ACTA UNIVERSITATIS CAROLINAE
STUDIA TERRITORIALIA
XIX
2019
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XIX
2019
2

CHARLES UNIVERSITY
KAROLINUM PRESS
2019

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ISSN 1213-4449 (Print)
ISSN 2336-3231 (Online)

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EDITORIAL

Dear readers,

We are pleased to present the second 2019 issue of the journal *Acta Universitatis Carolinae – Studia Territorialia*. In it, you will find three original research articles from the field of contemporary history and developments of the nations of Europe and North America. All three published articles thematically center around public history, citizenship education and nation-building through reflection and reinterpretation of select key – and often disturbing – moments of the past.

The volume opens with an article on creating the modern political nation in Canada after 1867. In his historical account of Canadian citizenship and national identity, Raymond Blake traces the evolution of the prevalent identity narratives embracing the country's diversity in ethnicities, languages, and cultures.

The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes – the predecessor of the state of Yugoslavia – faced similar challenges in its search for an inclusive national narrative after independence following the World War I. Paweł Michalak examines in what way the state propaganda of the ruling Karađorđević dynasty made use of the heritage of cohabitation of the South Slavic nations in the Napoleonic Illyrian Provinces. He focuses on the way this heritage was exploited in the school curricula of the interwar period and in the public activities of the pro-regime intelligentsia.

Finally, Katrin Antweiler presents inquiry into citizenship education in the Federal Republic of Germany. Relying on critical discourse analysis and exemplifying the activities of the Memorium Nuremberg Trials, a German public memory institution, she demonstrates to what extent the predominant national political discourse mirrors the tragic experience of the Nazi crimes against humanity and the memory of Holocaust.

Of note, public history is also the topic of the extensive report on the common German-Polish activities in restoring dilapidated cemeteries in the Polish region of Masuria, which was a part of Germany's East Prussia prior to 1945. In addition, this issue features the regular review column informing on the latest books in the field that may deserve attention of international readership.

It is with great sadness that we announce the passing away of Professor Crister S. Garrett, long serving director of the Institute of American Studies at the Leipzig University and a member of the advisory board of our journal.

On behalf of the editorial board,

Lucie Filipová and Jan Šír

doi: 10.14712/23363231.2020.1

ARTICLES

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STUDIA TERRITORIALIA 2

CITIZENSHIP, NATIONAL IDENTITY, AND THE SEARCH FOR STABILITY IN CANADA

RAYMOND BLAKE
UNIVERSITY OF REGINA, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE DUBLIN

Abstract
When Canada was created it debated if it was best to seek political solidarity by creating a single political identity or was it wiser to build a citizenship that made space for all communities. This article argues there was no attempt to unite Canadians around a single national loyalty but only to join an array of diverse communities whose members might adopt a shared citizenship. Since 1867, Canada has adopted different approaches to creating citizenship to maintain political solidarity. Diversity has been an integral part of that narrative.
Keywords: Canada; diversity; citizenship; nation-building; George-Étienne Cartier; Justin Trudeau
DOI: 10.14712/23363231.2020.2

Introduction

Many Canadians believe their country is an inclusive nation and diversity is one of the characteristics that define them. They might even argue that diversity has been a permanent fixture of Canada since Europeans began to settle in North America. The search for accommodation between the descendants

The research for this article was supported by an Insight Grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the Craig Dobbin Professorship of Canadian Studies at University College Dublin.
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The author wishes to thank the two anonymous readers who offered excellent suggestions for revisions during the peer-review process.

of early British and French-speaking settlers began in earnest in the mid-eighteenth century after France ceded much of what would become Canada to the British and the two ethnic groups, often warring against each other with their Indigenous allies in the past, realized they had little choice but to work collaboratively. By the middle of the nineteenth century they had established a level of cooperation that led, first, to responsible government in 1848 and, then, to Confederation in 1867, even though Lord Durham, who was appointed governor of British territory in North America following the rebellions of 1837 and 1838, had called for the assimilation of French Canada into the dominant British paradigm.[1] Various ethnic groups, notably those that came from Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, were accommodated into a Canadian mosaic in the decades that followed but it was much later before Indigenous peoples and First Nations were considered part of Canada's founding peoples. Yet, Canadians have long celebrated their commitment to diversity and inclusion, and successive prime ministers have been engaged since 1867 in the construction of a series of national narratives to foster a citizenship that embraces the various diverse political and cultural communities that constitute Canada. While the search for the accommodation of most ethnic groups and a citizenship inclusive of all diverse communities have been ongoing since Canada was founded, the attempts to create a cohesive nation continue to face great challenges. Recent census data show that more than 7.5 million Canadians, representing nearly 22 percent of the population, are foreign-born. In the country's two largest cities, Toronto and Vancouver, newcomers represent 46.1 and 40.8 percent of the population, respectively.[2] Several opinion polls throughout 2019 found that attitudes towards immigration may be hardening as three-quarters of Canadians expressed fears that the country may be reaching a limit in its ability to successfully integrate newcomers.[3] A recent survey by Environics Institute also found that while the nation is important to Canadians' personal sense of identity, it is other identities, such as region or province, language, ethnicity or race, and gender, that is of growing importance to individual identity. Still, the survey

[1] See John Ralston Saul, *Extraordinary Canadians: Louis Hippolyte LaFontaine and Robert Baldwin* (Toronto: Penguin, 2012) on the 1840s. Saul argued that LaFontaine and Baldwin laid the foundations of a new nation with a "broad program of social, political, economic and administrative policies consciously and intellectually designed to bring together opposing religions, languages and races."

[2] "Immigration and Ethnocultural Diversity: Key Results from the 2016 Census," Statistics Canada, October 25, 2017, https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/171025/dq171025b-eng.htm.

[3] See, for example, Teresa Wright, "Majority of Canadians think immigration should be limited: poll," *Global News*, June 16, 2019, https://globalnews.ca/news/5397306/canada-immigration-poll.

found that Canadians continue to share similar values but their confidence in the nation's capacity to resolve differences and fragmentation that exist is much lower than it was in a generation ago.[4]

This article shows how successive governments and prime ministers have attempted to manage diversity and build a citizenship narrative that is inclusive and sustains the fragile Canadian state. It examines, in other words, how the Canadian state has, since 1867, attempted to create a sense of belonging or an "imagined community" in the words of Benedict Anderson.[5] It argues that prime ministers have embraced Canada's diversity in their speeches and other public pronouncements while encouraging all Canadians to share a common sense of citizenship based on a shared purpose and shared values.[6] In this article, citizenship is considered to mean the system of values, institutional practices, and narratives that provide the conditions that allow for individuals and groups to belong to, or be members of, a national community and live together in relative harmony in an increasingly complex society.[7] Much of the historiography on national identity, citizenship and nationalism in Canada has been preoccupied with how the Canadian state replaced its ethnic nationalism, based largely on a dual British and French heritage, with a civic nationalism in the 1970s and 1980s that included a Charter of Rights and Freedoms, an official languages act, and a policy of official multiculturalism that, collectively, came to define what it meant to be Canadian.[8] This process, it has been argued, asked citizens to believe there was no dominant ethnic culture; rather, Canadians could celebrate the

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[4] "2019 Survey of Canadians. Canada: Pulling Together or Drifting Apart. Final Report, April 2019" (Study conducted by the Environics Institute for Social Research), https://www.environicsinstitute.org/docs/default-source/project-documents/confederation-of-tomorrow-2019-survey---report-1/confederation-of-tomorrow-survey-2019---report-1-pulling-together-or-drifting-apart---final-report.pdf.

[5] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991).

[6] On this point, see Samuel V. LaSelva, *The Moral Foundations of Canadian Federalism: Paradoxes, Achievements, and Tragedies of Nationhood* (Montreal / Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996).

[7] Georgi Dimitrov and Pepka Boyadieva, "Citizenship Education as an Instrument for Strengthening the State's Supremacy: An Apparent Paradox?" *Citizenship Studies* 13, No. 2 (2009): 153–169, doi: 10.1080/13621020902731165.

[8] See Jatinder Mann, *The Search for a New National Identity: The Rise of Multiculturalism in Canada and Australia, 1890s–1970s* (New York: Peter Lang, 2016); Michael Ignatieff, *The Rights Revolution* (Toronto: Anansi, 2000); Will Kymlicka, *Finding Our Way: Rethinking Ethnocultural Relations in Canada* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 1998); and Charles Taylor, *Reconciling the Solitudes: Essays on Canadian Federalism and Nationalism* (Montreal / Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993).

triumph of diversity which recognized the same rights for all Canadians regardless of their ethnicity while repudiating the two-nation narrative in favor of official multiculturalism while, yet, continuing to embrace the Canadian values of the rule of law, the equality of women and men, democracy and other values common to most liberal, democratic states.[9] This article contends that the search to bridge the diversity factor is not new. It shows that prime ministers, at the time of Confederation and since, have sought to construct an inclusive national identity and a citizenship narrative that would build social and political solidarity and social cohesion and stability by not only recognizing Canada's diversity but by embracing it. Their attempts have taken various forms since 1867, and it is important to understand that the narrative of multiculturalism and rights is only one of many narratives constructed by political leaders to build an inclusive citizenship in Canada. As such, this article contributes to the debate on Canadian national identity and citizenship by showing that the Canadian state has long struggled with how best to build a national community that accommodates and recognizes the diversity that has always been the Canadian reality.

Notions of Belonging at Confederation, 1867

Since Canada's founding in 1867, politicians have been concerned with how to achieve social harmony and cohesion among its diverse and multiethnic foundations and how to foster a sense of belonging for all citizens. There had been no attempt in 1867 to unite Canadians around a single national loyalty but only to join an array of communities whose members might possibly become a single united people under a national government and remain loyal to that state.[10] The political leaders who negotiated the creation of Canada in the 1860s wrestled with the most important question that leaders of all nation-states with diverse populations must ask – is it best to seek national unity and political solidarity by trying to create a single, dominant political identity, or is it wiser to build a national identity that makes space for, and accepts, the legitimacy of all of the communities that comprise the nation. They concluded the latter was the best path forward and included in Canada's constitution the necessary elements to

[9] Jose E. Igartua, *The Other Quiet Revolution: National Identities in English Canada, 1945–1971* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2007); and Mann, *The Search for a New National Identity*.

[10] Robert C. Vipond, *Liberty and Community: Canadian Federalism and the Failure of the Constitution* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1991), 4 and 47–82.

create a sense of belonging.[11] They regarded the acceptance of pluralism and diversity-based linguistic and cultural rights as essential to Canadian unity. The country aspired to inter-societal reconciliation rather than the vanquishing of minority communities.[12] The hope was that a political rather than ethnic approach to citizenship would lead to a sense of belonging among the various communities that constituted the nation.

Diversity, then, became a virtue in the new political order that was created and it can be seen in the constitution that was enacted in 1867. Two of the important architects in that process were John A. Macdonald, who became Canada's first prime minister, and his long-time, French-speaking and Catholic ally, George-Étienne Cartier. They held different views of what Canada should be, but the British North America Act incorporated the vision and values of both. Macdonald dreamed of an economic union as the foundation of effective nationhood and maintained that the national government required a variety of general powers and overarching authorities to supervise the provinces to do so. Cartier, on the other hand, insisted that Canada accommodate its distinct minorities. He understood that a series of geopolitical, economic and historical realities meant that by 1867 two settler communities – one French-speaking and the other English – were firmly entrenched, and if the new nation were to succeed the constitution had to prevent the national majority from annexing the French minority that was already very much a part of Canada's cultural identity.[13] For Cartier, diversity was a fact that could not be erased from the Canadian polity, and it had to be reconciled to achieve unity. In British North America, he said, "we are five different peoples [English, Scottish, Welsh, Irish, and French] living in five separate provinces," and with Confederation, they would form "a political nationality independent of national origin, or the religion of any one individual."[14] Macdonald himself echoed those sentiments: "We have a constitution now under which all British subjects are in a position of absolute equality, having

[11] Some of those ideas are developed in John D. Whyte, "Federalism Dreams," *Queen's Law Journal* 34 (2008): 1–24.

[12] Some will take issue with this claim and point to the Canada's treatment of Indigenous peoples as an example of genocide. See James Daschuk, *Clearing the Plains: Disease, Politics of Starvation and the Loss of Aboriginal Life* (Regina: University of Regina Press, 2013); and Andrew Woolford and Jeff Benvenuto, "Canada and Colonial Genocide," *Journal of Genocide Research* 17, No. 4 (2015): 373–390, doi: 10.1080/14623528.2015.1096580.

[13] For the differences between John A. Macdonald and George-Étienne Cartier, see A. I. Silver, *The French-Canadian Idea of Confederation 1864–1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 36–38.

[14] Canada, *Parliamentary Debates on the subject of the Confederation* (Quebec: Hunter Rose, 1865), 55–59.

equal rights of every kind – of language, of religion, of property and of person. There is no paramount race in this country."[15] Their hope was that Indigenous peoples would be assimilated and assume the attributes of Europeans.

Cartier's dream for Canada was crucial in creating a sense of belonging, and it is evident not only in the constitutional recognition of Canada's religious, linguistic and legal duality but also in its federal constitution. Federalism was adopted to share responsibility between competing provincial and national interests and to find balance between unity and diversity while providing a design for social cohesion and, at the same time, forging a framework for a national economy.[16] The division of powers inherent in the federation was a legal recognition of the diversity that existed among the initial members of Confederation, and Cartier insisted that it was the political mechanism by which diversity could be reconciled with unity. Cartier said it "protects the rights and privileges of the minority and the majority."[17] He reassured his French-speaking constituency that the federal arrangement posed "no danger to the rights of French Canadians, Scotchmen, Englishmen or Irishmen."[18] "In our own Federation," Cartier said, "we [will] have Catholic and Protestant, English, French, Irish and Scotch, and each by his efforts and his success [will] increase the prosperity and glory of the new Confederacy [...] we [are] of different races, not for the purpose of warring against each other, but in order to compete and emulate for the general welfare."[19] For him, Canada created a single political or civic nationality but one where multiple and diverse cultural identities and multiple allegiances could develop and flourish.[20]

Canada would be a modern nation where neither the national origin, nor the religion of any individual would matter. The strength of the new nation came from its diversity and all people would belong, shape and define the national identity. Diversity was the Canadian ideal, and Cartier believed that all Canadians would want to protect the rights of minorities which was in many ways

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15 *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parliament, 4th Session (January 16, 1890 to May 16, 1890), Vol. 1, 745.

16 *La Minerve*, April 13, 1853, quoted in Alastair C. F. Gillespie, *George-Étienne Cartier. The Canadian* (Toronto: Macdonald-Laurier Institute, 2017), 8.

