a domestic setting and the occasional performance and interaction with these items. Another series of work titled "Sea Fiction" has been made in response to old postcards of the sea. Here a female figure is imagined to be the recipient of these cards and to desire to embark upon a journey whilst confined and/or sheltered within the domestic. Yet another series is a response to a personal collection of objects, a cabinet of 'low budget' curiosities, where different figures seem to enact events using the artefacts. The images have often been double-exposed to further complicate the reading of the them. Through these photographic transformations and chance encounters (layers, use of timer, reversal of scale, occasional text) new histories and spaces are opened up in which to understand these objects and their significance within the construction of meaning and the illusion of linear continuity. This pictorial multi-dimensional playful space is akin to how we phenomenologically experience the world across difference; through juxtapositions, layers, fractures and bridging associations, using perception, imagination, memory and reflection. While using slides as a backdrop, I will with the help of texts by Watsuji, Berque, Heidegger, Olalquiaga and Bachelard, develop these photo-poetic ideas in relation to theories about how cultural memory is linked to objects, atmosphere, and affectivity.

**Alain P. Durocher**

Dillard University

*Collective Wrongdoing and Collective Forms of Reparations: For an Ethics of Collective Memory*

Currently, talk of apology, forgiveness, and reconciliation is everywhere. There appears to be a global interest in rectifying the injustices of the past, sometimes far back in the past. More and more social, political, ethnic, and religious groups have publicly expressed their sorrows and regrets as they apologize and/or ask for forgiveness for acts such groups or institutions have committed in the past. Institutional public apologies and acts of forgiveness raise several important sociological and ethical questions. Do we look at past wrongs with modern standards? How can present-day communities rightfully forgive the mistakes of the past, and how can present institutions meaningfully express regret and apologize for the errors of their predecessors? How far back in time is too far back to uncover and atone for a past event? After all, can't forgetting about past traumas actually be a useful or practical option as well? The late French sociologist Ernest Renan suggests that a nation is more than a group of people who have a lot in common, they are also a group which has agreed to quietly forget many things.

This paper focuses on the sociological and ethical dynamics of collective memory as expressed and used in public acts of confession of collective wrongdoing. More specifically I will address two issues brought up by the collective aspects of social repentance. I will use the sociological method to analyze the notion of collective responsibility, collective wrongdoing, and collective guilt. I will highlight the significant differences between an individual model and a collective model of the sequence wrongdoing/reparation. In doing so, I will also show the ethical ramifications of a sociological analysis about collective memories of wrongdoing.

**Lars Eckstein**  
University of Tübingen

*Re-negotiating the Poetics and the Politics of Literature's Memory*

Aleida Assmann, in her work *Erinnerungsräume [spaces of memory]* (1999), argues that there exist two major approaches to the study of memory and literature. The first, referred to as the 'ars' of memory, is concerned with the investigation of artistic and technical aspects. While based on the tradition of the Roman Mnemonics, this approach has recently been productively linked with theories of intertextuality. First and foremost it was Renate Lachmann in her seminal study *Memory and Literature* (1997) who claims that literature is to be considered as a "mnemonic art par excellence" that opens up spaces into which older writings are inscribed by procedures that either continue, dispute, or transform the earlier material. Through its dialogic references to other texts – but one should also think of other media such as images or music – a text thus becomes a *lieux de memoire* of its own kind with its specific poetics of memory. The second approach to literature and memory, on the other hand, is less interested in the aesthetics and poetics, but in the politics of memory. What Assmann refers to as the 'vis' of memory is usually investigated from a Cultural Studies point-of-view, with a special emphasis on how texts are intended to perform in a specific cultural context. Questions at stake here are for instance: What are the interconnections between memory, writing and identity, how does literature affect processes of forgetting and commemoration, and how does it negotiate past, present and future?

These two approaches to memory have so far been presented as largely incompatible: Either literature is seen as a fairly autonomous realm of memory (while specific historical and political conditions and concerns are neglected), or it is perceived as a vessel of historical reflection and world-making (while little attention is paid to the aesthetics). In this paper I wish to show that the poetics and the politics of memory in literary texts indeed go hand in hand. I will moreover offer a conceptual model of how we can conceive of the interrelations between specific strategies of mnemonic intertextuality/intermediality and the presumed political performance of creative writing. If time permits, I shall illustrate this by briefly looking at two contemporary literary commemorations of Atlantic slavery: Caryl Phillips' novel *Cambridge* and David Dabydeen's poem *Turner*.

**Bridget Fowler**  
University of Glasgow

This paper explores the cultural form of the obituary as a contributory stream to "collective memory". In order to assess this, it is necessary to look at how collective memory has been conceptualised in various authors: initially, by Halbwachs, Benjamin and Orwell and later by Boyer, Nora, Ricoeur and Osiel. A major concern of this paper is to assess the emergent debates within the area of cultural memory. We shall explore the notion of socially constructed memories, for example, as opposed to the theory that forms of evidence and especially testimonies of witnesses, limit the degree to which such a constructive and reconstructive process can be effective. We shall also discuss the antinomy between collective memory and canonisation or museumisation.

Tension emerges between those who think that such social forms of memorising, like tradition, is declining and those who think that it is still alive but transmitted in new media such as the newspaper. For the latter, including the present author, public collective memory can be shaped by testimonies of experience. These may occur within the framework of a wider theatre of ideas, like the Eichmann trial or as records of those who have made their mark on the public sphere, as in the obituaries. Societies remember in this way, we argue, despite the nature of metropolitan modernity, in which relationships tend to be fleeting and highly dynamic.

The cultural form of the obituary is undergoing an internal transformation. Today, the newspaper obituary does not just include the memory of the "dominants," or the Western male dominant class, as it did overwhelmingly in the past. Obituary editors aspire to include all those who have shaped the modern world. Consequently, they include figures of popular memory, such as footballers and soul musicians, and figures whom we might entitle "counter-memory", such as the politician, Tony Cliff, the economist Mark Cowan or the radical democratic Czech runner, Emile Zatopek..

The conference paper derives from both a quantitative and a qualitative analysis of obituaries. It is based on a socio-genetic study, taking samples from *The Times* of 1900, 1948 and 2000-2001, and comparing these with *The Guardian*, *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Independent*. It is also a cross-national study, having a European newspaper and an American one (*Le Monde* and *The New York Times*) to compare with the British. Finally, although this permits us to come to certain conclusions about the nature of the select minority who receive such a symbolic accolade, we argue that

it is essential to address also the genre of the obituary presented. Increasingly obituaries are losing their formulaic qualities. This paper will begin to assess the new modes of obituary that now exist, as well as how these genres – tragic and ironic for example - affects the type of decoding adopted by the readers.

**Ralph Goodman**  
University of Stellenbosch

*'History is What Hurts': Brushing  
Memory Against the Grain*

This paper deals with the way the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) has grappled with issues of trauma and history, and addresses their consequences for the communities concerned. The Report of the TRC is counterpointed in this paper with Antje Krog's account of the TRC, *Country of My Skull*, which deals with issues of the South African past, suffering and memory, and shows how history is mapped on human bodies through storying, as well as in texts of other kinds. Krog's text is a patchwork of factual reporting on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, but it also contains accounts of her own reactions to apartheid, as well as reflections on history, punishment and guilt. This text provides new opportunities for grappling with "the possibility of a history that is no longer straightforwardly referential" (Caruth).

At stake in this paper will be the issue of ethics on the one hand and, on the other, the classic postmodern view of history as impersonal, provisional, fragmented and unknowable. The latter view is opposed to that of Fredric Jameson, who inveighs against the notion of history as "some reified force" and insists that "History is what hurts" – a formulation which suggests that, deconstruct it how you will, for nations, communities and individuals history is a site of painful memory. The paper will explore Moore's notion that "Brushing history against the grain may encourage novel articulations, formenting alternative political possibilities. Forming new affinities across embattled lines of difference may be one means of challenging oppressive forms of racism and naturalism". More straightforwardly, Adrienne Rich, in an essay titled "Resisting Amnesia: History and Personal Life", urges her readers to "become consciously historical" and to strive "for memory and connectedness against amnesia and nostalgia". The title of this paper insists on the painfulness of memory and directs attention to the challenges of constructing a "reliable" history out of such memories.

**Nicola King**  
University of West England

*Sideshadowing: narrative  
perspective and the ethical relation  
in some recent autobiography:  
Tim Lott, Dan Jacobson, Lisa  
Appignanesi, Hilary Mantel*

Hindsight is an inevitable function of the practice of autobiographical writing, even in the case of the daily diary. When one is writing one's own life story, this may give rise to regret, irony or self-criticism, but in writing the stories of others wider ethical considerations come into play. Michael Andre Bernstein has identified the narrative positions of fore, back and sideshadowing: fore and backshadowing characterise narratives in which events are seen as signs or omens of what is to come, and in which real or fictional characters are implicitly or explicitly judged for failing to read the signs which are, of course, only visible to those who come after. Sideshadowing, as defined by Bernstein, is 'a gesturing to the side, to a present dense with multiple, and mutually exclusive possibilities for what is to come'.

In his memoir of his grandfather Dan Jacobson acknowledges that hindsight can blind those who come after to these multiple possibilities: 'The only thing I know of the future which I will not live to see is that my ignorance of it is as profound as your ignorance, Heshel Melamed, was of the future you did not live to see ...'. Memoirs in which the writer narrates the story of him/herself in the light of, or in tandem with, the stories of parents or grandparents have become increasingly popular in the late 20th/early 21st centuries, almost forming a genre of their own. This paper will explore the functions of fore, back and sideshadowing in memoirs by Dan Jacobson, Tim Lott, Margaret Forster, Lisa Appignanesi and Hilary Mantel.

**Ryan S. Trimm**  
University of Rhode Island

*Rhythm Nation: Peter Ackroyd's  
English Music and the Cultural  
Narration of Postimperial  
Britishness*

The “heritage wars” were a defining event for British cultural studies of the 1980s. The celebration of the “treasure houses of Britain,” the seeming nationalization of the historical costume drama film, and a “heritage politics” centered around a call for Victorian values all helped provoke a debate about this deployment of the past. Heritage was assailed as inherently conservative pastiche, and a jingoistic one at that. As Pierre Bourdieu has instructed us “a work of art has meaning and interest only for someone who possesses the cultural competence, that is, the code, into which it is encoded” (2). Pastiche then depends on a self-conscious appropriation and reception of cultural capital. Because pastiche must mark the cultural weight of its source texts, a cultural heft that must be subsequently measured by readers, such imitation charts a social network of distinction. This web, though, is an unstable one, a skein of relations constantly evolving and subject to the interventions of pastiche itself. That is, pastiche functions to put the texts shadowed into relation, a network of relations that includes the work of pastiche. This network maps the relation of these source texts—and the cultural moments they signify—to the moment of the pastiche. Such a reading understands pastiche—and the cultural capital on which it depends—not as mere frivolity or cultural elitism but instead as an active and self-conscious negotiation of culture as a system of distinctions.

“Rhythm Nation” deploys this understanding of cultural capital to position Peter Ackroyd’s 1992 novel against these debates over the relation of nation and culture. Ackroyd’s novel is the story of the development of a young boy, Timothy Harcombe, who is raised by a magician father in 1920s and 1930s England. Chapters that more or less straightforwardly tell the development of young Tim are interspersed with sections that replay the boy’s dreams, dreams in which he steps into the fused narratives of an array of cultural texts (music, painting, and literature) he had consumed in the previous chapter. As the texts thus self-consciously referenced are all English and all precede the twentieth-century, the effect is the creation of a surreal canon, a syllabus very traditional in its list but jarringly performative in the way it intervenes in those texts. As a result, English Music functions very strangely. On the one hand, it narrates an internal and relentlessly nativist line of culture memory, one that seems in its presentation vigorously conservative and static. On the other, the manner in which this syllabus or canon is related serves to implode the putative internal harmony of this national culture. The effect is to manifest a conservative invocation of the power of a cultural past while at the same time effecting a deconstruction of the maintenance and efficacy of culture, high and low. The novel then offers a conflicted reflection of the 1980s “culture wars” and British educational debates in that time period over standardized national syllabi for history and literature.

**Judith Tucker**  
University of Leeds

*Painting Places: A Postmemorial  
'Landscape'?*

This paper concerns landscape, place and geographic metaphor in contemporary painting. Painting becomes a site for the investigation of current concerns of loss, un/belonging, dis/connection and home. This paper explores a realignment of the practice/discipline of landscape painting with theoretical research into second-generation memory. I investigate the implications of the dialogue between the materiality of both paint and landscape, the practice of painting and these theoretical concerns. Through this realignment I attempt a more integrated perspective on different aspects of second-generation memory that may have become separated academically as objects of different disciplines.

I am going to begin by locating my own practice in terms of contemporary notions of place, with particular reference to the work of Edward S. Casey. Next I explore how paint and ‘landscape’ might interrelate, how one can be the interface for the other, and what possibilities there are in the place that is created at this interface. Next there is a consideration of distance from the site of experience. There is a move to a discussion of issues related to the second-generation or ‘postmemory’ drawing on the work of Marianne Hirsch and of Ernst van Alphen’s considerations of the Holocaust effect, which might be considered to recast ‘landscape’ as guilty. As I explore these issues I will demonstrate how, for me, visual art as place-making and the notion of ‘postmemory’ interrelate. I draw on and develop these notions from the practitioner’s perspective, in relation to my current research project *Painting and Postmemory: Re/visiting, Re/visioning Re/placing*.