17 "The Rights of Each and Every Citizen Will Be Protected," Speech by George-Étienne Cartier, May 17, 1867, https://www.macdonaldlaurier.ca/the-rights-of-each-and-every-citizen-will-be-protected-may-17-1867-speech-by-george-etienne-cartier.

18 Quoted in Allan Smith, *Canada. An American Nation? Essays on Continentalism, Identity, and the Canadian Frame of Mind* (Montreal / Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 135.

19 Cited in the *Parliamentary Debates on the subject of the Confederation* (1865), 60; Reference re Secession of Quebec [1998] 2 S.C.R. 217.

20 LaSelva, *The Moral Foundations*, 34–38.

a new modern approach to citizenship and nation-building. Cartier believed that bringing together diverse peoples – as he understood diversity – would allow each group to contribute to the social, economic and cultural success of Canada.[21] Unfortunately, neither Macdonald nor Cartier paid much attention to Indigenous peoples except to continue the assimilative policies of colonial Canada as a way of achieving their full integration into Canadian society.

The Cartier Dream is Challenged

The Canada that was constructed in the decades after Confederation failed to live up to the dreams of diversity and belonging that held such promise in 1867. It seemed at times, though, that Cartier's dream might prevail. When Manitoba was added to the federation, the linguistic and cultural duality of that province was acknowledged in the Manitoba Act of 1870. The recognition of the acceptance of diversity was also evident in Treaty 8, negotiated in the summer of 1899 with the Wood Cree, the Beaver and the Chipewyans in western Canada. Like other Numbered Treaties, it was designed to acquire First Nations' territory for European settlement, but it also gave full consent to First Nations' requests that their economic and cultural practices continue. Canadian criminal law was to apply to all, including First Nations, but Canadian and First Nations leaders reconciled competing interests to accommodate and protect existing political communities. First Nation leaders received exemption from the most onerous obligations of citizenship (taxation and conscription), social benefits, and other measures to preserve their religious and cultural integrity.[22] Canada was struggling to build a political community based on a common citizenship with specific obligations and entitlements while recognizing and accommodating distinct political identities, and although some of the Numbered Treaties attempted to maintain some cultural integrity around Indigenous communities, Canada put in place a series of colonial structures to marginalize and assimilate Indigenous peoples. Justice Murray Sinclair, chair of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and others have accused the Canadian government of "cultural genocide" in its dealing with Indigenous peoples after Confederation.[23]

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[21] Quoted in Christopher Moore, *1867. How the Fathers Made a Deal* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1997), 233.

[22] Whyte, "Federalism Dreams."

[23] See Beverley McLachlin, "Defining Moments: The Canadian Constitution" (Dickson Lecture delivered on February 13, 2014), https://www.scc-csc.ca/judges-juges/spe-dis/bm-2014-02-13-eng.aspx.

Even if Canada recognized diversity as a way of creating a sense of belonging in the first decades of Confederation, the implementation of the Treaties, for instance, failed to accommodate differences between Indigenous peoples and other Canadians largely because notions of citizenship and the sense of belonging in Canada faced challenges posed by new social and political dynamisms as the country's population grew and changed. When Canada put aside its original ideal of diversity and inclusion, it led invariably to instability and disorder in many minority communities while the Indigenous communities are the most seriously affected. Canada subsequently has had a contentious history with its various minority communities, especially in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and had at times an abhorrent human rights' record, especially against its Indigenous peoples but other minorities, too. The legacy of colonialism and the litany of misguided and harmful government policies towards Indigenous communities have had devastating consequences. Those policies, including the dispossession of Indigenous lands, the imposition of a paternalistic Indian Act, the devastating impact of residential schools that separated children from their parents and their culture, the forced relocation of Inuit and First Nation communities, and the state-sanctioned adoption of Indigenous children by white families well into the 1960s, have created considerable damage that is still evident today.[24]

The perniciousness of colonialism has left an indelible mark on Indigenous peoples, who have a standard of living and health and educational outcome far below the national average, and a blight on the Canadian state. The World Health Organization's research into health determinants has established European colonization as a fundamental and underlying determinant of poor health, including higher risk for earlier death than non-Indigenous peoples, and higher rates of chronic ailments such as diabetes and heart disease. Canada's colonial approach to education for First Nations' communities through Indian Residential Schools have had a devastating and demoralizing legacy that continues to wreak havoc in many Indigenous communities that are often marked with high rates of unemployment, alcoholism, violence and suicide. Too many reserves have inadequate housing and undrinkable water, and recent statistics show that while Indigenous peoples constitute less than 4 percent of the population they account for 25 percent of those incarcerated in federal correctional services. Indigenous

[24] For Canada's treatment of Indigenous peoples, see John Borrows, "Questioning Canada's Title to Land," in *Recovering Canada: The Resurgence of Indigenous Law* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002); and J. R. Miller, *Residential Schools and Reconciliation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017).

demands for power-sharing as a third order of government have either been dismissed or ignored. Indigenous leaders and activists are increasingly disaffected as promises of reconciliation and improved state-Indigenous relations have not materialized.[25]

In the early years of Confederation, there was, moreover, considerable anti-French and anti-Catholics sentiment that also threatened Canadian unity if not the nation itself. The Canada First Movement, created shortly after Confederation, sought greater Canadian independence from Great Britain but it also promoted Anglo-Saxon values and institutions as the way to full Canadian nationhood. Like the Orange Order that also emerged as an influential Protestant organization in the late nineteenth century, it rejected French Canadian nationalism and created serious moments of racial and ethnic conflict. The French-speaking community in much of English-speaking Canada has faced considerable opposition and a serious assault on language rights and religious schooling, especially in New Brunswick, Ontario, and throughout Western Canada.[26] In Quebec, meanwhile, some nationalists like Abbe Lionel Groulx, the editor of the Montreal magazine *L'Action française*, proposed in 1922 the creation of Laurentie, a country separate from Canada.[27] As well, a number of other minorities have also been victims of the Canadian state, notably, Ukrainians, Germans, and Japanese during wartime, and other immigrant communities, including South Asians, Jews, and Chinese.[28] Moreover, there was little tolerance for those who criticized norms, such as liberal democracy, capitalism, patriarchy, and traditional marriage and traditional families. The political left was often regarded as treasonous Communists, and many citizens found themselves isolated because of their ethnicity, gender, or sexual orientation. Indigenous

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[25] Salmaan Farooqui, "UN report highlights 'abhorrent' housing conditions for Indigenous people," *CTV News*, October 21, 2019, https://www.ctvnews.ca/canada/un-report-highlights-abhorrent-housing-conditions-for-indigenous-people-1.4647433; Amanda Coletta, "'Third World conditions': Many of Canada's indigenous people can't drink the water at home," *The Washington Post*, October 15, 2018, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/the_americas/third-world-conditions-many-of-canadas-indigenous-people-cant-drink-the-water-at-home/2018/10/14/c4f429b4-bc53-11e8-8243-f3ae9c99658a_story.html; James Anaya, "Report of the Special Rapporteur on the rights of Indigenous peoples: The situation of indigenous peoples in Canada," July 4, 2014, http://unsr.jamesanaya.org/country-reports/the-situation-of-indigenous-peoples-in-canada.

[26] Carl Berger, "The True North Strong and Free," in *Nationalism in Canada*, ed. Peter Russell (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1966), 3–26.

[27] Réal Bélanger, "Henrie Bourassa," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. 18 (Toronto / Laval: University of Toronto / Université Laval, 2009), http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/bourassa_henri_18E.html.

[28] Ninette Kelley and M. J. Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010).

peoples, women, youth and those considered "other" were expected to know their place, accept their historical roles, and behave within accepted norms even if they chafed under the constraints placed upon them. For much of Canada's existence, especially prior to the end of the Second World War, the state demonstrated little interest in protecting and promoting linguistic and cultural diversity outside of Quebec despite the continuing national narrative of accommodating diversity and including all political and cultural communities in the nation. That it did not do so raised serious questions of belonging among many Canadians.

A Second Narrative of Citizenship and Belonging, Post-1945

After the Second World War, the Canadian Government believed that a new national narrative and a new sense of identity were needed to reinforce social cohesion, rebuild national unity and foster a sense of belonging in Canada. The battle over conscription, especially, had split the country largely along linguistic lines, with English-speaking Canadians in favor and French-speaking opposed. It had not only shattered national unity but threatened the very survival of Canada. Added to the nation's unity woes were regional conflicts, the growing unrest of labor and the rise of the political left, and the emergence of new nationalist movements, particularly in Quebec and among Indigenous peoples. When the war had turned in the Allies' favor, the Canadian government introduced a series of initiatives to foster a greater sense of Canada's distinct identity to win support in Quebec and create a stronger sense of belonging among most Canadians that had been shaken by years of economic depression and war. A series of British symbols, such as British citizenship itself, the Red Ensign flag, and words, such as "Dominion" and "Her Majesty's" – all associated with Canada's colonial history – had to be eradicated, although the process would take a generation to complete.[29] Institutionalized British symbols, many believed, had created a trauma that had prevented non-English-speaking Canadians from embracing a Pan-Canadian national identity. In short order, the government drew up plans for a new citizenship act, a distinctive Canadian flag, and the replacement of the word "Dominion" in various government agencies and state-sponsored activities. Over the ensuing two decades, Canadians mostly embraced attempts to foster a stronger Canadian nationalism and an inclusive national identity.[30] The adoption of

[29] Allan Sears, "Instruments of Policy: How the Federal State Influences Citizenship Education in Canada," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 29, No. 2 (1997): 1–21.
[30] *Halifax Chronicle*, June 20, 1946.

a new distinctive flag – the maple leaf – was perhaps the most contested of the process of remaking the national identity and fostering a greater sense of belonging but it has become one of the most popular symbols of Canada.[31]

The reshaping of Canada and the promotion of a greater sense of belonging also included the expansion of social rights. This ambitious period of federal social reconstruction not only altered the role of the federal government but also Canadians' notion of citizenship and identity. They no longer saw themselves as simply citizens of a particular national, political or cultural community but as citizens entitled to certain social and material rights by virtue of being Canadian. Their sense of national identity and citizenship was reconstructed with the introduction of social security initiatives that blossomed within the Keynesian economic framework. It provided, notably, unemployment insurance, family allowances and veterans' benefits during the Second World War, followed shortly after with a number of other programs that further helped to sustain economic growth and maintain full employment. It also transformed the relationship between citizen and state. Prime Minister Mackenzie King believed that a set of social rights, shared by and available to all citizens, would enhance a sense of community, build social cohesion, and restore national unity as well as safeguard the existing capitalist system and maintain the existing social order. The redistributive nature inherent in social programs fostered a national identity that strengthened the level of attachment of citizens to the nation and encouraged them to see themselves as members of a single community, enjoying a common set of rights while sharing common obligations to each other and to the state.[32] Canadians subsequently became one of a few peoples around the world to regard their social security state as a defining national characteristic.[33]

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[31] On the flag, see C. P. Champion, "A Very British Coup: Canadianism, Quebec, and Ethnicity in the Flag Debate, 1964–1965," *Journal of Canadian Studies / Revue d'études canadiennes* 40, No. 3 (2006): 68–99. This article argues that the identity debate about the flag was far more complex than is commonly perceived.

[32] On this point see, T. H. Marshall, *Citizenship and Social Class and Other Essays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950); Raymond B. Blake, *From Rights to Needs: A History of Family Allowances in Canada, 1929–1992* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009); Keith Banting, "Social Citizenship and the Multicultural Welfare State," in *Citizenship, Diversity, and Pluralism*, ed. Alan C. Cairns, John C. Courtney, Peter MacKinnon, Hans J. Michelmann, and David E. Smith (Montreal / Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), 108–136; and Janine Brodie, "Citizenship and Solidarity: Reflections on the Canadian Way," *Citizenship Studies* 6, No. 4 (2002): 377–394.

[33] On this point, see Richard Johnston, Keith Banting, Will Kymlicka, and Stuart Soroka, "National Identity and Support for the Welfare State," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 43, No. 2 (2010): 349–377.

From the Second World War to the mid-1960s, then, a new social citizenship and a new national identity became the primary basis for creating a sense of belonging among Canadians and restoring Canada's initial commitment to diversity. There were also attempts at constitutional reform to better reflect Canada's diversity but they largely proved unsuccessful. The government appointed a Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1963 as a response to the growing unrest among French-speaking Canadians, especially in Quebec, who called for better protection of their language and culture and for opportunities to participate more fully in political and economic decision making. Canada also embraced what has become known as cooperative or asymmetrical federalism to describe the government's attempt to reach some level of accommodation with the ten provinces by allowing the national government to work out separate arrangements with different provinces on a variety of policy matters from immigration to public pensions that gave certain powers to some that others might not enjoy. The state also used its authority to address regional grievances and build social cohesion through a range of policies such as preferential freight rates for farmers, economic development strategies for particular regions, and protection for particular industries. Canada also introduced a federal transfer payment program in 1957 to reduce the differences in revenue-generating capacity across Canada's ten provinces by compensating poorer provinces for their relatively weak tax bases or resource endowments. The program, known as equalization payments, has helped to ensure that Canadians, regardless of where they reside, have access to a reasonably similar level of provincial government services at reasonably similar levels of taxation.[34] These policies were all implemented in the name of creating a sense of belonging and achieving national unity, but by the late 1960s, even that approach had failed to achieve national unity. The Province of Quebec – the target of most measures to forge a new national identity – began to demand special status that would recognize its differences from the other nine provinces. Quebec never saw Confederation as a compact between ten provinces but as one between French-speaking Quebec and English-speaking Canada. Canadians not included in the two founding nations also began to demand recognition.

[34] Jim Feehan, "Canada's Equalization Formula: Peering Inside the Black Box… and Beyond," SPP Research Papers Vol. 7, Issue 24 (Calgary: The School of Public Policy, 2014), https://www.policyschool.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/feehan-equalization.pdf.

Multiculturalism and a Sense of Belonging after the 1960s

There began by the late 1960s, then, a third approach to create a sense of belonging and to achieve national unity. It involved a series of policies to change the historical narrative from a French-English dichotomy to one that would transcend historical animosities and divisions to create a multicultural and more diverse community that embraced the ideals of a liberal political order. Canadian citizenship – and Canada itself as a distinctive nation – was to be defined as a civic nation that embraced the liberal ideals of multiculturalism, diversity, and individual rights. The old nationalism based primarily on two dominant cultures was declared too divisive as it had led not only to the fragmentation of Canada but also to its possible disintegration.[35] The new approach embraced a civic rather than an ethnically-based nationalism where citizens were bound together by their collective belief in the equality of all through a set of shared rights. New Canadians – and, indeed, all Canadians – had to think about themselves, first and foremost, as rights-bearers, not as French, English or Aboriginal citizens of a national community. Recognizing cultural differences and a sense of belonging became a matter of rights.

This particular approach to fostering social cohesion and a sense of belonging was promoted more vociferously by Pierre Trudeau who became prime minister in 1968 and remained so until 1984. He believed there should be no special status for anyone, that a strong national government should legislate for all Canadians, and that Canada was a nation based on common and shared rights. In doing so, he attempted to redefine and strengthen the national narrative, creating a civic nationalism that would replace all forms of ethnic nationalism based primarily on a shared language, culture, and heritage – or what Michael Ignatieff has called "blood."[36] Civic nationalism was an attempt to replace ethnicity as the defining national characteristic with a new political society based on a philosophical vision around liberal individualism as the organizing principle for the nation-state. With the emphasis on civic nationalism, the state not only protected the individual from oppressive policies imposed by a democratically elected, majoritarian government but also gave agency to citizens. This meant they had "the ability as individuals to become self-actualizing – that is,

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[35] Andrew Nurse, "A Necessary Precondition: Michael Ignatieff and the Dilemmas of Civic Nationalism," in *Beyond National Dreams: Essays on Canadian Citizenship and Nationalism*, ed. Andrew Nurse and Raymond Blake (Toronto: Fitzhenry Whiteside, 2009), 31.

[36] See Michael Ignatieff, *Blood and Belonging: Journeys into the New Nationalism* (Toronto: Penguin, 1993), 6.

the ability as individuals to define their own identity, aspirations, and activities, rather than having them imposed."[37] Culture became an individual matter and the state's responsibility was to protect individual rights as each citizen carved out one's own cultural space. The state no longer promoted one culture or set of values over any other, but it privileged culture as a means of democratic participation. This type of rights philosophy, it was hoped, would create a new form of citizenship and attachment to the nation-state, as rights become the basis of the political community.[38]

For Trudeau, Canada also promoted respect for cultural diversity and multiculturalism, which was a reversal of early government policies to assimilate immigrants and Indigenous peoples despite political leaders saying since 1867 that Canada made space for all groups. Canada introduced a policy of official multiculturalism in 1971, which ensured that all citizens in Canada could keep their identity and take pride in their particular heritage, but they had to do so through either the English or French language. Official multiculturalism meant that the state would not promote or privilege one culture over another; rather, all individuals had the right to maintain and celebrate their individual culture. Multiculturalism asked Canadians to accept all cultures and to realize that pluralism and ethnic diversity would strengthen – not threaten – the Canadian identity. It was, in some significant ways, an invocation of Cartier's 1867 dream for Canada. In 1982, Canada enshrined multiculturalism and a Charter of Rights and Freedom into its constitution, as part of the reconstruction of the Canadian ideal that recognized, celebrated and promoted a multicultural and diverse nation – an ideal that was embraced as progressive and enlightened and one, it was hoped, that would foster a strong attachment to Canada.[39] With such an approach to citizenship and identity, Canadians were often told that Canadian diversity was no longer a problem that had to be managed but a strength that made their country an example to the world.

For a generation or more, liberal individualism, civic nationalism, and the promotion of diversity and multiculturalism were celebrated as the Canadian ideal, the normative approach to fostering a sense of belonging. Few contested the basic tenants of a national ideal that included such universal and liberal principles. Even so, many Canadians regretted what had been loss in the new national narrative. Much of Quebec insisted that Canada was neither a collection

[37] Nurse, "A Necessary Precondition," 32.
[38] Ibid., 33–34.
[39] On this point see, Will Kymlicka and Wayne Norman, "Return of the Citizen: A Survey of Recent Work on Citizenship Theory," *Ethics* 104, No. 2 (1994): 352–381.

of individuals nor a multicultural nation; it is two nations, one Francophone and one Anglophone, even if there was a clear embrace of the rights regime being promoted by Trudeau. Indigenous peoples and First Nations, which experienced their own renaissance in the 1950s and 1960s, could never accept that they were part of a multicultural (immigrant) community and fumed that their grievances were neither recognized nor settled under the rights paradigm. Apart from Quebec and Indigenous peoples, some Canadians complained about "hyphenated Canadians" and there emerged from the mid-1990s an accepted critique of the policy of multiculturalism and diversity and an increasing demand for the restoration of citizenship education in the public educational system as a way to create a shared sense of belonging. Among the most notable critics were Trinidadian-Canadian author, Neil Bissoondath, and former British Columbia premier, Ujjal Dosanjh.[40] Questions were also raised about "reasonable accommodation," or, what the levels of accommodations would have to be provided for new immigrant communities. Some Canadians insisted the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which brought in its train judicial activism and a preoccupation on rights, led to a clear imbalance between rights and responsibilities and served to undermine Canadian democracy.[41] There emerged a "civic deficit," some contended, characterized by disputes by particular groups to defend their particular interests and by a lack of knowledge of democratic values, of civic responsibility, and of the responsibilities of citizenship.[42] The political right was particularly critical as it lamented the breakdown of social cohesion and the weakening of traditional values: it saw the Canadian state in perpetual crisis divided by a collection of rival rights groups (LGBTQ+ versus heterosexual, Indigenous peoples versus non-Indigenous, French-speakers versus English-speakers, immigrants versus native-born, rural versus urban, and other points of cleavage) accentuated by the rejection of traditions and a national history, and a government that failed

[40] Christian Joppke, "The Retreat of Multiculturalism in the Liberal State: Theory and Policy," *British Journal of Sociology* 55, No. 2 (2004): 237–258, doi: 10.1111/j.1468-4446.2004.00017.x; Neil Bissoondath, *Selling Illusions: The Cult of Multiculturalism* (Toronto: Penguin, 1994). For a review of this literature, see Lloyd Wong, "Multiculturalism and Ethnic Pluralism in Sociology: An Analysis of the Fragmentation Position Discourse," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 40, No. 1 (2008): 11–32, doi: 10.1353/ces.0.0066. A good overview of multiculturalism can be found in Yasmeen Abu-Laban and Christina Gabriel, *Selling Diversity: Immigration, Multiculturalism, Employment Equity and Globalization* (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2002).

[41] Rainer Knopff and F. L. Morton, *The Charter Revolution and the Court Party* (Peterborough: Broadview, 2000); and William Gairdner, *The Trouble with Canada* (Toronto: Stoddart, 1990).

[42] William Galston, *Liberal Purposes: Goods, Virtues and Duties in the Liberal State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), and Civics Expert Group (Australia), *Whereas the People – Civics and Citizenship Education. Report* (Canberra: Australian Government Publication Service, 1994).

to defend traditional institutions and values that they believed necessary to provide stability and create a national community. Moreover, it was suggested, the right's revolution failed to eliminate the social and political fragmentation that had long marked Canada: it had not resulted in a unified national community nor a stronger sense of belonging.[43] This fear or sense of crisis became particularly salient in the post-9/11 period and with the rise of terrorist groups which created a heightened sense of insecurity.

National Values and Belonging in the New Millennium

The next and fourth stage of the citizenship narrative has just passed. It was associated primarily with the Conservative government led by Stephen Harper. It was an approach that attempted to foster a sense of belonging and a national identity among an increasingly diverse population by promoting a set of shared values that the government claimed had emerged from Canada's history. It sought a new citizenship dream and hoped to eliminate the fragmentation that had beset Canada in the 1990s, marked mostly clearly by a second referendum on independence in Quebec and the heightened regional tensions across the country. It came with the hope of creating a greater sense of belonging among Canadians, national reconciliation, and the strengthening of national unity. It is sometimes overlooked that it was under Prime Minister Harper, on June 11, 2008, that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was appointed to document the history and lasting impacts of the Canadian Indian Residential School system on Indigenous students and families and to bridge the divide with Indigenous peoples. The Commission was an essential element in Canada's apology to Indigenous people for residential schools and its disastrous legacies, and represented the hope for a "positive step in forging a new relationship between Aboriginal peoples and other Canadians," a relationship Harper said would be "based on the knowledge of our shared history, a respect for each other and a desire to move forward together with a renewed understanding that strong families, strong communities and vibrant cultures and traditions will contribute to a stronger Canada for all of us."[44] Harper's new agenda might be seen as part of what has been described as "a renationalization trend" that aimed to provide a set of measures to promote

[43] Nurse, "A Necessary Precondition," 46; and Ignatieff, *The Rights Revolution*, 6.
[44] "Prime Minister Harper offers full apology on behalf of Canadians for the Indian Residential Schools System," Department of Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, June 11, 2008, https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100015644/1100100015649.

the integration of newcomers and citizens and develop an inclusive understanding of national citizenship.[45]

Harper's approach to citizenship resulted in a rearticulation of the Canadian national narrative. It promoted a Pan-Canadian citizenship loosely based on the conservative values of loyalty, duty, tradition, and social stability which, the government contended, were necessary for the preservation of individual rights and liberties and the promotion of equity and justice which, collectively, he maintained would unite Canadians and establish a greater sense of belonging.[46] Such an approach to national identity and citizenship promised to eliminate fragmentation as each citizen had to see oneself, first and foremost, not as an individual but as a citizen of Canada who shared a common purpose that came from a shared set of social norms and ideals that embraces tolerance, compassion, community service and a devotion to pluralism.[47] Rather than locating Canadian dynamism and the sense of belonging in individualism, diversity, individual rights and multiculturalism, the government insisted it was found in Canada's history and heritage, a strong military and a forceful foreign policy, a historical commitment to diversity, and its parliamentary system and symbols such as the Crown.[48] Moreover, citizens were expected to embrace core cultural and legal traditions such as the rule of law, freedom of speech, the equality of all citizens, and a number of other precepts that made for an orderly and inclusive society. Those values emerged, Canadians were told, because of Canada's peculiar historical development and heritage.

Much of the new approach to citizenship was directed towards recent immigrants and embodied in *Discover Canada: The Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship*, a new citizenship guide released in 2009. It claimed that Canada was a product of its history and had a strong national identity based on historical liberal-democratic values.[49] Newcomers were expected to integrate into

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[45] See Dina Kiwan, "Human Rights and Citizenship: An Unjustifiable Conflation?" *Journal of Philosophy of Education* 39, No. 1 (2005): 37–50, doi: 10.1111/j.0309-8249.2005.00418.x.

[46] See *Canadian Citizenship: Sharing the Responsibility*, a report in 1993 from the Standing Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology in the Canada Senate; and House of Commons Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration, *Canadian Citizenship: A Sense of Belonging* (Ottawa: Public Works and Government Services Canada, 1998).

[47] Stephen Harper speech, April 24, 2010 and November 20, 2008.

[48] Duane Bratt, "Mr. Harper Goes to War: Canada, Afghanistan, and the Return of 'High Politics' in Canadian Foreign Policy" (Paper presented at the Canadian Political Science Association Annual Conference, University of Saskatchewan, May 31, 2007), https://www.cpsa-acsp.ca/papers-2007/Bratt.pdf.

[49] *Discover Canada: The Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship* (Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2009), 3.

mainstream Canadian society and develop a sense of attachment through their knowledge of Canada's history, its symbols, democratic institutions, geography, voting procedures, and the rights and responsibilities of citizenship.[50] Prospective citizens were told that they had rights but also responsibilities that "came from [Canada's] history and reflected shared traditions, identity and values."[51] It praised Canada's openness and tolerance, but reminded citizens that Canada's openness and generosity did not extend to barbaric cultural practices that tolerate spousal abuse, "honor killings," female genital mutilation or other gender-based violence. Moreover, those guilty of such crimes are severely punished under Canada's criminal laws.[52]

A knowledge of Canada's history was seen as very important in creating a sense of belonging, and the new approach to citizenship, not surprisingly, emphasized the importance of knowing Canada's rich history. From it, citizens would understand the commitment to ethnic diversity and pluralism as immigration and diversity had always been essential to the Canadian well-being and, accommodating diversity, historically central to the Canadian narrative. Newcomers to Canada had bonded together historically, the government maintained, in a common quest for prosperity, freedom, democracy, human rights, rule of law, and opportunity rather than through the privileging of the individual. Moreover, history is instructive and through it, Canadians could discover a better way to build the country. As such, it was essential, Harper often insisted, to recognize the past wrongs done by Canada and its governments, such as the Chinese Head Tax imposed upon Chinese immigrants from 1885 to 1923, and the treatment of Aboriginal children in residential schools. "One of our greatest strengths as Canadians is that we learn from history," Harper said, "and we are not enslaved by it." We must be "history's benefactors instead of its prisoners."[53] Knowing Canada's history and heritage became essential for Canadian citizenship and fostering a greater sense of belonging.

This approach to creating national identity and a sense of belonging never attacked Canada's multiculturalism and diversity in the same way political leaders in Europe and elsewhere did during that period. Moreover, in Canada immigration and multiculturalism did not become ballot box issues and it escaped the so-called clash of civilizations which caused such strife in Europe and, later, in the United States under President Donald Trump. Yet, like all approaches

[50] Ibid., 3.
[51] Ibid., 8.
[52] Ibid., 9.
[53] Stephen Harper speech, February 7, 2010.

to citizenship and national identity, Harper's was political and contested. It assumed that Canada was held together at some point in the past through a set of shared values, but aside from its commitment to the basic precepts of a liberal democracy, there is little evidence that a core set of shared values ever created among Canadians the sense of belonging. From the time of Confederation in 1867, it was never assumed that citizens shared the same values. Rather, it was hoped that Canada's political institutions and its constitutional declarations permitted all communities to participate and flourish in the civic and political life of the nation, often on their own terms.

Harper's approach to citizenship was criticized for many reasons. It omitted many national accomplishments, especially those that came under Liberal administrations, notably, Canada's peacekeeping history and its role in crafting the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Pierre Trudeau's role in repatriating the Constitution and achieving the Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982, Lester Pearson's adoption of the Canadian flag, and Mackenzie King's record as Canada's longest serving prime minister.[54] Critics also said Harper was trying to reclaim for Canada a conservative ideology by emphasizing the military, the royal family, the word "dominion," heroes and hockey and ignoring progressive accomplishments with such social issues as same-sex marriage and abortion. Historian Margaret Conrad reflected this view when she described Harper's citizenship dreams as a "kind of throwback to the 1950s [...], a tough, manly country with military and sports heroes that are all men." It was a Canada, she said, which was less sympathetic with her personal sense of a progressive, forward-looking nation.[55] One columnist described the approach as an "incremental step in the rebranding of Canada into a conservative country, full of people more inclined to vote Conservative."[56] Many academics condemned the new nationalism as creating "warrior Canada" especially when Harper announced $28 million to commemorate the bicentennial of the War of 1812 and funds to mark the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Elizabeth in 2012. Both events generated considerable opposition, as did the government's decision to rebrand the Canadian Museum of Civilization as the Canadian Museum of History.[57] When the Conservatives

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[54] Rebekah, "Discover Canada: A New Guide for Prospective Citizens," Citizens for Public Justice, November 13, 2009, http://www.cpj.ca/en/profile/profile_name/Rebekah+Sears.