Through my painting practice I re-enact separation, and recreate the experience of a sense of distance and loss for my self. I have completed a series of fieldwork visits to Germany: Berlin and the Baltic coast resort Ahlbeck, new sites for my practice. These

locations are the sites of pre-war holiday photographs from my family album. These Baltic resorts known as the Kaiserbade, were at the pinnacle of popularity at the period of these photographs, apparently nicknamed the 'bathtub of Berlin'. It seems that everyone went on holiday there, Germans, Poles and Jews. Now, after the Wende the architecture of these resorts is an evocative mixture of decay and lavish restoration set against the flat vastness of the Baltic.

The form of this paper has evolved out of a methodology parallel to my practice of painting: the issues have developed out of the painting/objects and the painting/processes, thus demonstrating how a very particular relationship with and understanding of landscape' might be imbricated in the creative process itself. It is cumulative and accretive as I present and re-present my practice for (re)interpretation by the viewer/reader in the light of the preceding sections. For me, what is particular to painting, for example, time taken, layering, the evidence of the body which made the marks, is a form of mediation which makes possible an investigation of the affective aspects of these issues in clear dialogue with the theoretical.

## 4. LANDSCAPE AND MEMORY

**Divya Tolia-Kelly**  
University of Durham

**Caroline Attan**  
University of London

*Hidden Objects: The articulation of self-identity across discontinuity in life experience*

This paper focuses on the hidden objects of informants who have migrated or are the ancestors of migrants predominantly from Czechoslovakia and Poland in different life stages living in North London. In-depth interviews with migrants and the ancestors of migrants in the living rooms of their homes, focus on the objects and furniture to examine the role of the object in supporting identity in differing degrees of migratory dislocation. The arrangement of objects in the living room is a self-conscious process that characterise the relationship people have with materiality. Here we explore how objects are used to support identity and become linked with personal experience and therefore no longer directly refer to the social process. The investigation draws on key literatures in anthropology, philosophy and creative writing to support issues concerning the transition caused through migration and the structuring of the home in a new cultural environment.

The research shows how the movement through time and space, across different cultural environments add layers of meanings to objects. In depth interviews with informants reveals how the process of arranging and displaying objects in the home plays a significant role in the way the individual appears to organise thoughts and memories. The object that is physically hidden is that which has been de-materialised, so that the memories it represents are much more significant than the physicality of the object. This study identifies the layering of memories attached to significant objects and how objects are used as personal supports through discontinuity caused by cultural dislocation and act as catalysts for the intergenerational transfer of memories and cultural inheritance.

The hidden object can also be found in the object that is present in the room, through the layers of hidden meanings attributed to the object through previous physical interactions the hidden object emerges. The process of arranging objects in the living room mirrors the way memories and experiences are organized as sustaining a sense of 'self'. Although the process initially appears sub-conscious (as previous interactions are remembered in the body, kinaesthesia, a sixth sense); it is used as an expression of creative empowerment that each individual has over their immediate environment. This form of display may usefully disguise reality whereas objects that provoke ambiguous feelings are placed in less prominent positions and those that are used for private contemplation are often hidden.

**Jim Aulich**  
Manchester Metropolitan  
University

*Memory, What's It good For?  
Forced labour, blockhouses and  
museums in Northern France*

The focus of this paper is the site of the Nazi Organization Todt's work camp adjacent to the substantial remains of the various blockhouses constructed in Northern France V2 operations at Watten Eperlecques and the nearby La Coupoule in Wizernes near St Omer. 40,000 forced labourers were engaged in building the bunkers (6,000 at Eperlecques) from March 1943 and the site was abandoned by the Germans at the end of July 1944. The ruins were established as museums in 1997. Previously, they had lain largely forgotten in the unremarkable landscape of Northern France.

Today, the survivors are coming to the end of their lives, and to return produces neither familiarity nor catharsis in the empty space where the camp should be. The survivor's memory remains silent in the face of institutional structures of history and what they have become in the context of the marketing of the past.

The brochures for the sites present a story of progress in building technology and the conquest of space, and dedicated websites emphasize the history of war technology. The desperate privations of the forced labourers, barely merit a mention, official narratives are elsewhere and this paper sets out to locate where they might lie.

## LANDSCAPE AND MEMORY

**Monika Kin Gagnon**  
Concordia University

*Cultivating Memories: Living Archives at The Montreal First Nations Garden*

*Cultivating Memories: Living Archives at The Montreal First Nations Garden* is a project exploring the relations between memory, nature and gardens through a close examination of living gardens and their numerous modes of public representation, including websites, printed publicity and documentation. One of these gardens is the First Nations Garden founded in 2001 within the civic-run Montreal Botanical Garden. The project aims to investigate how living gardens serve as archives of socio-cultural history, how they are represented and to explore their multiple roles in public life.

My paper will present my initial research on The First Nations Garden, a municipally funded horticultural site created within the extensive tradition of botanical gardens as public sites of leisure and eco-tourism. Recently cited as one of 12 Canadian sites in Phaidon's illustrious and massive, *Atlas of Contemporary Architecture* (2004), the garden's Interpretation Centre further incorporates a variety of modes of media display. As a naturalized, pastoral garden consisting of 300 transplanted indigenous species of the Quebec region, it makes direct reference to the eleven aboriginal nations of the province. The public website claims that the garden serves as a "crossroads of cultures, a place for sharing knowledge," and aims to present the "close bonds Amerindians and the Inuit have always had with the plant world." As such, the Botanical Garden mobilizes a recognizable rhetoric of 'sharing' to interpret a violent colonial past. On the one hand then, the botanical garden solicits the history of the traditional public garden as both an aesthetic site of tourism, contemplation and leisure, as well as a scientific site of botanical preservation, enlightenment and experimentation historically utilized in the service of colonial and capitalist expansion. Botanical garden practices might therefore be placed in a continuum with other archival practices under colonialism, such as photography and cinema, and the field practices of anthropology and archeology. On the other hand, the site also "memorializes" the historical role of First Nations in the development of gardening, agriculture, and more broadly, the maintenance of biodiversity and the environment. It thereby negotiates an uneasy tension between two historical trajectories, including the colonial violence and environmental destruction of their overlapping. The paper is also, in part, an epistemological exploration of how to study gardens and their cultural meaning from an interdisciplinary perspective, while grounded in the particulars of Montreal's First Nations Garden.

**Marion Harrison**  
Leeds Metropolitan University

*'The Guest House': A Story of an Asylum*

*The Guest House* is a critical and challenging publication that tells the history of High Royds Hospital, Leeds through the stories and images of those who have experienced this former *Lunatic asylum*. It has given a voice to those who have worked or were patients at the hospital over the last 115 years. The publication brings together historical and visual methods of documenting and collecting, looking at existing material in the archives and creating new work in response to this research through photography, found imagery, story telling and written text.

This presentation will aim to locate and contextualise recent research material surrounding High Royds Hospital beyond the publication *The Guest House*, which was produced in partnership with the NHS.

The relationship between notions of personal and institutional identity, architecture and place, history versus memory and the role of photography, which both validates and contradicts personal memories. To present areas of research gathered but not approved by the NHS for publication and to locate and question that within a broader visual/cultural context around notions of archive, social history, representation and story telling.

What is interesting about the research for *The Guest House* is how it disrupts research in the field by 'revealing' the history/archive in different contexts. *The Guest House* was one pre-determined outcome of the 3-year project, yet the research raises many questions of research methodologies and disciplines beyond the publication.

A discourse is created when an archive from one institution is relocated within the space of visual culture and the dissemination of a singular or hidden perspective.

The interdisciplinary approach to the research material allows ethical questions such as ownership of archive/image and 'histories' to be explored in a new and innovative way.

**Niamh Ann Kelly**  
University of Amsterdam

*Landscapes of Remembrance -  
Famine Walls & Burial Grounds in  
Ireland*

The nineteenth-century Great Irish Famine had the single-most depleting effect on the demographics of Ireland in the history of the island. Visual representations of this famine occur in museums, art and contemporary newspaper illustrations. The visual memory of the famine is also embedded, though typically unacknowledged, in the Irish landscape. Much physical alteration of the landscape was instigated during famine times: roads and walls were built by the starving in return for food from the governing bodies and mounds, ditches and fields were used for the necessary burial of the remains of over half a million people who starved. Paradoxically, these willful alterations of the land brought about by the famine are at once evident and hidden in terms of famine remembrance. Though largely unmarked territory, the burial grounds are distinguishable as they are typically left unused for either farming or settlement. The famine walls, for example on Inish Oirr in the West of Ireland, are also not put to any apparent use today but they are nonetheless left standing. Impractical and impeccably constructed, the significance of these walls is rooted in their function as reminders of when unnecessary constructions were erected in return for food, for as the famine progressed it was deemed pointless to continue building roads in poor uncultivated territories and so walls were commissioned instead. The apparent superfluity of walls was counterbalanced by the necessity for food.

The first part of my presentation will introduce the particulars informing the landscape alterations that took place during the Irish famine. I will also consider how the famine landscape has been approached in various art works. Across these examples, I will show how the positive process of identification essential to the understanding of historical representations in museum and art practices is replaced by an apparently inactive, silent and yet highly visible remembrance. Ultimately, I will argue that the visible evidence of 'unacknowledged' landscape alterations presents a reverse model of remembrance to the one subscribed to in the re-visioning of historical moments that are commonly represented in art and in museums.

**Noam Leshem**  
the Hebrew University of  
Jerusalem

*Re-membering spaces: post-signing  
demolished Palestinian villages and  
the cultural struggle for memory in  
Israel*

The overwhelming shifts and changes in the Israeli spatial economy that partly results from the ongoing regional political conflict, exposed the Jewish-Israeli society to the question of Palestinian geo-cultural existence in, and as part of the local mental and physical landscape. This question became the focal point in the rejection of Israeli public debate to acknowledge the Palestinian disaster (Al-Nakba) caused by the constitution of Israel as the Jewish-state. This rejection I claim, is the result of a combined effort by the local hegemonic Ideological State Apparatuses, to construct a hegemonic cultural memory depopulated from the geo-cultural Palestinian existence: it was a political combination of physical, cartographical, typonimical, and subsequently, mental depopulation of Israeli hegemonic cultural memory.

Facing this reality, a group of Israeli women and men under the name of "Zochrot" began a project of sign-posting demolished Palestinian villages and towns in an attempt to construct alternative spaces of memory. In my work, I show how the official public sign in its various forms, holds great significance in the construction of the local hegemonic collective memory and how the Zochrot project aims to use this signification - the sign as hegemonic tool - in order to challenge the structures of cultural memory in Israeli society, question its borders and limits, and attempt to reinstate the Palestinian geo-cultural existence and its disaster to the Jewish-hegemonic mental and physical landscape.

Through the synthesis of historical, geo-political and spatial research, I wish to present this project as a unique attempt to link the aesthetic and the political elements that compose the structures of memory in the face of ongoing violent conflict. I found it as a unusual attempt to acknowledge the inseparability of space and memory construction and an attempt to take an active role in writing landscape and establishing memory. Under the project of sign posting, my research shows how the members of Zochrot create a "community of memory", a term used in recent research of memory construction in Israel: it is a community in which memory is being evolved constantly, produced and challenged, continually open to dialectics of remembrance and forgetfulness. This community, as I found, is an ideal arena to dispute memory, its components and sources, and to undermine its control by the hegemonic constructors; in this community, memory can be changed updated or restored through the cross cultural interaction between Israeli Arab and Jews.

My paper will propose to understand the potential of this project to shed light over the

ongoing struggle within the Israeli society between major hegemonic construction of cultural memory and the different attempts to undermine this ideologically monolithic establishment in its various cultural arenas. This particular attempt exceeds the sphere of landscape construction and offers alternative spaces where reconciliation of conflictual memories through the establishment of new, cross-cultural communities, is made possible.

**Jenni Lewis**  
University of the West of  
England

*Zora Neale Hurston, Eatonville and  
the creation of cultural memory*

In 1988, in response to a local governmental project that proposed widening a road that ran through the town of Eatonville, Florida, 'The Association to Preserve the Eatonville Community, Inc.', was founded with the intention of fighting this, and any other project that might alter the physical nature of the town. Describing itself as an 'historic preservation corporation' this association had as its primary aim the conservation of the Eatonville community and its cultural traditions. Its chief weapon in this fight was Zora Neale Hurston. Since 1990 it has held an annual festival – the Zora Neale Hurston Festival of the Arts and Humanities – which has as its goal the creation of a 'culturally and economically viable tool' to highlight the work of Hurston and promote 'the historical significance of the Eatonville community' – a community 'immortalised' in this work. Through this festival the PEC has blossomed into a veritable industry. It has helped to establish a Zora Neale Hurston National Museum of Fine Arts in the town, had the town listed on the National Register of Historic Places and installed a Walking Tour of Historic Eatonville. Through its use of the 'legendary' Hurston it has, therefore, achieved its stated aim of presenting Eatonville as a 'premiere landmark community'. In this paper I am primarily interested in investigating this phenomenon – this self-conscious fashioning of cultural memory – and examining the kinds of remembering and perhaps even more crucially, the kinds of forgetting it depends upon.