[55] Joe Friesen and Bill Curry, *The Globe and Mail*, March 2, 2010; and Jane Taber, "Scott Brison decries 'Conservative revisionist history of Canada,'" *The Globe and Mail*, March 3, 2010.

[56] John Ivison, "Liberals get a lesson on branding," *National Post*, November 12, 2009.

[57] Ian McKay and Jamie Swift, *Warrior Nation: Rebranding Canada in the Age of Anxiety* (Toronto: Between The Lines, 2012); Jordon Press, "Plaques across Ottawa to honour Fathers of Confederation for Canada's 150th," *CTV News*, November 16, 2015, https://www.ctvnews.ca/canada

raised fears about newcomers to Canada not adopting Canadian values, especially during the 2015 federal election campaign when they proposed setting up a police hotline to report on what they called "barbaric cultural practices," hoping to capitalize on the fears expressed in some polls, particularly in Quebec, of immigrants not sufficiently integrating into Canadian society, many Canadians considered such fear mongering as particularly troubling, even "un-Canadian."[58] The Conservative party's divisive anti-Muslim rhetoric angered many and the party was quickly turfed from office (although the defeat of the Harper Conservatives can be attributed to a number of factors).[59] After nearly a decade in power and its insistence on the importance of inculcating citizens with core Canadian values, the Harper government lost the support of voters. In the meantime, the Liberal party, under the leadership of Justin Trudeau, began offering a new way of narrating Canada, creating a sense of belonging among all Canadians based on diversity that had been a prominent narrative since the country's founding in 1867.

Justin Trudeau and a Return to the Rhetoric of Diversity, 2015

Trudeau attempted to "rebrand" Canada as an enlightened and progressive nation amid a world of rising populism of the right that often rallied against minorities and immigrant communities, and he hoped to do so with a renewed emphasis on diversity. Diversity, he insisted, is Canada's greatest strength, a foundational Canadian value and core to the collective Canadian identity. Like other prime ministers, Trudeau has said that Canada has learned how to be strong, not in spite of its differences, but because of them. His first major speech, given at the Office of the Canadian High Commissioner in London, just days after taking office, was titled "Diversity is Canada's strength." Echoing the words of Cartier from the 1860s, Trudeau said, "diversity isn't a challenge to be overcome or a difficulty to be tolerated. Rather, it's a tremendous source of strength. [...] We know that Canada has succeeded – culturally, politically, economically – because of our diversity, not in spite of it." And, as Canada's prime ministers

/plaques-across-ottawa-to-honour-fathers-of-confederation-for-canada-s-150th-1.2660057; and Yves Frenette, "Conscripting Canada's Past: The Harper Government and the Politics of Memory," *Canadian Journal of History* 49, No. 1 (2014): 49–65.

58 John Barber, "Canada's Conservatives vow to create 'barbaric cultural practices' hotline," *The Guardian*, October 2, 2015, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/oct/02/canada-conservatives-barbaric-cultural-practices-hotline.

59 Andrew Potter, "Canada has never had shared values," *Ottawa Citizen*, December 22, 2011.

had done since the early twentieth century, Trudeau, too, claimed that "Canada can also export the ideas and institutions that make diversity work so well at home. We know how to govern in a way," he said, "that is inclusive, transparent, respectful and effective, [and] we can share that expertise with other countries and their citizens."[60] Yet, unlike previous prime ministers who also recognized Canada's diversity and insisted that all Canadians share a common commitment to citizenship values, Trudeau talked mainly of an "inclusive diversity" to overcome intolerance, radicalism and hate.[61] He later told the *The New York Times* that Canada is becoming a new kind of country, not defined by our history or European national origins, but by a "pan-cultural heritage." "There is no core identity, no mainstream in Canada," he added: Canada is "the first post-national state." Even *The New York Times* called the suggestion "radical."[62]

For Trudeau, diversity is the basis of all things Canadian and the only way to build social cohesion and foster a sense of belonging. He has also used diversity as a way to rebrand Canada from a resource-based economy to an intellectual one, hoping that the diversity "brand" will secure further international investment in Canada. "Diversity isn't just sound social policy," he said; "it is the engine of invention." At the 2016 World Economic Forum, Trudeau cited Canada's diversity as a key reason for its current and long-term success in the field of innovation and technology. It uniquely qualified Canada to address global crises such as climate change, he remarked; it is the greatest resource Canada has to offer to the world.[63]

Although Trudeau survived – just barely – when his government sought reelection in October 2019, it is too early to gauge how Trudeau's insistence on diversity will turn out and how it will impact the sense of belonging among Canadians. Trudeau has, however, politicized diversity as no other Canadian prime minister has since 1867, and he seems to have used it as a wedge issue against those who hold different views on a variety of issues in Canada, ranging from abortion rights to immigration to confronting racism, even when his political opponents have committed themselves to maintaining Canada's law on a variety of social policies such as abortion. Yet, he has especially attempted

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[60] "Diversity is Canada's Strength," Justin Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada, November 26, 2015, https://pm.gc.ca/en/news/speeches/2015/11/26/diversity-canadas-strength.

[61] See, for example, Tony Keller, "Justin Trudeau is Wrong: Diversity isn't Canada's Strength," *The Globe and Mail*, October 3, 2017, https://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/in-the-face-of-terror-unity-is-canadas-true-strength/article36462757.

[62] "Trudeau's Canada, Again," *The New York Times Magazine*, December 8, 2015.

[63] "Canada is now an intellectual powerhouse, Justin Trudeau tells Davos," *National Post*, January 20, 2016.

to define his major political rival, the Conservative party, and its supporters as being opposed to diversity and as social conservatives intent on limiting access to abortion, rolling back legislation on same-sex marriage, and bringing faith into the public policy even though Andrew Scheer, the admittedly hapless leader of the Conservative Party, has vowed not to tamper with any of those social issues.[64] Such a politicization of diversity and the sense of belonging has the potential to polarize Canada around left-right ideologies, even if the trend says more about the choices that parties are offering voters than it does about the voters themselves and their attitudes. Canadians have decisively sent those politicians who wish to engage in divisive politics of culture and identity a very strong message. In her bid for the leadership of the Conservative Party which Scheer eventually won, Kellie Leitch, a former Conservative cabinet minister, promised a "Canadian values" test for newcomers which most Canadians – and Conservative supporters – dismissed "as dog-whistle tactics pandering to xenophobic and Islamophobic tendencies."[65] She won 7 percent of the vote and was dropped from the Conservative Shadow Cabinet by the new leader. Maxine Bernier who launched a new political party, The People's Party of Canada, after finishing second in the Conservative leadership contest, failed miserably in the 2019 general election. He had campaigned largely on an ideology of exclusionary, anti-immigrant nationalism and garnered only 1.7 percent of the popular vote, and failed to elect a single candidate from across Canada. He even lost his own constituency.[66] The 2019 election showed that Canadians seem to have little appetite for political movements built on racial and ethnic exclusion that has been popular in other countries, even in the United States under Trump.

Yet, unlike his predecessors, Trudeau has not articulated a national identity and a sense of belonging beyond the embrace of the rhetoric of diversity. When asked what he means by diversity, he has mostly avoided giving specifics, preferring to go on the offensive, saying he can't believe that some Canadians still question diversity. Some people say, he has said, "People of different cultures and languages cannot live together harmoniously. Diversity means instability

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[64] "The Conservative Party has lost its way. It can't go back – it's time to forge a new path," *The Globe and Mail*, October 31, 2019, https://www.theglobeandmail.com/politics/article-the-conservative-party-has-lost-its-way-it-cant-go-back-its-time.

[65] Mira Sucharov, "How Kelly Leitch Poisoned Our National Dialogue," *The Walrus*, March 13, 2017.

[66] Jordan Stanger-Ross and Oliver Schmidtke, "Why the People's Party of Canada election result shouldn't be underestimated," *CBC News Opinion*, November 13, 2019, https://www.cbc.ca/news/opinion/opinion-peoples-party-of-canada-1.5351638.

and insecurity. Diversity is dangerous. I don't believe any of that."[67] Trudeau is trying hard to be progressive in his promotion of diversity, though one had to wonder if it is too much politics and too little policy; all play-acting and too little substance. He has been accused of "virtue signaling" as there has been significant gaps between his rhetoric and the policies he has pursued. Early in his tenure, he talked about protecting human rights but continued to sale Canadian-made light armored vehicle to Saudi Arabia, one of the world's most repressive regimes, and he was largely silent in late 2019 on Chinese treatment of protesters in Hong Kong. He advocates a feminist approach to foreign policy but hardly any new funds to support international aid while promising billions to rebuild the military.[68] His diversity rhetoric has also been seriously challenged by several incidents. The first came when the media reported that Trudeau and his top advisors had exerted undue pressure on Jody Wilson-Raybould, Canada's first Indigenous attorney-general, to seek remediation rather than pursuing criminal prosecution for Quebec engineering giant SNC-Lavalin that was facing serious corruption charges. Trudeau wanted to avoid angering Quebecers at election time. When she refused, demotion to a minor portfolio followed, and she was later kicked out of the Liberal party along with Jane Philpott, another strong female minister who courageously supported Wilson-Raybould in her confrontation with Trudeau. The interference in criminal proceedings and the firing of two powerful women when they disagreed with him damaged Trudeau's claim to be a feminist. Wilson-Raybould's expulsion seriously weakened his insistence that he was committed to reconciliation and the ending of colonialism for Indigenous peoples. It was also revealed just as the 2019 campaign began that Trudeau had appeared on multiple occasions in brown and black-face, even as a 29-year-old teacher. Though he was particularly contrite in his apology, his progressive mantel was shattered. Still, with a large number of Canadians willing to forgive their prime minister for such actions when Trudeau himself had condemned politicians of more than a hundred years ago for their racism, people both inside and outside Canada wondered how committed Canada is to diversity and inclusion.[69]

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[67] "The Canadian Opportunity," Address by the Right Honourable Justin Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada at Davos, Switzerland, January 20, 2016, https://pm.gc.ca/eng/news/2016/01/20/canadian-opportunity-address-right-honourable-justin-trudeau-prime-minister-canada.

[68] Stephen Marche, "The Woke Will Always Break Your Heart: Canadian progressives have to decide whether they care more about Justin Trudeau's policy achievements or his offensive style," *The Atlantic*, October 3, 2019; John Robson, "How dare you virtue-signal, yet not stand with Hong Kong?" *National Post*, November 27, 2019.

[69] Janaya Khan, "Trudeau's Blackface Exposes the Truth Canada is no Racial Haven," *CNN*, September 21, 2019, https://www.cnn.com/2019/09/21/opinions/trudeau-blackface-canada-no-racial

Trudeau has also been dogged with allegations that he groped a young female reporter in 2000.[70] Trudeau's reelection might result in a more sincere approach to diversity and reconciliation in Canada but his actions are troubling for a nation that prides itself on its commitment to diversity.

Citizenship Challenges Today

Canada routinely ranks in the top tier of countries on various international indices that measure social, cultural and economic well-being around the world. In the 2019 *U.S. News and World Report's* "Best Countries" report, Canada was ranked third behind Switzerland and Japan. The survey was based on a series of 65 attributes, or factors, considered relevant to the success of any modern nation, and administered to 20,000 people across 80 countries. The attributes were grouped into nine sub-rankings, including, among others, quality of life, entrepreneurship, culture, and citizenship. Citizenship, which accounts for 16 percent of the overall ranking score, measures such attributes as how a country cares about human rights, the environment, gender equality, religious freedom, respect for property rights and how trustworthy it is and how well it distributes political power. Canada ranked second in this category behind only Norway. The *U.S. News and World Report* noted that Canada's "expansive wilderness plays a large role in Canadian identity, as does the country's reputation of welcoming immigrants." It also claimed that "Canadians pride themselves in encouraging all of their citizens to honor their own culture," adding that Canada adopted a national policy of multiculturalism in 1971 to celebrate its diversity.[71]

Throughout its history, Canada has faced few existential crises but it cannot be ignored that it has struggled with fostering a sense of belonging among its citizens since it was created more than 150 years ago. It was – and remains – a fragile construct and leaders have always had to act to ensure unity. For much of its recent past, the greatest threats to the sense of belonging have been in the province of Quebec which has demanded either special status or separation. It twice held referendums on sovereignty association or independence and the most recent, in 1995, came within 54,288 votes of sundering the Canadian nation.

-haven-khan/index.html.

70 Ashifa Kassam, "Trudeau: I Apologized to Reporter Behind Groping Claim," *The Guardian*, July 6, 2018, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jul/06/trudeau-i-apologised-at-once-to-reporter-behind-groping-claim-canada-2000-music-festival.

71 "Overall Best Countries Ranking," *U.S. News and World Report*, January 23, 2019, https://www.usnews.com/news/best-countries/rankings-index.

Although the urgency of addressing Quebec separatism has vanished, Canada remains a fragmented nation. As noted above, the disparity between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples remains a serious cause of division.

There are other serious challenges to notions of inclusive citizenship in Canada as well. While the issue of separation has largely disappeared, Quebec remains at the center of questions around inclusive citizenship in Canada. The Coalition Avenir Québec (CAQ), which was elected in October 2018, has vowed to reduce immigration by 24 percent and to expel immigrants who do not become proficient in French within three years and integrate into Quebec society by adopting Quebec values.[72] Quebec further raised the stakes in the inclusive citizenship challenge when it ratified a "secularism law" (Bill 21) which forbids public employees in positions of authority, such as judges, prosecutors, police officers, prison guards and school teachers, from wearing religious symbols at work. The Québec solidaire, a social-democratic sovereigntist political party in Quebec, described such measures as "divisive" but Canada's major political parties in the 2019 general election largely refused to condemn Quebec's actions despite the fact that many Canadians and political analysts have raised major concerns about the new law; Canadians have come to expect their political leaders to defend diversity and condemn exclusionary laws that will divide Canadians.[73] Yet, as prime minister, Trudeau, who promotes increased immigration as the key to a stronger economy and as emblematic of Canada's commitment to diversity, has promised to work with Premier François Legault to lower targets on immigration to Quebec.[74] Even more troubling was Trudeau's back-tracking on the admission of refugees to Canada. In the wake of the American clampdown on refugees in 2017, he had tweeted "To those fleeing persecution, terror & war, Canadians will welcome you, regardless of your faith. Diversity is our strength. Welcome to Canada." When thousands entered Canada at irregular border crossings, Trudeau dispatched his immigration minister to the United States to discourage people from coming to Canada except through regular entry points and

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[72] Chantel Hébert, "By campaigning to cut immigration, Quebec's opposition parties are playing politics with their province's future," *Toronto Star*, September 10, 2018.

[73] Philip Authier, "Quebec minister for women stands by belief that hijabs are oppressive," *Montreal Gazette*, February 6, 2019. See also "2019 Federal Election Platform Guide: Where the Parties Stand on Everything," *Maclean's*, April 30, 2019.

[74] Bill Curry, "Trudeau offers to work with Legault on a temporary reduction in immigration levels," *The Globe and Mail*, January 17, 2019; and Daniel LeBlanc, "Ottawa rejects Quebec's call to impose conditions on would-be immigrants," *The Globe and Mail*, February 9, 2019.

then introduced measures to make it more difficult for refugees to make claims in Canada.[75]

Yet, the threat to the sense of belonging in Canada currently is focused not in Quebec but in the western regions of the country, particularly in Alberta and Saskatchewan. The four western provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia have long complained about how the Canadian federation does not work in their interests, and they have acquired considerable political and economic power to perhaps challenge the existing power dynamic in Canada. The region constitutes just under a third of Canada's population but is projected to reach more than 35 percent by 2036. The major issue currently in the West is pipelines, especially in carbon energy producing Alberta and Saskatchewan, where there has developed an entrenched view that the national government is not doing enough to help get their resources to market in the face of Indigenous and environmental opposition and that of the province of Quebec which of all of the ten provinces has downplayed the role of carbon-based energy in the Canadian economy. It has also resisted any attempt to move Western oil through its territory to refineries in Atlantic Canada. The Government of British Columbia also opposes the building of new pipelines which prompted a war of words with Alberta but the British Columbia Court of Appeal ruled in 2019 that the province could not impede or prevent the construction of a new pipeline.[76] Indigenous communities throughout the west are divided on the construction of new pipelines with some bitterly opposed and others eager to participate, including working together to purchase from the Government of Canada the Trans Mountain pipeline.[77] There is growing discontent in the Canadian West and it might be serious, especially as much of the country is worried about the impact of oil and gas on climate change and does not favor expansion in the sector. A recent survey found two-thirds (66%) of respondents in the West not only believe that their region has been treated unfairly by the federal government, but they also believe the treatment has been worsening in recent years.[78] Only

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75 Ashifa Kassam, "Trudeau forced to backtrack on open invitation to refugees," *The Guardian*, August 25, 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/aug/25/justin-trudeau-forced-to-backtrack-on-open-invitation-to-refugees; and Andrew Coyne, "In two years, Liberals go from #WelcomeToCanada to deportations without hearings," *National Post*, April 12, 2019.

76 "B.C. Court Tells Province to Reconsider Environmental Approval of Trans Mountain Pipeline Extension," *The Globe and Mail*, September 18, 2019.

77 "Anti-pipeline accord could deepen divide in indigenous communities," *The Globe and Mail*, May 16, 2018.

78 Western alienation, the term often given to the disaffection of Western Canada, was particularly acute in the 1980s and 1990s, and led to the creation of the Reform Party of Canada, which won

30 percent of Western Canadians say the federal government in Ottawa reflects and represents their province well, and substantial majorities in the four Western provinces want their provincial governments to take a hard line when dealing with the national government, though there remain vast differences between southern and urban British Columbia and Alberta and Saskatchewan. It is noteworthy, too, that residents of Alberta, Saskatchewan and British Columbia are more likely to think of themselves as Albertans, Saskatchewanians and British Columbians, respectively, than Canadians, and they believe they do not get the respect they deserve from other Canadians.[79] The sense of alienation was demonstrated clearly in the 2019 federal election when the governing Liberal Party loss half of its seats in Western Canada and failed to win a single seat in Saskatchewan and Alberta. With days of the election, a separatist group calling itself Wexit Alberta applied for federal political party status. A new Ipsos poll showed a historic high level of interest in secession from Canada in both Alberta (33 percent) and Saskatchewan (27 percent).[80]

Conclusion

The acceptance of diversity as a way of fostering a sense of belonging and embracing diverse communities was evident in the discourse and in the constitutional arrangements made in 1867 when Canada was created, and it has remained as the basis of Canadian national identity. Although the Canadian state has not always embraced diversity in its policies and orientations, it has throughout its history rhetorically called upon its established political communities and citizens of multiple political identities to work together and create a national narrative that allows everyone to share in the great arch of national destiny. The various national narratives and identities that have been promoted since 1867 were each designed to unite Canadians to not only sustain the nation but to build a better one and create a stronger sense of belonging. Each of the successive citizenship dreams has come with the hope that it can build an inclusive citizenship among

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many of the constituencies west of Ontario in 1993 and in 1997, became the official opposition in Parliament. In 2003, it merged with the Progressive Conservative Party to create a new Conservative Party which formed the government in 2006. See, for instance, David Laycock, "Populism and democracy in Canada's Reform Party," in *Populism in Europe and the Americas: Threat or Corrective for Democracy?* ed. Cas Mudde and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 46–67.

79 "What unites & defines the 'West'? In a complicated confederation, less than one might think," Angus Reid Institute, January 30, 2019, http://angusreid.org/new-west-western-identity.

80 "Ipsos poll on Western separation records historic highs," *Global News*, November 6, 2019.

a diverse population. At the heart of Canadian citizenship, then, has been the dream that diverse communities can work together to create a cohesive nation. Canada has long scorned the notion of one citizenship because such an approach would invariably lead to political splintering and perhaps the sundering of the nation, and notions of citizenship and the Canadian narratives have changed several times since 1867 in hopes of finding a narrative that can achieve political stability and foster a better sense of belonging. Even so, Canada remains a fragile construct as the recent 2019 general election revealed.

The current approach to national solidarity centers on notions of diversity as it did in 1867. Diversity is progressive and good, but diversity has become about more than one's skin color or gender. Diversity brings with it colliding values, norms, and ideas, and the challenge ahead for Canada's leaders – and citizens more generally – is how they might embrace and encourage all forms of diversity. There is reason to be hopeful that the creation of a narrative of diversity can be sustained as three-quarters of Canadians see diversity and multiculturalism as cornerstones of the Canadian identity and are proud that Canada is a multicultural society. However, roughly the same percentage agrees that newcomers are not adopting Canadian values. Recent polls suggest that many Canadians believe there should be limits to how accommodating the country should be to immigrants.[81] Perhaps diversity and multiculturalism have gone from a twentieth century dream to a twenty-first century conundrum.[82] In Quebec there is particular concern about the weakening of the French language and culture in the face of increasing immigration. Elsewhere in the country, political leaders are struggling with finding a balance between multiculturalism and economic integration and the fostering of a sense of belonging. Today, the rise of right-wing populism, the fragmentation along regional and urban-rural lines, and the resistance to Trudeau's diversity agenda, especially in Quebec, are further reasons to be concerned. Yet, the commitment to diversity has a long history in Canada and that history should serve the country well in the troubling times that might lie ahead.

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[81] "Multiculturalism is our Identity," *The Globe and Mail*, April 27, 2018; and An Environics poll in 2006 found that 65 percent of Canadians agreed with the statement "Too many immigrants do not adopt Canadian values." See, Michael Adams, "John Tory: Well beyond the Bland," *The Globe and Mail*, September 17, 2007.

[82] Allan Gregg, "Multiculturalism: A Twentieth-Century Dream became a Twenty-First Century conundrum," *The Walrus*, March 12, 2006.

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STUDIA TERRITORIALIA 2

THE HERITAGE OF THE ILLYRIAN PROVINCES AS AN ELEMENT OF PRO-YUGOSLAV PROPAGANDA DURING THE REIGN OF KING ALEXANDER I OF YUGOSLAVIA

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Abstract
The biggest threat to the stability of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, which was created after the First World War, was the social distinctions between its citizens, who had been raised in completely different countries, and even different civilizations. The people's mentality and their various historical experiences were the consequence of living for hundreds of years in separate cultures. King Alexander Karađorđević was aware of that, and based his domestic politics on the idea of an integral "Yugoslavism," which meant the propagation of the ideal of a unified Yugoslavia in all aspects of social life. The main aim of the monarch was consolidating his entire society around the Yugoslav idea, uniting all the country's citizens into one nation and creating a new kind of man or woman – *homo yugoslavicus.* To achieve these goals, Karađorđević's state propaganda drew upon events and ideas from the past history of each "tribe" of the "three-name nation." In particular, the heritage of the Illyrian Provinces was used in that way. This article analyzes how the heritage of the Illyrian Provinces was used in public discourse of interwar Yugoslavia as one of the elements cementing the Yugoslav idea in the minds of the people. It focuses primarily on school curricula and the activities of influential scholars.
Keywords: Yugoslavia; Yugoslavism; Illyrian Provinces; propaganda; school curricula
DOI: 10.14712/23363231.2020.3

This article is based on research supported by a grant from National Science Centre of Poland (2014/13/D/HS3/03701).
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Introduction

After the First World War, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (hereinafter referred to as the Kingdom of SHS, from the Serbo-Croatian *Kraljevina Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca*, which became known as the Kingdom of Yugoslavia after October 1929) was created in December 1918. The Kingdom was composed of regions which not long before had functioned in six different customs zones and with five separate currencies, four railways, and three banking systems. However, economic differences were not the biggest threat to the stability of the young Yugoslav state. Social and mental distinctions were a much more complicated problem, resulting from diverse religious confessions and historical experiences that were the consequence of hundreds of years lived in completely different countries, and even different civilizations. The distinctions contributed to stereotypes which did not help to create a common Yugoslav national identity. The constitutional structure was quite centralized, as adopted by the authorities in Belgrade (especially King Alexander Karađorđević and Nikola Pašić, the leader of the biggest Serbian political party, the National Radical Party, who was several times the prime minister of both the Kingdom of Serbia and the Kingdom of SHS). Therefore, the creation among the people of a coherent Yugoslav identity – *homo yugoslavicus* – was the *sine qua non* for the survival of the new state.

From the very beginning of Yugoslavia's existence, its central authorities appealed to the Yugoslav idea, stressing at every step that Serbs, Croats, and Slovenians living in the state were actually "three tribes of one nation," – a nation with three names (*troimeni narod*).[1] However, their efforts did not have the results they expected for several reasons. Firstly, the Yugoslav idea was mainly that of the elites, while the society of inter-war Yugoslavia was massively a peasant society. According to the censuses of 1921 and 1931, 78.9% and 76.6% of the population, respectively, worked in economic sectors such as agriculture, forestry and fishing.[2] At that time, 44.6% of the society was illiterate.[3] Considering that in the 1931 census 76.4% of the Yugoslavian population declared a willingness to spend their whole life in the place where they were born,[4] it is clear how limited

[1] The Muslims of Bosnia, who today identify themselves as Bošniaks, Macedonians, and Montenegrins were not considered to be a separate nation in inter-war Yugoslavia.

[2] Ljubodrag Dimić, *Kulturna politika Kraljevine Jugoslavije 1918–1941*, Vol. I (Beograd: Stubovi kulture, 1996), 35.

[3] Ibid., 192.

[4] Ibid., 55–56.

the possibilities were for opening up, exchanging ideas, and breaking down the stereotypes held by a large part of society.

Moreover, after the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was banned in August 1921,[5] and until the Yugoslav National Party was formed in 1932,[6] every major political party was regional, not nationwide. The most important parties did not represent the interests of a particular social class or interest group, but rather one of the "Yugoslav tribes." Thus the National Radical Party was the Serbian party, the Croatian Peasant Party was Croatian, the Slovenian People's Party was Slovenian, and the Yugoslav Muslim Organization represented primarily Bosnian Muslims. This state of affairs destabilized the entire parliamentary system.[7] Instead of uniting the "three tribes of one nation," the regional character of the political parties added fuel to the fire of tribal conflict, paralyzing and all but destroying the democratic mechanisms of parliamentarism.

Taking these factors into account, forming a common Yugoslav identity from the bottom up seemed impossible. Therefore, as he assumed the role of dictator in January 6, 1929, King Alexander announced that "between myself and the nation there are no longer any intermediaries."[8] Under the slogan "one king, one state, one nation," he introduced the idea of "integral Yugoslavism," with the aim of systematically shaping the consciousness of *homo yugoslavicus*. The entire state apparatus was harnessed to achieving his goal. Schools, choirs, and "Sokol" organizations, as well as governmental institutions, were all incorporated into King Alexander's propaganda machine. The symbolic manifestation of the King's political program was the official change of the name of the state to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and its reorganization into 33 *oblasti* (counties) and nine new *banovinas* (provinces). It is worth mentioning that the borders of the *banovinas* were deliberately laid out so as to blur the ethnic divisions in the country.

It was obvious that this kind of national identity imposed from above could not root itself in Yugoslav society without the dedicated support of

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[5] Ivo Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984), 329; Branislav Gligorijević, "Parlamentarni sistem u Kraljevini SHS (1919–1929)," in *Politički život Jugoslavije 1914–1945*, ed. Aleksandar Acković (Beograd: Radio-Beograd, 1973), 370–371.

[6] Todor Stojkov, "Unutrašnja politika vladajućih krugova u Jugoslaviji (1929–1939)," in *Politički život Jugoslavije 1914–1945*, ed. Aleksandar Acković (Beograd: Radio-Beograd, 1973), 395–396.

[7] Mirosław Dymarski, "Społeczno-ekonomiczne i polityczne warunki kształtowania się partii politycznych na Bałkanach do lat trzydziestych XX wieku. Wprowadzenie do problemu," in *Studia z nauk społecznych i humanistycznych*, ed. Jerzy Juchnowski and Marian S. Wolański (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2008), 75.

[8] "Mome dragom narodu. Svim Srbima, Hrvatima i Slovencima," *Politika*, January 6, 1929.

state-sponsored propaganda, and above all of the educational system, which undeniably did the most to create and influence this new identity. And in the educational system the most important tool – the chisel with which the new Yugoslav man would be carved out – was history.

State propaganda drew on events and ideas in the past of each tribe of the "three-name nation." The authorities tried to combine and link those events with a pro-Yugoslav policy and use them to justify the political aims of the state. The heritage of Illyria was used in that way, and the state propaganda celebrated the ancient Illyrians, the Illyrian Provinces, and an Illyrian movement. All these concepts were presented as the prologue to the Yugoslav idea. Using the Illyrian legacy to strengthen Yugoslav propaganda was important, because it allowed the state to meld the history of the Slovenes and Croats into the common Yugoslav narrative. That was needed because some of the representatives of those two nations suspected King Alexander of promoting a "Greater Serbia" under the disguise of the Yugoslav idea. By emphasizing a link between the Illyrian heritage and the Yugoslav idea, the authorities tried to avoid that suspicion.