In this paper I will examine the way in which Hurston portrayed Eatonville in the book that Alice Walker described as the 'perfect book': *Mules and Men*. I will investigate the ways in which her evocation of this place as a 'crib of negroism' has stimulated the commemoration of an ethnic cultural memory that is fundamentally tied to time and place and which, consequently has served to exclude or at least diminish other, competing cultural memories. I will show how this memorialising of both Eatonville and Hurston as sites of cultural origin and authenticity has been encouraged by critical responses to Hurston and her work that have concentrated on the transformative potential of this writer and the community she describes; her writing recovering for her African American readers an identity and history they had forgotten or been taught to feel shame towards (Walker, for example, describes an African American experience of reading *Mules and Men* as one in which a 'kind of paradise [was] regained'). However I will show how these critical accounts can only be produced through a denial of conflicting elements within Hurston's writing that serve to question the possibility or even efficacy of fixing cultural identity and memory in this way. By 'resisting' Hurston's seductive text I will show how *Mules and Men* enacts, not the remembering or returning to an authentic communal self that Hurston implies – 'I decided to go to my native village first ... [because] I'd still be just Zora to the neighbors' – but rather a selective forgetting; her work ultimately demonstrating what must be rejected in order for such an idealised notion of time, place and cultural identity to stand.

**Niamh Moore**  
University of East Anglia

*Remembering Nuclear Power*

This paper explores memories of nuclear power, and in particular how the remembering and/or forgetting of risks associated with nuclear power are framed, through examining the relationship between a number of official, popular and private stories of Bradwell Nuclear Power Station in Essex.

Nuclear power is remembered as a technology which was once desired, but which has now become very stigmatized, as the litany of 'accidents' at Chernobyl, Three Mile Island, and in the UK at Sellafield/Windscale, have become etched in people's memories. The nuclear industry which once promised endless cheap electricity, now requires endless government subsidies. At the current moment of the 'closure' of nuclear reactors around the UK, a new future for nuclear power is being proposed, as a solution to the possible risks of global warming. This national and global narrative manifests in particular locations. Bradwell Nuclear Power Plant in Essex is the second

Magnox reactor in the UK to be decommissioned, yet even at the closing ceremony at the Plant in March 2002, the possible reopening of the plant was being mooted.

Drawing on a range of sources, interviews with various 'stakeholders', including local residents, workers at the plant, activists, and local politicians, and media reports and other archival sources (visual, oral and written documents), the paper analyses how this changing cultural story is managed by different people, and to different ends.

**David Neves**  
University of KwaZulu-Natal  
(South Africa)

*Space, place, race: memory and land dispossession in rural South Africa*

The complex interplay of proprietorial and symbolic values encoded in land are all the more pronounced in post-colonial societies, marked as they often are by relatively recent histories of land dispossession. The political and social force of the 'land question' is evident throughout much of the Southern African sub-region, including in South Africa's northern neighbour, Zimbabwe. This paper examines the construction of collective memories of land dispossession and displacement within a specific rural community in South Africa's largely rural Eastern Cape province. Against the backdrop of institutionised, state-driven efforts to grapple with the complex task of addressing South Africa's legacy of legally enshrined land dispossession, this paper considers how particular constellations of collective memory emerge and are discursively deployed in the temporal present.

By bridging the cognitively focused work of Soviet psychologist Vygotsky to Bakhtin's dialogically orientated insights this paper seeks to examine memory and social consciousness in relation to land. In this analysis the selectivity, hybridity and strategic deployment of memory-making and land claiming processes are of particular analytic interest, along with the affordances for pragmatic action these offer up. While the manner in which subjectivities (both individual and collective) are powerfully imbricated in space and place is relatively well theorised, the particularities and contextual ambiguities of this process are of analytic salience here. Memories of land are within this setting, unsurprisingly, tailored to the exigencies of the land reform process. Yet these counter hegemonic narratives are polyphonic and unstable. Dialoguing with multiple elements of the indigenous Xhosa-speaking inhabitants' oral traditions and representations of landscape, these narratives position their subaltern subjects within broader national and intracommunal contestation. This paper concludes by briefly suggesting that these representations of land are dimly understood and poorly accommodated within the contemporary land reform process, thereby detracting from its general efficacy and poorly serving the imperatives of societal development.

**Louise Purbrick**  
University of Brighton

*The architecture of containment: the H blocks of Long Kesh/Maze and the representation of conflict in Ireland*

A row of British Army watchtowers, positioned along a stretch of the seventeen foot high concrete perimeter wall of Long Kesh/Maze prison are still visible from the M1, the BelfastDublin motorway. The prison, however, is now closed. Regarded as a symbol of the 1969-1998 conflict in Ireland, often called 'The Troubles', it was also one of its most significant sites. Behind the wall, eight cell blocks remain, each shaped like an H. Within the H blocks, those convicted in no-jury courts for 'scheduled' or 'terrorist-type' the offences under the 1973 Northern Ireland (Emergency Provisions) Act won recognition as political prisoners following the hunger strikes of 1980-1 in which Bobby Sands, elected MP for Fermanagh and South Tyrone, was the first of ten men to die.

Dilapidated wire enclosures and rusting corrugated iron huts lie adjacent to the H blocks, the remains of twenty-two compounds that once contained four Nissen huts apiece. These structures are traces of the history of imprisonment in Northern Ireland, decaying documentation of how the construction the H blocks began with the internment of 'suspected terrorists' in 1971.

The H blocks, I argue in this paper, were an attempt to create an architectural solution to a war situation. I examine how particular forms of penal architecture reproduce and embody suppressive power, shaping the forms of physical and political resistance. The possibility of representing these forms are also considered: in what ways can a site of conflict that is differently interpreted by various communities (republicans, loyalists, Unionist and British) who do not share a common understanding of the recent past, be recorded or preserved?

When the Long Kesh/Maze prison was empty of prisoners, released as part of the

peace process, but was not yet completely closed, I worked with Magnum photographer Donovan Wylie on series of photographs that will shortly be published as a book (D. Wylie, *Maze*, Granta, 2004). My paper will reflect upon the processes of photographing the prison as well as the content and composition of the book. It was put together as a debate about the re-development of the Long Kesh/Maze site and the preservation of parts of its architecture was taking place. In conclusion, then, I consider how academics, curators, community activists and politicians in Britain and Ireland have begun to deal with, or have continued to avoid, the cultural significance of 'contested space'.

**Susannah Radstone**  
University of East London

*The place of place in key writings on memory*

Theorists of memory concern themselves with questions of time, space and place and often attempt to describe and evaluate the current 'state' of culture by referring to memory's contemporary regimes and dispositions of time and place. In this paper, several such accounts of place will be discussed, from Pierre Nora's discussion of the contemporary 'placing' and 'spacing' of memory, to Richard Terdiman's arguments concerning memory's 'ordinarily' cavalier relation to the exigencies of space, to my own considerations concerning memory's contemporary blurring of the boundaries between the spaces of the 'individual' and of the 'social'. While tales of memory and place are often nostalgic in tone, regretting the loss to the past of truly authentic modes of memory, this paper will survey the place held by place in the often elegiac modes of memory studies.

**Hadas Yaron**  
Churchill College, Cambridge

*The presence and absence of the past in the present: the visible and invisible in the land and landscape of the Jezreel valley, Israel*

The focus of the paper is on different forms in which the past is present or erased from the landscape. Therefore the discussion is on both the processes of eradication and inscription of presence. Eradication and inscription of presence are described in the historical context of Jewish immigration, uprooting and settlement and the uprooting of the Palestinian population through the process of settlement and as a result of the 1948 war. I explore the issues in focus through several sites in the Jezreel valley where I conducted fieldwork.

The main concern of the paper is whether the surroundings and people's engagement with it offer an alternative to other available 'pasts' and in particular the narrated one. Therefore, although the paper describes how events and people are remembered through the surroundings it is also shown that the surroundings can reveal unspoken 'truths' or hold segments of the past that are not normally incorporated into narratives. Engagement and encounters with the surroundings play a role here as it is a process of unintentional or incoherent remembering. For example, the past Palestinian landscape is still present through traces that are left, which could reappear, or is remembered through unofficial local naming. Therefore the past is visible and invisible at the same time, and as eradication is incomplete and the absence is present, so the inscription of the past on the landscape is subjected to erosion and forgetting.

Eradication often buries the past underneath the present such as in the case of planting a forest on top of a ruined village. In other cases the past could be described as 'buried' metaphorically underneath the consciousness of society. For example, land is held in records but could be claimed through the actual possession on the ground. And as the two levels do not necessarily match, the relations between the two could be described as an interaction or a clash between past – the records, and present – the presence on the ground. This paper therefore examines the relations between the different levels in which past and present landscapes exist: the visible and invisible, the buried and the one on the surface, as well as the conscious and forgotten.

## 5. MEMORY, TRAUMA AND FORGETTING

### Fionna Barber and Shani D’Cruze

Manchester Metropolitan University

#### Rosemary Betterton

Lancaster University

*Spaces of Memory: War and Trauma  
in Catherine Elwes’ Scars*

*To be traumatised is precisely to be possessed by an image or event...The traumatised carry an impossible history within them, or they become themselves the symptom of a history they cannot entirely possess.*  
(Caruth 1995: 4-5).

Scars is the third work in the series of War Stories by Catherine Elwes based on the testimony of a World War II veteran given directly to the artist. She works in collaboration with her subjects, a French World War II parachutist, Paul Robineau, and with the memories of her German father in law, Erich Ackermann. Their stories tell us many things: that the events of World War II are still traumatic for its survivors; that memories can still surface that were deeply buried in denial; that knowing one’s origins is crucial to one’s sense of identity, and that past histories live on in the experiences of a second generation or, as Elwes puts it, following Anne Karpf, ‘the children of the “War After”’ (Elwes 2004). Scars comprises two works, which extend the themes and formal concerns of her earlier pieces with greater visual and aesthetic complexity. The first, ‘Paul’s Story’ takes the form of an ‘altarpiece’ with six wall pieces each in the form of a Cross of Lorraine that is made up from the translated text of Paul’s narrative. These texts converge on a video image of his eye, again set into a Cross of Lorraine, while he is heard recounting his story in French on the soundtrack. Their companion piece, ‘The Six Lives of Erich Ackermann’ is based on the diaries and photographs of a German pilot (the artist’s father-in-law) who was shot down or crashed eight times over Poland, Germany and France during the War. Enlarged photographs of six of his wrecked planes are accompanied by his story read by his son, Uwe, whose softly spoken voice, alternating between English and German speech, is heard through a small speaker that mimics a wartime radio. Elwes’ installation deals in complex ways with ideas of heroes, icons, father figures and masculinity, and with memory, trauma, witnessing and identity.

As Elwes says, ‘The paternal image of masculine heroism is fundamentally “other” to me’ - and yet she is drawn to it. (Elwes 2000: 9) She is interested in the way in which masculinity is both solidified and dissolved in the icon of the war hero. How do we equate our continuing admiration for World War II soldiers with the critique of war so strongly voiced in the massive public opposition to sending British troops to Iraq? What Scars makes clear is that there are no easy answers, but that it is possible both to oppose militarism and masculine violence and to admire the courage, skills and commitment of those who have been forced to engage in conflict.

#### Nadine Boljkovac

York University (Canada)

*Embodying Trauma: Resnais’s  
‘Memory-Ages of the World’*

In its wounding of thought securely grounded in notions of morality, judgement, and cliché, the traumas of the Second World War incited, Deleuze proposes, the time-image’s emergence in cinema in an aftermath of wartime corporeal and incorporeal violence. In Cinema 1: The Movement-Image and Cinema 2: The Time-Image, Deleuze explains that the breakdown of the sensory motor-schema effected this cinematic event of the time-image, an image that embodies, as will be argued in this paper, a traumatized ‘upright’ image of thought. That is, as it enters the virtual and enables ‘us’ to see time as no longer derived from movement but as a durational flow of coexistent past-present, and sensibility via affects and percepts, cinema’s time-image emerges from the disruption of all that is believed to be known and true, and hence corresponds to the effect of traumatic experience. As such, this direct image of time, the time-image, presents an ‘encounter with something unthought’ and unknown.

Many have spoken to the impossibility of rendering the Holocaust’s event yet Alain Resnais’s *Night and Fog* (1955) counters this conventional response to the monumental task through its time-images that open to the ‘virtual plane of existence.’ Resnais’s cinema does not attempt to represent or show what cannot be seen or repeated. Rather, in keeping with Deleuze’s philosophy and approach to life’s experiences, *Night and Fog*, and all Resnais’s films, allude to the nature of repetition

and its production of difference as they stress an inability to reproduce the same, or the event 'as it was.'

Accordingly, this paper argues that *Night and Fog* bears witness to the disjunctive break in time and subjectivity that trauma produces as it encounters the event of the Holocaust that, in its strangeness, relates to Deleuze's description of a violence "which alone would awaken thought from its natural stupor." This violence that overthrows representation "may be grasped," Deleuze writes, "in a range of affective tones: wonder, love, hatred, suffering," but in "whichever tone, its primary characteristic is that it can only be sensed." Modern cinema, as an art indebted to the influence of the Holocaust's actual event, the war and its effects, thus responds to traumatic event through cinematic affect and direct images of time. As will be discussed, *Night and Fog* does not represent the Holocaust so much as it creates affects of its fear, terror and suffering.

**Eleanor Chiari**  
University College London

*Faces in Stone: The Spectrality of  
Terrorism, Trauma and the Political  
Uses of the Memory of Two  
Assassinated Prison Guards*

This paper is based on research I am conducting for my Ph.D. on Memory and Prison in Turin, 1870-2004 at the interface between Cultural Memory, Oral History and Material Culture. The project focuses on the space of the Turin prison - a now abandoned building whose future is still contested - and the memory and meaning of the events that occurred in it.