It is worth noting that the government's activities in this regard were carried out from the very foundation of the Kingdom of SHS, but after the King assumed the dictatorship in 1929 and vigorously began to impose the Yugoslav idea from the top down in the hope of uniting the nation, they definitely gained strength.

The main purpose of this article is to show how the memory and heritage of the Illyrian Provinces were used by Yugoslav government propaganda and linked to the Yugoslav idea. Employing the methodology of the historical sciences, and based on historical sources and the existing literature on the subject, the author identified the two most important channels for mediating the state's propaganda. The first was the schools, which, with the help of textbooks and the assumptions of the curriculum, became the key propaganda tool of the authorities. The second channel was the academic activity of Yugoslav scholars, who actively promoted the Illyrian heritage in their scientific works.

The use of the educational system and the scientific elite to propagate the idea of Yugoslavism has already been the subject of research.[9] However, analyzing the heritage of the Illyrian Provinces, which was important primarily for the Slovenians – the smallest tribe of the "three-name nation" – has not so far been a main goal of those investigations. For that reason, the investment into this

[9] See Charles Jelavich, *South Slav Nationalisms – Textbooks and Yugoslav Union before 1914*, (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1990); Ljubinka Trgovčević, *Naučnici Srbije i stvaranje Jugoslavije* (Beograd: Naučna knjiga, 1986); Pieter Troch, *Nationalism and Yugoslavia. Education, Yugoslavism and the Balkans before World War II* (London – New York: I. B. Tauris, 2015).

research is justified and will be very useful for further research into the creation of *homo yugoslavicus* in interwar Yugoslavia and how selected chapters from the history of each constituent Yugoslav nation were fused into the propaganda for the Yugoslav idea.

This article is divided into three main parts: a historical introduction, in which the author deals with the memory of the Illyrian Provinces in interwar Yugoslavia; a second part, in which he presents how the memory of the Illyrian Provinces was propagated in school textbooks; and a third part, which examines the involvement of the intellectual elites, professors, and university employees in strengthening the narrative line of a continuous Yugoslav idea that goes back to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The Memory of the Illyrian Provinces

The Illyrian Provinces were created as a result of the Peace of Schönbrunn (October 14, 1809) and existed until the outbreak of the next war between France and Austria in 1813. Under the treaty, the French acquired control over the regions of Istria, Carinthia, Carniola, Gorizia, Gradisca, and an area of what is today Croatia south of the Sava River, including the areas of Vojna Krajina and Trieste. All these areas were added to Dalmatia, Dubrovnik and Kotor, over which the French had gained control in 1806.[10] The newly created provinces were actually annexed to France as departments. This French bridgehead on the opposite side of the Adriatic from Italy was primarily acquired to check the British fleet and deny the Austrian Empire access to the Adriatic. It also made possible direct commercial relations with the Balkans, especially Ottoman Turkey.[11]

Although French rule over the Adriatic coast was a short episode in the history of the Balkan Peninsula, which cannot be compared in duration with the Venetian and Habsburg reigns over the area,[12] it is difficult to find another historical period that has left behind so many indelible marks as Napoleonic rule over the Illyrian Provinces.[13] It is impossible to deny the influence that the French had on the consciousness of the South Slavs in those areas. Napoleon, by naming

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10 Stjepan Ćosić, "Dubrovnik under French rule (1810–1814)," *Dubrovnik Annals*, No. 4 (2000): 103, https://hrcak.srce.hr/8325.

11 Ibid.

12 Wojciech Sajkowski, "The Peoples Inhabiting the Illyrian Provinces Known under the Name of Morlachs – Definition of the Ethnonym in the Light of the French Literature," *Res Historica*, No. 41 (2016): 112, doi: 10.17951/rh.2016.41.1.111.

13 George J. Prpić, "French Rule in Croatia: 1806–1813," *Balkan Studies* 5, No. 2 (1964): 221.

the Provinces after the ancient Illyrians and introducing Slavic languages into their schools, unwittingly accelerated the national revival of the Slovenes and above all of the Croats. It was the Croats who in the 1830s created the Illyrian movement, headed by Ljudevit Gaj, with an eye to their Illyrian heritage.[14] In the future, the Illyrian idea would plant the seed of the Yugoslav idea in the minds of Serbs and Croats. It is considered to be one stage in the evolution of the Yugoslav movement.[15]

As already mentioned, two of the most difficult problems in the creation of a "Yugoslav" society were overcoming historical, social and economic differences and finding factors that could unite the country and build a sense of a Yugoslav historical continuum. One of the elements used for this purpose by state propaganda was history. Many attempts were made to pick out the historic threads that were important for each nation, so as to weave them into the fabric of common experience that was "Yugoslavism." The history of the Illyrian Provinces, which featured prominently in the school textbooks of interwar Yugoslavia as the foundation of the Yugoslav idea, was one such thread.

At the end of the nineteenth century and in the first half of the twentieth century, especially in the interwar period, the memory of the Illyrian Provinces was mythologized in the collective consciousness of Yugoslavs, particularly that of the South Slav inhabitants of Austria-Hungary. Admittedly, during the existence of the Illyrian Provinces a significant number of Slovenes and Croats, most of whom were peasants, were not very enthusiastic about French rule. First of all, the French were newcomers with whom it was impossible to communicate. Secondly, the French post-revolutionary attitude to the Catholic Church, which was embodied in the Napoleonic Code, separated church and state and permitted civil weddings, inter alia. For the most part, that was unacceptable to the predominantly Catholic, conservative society of the region.[16]

The turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was marked by the rise of nationalism, national consciousness, and increasing tensions in the European

[14] On the Illyrian movement, see Elinor Murray Despalatović, *Ljudevit Gaj and the Illyrian Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975). See also Joanna Rapacka, *Godzina Herdera. O Serbach, Chorwatach i idei jugosłowiańskiej* (Warszawa: Energeia, 1995).

[15] Carole Rogel, *The Slovenes and Yugoslavism 1890–1914* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), 8–9.

[16] Peter Vodopivec, "Illyrian Provinces from a Slovene Perspective: Myth and Reality," in *Napoleon's Empire. European Politics in Global Perspective*, ed. Ute Planert (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 256.

multinational empires.[17] South Slav intellectuals began to look for a foundation for their beliefs in the history of their various nations, on which they could build a single "house for the Yugoslav idea." One cornerstone of that foundation was the memory of the Illyrian Provinces. That history, and the history of French contacts with the Yugoslavs, was met with considerable interest when it was taught in the school curriculum of the interwar period.[18] One of the main goals of cultivating the memory of the Provinces was strengthening the narrative of a spiritual community and a destiny shared by all Yugoslavs. It was a memory that identified the Yugoslav idea as the crowning achievement of a centuries-old effort to bring it into reality.

The Illyrian Provinces and the Pro-Yugoslav Narrative in the Interwar Yugoslav School Curriculum

In the early twentieth century, the Illyrian Provinces came to be regarded by some of the Southern Slavs in Austria-Hungary as the beginning of a Yugoslav identity. For Serbs from the Principality of Serbia, the history of the Provinces was an element in the Serbian national revival, but it was assigned marginal importance in the transition to unification of the Southern Slavs. This difference can be seen in the school textbooks used in the Kingdom of Serbia in the early twentieth century, where the history of the Illyrian Provinces was little mentioned. The main reference point in Serbian textbooks was the First Serbian Uprising (1804–1813), headed by Đorđe Petrović (Karađorđe). In the textbooks that dealt with Serbian history after 1450, the story of the nine years of the First Serbian Uprising comprised 20–50% of their content, depending on the edition. The history of the Middle Ages was merely considered a prelude to the cornerstone of modern Serbian statehood, which was the First Serbian Uprising.[19]

There are several events in the nineteenth century history of the Balkans that were regarded as precursors of South Slav unity in the textbooks from the beginning of the twentieth century. These include the Illyrian movement of Ljudevit Gaj and the pro-Slav activities of many others, including Franjo Rački and Josip Juraj Strossmayer.[20] However, it must be recognized that the most attention was

[17] This tension is reflected in the period of Károly Khuen-Héderváry's rule as the Ban of Croatia (1883–1903), which was strongly marked by Magyarization.
[18] Vodopivec, "Illyrian Provinces from a Slovene Perspective," 252.
[19] Jelavich, *South Slav Nationalisms*, 190.
[20] See, for example, Mirjana Gross, "Croatian National-Integrational Ideologies from the End of Illyrism to the Creation of Yugoslavia," *Austrian History Yearbook* 15–16 (1979–1980), 3–43, doi:

devoted to the creation of the Illyrian Provinces by Napoleon. The provinces were discussed in the context of the liberation of the Serbs from the Habsburg yoke. But the "Illyrian Kingdom," as the provinces were called, mainly meant the areas of Dalmatia and Croatia. It ignored the other lands that made up its administrative structure. The authors of the Serbian textbooks seemed to forget about the fact that among the 1.56 million inhabitants of the Illyrian Provinces in the 1810s, the overwhelming majority were Slovenes and Croats, followed by Italians and Germans. The Serbs were only the fifth largest nation in the provinces.[21] Taking all this into account, the history curriculum in interwar Yugoslavia required changes and systemic revisions aimed at conveying a unified message regarding the Illyrian Provinces and a coherent narrative about the unifying nature of its administrative structure.

Teachers and schools very quickly became tools for building a common national identity, basically from the very beginning of the existence of the Kingdom of SHS. For the first ten years of its existence, the Kingdom was the common home of the three-name nation of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians. After the introduction of dictatorship and the doctrine of integral Yugoslavism, the cultivation of a common Yugoslav identity, expressed in the taxonomy of *homo yugoslavicus*, was a major task.

On March 16, 1919, the future King Alexander Karađorđević, already the regent of the Kingdom, gave an interview in which he discussed the historical mission of Yugoslavia's teachers. The ruler praised the teachers as people who, despite hundreds of years of enslavement, had always cared about developing a model of teaching in which the brotherhood and unity of the Southern Slavs was always foremost, but the individual characteristics of each tribe of the three-name nation were not diminished.[22]

In order to control and unite the teachers coming from different parts of the Kingdom (Croatia, Slovenia, Serbia, Bosnia, Montenegro, etc.), the Yugoslav Teachers Association was established under the tutelage of the State in July 1920, during a teachers' congress in Belgrade.[23] Combining different groups and associations into one body controlled by the ruling elite was a trend in almost every area of life in interwar Yugoslavia. For example, the Yugoslav Journalists'

10.1017/S006723780001256X.

[21] Jelavich, *South Slav Nationalisms*, 191.

[22] Ljubodrag Dimić, *Kulturna politika Kraljevine Jugoslavije 1918–1941*, Vol. II (Beograd: Stubovi kulture, 1997), 248–249.

[23] Ibid., 249; Ljubodrag Petrović, "Jugoslovenski učitelji između ideološke i društvene odgovornosti. Represija nad profesijom između dva svetska rata," *Tokovi istorije*, No. 1–2 (2005): 39.

Association (formed during a congress of journalists in Sarajevo on March 26–31, 1921),[24] the Yugoslav Sokol Association,[25] and the Yugoslav Singers' Society (formed on April 6, 1924 during a congress in Ljubljana)[26] followed exactly the same path.

The members of the newly formed Yugoslav Teachers Association largely supported the idea of shaping a common national identity through the teaching of history. They believed that the Serbs, Croats and Slovenians were essentially one nation, with the same origin and the same soul.[27]

Arbitrary guidelines and educational goals excluded teachers who refused to abandon their national identity (Serbian, Croatian or Slovenian) in favor of a Yugoslav identity. This approach only intensified over the years. It reached its apogee in 1929–1934, during the so-called integralist governments that took power when dictatorship was imposed by King Alexander. At that time, the main purpose of schools and teachers, and the main idea guiding public education, was the cultivation of *homo yugoslavicus*. Educating a literate citizen who could read was only secondary.[28] The educational system and its curricula were based on promoting the unity of the three-name nation and glorifying the Karađorđević dynasty, which occupied one of the most important places in the national narrative.[29] There was no place for teachers who did not support the Yugoslav idea. Schools were required to promote a homogeneous Yugoslav culture and a common sense of national unity.[30] The teaching of the history of the Illyrian Provinces was also bent to the task of supporting the Yugoslav idea.

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24 Mihailo Bjelica, "Novinarske organizacije i pitanje slobode štampe u predratnoj Jugoslaviji," *Novinarstvo*, No. 3–4 (1988): 32; Mihailo Bjelica, *200 godina jugoslovenske štampe. Pregled istorije novinarstva* (Beograd: Jugoslovenski institut za novinarstvo / Književno-izdavačka zadruga "Sloboda," 1968), 136–138.

25 On January 26, 1919, representatives of the Slovenian, Croatian and Serbian Sokol associations met in Zagreb, where they decided to establish the Sokol Union of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians. During the nationwide Sokol convention that took place on August 30, 1920 in Maribor, the name was changed to the Yugoslav Sokol Association. See Pieter Troch, "Education and Yugoslav Nationhood in Interwar Yugoslavia. Possibilities, limitations and interactions with other national ideas" (Doctoral Dissertation, Ghent University, 2012), 581–582, https://biblio.ugent.be/publication/4267482/file/4336097.pdf. See also Nikola Žutić, *Sokoli. Ideologija u fizičkoj kulturi Kraljevine Jugoslavije 1929–1941* (Beograd: Angrotrade, 1991), 10.

26 Ljubodrag Dimić, *Kulturna politika Kraljevine Jugoslavije 1918–1941*, Vol. III (Beograd: Stubovi kulture, 1997), 312; and Biljana Milanović, "Odnos sfere države prema pevačkim udruženjima u Srbiji i Kraljevini Jugoslaviji," *Muzikologija* 11 (2011): 219–234.