The paper will focus on the memory of the deaths of two prison guards, Lorenzo Cotugno and Giuseppe Lorusso who were shot dead by the Red Brigades in Turin respectively in 1978 and 1979. These murders occurred at the height of the anni di piombo (the 'lead years' 1976-1982) in which terrorism of the left and of the right seriously threatened the post-fascist Italian state. As ordinary citizens, as opposed to the politicians or industrialists who were more traditional targets of terrorist violence, the assassinated prison guards were celebrated as martyrs by the state, and their memory was used for political purposes from the very day of their funerals.

This paper will discuss the way city space is used to articulate a particular memory of the conflict between the Italian state and criminal organizations. It will consider the plaques placed on the prison walls to commemorate the assassinated guards in light of a long martyriological tradition, which contains a struggle over the meaning of political deaths and against particular forms of forgetting. The paper will show how the construction of a new courthouse across the street from the plaques and the re-naming (after assassinated judges) of the streets surrounding the prison building try to create idealized notions of citizenship and loyalty to the state. Fantastic celebrations of heroic martyrs aim to soothe the traumas of death and powerlessness in the face of terrorism and organized crime. These celebrations, however, obscure the complexities connected to the memory of terrorism in Turin and the more painful aspects of the lives of the two prison guards who died in service.

By examining city space, photographs, commemorative practices relating to the guards, newspapers and most importantly the oral testimony of those who worked in the prison at the time, this paper will bring forth the personal and public trauma connected to the memory of terrorism in Turin, and its yet unresolved, haunting manifestations.

**Graham Dawson**  
University of Brighton

*Father Daly's White Hankie:  
Visuality, Survivor Memories and  
the Communal Postmemory of  
Bloody Sunday in the Bogside, Derry*

This paper investigates aspects of the relationship between memory, place and visibility by focusing on a single visual motif that features in survivor memories, communal commemoration and postmemory of the Bloody Sunday massacre in the Bogside area of Derry, Northern Ireland.

After seventeen-year-old Jack Duddy had become the first of thirteen unarmed civilians to be shot and fatally wounded by British soldiers on 30 January 1972, in the area surrounding the Rossville Flats in the Bogside, his dying body was carried out of the killing ground by four men led by a local priest, Fr Edward Daly, who waved his hankie as a white flag in an attempt to prevent soldiers firing on the group. Captured on television film and, most famously, in Fulvio Grimaldi's photograph that was reproduced in newspapers around the world, the image of this moment became one of the defining visual icons of Bloody Sunday. It symbolically fixed in collective memory the shock and terror inflicted by the Army attack, the courage, compassion and mutual support of the

uncowed nationalist community, and the spirit of its popular resistance to the British military occupation in Northern Ireland. While this iconic visual memory achieved a global public range, it carried a particular charge and resonance locally, in the vicinity of the Bogside killing grounds where the Civil Rights marchers of Bloody Sunday, and their families and friends, continued to live and struggle in the long aftermath of the atrocity.

My paper examines the motif of the white hankie - referring not only to Fr Daly's but also innumerable others put to varying uses that day - as it features in eyewitness testimonies and subsequent survivor memories of Bloody Sunday, and contributes to the shaping of a 'common' or 'shared' local memory to counter the official narrative of the British state that sought to deny the perpetration of an atrocity (Ashplant, Dawson and Roper (eds), *The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration* [2000]). It goes on to consider the appearance of the motif in forms of public commemoration - including poster, poem and mural - within the oppositional memorial space established in the Bogside killing grounds, and the rituals of remembrance enacted there in the name of truth and justice. Finally, it uses the motif as the focus for reflection on the formation of a 'postmemory' of Bloody Sunday (Family Frames: *Photography, Narrative and Post-memory*, [1997]), by and for the generations born since 1972, in relation to the circulation, exchange and cross-generational transmission of survivor memories within family and friendship networks and the wider community of the Bogside, as well as in relation to forms of public representation and commemoration, since the early 1990s.

**Els van Dongen**  
University of Amsterdam

*'That was your time; this is ours!' A historical and cultural analysis of the generation conflict and trauma of older citizens in South African black communities*

In this paper the author focuses on the implementation of post-apartheid reconciliation in South Africa and its consequences/effects for the older generation of black citizens. It will be argued that the policy of reconciliation succeeded in concealing the problem of the relationships between older and younger adults in the black communities, which in turn hamper the development of a democratic society and which has maintained the threat of violence.

Studies of older black citizens showed that older persons in South Africa are often severely traumatized by what happened to them in the past. However, the traumas of older people are often hidden and therefore overlooked, because the politics of memory does not include their stories. The older people have experienced the atrocities of the Apartheid system and are currently suffering from abuse, neglect, poverty and loneliness. There is a deep generation conflict, which cannot only be explained by usual theories of intergenerational relationships and social and cultural changes.

By ethnographic data, life histories of older persons and by contextualising these data and stories in history the author shows that the conflicts in the black communities originate from the 'politics of evil' and the different roles that older people had in the resistance against these politics. The author will look at indigenous concepts of power, authority and oppression and she will show how older people developed complex and sometimes violent views of their world. The author shows that those roles play a hidden role in the social relationships in the black communities of today. Their consequential moral dilemmas and aspects are not discussed but are present in the social fabric.

It will be concluded that if reconciliation is to be achieved and social relationships are to be restored, understanding of the concepts of violence and social roles of all are a necessary condition.

## MEMORY, TRAUMA AND FORGETTING

**Jane Kilby**

University of Salford

*Realities Without Reference:  
Feminism and Trauma*

In recognition of the continuing reality of sexual violence and the proliferation of trauma texts that bear testimony to its impact, feminist theorists are expressing a dissatisfaction with the poststructural privileging of issues of representation over reality and instead are turning to 'trauma theory' as a way of foregrounding the experience of trauma. Associated with the inauguration of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, a revival of Janet and a reworking of Freud, trauma theory is based on the idea that a catastrophic or violent experience can be so personally shocking that it is instantly forgotten, or, if not forgotten, it is not fully registered. Trauma theory is therefore an exposition of the disbelief frequently expressed by victims of violence: "This cannot be happening to me; this is not happening to me". Influenced by psychoanalysis and deconstruction, Caruth is the most radical proponent of this idea when she theorises the overwhelming experience of trauma as subjectively underwhelming; perversely, then, trauma fails to register as a personally significant experience (except for the fact that it returns to haunt the person) (Caruth 1995, 1996). Again, this is an explication of the oft-cited response to trauma: 'it felt like it was happening/happened to someone else'. This paradox poses a set of crucial questions for feminism, notably what is the significance of a theory that emphasises the ways in which trauma – which is normally understood to count as a deeply and personally held reality -- is experienced by the victim as an impersonal, almost abstract, reality? And what are the implications for personal testimony politics?

These questions will be addressed in the context of incest which serves as an apposite case for exploring the critical significance of a theory that is premised on the idea that trauma is a reality without reference. The paper will demonstrate the political significance of Caruth's work by comparing it with Judith Herman's work. As I shall demonstrate Herman substitutes the work of Janet for Freud to offer a politicised language of trauma and although Janet's work has played an important role in the development of trauma theory, I will argue that Caruth's use of Freud offers a critically innovative advantage.

**Claudette Lauzon**

McGill University, Montreal

*What the Body Remembers:  
Rebecca Belmore's Memorial to  
Missing Women*

In 2002, Aboriginal Canadian artist Rebecca Belmore (b.1960) mounted a traveling exhibition entitled *The Named and the Unnamed*. Conceived as a memorial to more than fifty women--all street-level sex workers and predominantly Aboriginal--who have gone missing from downtown Vancouver since 1994, the multi-media exhibition bears oblique witness to the untranslatability of trauma.

"What the Body Remembers" explores Rebecca Belmore's art practice as an aesthetic strategy for rendering invisibility visible. Drawing on feminist, postcolonial, and poststructuralist thought, I argue that *The Named and the Unnamed* problematizes binary oppositions of presence and absence, in effect asking us to believe in ghosts. These ghosts, which haunt the artist's own body and her body of work, are also intended to haunt our consciences--to remind us that presence and absence form a tangled web that vanquishes, and vanishes, those who are coded as overexposed.

The prostitute has been framed in normative discourse as spectacle, contagion, excess and abjection. Such a framework mobilizes the Cartesian subject/body binary to constitute the prostitute-as-body in such a way as to erase the prostitute-as-subject, thus rendering the prostitute-as-subject a disappeared subject--a ghost whose disappearance coterminously foreshadows, provokes, and implicitly endorses the disappearance of the prostitute-as-body. When, in other words, a body is marked--by gender, race, spatial configuration, and presumed sexual excess--the subject vanishes. When, in turn, the bodies of women literally vanish, the prostitute is doubly ghosted, and questions of visibility and invisibility in the representational field take on material significance.

If the prostitute can be understood as a hypervisible site of invisibility, Rebecca Belmore's project is not to resolve or transcend this apparent paradox. *The Named and the Unnamed* does not attempt to literally re-member or rematerialize the disappeared women of Vancouver. Instead, and in keeping with contemporary theorizations of art's ambivalent role as a mediator of memory, Belmore's work engages in a memorial project that haunts us with the traces of absence--torn dresses, blood-stained linen, black shrouds, roll calls of the vanished--traces which convey both the desire to bear witness and the impossibility of doing so. The exhibition invites us not to identify with the traumas inflicted on the bodies of missing and murdered women, but rather to engage with their ghosts--ghosts whose presence can only be acknowledged by acknowledging their absence. Belmore probes the inexorable links between absence

and presence, and raises new questions about what the body can and cannot remember.

**Cahal McLaughlin**  
Royal Holloway University of  
London

*Looking Back Looking Out*

The Maze Prison was a microcosm of the political conflict that raged for over thirty years in the north of Ireland. It was the largest prison in Europe, contained the most violent prisoners, republican and loyalist, and was both the tinderbox and the touchstone of political developments during the 'Troubles'. Its prisoners were released as a result of the Good Friday Agreement.

In April of 2003, I recorded the testimonies of three ex-inmates back inside the empty cells and corridors - a loyalist, a republican and a prison officer. They tell the story of thirty years of conflict as experienced from the inside – the tensions, alliances, self-education and struggles. We hear of the protests over political status culminating in the hunger strikes of 1981 and see how the largest escape in British penal history was organised.

My presentation, which will be illustrated with screenings, will highlight key elements of the edited recordings -

- Shared authorship with the participants;
- Affect of location on memory recollection, story telling and performance;
- Tensions between individual and collective experiences;
- Contestation over whose history is being remembered.

**Julie Mullaney**  
Manchester Metropolitan  
University

*'One law to cover all of living':  
Gesturing trauma, gesturing  
(cultural) translation in Michael  
Ondaatje's Anil's Ghost*

**Anil's Ghost** (2001) marks Ondaatje's most recent turn to Sri Lanka and to the convulsions of its civil war in the period between the mid 1980s and early 1990s. This novel develops further his meditations in *Handwriting* where the sensitivity to gesture is central to the project of accessing past cultural codes and sensibilities, those 'discrete ragas of longing' that mark cultures and cultural moments out from one another. *Handwriting* is after all a clear example of a gesture that is code, mediation and trace, changing across time and place, styles of which, for example, disappear as others emerge. This function of gesture as mediation and trace carries over into *Anil's Ghost*, where it acts as metaphor both for the desire to witness (the survivals) of trauma and to illustrate the making and unmaking of testimony, an act of and in translation. Gestures and cultural histories of gesture are folded into the fabric of the text, I use the word 'fold' to suggest a double intention, to hide and to hold, hiding and holding emphasising perhaps the contingency of the inbetween, as an acknowledgement that something is in suspension, that it will be at some time and in some manner be decoded to effect a transformation of sorts. These gestures (physical and cultural) are lost, repeated, realized, unrecognised, read and misread, they are gestures of return, unburial, translation, understanding and repossession in the face of the 'half-revealed forms' of cultures and histories. Ondaatje admits: 'You often get one image from a small gesture and can build a whole book from that.'

I aim to read Ondaatje's specific gesturing of trauma in relation to gestures of (cultural) translation in what he identifies as the 'familiar stories' of *Anil's Ghost*, a novel not intended as a 'formal document' of the war and not just, he reiterates, 'about Sri Lanka; it could be Guatemala or Bosnia or Ireland'. I examine Ondaatje's attempt to document the collective scarring of the war unburied in and by his returnee, Anil, positioned as both witness and translator and explore how the ordered disorder of the text reflects not just the dislocations of memory effected by the trauma itself but the labour of testimony and what might be Ondaatje's own crisis of witnessing. To illustrate, I delve briefly into a different context and contrast Ondaatje's intervention with Siddiq Barmak's recent portrait of Taliban Afghanistan in *Osama* (2002) which draws back from the kind of reconciliation that Ondaatje gestures towards. Whereas Ondaatje's Anil escapes to possibly (retell) the stories of others, the director of Barmak's fictional docudrama, the creation of which we witness, is executed along with some of those whose testimony we hear. Barmak's ending dwells in the continuation of the wound, rather than reaching for the suture and its delineation of a politics of witnessing throws a different light on Ondaatje's labour in *Anil's Ghost*.

## MEMORY, TRAUMA AND FORGETTING

**Duba Sambolec**

Trondheim Academy of Fine  
Art

*La mémoire retouchée*

In last four years, I realized a series of video performances, (NoHomeVideos©) and multi-media installations, (Collectors #1, #2, #3) where I deal with the position of an individual in a subordinate situation and with the post-wars, (WW2 and the Balkan war in the `90s) collective and personal memories and the problematic task of its articulation. Being an artist who is also a woman reinforces my drive to articulate the situations where weak and powerless confront strong and abusive in everyday as well as in state politics. I find such articulations a matter of urgency. There are patterns in historical as in present time political discourses that show how the brutal force dominates.

In the "Collectors" installations series, one is being a witness to the missing traumatic events and historical situations such as the Srebrenica massacre where one feels terrified and helpless and the life behind the "iron curtain", where one recognizes the human poetics and wisdom of everyday survival. The NoHomevideos© video-performances deal with individual experience of being manipulated by powerful and controlling, with individual resistance and intelligence that manage to bear the pressures of abusive treatment.

The recent production articulates my re-acknowledgement of my personal history and identity in the context of the war in the Balkans that rendered my sense of being a part of my local culture. It also confronts the public with the urgency of articulation for the silent victim, for the other. The thesis of the presentation would be to show and tell how my art reflects my thorough national hybridity, (born in Slovenia to Croatian-Bosnian/ Croatian parents during the Cold War), multi-identity, (ex-Eastern European, culturally Western person who is also a woman), resentment towards forced-artificial identity and drive for artistic activity as the survival strategy. In retrograde I am recognizing all the above-mentioned parameters as crucial ones that conditioned my art practice. So to speak, I am self-analyzing my art.



## 6. MONUMENTS AND MEMORIALS

### Simon Faulkner

Manchester Metropolitan University

### James Coleman

University of Glasgow

*The National Hero and National Memory: William Wallace and Victorian Scotland*

Representation and deployment of national memory, through the worship of national heroes, was a common feature of Europe national cultures in the nineteenth century, and the Scots were not slow to indulging in this fashion for transmitting conceptions of their past. By mapping the characteristic virtues of the nation to the national hero, any nation could prove its worth – the more heroic the patriot, the greater the nation they represent. In the 19th century, the Scots, though a ‘stateless nation,’ transmitted their national memory – and William Wallace, their national hero – primarily in order to promote and sustain a separate national identity, complementary to their sense of Britishness. The Scots commemorated Wallace as a method of proving their worth within a British cultural and economic context, emphasising equality with England both in the present, by celebrating the Scots’ contribution to the Empire, and in the past, by deploying Wallace as one of the founders of British liberties. Commemoration of Wallace asserted that, by defeating the tyrannical King Edward, Wallace had struck a blow for constitutionalism – teaching the English a lesson in what it meant to be British. It was this definition of Wallace that the National Wallace Monument, completed in 1869, was intended to transmit, acting as a symbol of this Scottish, unionist-national memory in its site and design.

Commemorative discourse and practise in Victorian Scotland has, until recently, been dismissed as a poor relation of the ‘proper’ nationalism that Scotland ‘lacked.’ However, analysis of the worship of national-heroes emphasises the necessity for distinguishing between commemorative practices and the nationalist movements that deploy them – commemoration can be carried out purely to assert national distinctiveness, rather than as a mere complement to concurrent or later demands for constitutional change. The cult of William Wallace provided the Scots with a national hero who could take his place amongst the pantheon of national heroes in Europe and North America, legitimising the historical values of the nation; and, just as the Scots set Wallace loose on British constitutionalism, so the national hero fought for Scottish self-worth in 19th century Europe, signifying the historic greatness of the Scottish nation when compared to other nations, each with their own armoury of national heroes armed and ready for the fight.

### Evelina Kelbecheva

American University in Bulgaria

*The Abiding Power of Oblivion: Constructing Cultural Memory in post-Communist Bulgaria*

The attitude of post-communist societies toward their recent communist past is among the most powerful criteria for assessment of the level of self-reflection, maturity and democratization of these same societies. Bulgaria is a specific case in this respect, since the communist purges in Bulgaria have been among the most severe ones. Thus the study of inheriting, preserving and contesting materialized forms of the communist legacy -- as well as the creation of a new one -- represents a particular social interest.

The paper explores the geographical distribution, the typologies and the social impact of the recently created memorials of the victims of the Communism in Bulgaria. Case studies are presented from the capital city Sofia and the towns of Plovdiv and Dupniza, (thus covering different regions of Bulgaria, as well as different types and sizes of municipalities) including interviews with local authorities and people of the above-mentioned areas.

Another focal point is the comparison between territorial projections of the legacy, and the typologies of communist monuments from the period 1944-1989 and the few monuments constructed after 1989. In the center of Sofia there is still the enormous Stalinist style monument of the Soviet Red Army, called “Army-Liberator”, which dominates the area around Sofia University. The monument was covered with graffiti, afterward it has been “cleaned up” by zealous communists, and finally today it is guarded by police forces to be preserved “untouched and sacred”. On the other hand, the only modest chapel that commemorates the victims of Communist purges in Bulgaria remains almost invisible alongside with the unsightly National Palace of Culture built in 1981.

The conclusion is that for the last 15 years Bulgaria lacks a real, coherent politics of creating a (un)visible memory (“lieux de memoire”— P. Nora) of the recent communist past. The issue is much larger than the issue of bare construction of monuments of the victims of communist purges and their particularly limited “geography”.

The main reason for this omission is the fact that both the political elites in Bulgaria and the representatives of the local communities refuse to admit the historical guilt for the crimes of the communist regime.

I can conclude that Bulgarian society has been vetoed an objective and fair assessment of its communist past. Even today Bulgarian society is still a subject of a major historical manipulation fostered by the revival of the communist nostalgia. The comparative study of communist and post-communist memorials has shown this clearly.

**Joel McKim**  
Goldsmiths College

*Creative Recall: Contemporary Memorial Practices and Deleuze's Concept of Memory*

This presentation will consider the impact of the “Deleuzian turn” in cultural theory with respect to recent artistic and architectural projects concerned with memory and history. Regarded as the 20th century’s pre-eminent philosopher of change, innovation and vitalism, Deleuze seems in many ways to be the theoretical counterpoint to the recent interdisciplinary interest in cultural memory. But a too easy exclusion of Deleuze from current memory debates ignores the crucial position that a concept of memory, albeit one that is radically rethought, holds in Deleuze’s philosophy. Deleuze’s concept of memory, heavily inspired by the writings of Henri Bergson, incorporates ideas of duration and movement in order to challenge the notion of a clear division between past and present. For Deleuze, the relationship between past and present, memory and perception, is both dynamic and creative. Deleuze’s critique of psychoanalysis, particularly with respect to Freud’s theory of an entropic death drive, also produces new points of contention in the ongoing debates over the nature of traumatic memory. Clearly for Deleuze, the past (even a traumatic one) can no longer be viewed as an unchanging form, available for recall in the present.

Several recent public memorials and art installations have taken up elements of Deleuzian theory in order to encourage a productive encounter with difficult historical events. This presentation will consider two such examples in particular: the move in contemporary Holocaust memorials away from direct representation towards more abstract spaces of movement and sensation (such as Richard Serra and Peter Eisenman’s Berlin memorial); and the disjointed and supersaturated monumental constructions of Swiss artist Thomas Hirschhorn. The troubling historical reference points for these works calls for a consideration of the implications of Deleuze’s conception of the past as an essentially dynamic and changing force. Does Deleuze’s thought reduce the events of the past to the status of source material for creative acts in the present? Does a Deleuzian aesthetics of memory promote a more personal and affective relationship to the past, or does it permit a problematic descent into historical relativism?

**Stephen Monteiro**  
University of Paris

*The Mission Héliographique: Photography and Memory under Napoleon III*

In 1851 the French government organised the Mission Héliographique, a group of five photographers commissioned to document the nation’s most important historic monuments. Accomplished shortly before the ailing republic was overthrown and replaced by Napoleon III’s restoration empire, this project lay at a critical intersection in political and cultural discourse, not only as a new means of visually depicting national history, but as an instrument in tailoring the physical signs of a collective past to political ends. Its photographs were meant to facilitate restoration projects undertaken by Napoleon III’s political allies, especially the architect Viollet-le-Duc, who privileged refurbishing monuments to reflect contemporary perceptions of the past by harmonising historical disparities rather than striving to preserve a monument’s existing elements. The Mission, however, not only challenged such an approach to collective memory, but raised doubts about photography as an inherently objective, standardising practice.

Contemporary architectural drawings executed for these restorations often rendered monuments as flat, evenly lit and inexpressive, thereby presenting them as neutral

## MONUMENT AND MEMORIALS

grounds for constructing new versions of the past. Conversely, the photographs presented the sites as idiosyncratic and unstable, but deeply expressive even in their deteriorated condition. The results of the Mission suggested these historic structures had not “lost” their coherence, nor their ability to communicate the past, but instead invoked memory as resolutely uneven and fragmentary.

The photographs complicated received ideas of the subjects they depicted by expanding the scope of memory and encouraging new ways of interpreting physical evidence. The camera captured details beyond the scope of the unaided eye and imparted significance to the haphazard scars of time as uncanny indexical markings for stimulating memory, reinforced by the photograph’s own indexical basis. This new approach to representing the passage of time and the means of memory challenged the efforts of Viollet-le-Duc and others as processes that masked, rather than reasserted, an existing structure’s articulation of cultural memory.

Given such complications, the Mission’s 300 negatives ultimately languished unused in government archives. Nevertheless, the Second Empire drew valuable lessons from the project and found other ways to exploit the medium. Napoleon III would use photography to diffuse his portrait throughout the Empire, relying on the index to suggest his ubiquitous presence. He also commissioned photographers to document those monumental works erected under his own reign, in the hope of controlling the terms of collective memory surrounding his political legacy.

**Nayanika Mookherjee**  
Lancaster University

*Mapping Violent Narratives:  
War-Memorials and their Embodied  
Recallings*

The memorialisation of the valour and losses of war through war-memorials unquestioningly assumes that material objects would come to stand for and embody memory. In fact architectures of war-memorials and memory seem to be treated as exchangeable currencies. This paper explores the relationship between violent memories of the Bangladesh War of 1971 and its embodiment in the artefacts of war-memorials in urban spaces. An examination of the expository style of the war-memorials would reveal the processes of remembering and forgetting that exist within the crevices and interstices of memorialisations of the war. Particularly, the paper will explore how histories of sexual violence of the war are mapped on the war-memorials. The formation of Bangladesh in 1971 coincided with the death of three million people and rape of two hundred thousand women (these being official numbers). The government in a genre of public persuasive rhetoric eulogised the raped women as birangona (war-heroines). The paper explores how this state rhetoric gets transferred into the spatial and structural languages of war-memorials. How do war-memorials as objects come to stand in for rememberings and forgettings of violent narratives and of the spectral presence of the raped woman? How do these war-memorials engage with the memorials of other social movements? What are the urban social and spatial practices around these memorials? The paper argues that the processes of recalling in these war-memorials are based on a middle class subjectivity and attempts to show through the various embodied practices and materialities which make the memorials the repository of the nation’s memory.

**Kendall R. Phillips**  
Syracuse University

*The Guilt of Public Memory:  
Remembrance, Rhetoric, and  
Reification*

To speak of “public memory” is to suggest at least two ways of linking these apparently disparate terms. On the one hand, it is to suggest that some entity, a public, holds or contains some memory. On the other hand, it is to suggest that some memory has been made public or visible. These two senses can be productively considered separately – examining either the ways that certain memories constitute and are constituted by certain identifiable groups of people (publics), or exploring the ways in which certain memories are made manifest before others.

These two senses may also be considered in tandem – that is to say, the way that memories of certain groups are made visible in the world. This process takes place through a variety of cultural practices: memorial rituals, monuments, written histories, oral traditions, etc – and it is worth noting that many of these practices succeed not only in making memories visible but also in reifying them, crafting memories with an eye towards permanence. This reification (often with the assumption of permanence) is obvious in many practices of making memories public, from the dramatic fashioning of memories into marble monuments to the recording of memories in official documents.

There is, however, something peculiar about turning memories into something permanent. Memories are, in essence, mutable and transitory; their appearance before us fleeting and fragile. To render these memories, even those memories shared by many, as something fixed and permanent does a kind of conceptual violence to their very nature. The reification of memory, one might say, violates the very essence of remembering.

The present essay takes up this odd relationship between memory and reification by examining the motives underlying this desire to permanently fix certain memories publicly. Our urge to memorialize, I argue, is driven by a mixture of fear and guilt. Fear that these memories we have invested with emotional and cultural energy might fade away and the guilt inherent in knowing that by reifying our memory of events or individuals we are supplanting the memories of others. Our reified memories are, thus, interwoven with both accusatory and defensive rhetorics: accusatory towards those future generations who might forget and defensive towards those contemporary memories cleared away in the process of forging our memory visibly.

The theoretical underpinnings of this argument are outlined and then applied to various examples of reified public memories. Finally, implications for public memory studies are drawn.

**Darien Jane Rozentals**  
University of New South Wales  
(Sydney)

*Opacity: Reading Dialogues in  
Monumental Space*

The city space in Vilnius, Lithuania, has recently been rewritten - or strangely unwritten. Following the declaration of independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, the iconic busts and monuments of Lenin (1870-1924) were torn down and discarded, leaving empty spaces throughout the city. These gaps in the city provided a space where the Lithuanian government could write its own past. The new narrative for the city was composed through the erection of monuments that celebrate 14th century kings – all traces of the Soviet past were consciously hidden. There was an obvious attempt to force the inhabitants of the space to forget the recent past. This paper argues that this was impossible, you cannot force amnesia; through art and sculpture parks alternate histories are explored through a dialogue with the walker.