27 Dimić, *Kulturna politika Kraljevine Jugoslavije*, Vol. II, 249; Petrović, "Jugoslovenski učitelji," 40.

28 Petrović, "Jugoslovenski učitelji," 42.

29 Ibid.

30 Ljubodrag Dimić, Nikola Žutić, and Blagoje Isailović, *Zapisnici sa sednica Ministarskog Saveta Kraljevine Jugoslavije 1929–1931*, ed. Ljubodrag Dimić, Nikola Žutić and Blagoje Isailović (Beo-

At the beginning of the 1930s, almost half of Yugoslavs were illiterate, but some parts of the country were more literate than others. The Drava Banovina (with its center in Ljubljana) was the most highly developed in this regard. The illiteracy rate there was only about 5.6%, while in Vrbas Banovina (centered on Banja Luka) and Vardar Banovina (Skopje) it was 72.6% and 70.9%, respectively.[31] In order to solve this problem, the state organized special evening courses for illiterates, which were obligatory for citizens under 25 and optional for the elderly.[32] The program of these classes devoted three hours a week to geography and history combined.[33] The night courses were similar to the history course in the primary schools and included the most important events in the history of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenians from the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Particular emphasis was placed on a Yugoslav way to build a common state and society in the courses. The topics included in the curriculum were the First Serbian Uprising; the Illyrian Provinces; the Second Serbian Uprising; the rebirth of Slovenian national consciousness and the activities of Valentin Vodnik; the rebirth of Croatian national consciousness and the activities of Ljudevit Gaj; the rebirth of Serbian national consciousness and the activities of Vuk Karadžić; and the actions of Croats and Serbs during the revolutions of 1848. Furthermore, the curriculum covered the governments of Miloš and Mihailo Obrenović; the pro-Yugoslav activity of Josip Juraj Strossmayer; the 1875–1876 revolt in Bosnia-Herzegovina; the declaration of independence of the Principalities of Serbia and Montenegro; the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina; the life of King Petar I Karađorđević; the actions of the chetniks in "Southern Serbia"; and the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Finally, also included were Serbia in the Balkan wars; Young Bosnia and the assassination of the Austrian crown prince in Sarajevo; First World War; the fall of Austria-Hungary; and the formation of Yugoslavia and the life of King Alexander I Karađorđević.[34] The Illyrian Provinces were one of the few themes in the curriculum which did not strictly belong to Serbia's historical heritage. However, their history was considered a part of the cultural code shared by all of Yugoslav society. For that reason, the Illyrian Provinces were taught in the curricula of both primary and secondary schools as an important part of the history of Yugoslavia.[35]

grad: Službeni list SRJ, 2002), 35–37.

31 Dimić, *Kulturna politika Kraljevine Jugoslavije*, Vol. I, 56.

32 Troch, "Education and Yugoslav Nationhood," 147.

33 Ibid., 148.

34 Ibid., 149.

35 Ibid., 236–237.

The topic of the Illyrian Provinces was linked in an interesting way to the First Serbian Uprising in the curriculum. As mentioned above, the Uprising in 1804 and its leader Karađorđe, the progenitor of the ruling dynasty, were presented as the cornerstone of the construction of Yugoslavia. They were identified as a stroke of genius on the part of Napoleon, who realized the Southern Slavs' true potential. They also inspired the Austrian Yugoslavs, who appreciated the efforts of the fighting Serbs and wished to dump the Habsburg shackles as the Serbs had shed the Ottoman yoke. Presented in that way, the administrative form of the Illyrian Provinces, which united a part of the Southern Slavs' home in Austria, was another source of inspiration for future pro-Yugoslav agitation.[36]

The Illyrian Provinces as an Element that Strengthened the Pro-Yugoslav Narrative in Academic Research

The depiction of the Illyrian Provinces as a step toward the creation of Yugoslavia was also a theme in the scientific works and articles of Yugoslav academicians. The academic community was another socio-professional group that very quickly accepted a centralized organization controlled by the Yugoslav government's Ministry of Science. On October 5–7, 1920, the annual meeting of the Serbian Professorship Society was held. Representatives of the Serbian academic community and professors from other regions of the Kingdom of SHS took part in the meeting.[37] A decision was made there to create a United Society of Professors with branches in Belgrade, Ljubljana, Zagreb, Split, Sarajevo and Novi Sad. The main task of the new body was described as follows by Dušan Manđer in a fiery speech:

> I came to Serbia, to Belgrade, which created Yugoslavia, and who will create the Yugoslavians, if not us, the professors? Apart from our brave Serbian army, there is one more army, which is the teachers and professors. We may differ in social, cultural and political views, but we must be unanimous and united – in the desire to make our country strong and united, and to make our nation strong and united too.[38]

In fact, for the Society, the most important task of the intelligentsia was to assist in the educational and cultural integration of Yugoslav society.[39] Besides

36 Ibid., 242.
37 Dimić, *Kulturna politika Kraljevine Jugoslavije*, Vol. II, 294.
38 Ibid., 294–295.
39 Ibid., 303.

the well-prepared teaching programs in primary schools, university education also had to help create a Yugoslav national consciousness.

In Yugoslavia's interwar historiography there are many works written by scientists that support the Yugoslavian idea with scientific arguments. That is true of almost every field of science, to mention only the geographic and ethnographic works of the eminent Serbian geographer Jovan Cvijić, who during the First World War was trying to build a scientific foundation for a Yugoslav state,[40] and the monumental work of the Croatian philosopher and ethnopsychologist Vladimir Dvorniković, entitled *Karakterologija Jugoslovena*.[41] Many historians also supported Yugoslav national unification in their works. Among the most important were Ferdo Šišić and Viktor Novak. What is interesting is that they were both Croats who relied on the history of the Illyrian Provinces to legitimize and strengthen the Yugoslav idea.

A great example of such work is an article by Šišić published in an English brochure, *The Yougoslavic Littoral on the Adriatic Sea*, entitled "Historical Survey on the East Coast of the Adriatic Sea."[42] In his text, Šišić commented on the continuity of Yugoslavian [*sic*] history on the Dalmatian Adriatic coast, from the early Middle Ages and the arrival of the Slavs on the Balkan Peninsula until the time of his contemporaries. He viewed the Illyrian Provinces as one of the important stages in the history of the Yugoslavian presence in the area. Although the period of French rule was relatively short, Šišić believed that "never before had the Yugoslav people had such a noble and kindly ruler as General Marmont."[43] Šišić identified the inhabitants of the Illyrian Provinces as Yugoslavs – not Slovenes, Croats or Serbs – who, for the first time in history, enjoyed the support of a ruler who treated them as one nation. The French introduced many reforms that accelerated the development of the Provinces. What is more, Šišić believed that the fall of Napoleon was one of the most disappointing blows the Yugoslav countries had ever received.[44]

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40 E.g. Jovan Cvijić, *Balkansko poluostrvo i južnoslovenske zemlje: osnovi antropogeografije* (Beograd: Zavod za izdavanje udžbenika, 1922). For Cvijić's activity during the First World War, see Trgovčević, *Naučnici Srbije*.

41 Vladimir Dvorniković, *Karakterologija Jugoslovena* (Beograd: Kosmos, 1939).

42 Ferdo Šišić, "Historical Survey on the East Coast of the Adriatic Sea," in *The Yougoslavic Littoral on the Adriatic Sea*, ed. Milan Rojc (Zagreb: Government Press, 1919), 15–26.

43 Šišić, "Historical Survey," 25. General Auguste Marmont was governor of the Illyrian Provinces from 1809 to early 1811. Regarding his rule in the Illyrian Provinces, see e.g. Prpić, "French Rule in Croatia," 245–254.

44 Šišić, "Historical Survey," 25.

The article “Yugoslavic Civilization on the Adriatic,” published in the same brochure, was written in the same vein. Its author was Branko Vodnik, a Croatian writer, critic and historian of literature.[45] He also claimed that the Illyrian Provinces were a very important stage on the road to implementing the Yugoslavian idea, because they were “the first state organism for centuries in which the various Yugoslavian tribes were united.”[46] Together with the ideals of the French Revolution, the Provinces introduced the civilization of the Enlightenment and a modern understanding of nationhood to the Balkans, which had a significant impact on the creation of Yugoslav nation. To sum up, according to Branko Vodnik, despite the fact that they only existed for a few years the Illyrian Provinces lasted long enough to instill a Yugoslav idea in the Southern Slavs (Serbs, Croats and Slovenes). From that time on, all the rulers of those areas referred in some way to the Yugoslav idea, which only gathered strength until its final triumph.[47]

As can be seen in the work of both scholars, the Illyrian Provinces were considered to be the first stage of Yugoslav unification, confirming a common Yugoslavian identity for the Croats, Slovenians and Serbs. Their influence on the development of the Yugoslav idea was invaluable. Of course, one must pay attention to the context in which the English-language brochure mentioned above was published. In 1919, Italy was waging an intense diplomatic struggle with the Kingdom of SHS to gain access to the Adriatic coast of Dalmatia. The brochure, released in the widely-known English language, certainly had some propaganda goals. In the context of Woodrow Wilson’s aim of self-determination for nations, a historical argument for the Yugoslav character of those lands was priceless. The brochure’s emphasis was not on the Croatian, but the Yugoslav character of the local population. This was not without significance, because during the First World War the Croatians had fought alongside the armed forces of the defeated Habsburg monarchy, which they began to oppose only when its fall became inevitable. There is no doubt, however, that the narrative of the Illyrian Provinces as the first attempt at unification of all Yugoslav peoples under one state administration was a cornerstone of pro-Yugoslav ideology during the reign of King Alexander. It was repeated many times over.

The importance of the Illyrian Provinces was also reflected in a monumental work entitled *Antologija jugoslovenske misli i narodnog jedinstva: 1390–1930*,

[45] Branko Vodnik, “Yugoslavic Civilization on the Adriatic,” in *The Yougoslavic Littoral on the Adriatic Sea*, ed. Milan Rojc (Zagreb: Government Press, 1919), 27–44.
[46] Ibid., 40.
[47] Ibid., 41.

edited by Viktor Novak.[48] Novak's anthology is a collection of works by South Slav creators of culture and speeches by political activists and others who over the centuries appealed to and emphasized the common Yugoslav heritage of the Southern Slavs. The first texts of the anthology are excerpts from books by Ferdo Šišić[49] and Vladimir Ćorović,[50] which remember the Bosnian king Stefan Tvrtko, who crowned himself the ruler of all the Southern Slavs.[51] The last text in the book is an excerpt from a speech by King Alexander Karađorđević delivered on January 12, 1930, as a response to a greeting from the Danube, Drava, and Drina Banovinas' parliamentary delegations. The speech ended with the following call:

> Speak gentlemen, during travel and at home, tell one and all that no borders divide us anymore, nor [the mistakes] of the past, nor do the Danube, Sava or Drina separate [us], but they bind us forever and combine national soul and national interest into an inseparable whole – Yugoslavia, which no one will ever split. With this desire I greet you: *Živeli*! [Cheers!].[52]

The anthology also contains other texts depicting the Illyrian Provinces as one stage in the crystallization of the Yugoslav idea and its incarnation in the form of a united state of Southern Slavs. An excellent example of the continuity (that is, the inseparable connection between the Illyrian Provinces, the Yugoslav idea, and the Kingdom of SHS), was a fragment of an 1810 letter written by Karađorđe to Napoleon.[53] The great leader of the First Serbian Uprising praised Napoleon as the man whom many nations, including Illyria – inhabited by "our tribesmen" – should thank for the resurrection of their countries.[54] The phrase "our tribesmen" used by the founder of the Karađorđević dynasty to refer to the inhabitants of the Illyrian Provinces confirms that the Serbs then considered all

[48] Viktor Novak, *Antologija jugoslovenske misli i narodnog jedinstva (1390–1930)* (Beograd: [n.p.], 1930).
[49] Ferdo Šišić, *Pregled povijesti hrvatskog naroda: od najstarijih dana do 1 decembra 1918* (Zagreb: S. Kugli, knjižara kr. Sveučilišta i Jogoslav. akademije, 1920), 185–191.
[50] Vladimir Ćorović, *Kralj Tvrtko I Kotromanić* (Beograd: Makarije, 1925).
[51] Novak, *Antologija jugoslovenske misli*, 1–2.
[52] "Recite, Gospodo, uz put i na domu, – recite svima i svakome, da nas nikakve granice, ni podvojenosti iz prošlosti, kao ni Dunav ni Sava, ni Drina više ne razdvajaju, već da nam uvek vezuju i spajaju interese narodne i dušu narodnu u nerazdvojnu celinu – Jugoslaviju, koju nikad niko razjediniti neće. Sa ovakom željom, Ja Vas pozdravljam: Živeli!" Quoted in Novak, *Antologija jugoslovenske misli*, 896–897.
[53] This letter appeared originally in *Karađorđe. Život i delo*, ed. Vladimir Ćorović, Stanoje Stanojević and Ferdo Šišić (Beograd: Narodno delo, 1923), 63.
[54] Novak, *Antologija jugoslovenske misli*, 32.

the inhabitants of the Provinces (in which, let us recall, the Serbs were in the minority) to be their co-tribesmen. This belief of the time supported the narrative of the Illyrian Provinces as the first successful attempt to unite the Yugoslavs. The fact that Karađorđe was the great-grandfather of King Alexander legitimized Alexander's pro-Yugoslav policies, making his actions more authentically patriotic and consistent with an idea that had originated many years earlier.

Other texts in the Novak anthology that refer to the heritage of the Illyrian Provinces were the poems *Ilirija oživljena* (Illyria Reborn) and *Ilirija zveličana* (Illyria Saved) by Valentin Vodnik, one of the first modern Slovenian poets. In his poems, Vodnik praises Napoleon for "resurrecting" Illyria.[55] Novak's inclusion of these poems in his anthology was intended to emphasize the joy that the Slovenian elites felt in the creation of the Provinces, and thus the unification of all the Yugoslav nationalities under one administration. Even though it probably was not Vodnik's intention, Novak introduced his poems into the canon of Yugoslav literature and thought. Vodnik thus contributed to strengthening the narrative of the Illyrian Provinces as a waypoint on the path to the creation of Yugoslavia, a goal which met with the general approval of the Slovenian elites.

Conclusion

There is no doubt that the memory of the Illyrian Provinces was widely used by the government in the interwar Yugoslavia to bolster its legitimacy. The Provinces were identified as one of the most important stages on the way to the creation of a unified Yugoslavia. The main mediator of this idea was the core curriculum of the schools, which exposed all Yugoslav students to the collective-identity-building events in the tradition of each part of Yugoslavia's society. The pedagogical presentation of the Illyrian Provinces as one of the first attempts to create Yugoslavia was aimed at convincing the Slovenian and, to a lesser extent, also Croatian inhabitants of the Kingdom of the value of the Yugoslav idea, which up to then had been built mainly on the Serbian historical-cultural narrative. Through the school curriculum, the authorities intended to show that the heritage of the Illyrian Provinces was the common heritage of all Yugoslavs. The goal was a society of men and women who identified themselves as Yugoslavs, of the species *homo yugoslavicus*.

The narrative was further strengthened by pro-Yugoslav representatives of science, who tried to show in their academic works the continuity and

[55] Ibid., 33–43.

connection of the Illyrian Provinces and their inhabitants with the contemporary Yugoslavia. Yet, this way of thinking largely failed to change the popular mindset in Yugoslavia as a whole. The memory of the Illyrian Provinces was most vivid in the Drava Banovina, which actually lived through the experience. Despite numerous efforts of the Yugoslav authorities, the attempt to turn the Illyrian Provinces into a common denominator for the whole of Yugoslav society was rather unsuccessful. The division of the country into new *banovinas* carried out in October 1929 did not help either.[56] The predominance of the Serbian element in the pro-Yugoslav narrative proved to be too obvious, and ultimately thwarted the attempt to create a unified Yugoslav society.