A dialogue exists between a monument (an object that Henri Lefebvre's defines as a site of intensity) and its voyeur. This conversation allows the voyeur to form a cultural remembrance of a history that they have not experienced directly – the city is an exposure device, similar to a camera that shoots and represents the past. My paper explores what Edward Soja, in *Postmodern Geographies*, describes as the 'opacity of space.' Soja theorises that monuments simultaneously disclose one narrative whilst hiding the modalities of power that produced it – a monument may appear legible, but their opacity masks alternate historiographies. In Lithuania the newly independent government chose a particular history to construct the narrative of the city, over infinite possibilities. The existence of this history only alludes to those unexposed; and it appears that if narratives are suppressed they will rise to the surface elsewhere.

It is evident that the narratives of Communist occupation have left mnemonic traces, and although they are concealed in the capital city, they become apparent elsewhere. This paper analyses moments, inside and outside the city space, where the prescribed historical narrative constructed through the official public sculpture is problematised by alternative artistic means: through sculpture parks and contemporary art space. In 'The Centre of Europe Sculpture Park', for example, Lithuanian artist Karosas Gintaris leaves a discarded monument of Lenin lying on his back to be exposed to the elements of the park, and decay, surrounded by 3000 old television sets; and it is these such moments, where monuments subvert the conventional history that the city interpellates, that will be analysed.

**Deborah Schultz**  
University of Sussex

*The Destiny of Monuments in  
Post-war Romania*

In *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*, Milan Kundera describes a lack of continuity in Prague's history, a fragmenting that has led to a lack of memory in the city's and its people's identities. For Kundera, the replacement of a range of monuments by ones of Lenin amounted to an attempt to erase those figures and rewrite the collective historical memory. However, the former figures remain, as ghosts. What happened in Prague has been repeated all over Central and Eastern Europe where political changes leave dramatic visible marks, as, for example, manifested in

street name changes and the rise and fall of monuments.

This paper investigates the ways in which monuments that were erected and dismantled in Romania after 1944 shed light on public and private memory and interactions. I focus on monuments erected in memory of the Second World War, as well as those in honour of the figures who would dominate the new socialist society, such as Lenin, Stalin and Petru Groza. Monuments would play an important role in shaping that new society and their removal in 1989 and after can be seen as evidence of their symbolic value, although their significance may easily be exaggerated. As Sergiusz Michalski writes, 'The events of 1989-91 and the fall of Communism and its monuments have generated the rather superficial impression that monuments in both a political and artistic sense lay at the centre of the Communist art programme. The truth is slightly different'.

Monuments can be interpreted as public manifestations of remembering – and, in their absence, of forgetting – the recent past or particular aspects of it. In the case of Romania, monuments were also used to reshape the trajectory of history. Monuments erected during the Ceausescu period that ostensibly commemorated figures and events from the past, were also intended to make connections to the socialist present. For, as Lucian Boia writes, 'Regardless of who or what was being commemorated, they would start with origins, underline continuity and unity, and end with the present, the Ceausescu era. Everything announced the supreme fulfillment of Romanian history, the dictator finding himself again in his forerunners'. As the promise of a glorious socialist future became less convincing, the past was exploited and reconstructed to serve more immediate political purposes. Monuments and other artworks thus make visible in concrete forms the ways in which this history was being reshaped.

**Elena Trubina**

Ural State University (Russia)

*On "Refeudalization" of the Public Space and Musealization of the Cities in Countries in Transition*

The purpose of this paper is to consider a few aspects of the changes that have taken place in post-Soviet space. Here, I wish to sketch the outlines of an argument about the connections between recent spatial, memorial, and artistic practices and people's attitudes toward them and the evolution of democracy from representative to a "managed" one - to its reality and the way it has been understood. Focusing on the projects in St. Petersburg, I argue that the processes of commemoration that have taken place in post-Soviet cities reflect the ambiguities and complexities of the process by which countries in transition have been incorporated within a late capitalist order that remains democratic yet driven by new forms of domination.

The connections between public art, the public sphere, capitalism, and democracy find their most telling expression in the controversies and debates surrounding concrete designs and proposals to memorialize specific events and to do something about "vacant" places. I shall be asking whether a striking lack of debate on the monuments in post-Soviet cities has something to do with the merging of the state and society that Habermas described as "refeudalization," a process that appears to be characteristic of modern social-democratic states. In many post-Soviet cities we witness today the attempt to mobilize high culture as a way of heightening one's political stakes, of making an impressive political statement, especially when other, more effective means, are unavailable. For example, St.-Petersburg's 300th anniversary spectacle was supposed to recall a former Russian might and conjure the place that the new Russia claims for itself in a new world order, a place based not on economic or military resources but on its established prominence in high European culture. The marketing of Russia and the promotion of its respectable image through spectacles produced by experienced Western advertisers demonstrated the proximity between the mechanism of advertising and efforts to cope with the national identity crisis. While authorities tend to exploit once-found stereotypes of their city and its "cultural treasures", other agents of cultural industry look for different ways to enhance the residents' sensibilities and provide them with new ways and spaces to experience the city.

**Karen Wells**  
Goldsmiths College

*Recognition and Elisions:  
the double movement of  
monuments*

When President Nelson Mandela visited Brixton on a state visit to Britain in 1996 he affirmed Brixton's identity as a 'black suburb', and as Britain's "most famously ethnic area". Located in a political formation that has largely made England synonymous with being Anglophone, Anglican and white the connection between Brixton and Black identity may be viewed as a significant cultural and political achievement. This achievement is inscribed in the material environment. The town centre is replete with material signs that signify Brixton's Caribbean and African history and contemporary presence, ranging from the renaming of streets and places to the retail streetscape.

Brixton today is one of the most deprived districts in London. The signs of this deprivation however, have not entirely erased the material culture of an earlier period when Brixton was a bourgeois suburb of London. Recently the culture of a new white bourgeoisie has become increasingly visible in Brixton, transforming some of the key quasi-public spaces of 'West Indian' Brixton from largely black working class, to largely white, bourgeois venues. Alongside this re-gentrification of Brixton, there is a growing inscription of African cultures, particularly in religious sites, and grocery stores that are a testament to the presence of an expanding local African population.

From this plethora of objects and signs that signify the complex cultural identities of this place across time and space, this paper offers a 'thick description' of two monuments that are particularly evocative of these multiple histories and identities. These two monuments – one a statue of Henry Tate, the other a work by the Jamaican sculptor, Raymond Watson, commemorating the Soweto uprising – have been selected for their stark embodiment of the changing cultural identities and connections of this neighbourhood.

If at the beginning of the twentieth century Henry Tate's statue symbolised Brixton's identity as an unrelenting bourgeois space its relationship to class and nations is now rather more complex. Its position adjacent to a space of commemoration of the Windrush journey now gazes across a postcolonial townscape. In the century that separates the production of Tate's statue from that of Watson's sculpture the iconography of this space has been transformed. Watson's commemorative sculpture registers these new connections and their diverse histories, and their reconfiguration of the relationship between space, place and identity.

**Kate Zankowicz**  
Concordia University

*The Monument's Remains*

Robert Musil once wrote: "there is nothing in the world as invisible as monuments". He muses, however biting, that this is because they do not make noises or promises or make more of an effort to insert themselves into the urban landscape. The reason that the monumental form is obsolete, in his mind, is because "everything permanent loses its ability to impress". This paper grapples with the fact that monuments are, in their very erection, almost already irrelevant; they signal that the memory has been lost. Indeed, rather than being memory markers, monuments may mark the displacement of memory. Since remembering is based on a distancing or mediation, regardless of how relentlessly we commemorate with them, memory is not necessarily housed in the durability of stone. This paper addresses the perceived obsolescence of the monumental form, and the idea that monumental objects can stand in for memory. Furthermore, I will bring the concepts of the monument and the ruin closer together, and posit that the monument functions as a prosthetic memory device that, in its mode of remembrance, always includes a forgetting.

By investigating the aesthetic and epistemological cues put forth by counter-monument makers, I will suggest that the ruin is the utmost embodiment of the counter-monument. Paradoxically however, the counter-monument often suggests a re-reification of the monumental form, in the form of a "lost" original monument. By examining a clutch of counter-monuments, I will trace out a full range of counter-monumental practice, as a means of developing a critique of the counter-monument, as well as consider the generative possibilities of the monument-in-ruins.

# 7. MUSEUMS AND MATERIAL CULTURE

**Jim Aulich**

Manchester Metropolitan University

**Kathryn A. Burnett**

University of Paisley

*Scotland's Polar Explorers:  
Mediating the Local and the  
National in Heritage Narratives  
and Representation*

The paper examines the mediated nature of exploration and discovery in the Polar Regions, more specifically the Arctic north, with reference to public exhibition displays currently available in Scotland. Polar exploration with its discursive associations to conquest, expansion and 'otherness' is worthy of critical reflection. More specifically in the paper, we seek to draw attention to the situated context of 'localised heritage', in the form of museums and other related sites including former homes of a select number of explorers. By examining the representational practices and interpretative possibilities, a critical analysis is provided on the 'valorisation' of a specifically Scottish national exploration agenda with particular reference to the interplay between a highly 'localised construction' that reveals global complexities of how individual endeavours are both realised as well as accounted for.

Our inter-disciplinary research has explored 'memorial sites' associated with Scottish Polar exploration, including texts associated with Sir John Ross (1777-1856), and William Speirs Bruce, (1867-1921). Of particular interest, however, are those 'memorial sites' dedicated to a third highly significant individual, namely the Orcadian surgeon, Arctic explorer and Polar exemplar, Dr John Rae (1813 – 1893).

Rae is a pivotal figure in the constructed narrative of exploratory endeavour. His 'memorial status' derives in part from his involvement in establishing the controversial fate of the Franklin party. It is, however, arguably the legacy associated with his considerable exploration achievements, and his groundbreaking adoption of indigenous knowledge to survive the Arctic environment is what marks Rae out as worthy of commemoration both in his own time as well as through current activity to secure his future 'remembrance'. A focus on Rae's commemoration and memorialisation at a local and national level serves as the focus for this paper. Historical analysis will reveal how a construction of "Polar endeavour" was not only highly politicised along national and ethnic lines but it will give some indication as to how the tensions between claims of 'local' and 'national' pride and heritage may have been articulated. An account of the relevance of this historical analysis to current production and consumption of visual 'memorials' including exhibitions and commemorations of endeavour is a key theme of the paper. Reference will be made to the re-privileging of Rae as an iconic figure, including the current association with the BBC's Restoration programme and a critical analysis of the interface between past and current mediations provides the conclusion to this research paper.

**Hart Cohen**

University of Western Sydney

*The Visual Mediation of a Complex  
Narrative: Imagining/Remembering  
the Arrernte Diaspora*

The story of the diasporic journey of the Arrernte people of Central Australia is both unique and familiar. It is a story of displacement, wreckage and damage of indigenous people and their dispersal over time in the period of colonial settlement of Australia. The story is unique in the particular configuration of surviving communities and captures the fundamental, inter-relatedness of the Aboriginal people, their totems, culture and language, the landscape, White Settlers, and the Lutherans, at that time and in that place. It is a complex and evocative narrative, weaving multiple layers and perspectives together with substantive accounts of Aboriginal mythologies and culture, with rich descriptions of epic scenarios set in the ancient landscapes and the dispersed settlements of Central Australia from the early 1920's to the present. It is a factual account of social destruction and disruption and a poetic vision of significant ethno-historiographic interest.

The focus of this paper is the full range of strategies and techniques for the visual representation of the narrative elements of the Arrernte Diaspora identified around a sense of place. It arises out of research conducted over several years in collaboration with Arrernte elders incorporating oral histories, interviews, collaborative projects and diverse events and experiences. The results are part of a growing repository of cultural and social representations that variously mediate the geographic locations of sites and specific totems, the conceptual relationships between narrative elements of place, the historical connectedness and physical migration of the Arrernte community over time,

cultural ceremonies, stories and myths specific to place, and links between a sense of place and other important motifs.

The paper will assess the use of visualisation and digitisation of these representations as a broadly based approach to Indigenous knowledge management with the following considerations:

The provision of a single, coherent source for documents relating to Arrernte diasporic history that can then be accessed, searched and variously extracted as content for research.

The return and reintegration of a unique and crucial ethnographic account of Aboriginal culture back to the current Arrernte communities.

The recovery of oral, and in other formats, personal histories from a community with living connections to the Arrernte Diaspora story. It is still possible to record direct personal accounts of the story, and there are many other relatively immediate and strong personal connections with the characters and situations.

The paper reports on the visualisation techniques planned, primarily: the design and production of complex web sites, typographic cueing and interface design, the application of dynamic diagrams in the creation of learning resources, the documentary photograph, and the documentary film. The paper will expand on the particular aims of this project (the sense of place, visualisation of knowledge, digital reproduction and management of resources, community engagement, and cultural salvaging) and the intent to provide a repository of cultural materials, information, and experiences spun from the core of the Arrernte Diaspora itself, and extending a visual access point to its community of interest.

**Anne Cranny-Francis**  
Macquarie University

*Enmeshed Experience: visuality and memory at the National Museum of Australia*

This paper addresses the relationship between visual iconography, memory and identity at the National Museum of Australia in Canberra.

In a series of in-depth interviews, curators who were involved in the development of the Museum exhibits expressed their concern about the award of the design brief to a U.S. company. The curators' concerns focused on several issues about visuality and identity. These included the designers' assumptions about the universality of their aesthetic choices: that is, the assumption that aesthetics is an apolitical, non-located practice. What ensued was a process of negotiation, interrogation and subversion involving curators, designers, bureaucrats and government functionaries that exhibited all the hallmarks of Cold War espionage. At stake was Australian identity.

The resulting exhibitions have attracted a wide variety of responses, the most significant of which have come from the current Australian Government. In the three years since the Museum opened, the Government have terminated the contract of the Director, Dawn Casey and hosted a review of the Museum that has presented criticisms that reflect the government's own values: that the Museum presents a so-called 'black armband' view of Australian history and that it caters to the lowest common denominator by including popular culture in its exhibitions.

This paper discusses the curators' concerns and the government's responses to the Museum by reference to the following notions: that the identity of a space is a negotiation of cultural memories, some of which will be in accord, others in conflict; that these memories are articulated visually in iconography and design that are site-specific and politically-motivated; that aesthetics is a political practice; and that popular culture is a repository of cultural memory that can be used to characterise and critique (socially, culturally, politically) a particular space-time in the history of a community.

## MUSEUMS AND MATERIAL CULTURE

**Anne Graham**

University of Newcastle  
(Australia)

*The Mnemonic function of objects, materials and places as constructors of identity: 'Memory and Things'*

This paper aims to explore the importance of spaces, places and objects in terms of identity construction, memory retrieval and sense of self. I intend to discuss contained spaces of social occupancy: buildings, homes, and rooms and to consider the conjunctions between art, bodily memory and place.

Memories emerge unbidden, stimulated by sensory perception embedded within the substance of material culture. These memories interact and interface, and it is this complexity of interactions and shifting meanings that we constantly construct, tear down and negotiate. A critical aesthetic intervention into these processes can provoke highly charged recognitions for the viewer.

Artists who work quite specifically with resonant architectural and domestic forms, will be used to demonstrate the interlinked relationship of memory, materiality and space. All of the works discussed in this paper suggest a triggering of bodily memory that evoke the rhythms of the body itself. These works return consciousness to the body, its inscribed histories and ultimate mortality. These works also make the everyday strange, imbued with new meaning, they offer to us the possibility of looking with fresh eyes at the way we negotiate space, materiality and memory in our own lives.

**Mihnea Mircan**

Museum of Contemporary Art,  
Bucharest

*Critical Mass The Re-location of the National Museum of Contemporary Art in Bucharest, Romania*

The question of a museum for contemporary art in Romania had been discussed, sporadically yet always with a sense of historical urgency, in the course of post-revolutionary years. The location finally selected was wing E4 of The Palace of the Parliament, a space now converted and scheduled to be inaugurated in October 2004.

The Palace of the Parliament, formerly known as the "House of the People", is the second largest building in the world. It is the most aggressive expression of dictator Nicolae Ceausescu's absolute power in communist Romania. Confusedly agglomerating different layers of meaning, it is both pyramid and castle, or a mausoleum for the living. Its disquieting "sublime" has an additional source: it sought to conflate nationalism and internationalism in style, something which can be traced in the oscillation between a Baroque and a Socialist Realist treatment of the theme of political power. The "House of the People" was destined for one man alone. Therefore, fantasmatic identification aside, the creation of the Museum in wing E4, is the first instance when the public actually has access into the edifice, being invited to take part into an experience. The creation of the Museum in the Palace of the Parliament perforates the secluded space of political leadership, letting life insinuate and giving it back to the present.

All these circumstances have polarised the artistic community in Romania. There are, roughly, two lines of reasoning, perhaps corresponding to the two basic perceptions of the House. There are those who claim that a Museum is quite simply unthinkable in a place built on political terror. Then there are those who see in such interventions the only way in which the House can aspire to some sort of urban legitimacy: by becoming integrated in the city texture, by the conversion operated through its opening up to the public, not in the form of tourist attraction in an architectural freak show, but in the participative, investigative ways stimulated by contemporary art, positioned as subversive counter-context. The malign past, the dizzying opulence on the other side of the wall and the proximity of political life – all these are viewed as beneficial challenges, creating a framework of tensions which artworks can confront, incorporate, play with and reinterpret. So that a madly expanded volume can achieve critical mass, discharging higher energies.

**Melissa Strauss**  
Arts Council England

*Museums and Memory:  
Contact History and Contemporary  
Issues*

Museums provide a structural base to debate the shape of history and address memorial anxieties. In Australia, this involves the polemics of contact history and ongoing race relations. The National Museum of Australia, which opened in 2001, aimed to use its role in telling history to promote the reconciliation process. Its version of events, however, contradicted the traditional narrative favoured by the incumbent conservative government, and the Museum's position on the past has been the subject of a recent inquiry. In particular, conservative critics objected to the didactic text labels covering frontier wars, and dispossession generally, stating that they were inaccurate and presented an overly negative view of Australia's history.

The National Museum of Australia has assumed that reconciliation can occur through consensual collective memory. The Museum aims to convince its visitors of a revisionist history regarding contact between white and indigenous peoples. It utilises the approach of the counter-memorial, aiming to incorporate misdeeds into the national narrative. The Museum, however, retains an authoritative voice and presents a simplified didactic version of events. This results in both an over-simplification of the issues informing race relations and the potential to alienate visitors whose memories may not concur with the Museum's narrative. I believe that the physical aspects of these displays contribute to the authoritative and simplified nature of the Museum's messages, and have looked at the use of contemporary art to inspire a more open-ended engagement with the past.

Many of the problems associated with the Museum's approach can be seen in other institutions addressing contentious issues. In particular, a lot of difficulties appear to arise with the relationship between past events and present circumstances. While museums are presenting a more critical view of history, they are less willing to examine the effects of past actions on contemporary issues. This paper will compare presentations of past and present at the National Museum of Australia and the British Museum of Empire and Commonwealth. It will examine the Museums' attempts to influence collective memory in relation to contact history. It will also explore their treatment of the present, with particular reference to the relationship between previous misdeeds and contemporary manifestations of disadvantage.

This paper will then suggest alternative approaches to exploring contact history and race relations with particular emphasis on the materiality of displays.

**Astrid Swenson**  
St. John's College, Cambridge

*Entangled memories: 'National  
Heritage' in France, Germany and  
England. 1870-1914*

I analyse how and why the concept of 'cultural heritage' was originally turned into a public concern at the turn of the 20th century, by comparing France, Germany and England. I focus on the problem of monument protection to show how this concept evolved from merely implying the presence of outstanding monuments to the broad definition it has today. Whereas explanations are generally sought within a purely national context, this paper will engage in methodological reflection on entangled history, combining a comparative approach with an analysis of intercultural transfer and *histoire croisée*.

Centred on the discussion of the place of tangible remains of the past in collective memory - often transforming private property into public monuments - the concept has its origins in the wake of the French revolution, due to romanticism, increased vandalism and nascent nationalism. Gradually a seedbed was provided for seeing historic monuments as especially precious and hence the State as having a role in guarding them.

The paper focuses on the period between 1870 and 1914, when key legislation was passed and modern conservation developed. The perception of neighbouring "national heritages" and the acculturation of foreign concepts played a decisive part in this process. Despite a situation of open concurrence, the exchange between foreign state agencies as well as private societies on this behalf was intense. In the public discussion on legislation and the choice of monuments to protect as well as their conservation, the allusion to foreign practises was a means for the different parties involved, such as legislators, preservationists, associations, architects, to justify and possibly impose their view of what the cultural memory of their country should be.

Moreover, while leading partly to different approaches in the respective cultures, this process also contributed to the emergence of a common culture of memory (*Erinnerungskultur*) - a culture of memory that towards the end to the 19th century was

increasingly promoted as a 'measurement for the cultural level of a people'. Attempting to be the leading nations in this matter, France, Germany and Britain were embedded in a wider network including most European states. The way states were chosen as worthy examples in public discussion, allows us to draw conclusion on the discursive construction of "civilised nations". This leads finally to the question of how far this shared process involved the idea of a 'common heritage' and a common identity. Internationalist and nationalist discourses frequently coexisted. While the primary aim of intercultural transfer was to improve the national situation and to prove ones supremacy as a Kulturnation within Europe, it was at the same time a means for differentiating the European powers from their colonies as well as from the United States.

**Kathryn Yusoff**  
University of London

*Landscapes in transmission: time,  
place and memory in the postal  
system*

The postcard flutters; through the postal system, through the letter box, across the world, on its journey, carried by ship, by plane, by hand, from Antarctica to here. The picture is flat, the message repetitive, its pulse is in its geography. It hopes of 'capture' - of time and of place - an image, a message, a narrative, a signature of ourselves in other places. As the postcard arrives, and lands securely, It continues to wander through time and memory, from subject to significant other, from here to a now unreachable there; a trajectory entangled in desire and loss: a geography of the fantastic and banal that delivers a gift and a trap.

The postcard moves through landscapes, traversing time and memory to construct vagrant geographies: distinct yet wayward knowledges of place. The Postal System sets into play the forces of mobility that shaped the visibility of places on a global scale. At the same time, through the deployment of the picture postcard, the Postal System established a commodity form for place that implied a consuming subject in the landscape. From its inception the picture postcard was not merely an ephemeral object, it disseminated an image and naturalised a way of seeing embedded in imperial expansion. The postcard, as the harbinger of an emergent modernity, established a specific relation to place borne out of the dual mobilities of the expansion of empire (through war and colonialism) and the conceptual shrinkage of the modern world that this affected. It is a document of distance - the incarnation of a journey - and the ability to make those journeys. At a key moment in the conflicting emergence of modernity's spatialities, the postcard's mobility enacted imperial aspirations to bring the world together into a complete system, through a process of fragmentation and proliferation. In its proliferation as a mass-media text the picture postcard set an ordered and repetitive act of memory and forgetting place into place. It opened up the "territory of the World Postal Union as an immense space of forgetting, the object of which was the world itself". Consequently a picture of the world is in mass circulation at any one given time, a material landscape of communication that flattens the topologies of place as it traverses space. As a free-floating visual archive of memory the postal system is in constant circulation transmitting fragments of the landscape.



## 8. WAR, GENOCIDE AND NATIONAL MEMORY

### Rick Crownshaw

Manchester Metropolitan University

#### Rick Crownshaw

Manchester Metropolitan University

*Reconsidering Postmemory: Photography and Memory in the Work of Rachel Seiffert and W.G. Sebald*

Postmemory has become a key theoretical paradigm in recent memory and trauma studies, with particular relevance to Holocaust memory. In brief, the concept of postmemory describes the way in which those generations that did not witness the Holocaust inherit traumatic memories of it from those who did. Marianne Hirsch, who first theorized postmemory and coined the term, initially applied the concept to the inheritance of memory within the family but she has broadened its application to a more general, cultural inheritance.

In recent practices of memorialisation, be they literary, monumental or museal, post-memory does not just describe symptoms of the transference of an unworked-through trauma found in the form and content of those projects. Rather, something akin to the concept of postmemory has been harnessed as the very means of transmitting memory. Informed by something like this concept, such projects act as conduits for the traumatic reverberations of the Holocaust – its after-shocks – that provoke remembrance (of a kind) in future generations.

My contention is that this theoretical paradigm, which seems to be shaping current memorial projects, overlooks the way post-Holocaust memory work can become appropriative, displacing or colonising the memories of witnesses, replacing their trauma with a kind of equivalent experienced vicariously. Under such a theoretical regime, and its homogenizing sense of trauma, the specificities of particular acts of memory work and identities formed in relation to trauma are elided, as are the distinct ethical implications of remembering the trauma of, say, victimization as opposed to perpetration. The work of Sebald and Seiffert, in particular the novels *Austerlitz* (2001) and *The Dark Room* (2000), suggests readings that offer critical inventions in the discourse of postmemory by reinstalling the particularities of memory work and of memorative identity.

### Paul Gough

University of West England

*Towards the creation of a 'sacred national shrine': the National Memorial Arboretum as a landscape of civilian, military and corporate memory*

This paper will examine 'strategic' memory, focusing on the role of multi-national corporations in projecting and protecting their organizational memory through a programme of memorial building and the acquisition of cultural capital. The paper will take as its case study the creation of the National Memorial Arboretum, intended to be a place of national commemoration in the heart of England. The National Memorial Arboretum in Staffordshire, UK was established in 1994 but its origins can be traced to calls to create a 'sacred national shrine' after the Second World War. Through an examination of the systems of memory creation, the paper will explore the way that gardens and planting schemes act mnemonically to become theatres of memory, especially where fragmented memories are brought into wholeness through a process of 're-membering'. Now officially considered to be 'full', the National memory Arboretum favours the indexical over the iconic, and the commemorative form is intended to be inclusive, democratic and all-embracing. As will be argued in the paper, this has resulted in a complex design where esoteric selections of shrubs and trees have been brought together in quixotic and often obscure juxtapositions that are designed to relate to regimental or organizational tradition and histories. In order to make sense of this complex symbolism, the author proposes a basic typology of mnemonic form, offering several broad categories where colour, shape, design and numbers have been used to signify memory. The paper concludes by appraising the effectiveness of the arboretum as a repository of national memory, and its adoption by a number of corporate bodies to house their archive of war memorials but also to extend their role as benefactors and strategic 'rememberers'.

As a painter, draughtsman, educator and writer Paul Gough will also explore the linkage between practice and research, and the application of knowledge via studio, archive and fieldwork.

**Dimitris Kousouris**

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*Public memory of the civil war  
and the 'poetry of defeat' in  
post-war Greece*

Greece exits World War II through a long civil war which ends in 1949. Afterwards, the defeated communist Left is banned from the political system and enters a phase of oppression and multiple discriminations. A permanent state of emergency, based on the legal fiction of "permanent civil war", finishes only with the fall of the colonels' junta in 1974. Yet the official recognition of the National Resistance and the final abolition of civil-war legislation occur only in the 1980s, with the ritualistic destruction of all post-war police files.

Seeking a new republican consensus this collective forgetting is based on a discourse which justifies, politically and morally, the struggle of the defeated of the civil conflict. Being the product of the transition marked by the first socialist government in the early 1980s, the public memory of the civil war is disconnected from the question of power. Nevertheless, the relevant narrative had already been created during the 1950s and 1960s under the regime of perpetual defeat: the rank-and-file militants' double identity, clandestine fractions, police surveillance, censorship, reclusion and exile are some parts of the 25-year routine of almost one third of the country's population.

Fighting for their reintegration into the national body, the defeated concentrate their efforts on the interpretation of the collective experience of the 1940s. Building upon R. Kosellek's reflections on social articulations between the field of experience and the horizon of expectation, I shall attend to present the results from the study of different kinds of the cultural production from 1949 to 1967 (colonels' coup d'état), i.e. (a) political documents of both the official or clandestine instances of the communist Left, (b) historical texts produced both inside and outside an academic context and (c) the products and practices of the cultural movement usually designated as "poetry of defeat".

By tracing the ideological environment in which the literary production was charged with the task of exclusive expression of an oppressed social and cultural potential, we encounter: i) a cultural policy of redefinition of the nation and the national past, and ii) a vast operation of reconciling the present-past of political utopia with a present lived and described as threat or disillusionment.

**Eric Langenbacher**

Georgetown University

*Appropriating Cultural Memory of  
the Holocaust: The Memory of  
German Suffering*

The construction of the cultural memory and commemorations of the Holocaust have become both trans-national (Levy and Sznajder) and exemplary (Confino 2002). Various precepts, symbols and, especially, commemorative forms such as the anti-monument (Young 1993) have been applied in a variety of disparate contexts - from the Canadian treatment of its native population, to Argentine efforts to deal with the "dirty war" (Huysen 2003), to plans surrounding a memorial to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 in New York City. Although usually benign, sometimes such efforts explicitly try to appropriate the commemorative forms and discourses surrounding memory of the Holocaust in order to increase the visibility and moral capital of another traumatic memory. At times, such appropriations are part of competitive victimization and power struggles that, consciously or not, aim to relativize memory of the Holocaust. Such dynamics have been the most problematic and visible regarding periodic efforts in Germany to commemorate the memory of German suffering, based on events such as the destruction of cities by Allied bombs during World War Two, the mass rape of German women by members of the Red Army and the ethnic cleansing from, then, Eastern Germany and Eastern Europe as the Third Reich collapsed.

This paper examines the projection of the discourse and commemorative forms of memory of the Holocaust onto this memory in several cases, including the commemorative events of 1995, the 50th anniversary of the end of the war, the Haus der Geschichte museum in Bonn, and various discussions in 2002 and 2003 concerning the publication of several books that portray Germans as victims (Grass 2002, Friedrich 2002, Sebald 2003), and the efforts to construct an informational and commemorative centre (Zentrum gegen Vertreibung) devoted to those Germans who were ethnically cleansed. These analyses reveal the power of the iconography and cultural memory of the Holocaust, as well as the resentment this influence sometimes engenders.

**Neil Matheson**

University of Westminster

*The Ghost Stamp, the Detective and the Hospital for Boots: Spirit Photography and the Remembrance of the First World War Dead*

While killing time on Paddington station one day in the early 1920s, ghost hunter Harry Price fell into conversation with a stranger who turned out to be a fellow mason. They got to talking about photography and the man showed him what looked like an ordinary rubber stamp, but which was in fact a Ghost Stamp – a stamp used to produce fake “spirit photos.” With millions of young men slaughtered in the trenches during the First World War, many surviving relatives turned to Spiritualism in an attempt to re-establish contact with the dead. Through séances, using rapped messages and other forms of psychic manifestation, the dead were able to live again and to provide consolation to the living. At the more spectacular end of such phenomena, spirit photography claimed to provide direct evidence of the “return of the dead” and of the continuity between the realm of the living and that of the dead. Having lost his son Raymond at Ypres in September 1915, Sir Oliver Lodge was soon in communication with his dead son by way of séances. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, who lost his own son Kingsley in 1918 and his brother in 1919, devoted the last 14 years of his life to Spiritualism, becoming the principal propagandist for the movement. Making contact with the dead provided relief for the bereaved – but were they being deceived? The spirit photograph, it was believed, would finally settle the issue of authenticity – but why, against all the evidence, would relatives insist on discovering the faces of dead loved ones in blurry photographs?

What, too, does the spirit photograph tell us of the nature of the medium and of its dual role as embodiment of both personal and cultural memory? From its invention, the photograph had been conceived as a mirror with a memory, both memorial and objective record of reality: “Every photograph”, says Barthes, “is a certificate of presence.” The spirit photograph thus emerges at the conjunction of a series of public debates on the politics of memorial and on appropriate forms of public mourning, while also being a manifestation of trauma – as such it can be seen to embody a popular alternative form of remembrance, as opposed to the official rhetoric of figurative sculpture or the tomb of the Unknown Warrior.

**Katie Rickard**

University of Bath

*Mediating Between the Past and the Present: The Filmic Representation of Wartime Student Resistance in Munich*

The proliferation of ways in which World War II Munich student resistance group the ‘White Rose’ has been remembered in speech, ceremony and text, the names of streets, town squares and even trains that symbolically travel the length of Germany, suggests that the group has become a significant part of the German cultural and political landscape. The myths and memories which grew up around the group have been recalled and re-presented in times of crisis and change in recent German history and have served as an important means of addressing issues surrounding the Nazi past. In the immediate post-war period, commemoration accentuated the group’s sacrifice and heroism as proof of the existence of an “other Germany”, and presented individual group members as figures who could help atone for the deeds of the rest of the nation. Furthermore, public representations of the group have often sought to pass comment on contemporary German politics and society. During the late 1960s, elements of the student protest movement sought to ‘reclaim’ the 1942-1943 Munich student resistance in order to call into question the very assumptions, values and politics associated with the group’s memory in the 1950s. The students of 1968 called for a more radical, more critical political analysis of German opposition to National Socialism.

Concentrating on two competing filmic representations of the Munich student resistance in 1982, my paper focuses on the ways in which Percy Adlon’s *Five Last Days*, and Michael Verhoeven’s *The White Rose*, explore and represent German opposition to Hitler. A comparative study of these two films reveals both the debates that have influenced the form and function of the memory of the ‘White Rose’ in the post-war era, and wider debates about German culture, politics, society and national identity in the early 1980s. Although both films use a documentary style to ‘recreate’ the story of the ‘White Rose’ for the modern audience, the meanings and memories of resistance they create are very different: one film clearly reinforces the traditional, religious elements associated with remembrance formalised in the early era of commemoration, while the other attempts to place remembrance in a more contemporary context, inspiring the audience to assess critically how the past has actually been dealt with in Germany since 1945, specifically by the structures and systems designed to ensure democracy after Hitler.

**Joanne Sayner**  
University of Birmingham

*Remembering Resistance: Greta Kuckhoff and 'The Red Orchestra' in German Cultural Memories*

The 'Red Orchestra' ('Rote Kapelle') was the name given by the Nazis to a diverse group of international resisters to fascism, most of whom were executed in 1943. Using as its focus the autobiography and journal articles of Greta Kuckhoff, one of the group members who survived, this paper will consider how remembrance of the group in East Germany, West Germany and subsequently reunified Germany has been fraught with controversy. It will look at how hierarchies of remembrance within commemoration of the resistance to fascism were, and still are, inextricably linked to prevailing cultural politics. Examination of the journal articles from the 1950s and the autobiography from 1972 will be followed by a discussion of contemporary remembrance of the group in the Exhibition of German Resistance ('Gedenkstätte Deutscher Widerstand') and the memorial Topography of Terror ('Topographie des Terrors') in Berlin.

The group comprised a significantly large proportion of women and this paper will consider particularly the gendered dimensions of remembrance, both within Kuckhoff's texts and within the broader remembrance of the group. It will show how remembrance of Greta Kuckhoff herself is often secondary to that of her husband, author Adam Kuckhoff, one of those murdered by the Nazis. The paper will discuss how, within the context of past and present narratives of totalitarianism and contemporary dismissals of East German history, historiography and literature, the group has been persistently maligned and marginalised. It will show how narratives of treason, rather than resistance, have pervaded remembrance of the 'Red Orchestra'. It will conclude by emphasising how the institutionalisation of memories of resistance has defined, and been defined by, hegemonic concepts of national identity.

**Alina Serban**  
Editor: Architect Design  
Review (Bucharest)

*Legitimizing the narrative discourse of history*

What is today the real significance of the recovery of the past? How we can deal with the restoration of history, knowing that few years ago the project of mass awareness was the goal of the interpretation of history, of its manner of functioning. The historiographer was charged with the historic function of executing the past. The rationalization of the whole structure of historiography succeeded to make artificial the historical relations.

My intention is to find some answers to the questions: "what we are remembering?" and "why we are remembering that fact?" My initial presupposition is that we are remembering what has been transmitted to the next generations through a narration. Taking into account this aspect, I'll try to analyze the place of narration into the architecture of historical knowledge. My subject of debating will be an important moment from Romanian history, the 1907 Revolt.

The difficulties of questioning the existence mode of the historical narration are dependent on the information existent in our collective memory. The collective memory, understood as a memory of history, is the space of testimony and forgetting in the same time. But what happens when the role of the collective memory is officially erased? How we can reconstruct the real course of events from a puzzle in which some things are spoken and some are deliberately omitted?

The sense I am giving to the process of recalling is not necessarily a justification or a validation of a certain historical episode or of a certain interpretation. From my perspective, this process is equivalent with an archaeological investigation, with an act of decoding some national/istic icons. The particular aspect of the narration and the relation between the re-written history and the status of representation gave the selection of the theme, the 1907 Revolt. Following the process of manipulation of this common theme of the Romanian history, I tried to examine its narrative configuration into historiography and into the art field. The narrative form of the historical theme will reflect a rhetoric approach. Only by our attempt to distinguish, inside the historical narration, between rhetorical manipulation, credible argumentation and factual accounts, we can obtain a varied image of the multiple facades of the historical representation and of the symbolical interpretations associated to it. The examination of the historiographical operations is passing through three levels: the one of explication, the other of legitimation and the latter of representation.

## WAR, GENOCIDE AND NATIONAL MEMORY

**Victoria Stewart**

University of the West of  
England

*Anamnesis and the Second World  
War in Contemporary British Fiction*

An examination of recent fictional representations of the Second World War shows authors both intervening in debates about the experience of war on the 'Home Front', and drawing on contemporary discourses about trauma, memory and witnessing. In this paper, I will focus initially on Michael Frayn's *Spies* (2002) and Liz Jensen's *War Crimes for the Home* (2002), each of which is structured round the recovery of wartime memories by a protagonist who, during the conflict, was in a marginal position. In Frayn's case, the narrator was a child during the war, in Jensen's case, the narrator is a woman; but although they are presented as dissonant voices in terms of culturally inscribed narratives of 'Home Front' experience, both are ultimately able to complete their own wartime story by filling the gaps in their memories. I will draw a contrast with two other texts, Ian McEwan's *Atonement* (2001) and Christopher Priest's *The Separation* (2002). These also debate the shortcomings of memory through disjunctive versions of wartime events and share Frayn's and Jensen's concern with the permeability of perceived boundaries between combatants and non-combatants. But whilst McEwan's and Priest's narrators are, like Frayn's and Jensen's, open about the deficiencies of their own memories, I will argue that *Atonement* and *The Separation* go beyond questions of narratorial reliability and interrogate at a more fundamental level the nature of literary narrative and its relationship to history. These novels are not simply set in the past; they take the process of constructing the past, and specifically the processes of memory, as their chief focus. I will contextualise these works in relation to what Andreas Huyssen has described as the 'turn toward memory' in contemporary culture. Reasserting the centrality of individual memories is not necessarily a purely nostalgic move, and I will suggest that in focusing on damaged memories, on the displacement of memory by imagination and of history by speculation, novels such as these move towards a recognition of the potentially traumatic effects of the lack of fit between memory and history.

**Jane Taylor**

The Surrey Institute of Art &  
Design

*Haunted texts: the part played by  
photographs and other illustrative  
devices in the work of WG Sebald*

In his last book, Austerlitz, Sebald writes: 'I was always especially entranced, said Austerlitz, by the moment when the shadows of reality, so to speak, emerge out of nothing on the exposed paper, as memories do in the middle of the night, darkening again if you try to cling to them, just like a photographic print left in the developing bath too long.' This paper examines Sebald's use of illustration in the context of its response to the 'silencing' of memory after the Second World War affecting a second generation of German writers, of which he, an émigré professor at the University of East Anglia, was one. Sebald was a particularly visual writer in a number of senses, not the least of which is his use of photographs to address absence, and anastomosis. His legacy is a cluster of poetry and four distinctive narratives which challenge boundaries between fiction, documentary, travel writing and criticism in pursuit of damaged cultural memory. With particular reference to identifiable clusters of illustration, I shall attempt to show how Sebald's photographs provide an alternative, though complementary reading of these narratives.