[56] Troch, "Education and Yugoslav Nationhood," 270–276.

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STUDIA TERRITORIALIA 2

UNLEARNING PREJUDICE THROUGH MEMORY? CONTEMPORARY GERMAN MEMORY POLITICS AND HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION

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Abstract
This article is about contemporary memory politics in Germany, with a special focus on memory education as a function of governmentality. It describes the linkage of the memory of the Holocaust with present-day human rights causes and examines education that is intended to use that memory to create better German citizens. I look into the widely accepted idea that in a democracy, citizens not only have rights but also obligations to behave in accordance with the society's values. By examining the citizen's alleged obligations and how they are characterized by different forms of memorializing historical events, I offer insight into the rationale for injecting a retrospective view into present-day politics and educational efforts that are intended to accomplish that. Contemporary German memory education is to a great extent influenced by global educational programs such as those supported by UNESCO. I come to the conclusion that many of the programs aimed at German citizens include education about the Holocaust and are considered to be "naturally" complementary to promoting human rights. Nevertheless, the German government's proclaimed aim of advancing respect for human rights and thereby creating a more peaceful future carries with it a risk of becoming a stepping stone to the assumption of a morally superior position that will result in new forms of exclusion.
Keywords: Germany; Memorium Nuremberg Trials; global citizenship education; governmentality; human rights; Holocaust
DOI: 10.14712/23363231.2020.4

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Introduction

On the occasion of what would have been Anne Frank's ninetieth birthday, on June 12, 2019, Heiko Maas, the Foreign Minister of Germany, tweeted a message about the continuing relevance of Anne Frank's story. In his tweet, he said that Frank's diary was an important "warning" and a "symbol for humanity."[1] An Israeli diplomat, Emmanuel Nahshon, retorted in a tweeted reply that Anne Frank's diary was "NOT a warning about wishy-washy pseudo universal values" and that moreover the universalization of the Shoah was a "dishonest rewriting of history."[2] His harsh criticism must have come as a surprise to Maas, who since becoming foreign minister in 2018 has relentlessly emphasized Germany's duty to remember the Holocaust and its lessons. In his inaugural speech in March 2018, Maas stated that his main reason for going into politics was Auschwitz.[3] This is a curious and rather unusual statement for a German politician, but it provoked only a few reactions and even fewer inquiries seeking to clarify what Maas actually meant.

Not every attempt to memorialize the Holocaust derives from the same interpretation of its history, its impact on today's societies, or the things we can learn from it. This article intends to unpack Maas's statement and examine its epistemology. The opposing opinions voiced by Maas on the one hand and Nahshon on the other serve as a point of departure for exploration of German "retrospective politics."[4] The aim is less to explain Nahshon's criticism of Maas's statement, and more to shed light on the ways in which the memory of the Holocaust can be used in politics beyond promoting a sense of responsibility for the Holocaust itself and honoring its victims.

One example of the broader use of the Holocaust is found in another statement by Maas. At the end of 2017, when he was holding the position of Minister of Justice, Maas demanded that refugees be educated and tested in Holocaust

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1 German Foreign Office, Twitter post, June 12, 2019, 3:52 p.m., https://twitter.com/GermanyDiplo/status/1138760917418725376.

2 The original tweet has been deleted, but news coverage of it can be found, among other places, in *Jüdische Allgemeine*, June 14, 2019, https://www.juedische-allgemeine.de/politik/versuch-die-lehren-der-schoa-zu-verallgemeinern.

3 Maas's inaugural speech can be read on the website of the German Foreign Office: "Rede zum Amtsantritt von Bundesaußenminister Heiko Maas," March 14, 2018, https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/de/newsroom/bm-maas-amtsantritt/1788184.

4 I take this term from Berber Bevernage, "The Past is Evil/Evil is Past: On Retrospective Politics, Philosophy of History, and Temporal Manichaeism," *History and Theory* 54, No. 3 (2015): 333–352, doi: 10.1111/hith.10763.

history before they are granted legal status in Germany. His demand was mainly directed at refugees from allegedly "un-democratic," mostly Islamic, countries and was intended to ensure that they unlearn the prejudices that Maas assumed them to harbor.[5]

What are the "memory politics" that underlie Maas's demand for Holocaust education for refugees? How do they relate to his statement about Anne Frank's birthday as a "symbol for mankind?" Answering these questions leads me into an analysis of a global trend toward employing the memory of past atrocities as a tool of governmentality. In order to grasp the extent to which Maas's views conform to current discourse, and are constructed thereby and systemic thereto, rather than mere expressions of his individual ideas, I will situate them in the broader context of history and historical pedagogy. From the analytical perspective of Foucault's concept of *Governmentality*, this article examines the most important medium for preserving the public memory of historical events: education. My hypothesis is that educational programs about the Holocaust are increasingly designed to foster the core values of liberal democracy and aim to create a sense of widely shared responsibility for society and the well-being of humanity.

I will further argue that the "lessons for humanity" found in the Holocaust are integral to the United Nations programs for Global Citizenship Education. To make that claim more tangible, I will briefly introduce some of the UN's core educational programs and then turn to the ways in which they are materialized in one museum space, the Memorium Nuremberg Trials. The museum opened in Nuremberg, Germany in 2010 and is not exclusively dedicated to the Holocaust. Neither, however, can it be divorced from it, as I will explain below. What I intended to find out by studying the Memorium in connection with pedagogical programs for citizenship and Heiko Maas's statements is the following: what is the rationale, the ideological motor, behind memory education in contemporary Germany (and maybe even elsewhere)? What ideas about the ideal citizen does it disseminate?

Shortly after Maas delivered his inaugural speech, he visited Israel. There he met with survivors of the Holocaust and explained to them why he had declared Auschwitz as his motivation for becoming a politician. When he searched his family for someone who had fought against or even mildly resisted Nazi rule, but

[5] One of the few newspaper articles about Maas's remarks can be found in "Justizminister Maas: Wissen zu Holocaust in Integrationskursen abfragen," *MiGAZIN*, December 18, 2017, http://www.migazin.de/2017/12/18/justizminister-maas-wissen-holocaust-integrationskursen.

did not find anyone, he decided to go into politics in order to take an active part in preventing atrocities like the Holocaust from ever happening again.[6] Shortly after his meeting with the survivors, Maas expressed a similar view in the guestbook of Israel's national Holocaust memorial, Yad Vashem. He emphasized not only his personal responsibility but that of the entire nation-state of Germany. He wrote: "Remembrance must never stop. Germany holds responsibility for the most ferocious atrocities in the history of humanity. The Shoah remains a warning and gives us a mandate to stand up for human rights and tolerance."[7]

An emphasis on Germany's special responsibility for human rights, resulting from having perpetrated the Holocaust, is not new, nor is it unique to Heiko Maas. Moreover, German politicians often express similar sentiments about the state of Israel, to which Germany recognizes a special indebtedness.[8] However, the number of statements made by Maas in this vein is particularly noticeable. Moreover, all of his remarks and expressions of accountability regarding the Holocaust indicate that Maas assumes Germany to have fully internalized the desire to promote human rights, in a way many of the people who are seeking refuge there have not. His remarks can only be understood in relation to the concerns often expressed in Germany about "importing" hatred for various minorities along with the refugees, who are reputed to lack respect for the values of a free and democratic Germany.[9] Such expressions of concern only work against the background of a European Union that considers itself a "peace project" at heart, in which Germany has become an important player.[10] Accordingly, what Maas has said is conditioned by a certain discourse that has become viral since

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6 Maas's visit to Israel was covered by, among others, the German newspaper *Die Zeit*, March 26, 2018, https://www.zeit.de/news/2018-03/26/maas-erklaert-holocaust-ueberlebenden-seine-auschwitz-aeusserung-180326-99-637821.

7 This quote appeared in German in news coverage of Maas's trip. See *Tagesschau, ARD*, March 25, 2018, https://www.tagesschau.de/ausland/maas-israel-103.html.

8 Statements in this regard abound and are made whenever German politicians meet with Israelis. Angela Merkel, as well as the former President of Germany, Joachim Gauck, have declared their unconditional solidarity with and responsibility for Israel in light of the German past. See, for example, the study conducted by Bertelsmann Stiftung: Steffen Hagemann and Roby Nathanson, *Germany and Israel Today: Linked by the Past, Divided by the Present* (Berlin: Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2015).

9 María do Mar Castro Varela, "Integrationsregime und Gouvernementalität. Herausforderungen an interkulturelle/internationale soziale Arbeit," in *Bildung, Pluralität und Demokratie: Erfahrungen, Analysen und Interventionen in der Migrationsgesellschaft*. Vol. II, ed. M. Gomollla et al. (Hamburg: Helmut-Schmidt-Universität / Universität der Bundeswehr Hamburg, 2015), 66–83, http://edoc.sub.uni-hamburg.de/hsu/volltexte/2015/3099/pdf/Publikation_IKB_II_final_2015.pdf.

10 María do Mar Castro Varela, "Europa – Ein Gespenst geht um," in *Europa: Entgrenzungen*, ed. Gregor Maria Hoff (Innsbruck – Wien: Tyrolia, 2015), 49–82.

the so-called "summer of migration" in 2015, and by the general discourse on security and the norms and values of Germany.[11] Moreover, this argumentation is once again linked to the memory of the Holocaust: it has become commonly accepted that the Second World War against Nazi Germany and its collaborators was a "campaign for social justice."[12] Subsequently, a new peace project, the European Union, arose out of the ashes of desolated post-war Europe, which was enlightened by the shock of the Holocaust.[13] Even though historian Samuel Moyn, among others,[14] has problematized this nexus and argued the emergence of the human rights agenda was not predominantly a response to the Holocaust, this tale of success remains mostly unchallenged.[15]

The main focus of this paper will be on so-called *memory education*. This term reflects that public memory is not only informed by but also mediated through education, as Maas implies in his remarks about the need for refugees to receive education about the Holocaust. The construction and negotiation of knowledge about past events and also about the lessons to be learned from them takes place to a large extent in history-based teaching. The "generation of post-memory" fills in its lack of lived experience and personal memories by means of didactics, whether in school or at a museum.[16] In contemporary Germany it is almost impossible to distinguish between historical education about Nazism and the Holocaust, which nurtures what is often referred to as *collective* memory, and the practice of memorializing those events, such as the public commemoration of the liberation of Auschwitz each year on January 27. That date,

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[11] Roozbeh Shirazi, "When Schooling Becomes a Tactic of Security: Educating to Counter 'Extremism'", *Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education* 11, No. 1 (January 2017): 2–5, doi 10.1080/15595692.2016.1253555.

[12] Samuel Moyn, *Human Rights and the Uses of History* (London – Brooklyn, NY: Verso, 2014), 77.

[13] This metaphor of the rising phoenix was employed by the former President of the European Council, Herman Van Rompuy, in a speech he delivered after the European Union was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2012. His Nobel Prize Lecture can be found at https://www.nobelprize.org/mediaplayer/?id=1919.

[14] For an analysis of different aspects of the Holocaust–human rights nexus see, among others, Daniel Levy and Natan Sznaider, *Human Rights and Memory* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010) as well as Lea David, "Against Standardization of Memory," *Human Rights Quarterly* 39, No. 2 (2017): 296–318, doi: 10.1353/hrq.2017.0019.

[15] Moyn, *Human Rights and the Uses of History*, 87–97.

[16] I borrow this term from Marianne Hirsch even though I am aware that she uses it to describe "the relationship that the 'generation after' bears to the personal, collective, and cultural trauma of those who came before." She does not, as I do here, include all that came after. She did not refer to the historical time of the descendants of the perpetrators and bystanders. See Marianne Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory. Writing and Visual Culture after the Holocaust* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 5.

which since 2007 has been designated as International Holocaust Remembrance Day, would have little impact but for the pedagogical programs providing historical information and reminders about the importance of retaining the lessons of the Holocaust in the memory of future generations.[17]

Hence, I argue that public memory of the Holocaust and its implementation must be understood as a political mechanism, with its contemporary expressions "operating through the imposition of structures of education, knowledge apparatus, and cultural impositions" as well as through tacit demands by politicians for a generally more responsible citizenry.[18]

Memory in Discourse

Scholars such as Benedict Anderson, and Frantz Fanon with his emphasis on the colonial space, have theorized the interdependency of history and identity.[19] Focusing on Europe, Anderson showed how *imagined communities* such as nation-states center their history around a founding myth. They place value on events and historic figures that resonate with an awareness of their allegedly unique culture and its distinguishing features, such as language.[20] The works of Maurice Halbwachs make the same point and illustrate how closely identity and collective memory are entangled.[21]

Since approaches to the study of memory differ, even within the field, I will provide a brief description of my understanding of it. I make use of Michel Foucault's discourse theory and analysis. I consider German public memory in all its forms and functions to be a discourse of knowledge, that is, a discourse that shapes, regulates, limits and produces certain knowledge. It is a discourse that makes statements about the past, but also about the present and future *sayable*.[22] Not every historical event, eyewitness account or archival record is granted the

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[17] Needless to say, that goes for any kind of memorial day that is part of the mnemonic calendar of a society.

[18] Joanne Coysh, "Power and Discourse in Human Rights Education," in *Critical Human Rights, Citizenship and Democracy Education, Entanglements and Regenerations*, ed. Michalinos Zembylas and André Keet (London: Bloomsbury Critical Education, 2018), 64.

[19] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 2006), 204–206; Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 1963).

[20] Ibid., 37–46. See also Stuart Hall, *Rassismus und kulturelle Identität. Ausgewählte Schriften*, Vol. 2 (Hamburg: Argument, 1994).

[21] Maurice Halbwachs, *Das Gedächtnis und seine sozialen Bedingungen* (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1985).

[22] Michel Foucault, *The Order of Discourse: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (London: Tavistock, 1970).

authority required for it to find its way into, say, a museum, or for its commemoration to find its way onto the public calendar.[23] Hence one of the core questions underlying my analysis is how does the discourse that regulates memory affect and condition specific truths about the past. That is not to say that history itself is either true or false. To approach memory as discourse rather means to examine how the discursive framework demarcates the boundaries within which we negotiate what is acceptable thought about certain past events, how to commemorate them and how to give them specific meaning in contemporary society.[24]

This can be illustrated by an example that is closely related to the subject matter of this article. Public knowledge in Germany of the history of the Holocaust is to a great extent based on thorough research conducted by numerous scholars over the past seventy years. But it is also very much informed by family memories and identities that might contradict some of the scientific findings. Nonetheless, private memories and identities have not only been passed from generation to generation but from the early post-war period onwards have been woven into the fabric of Germany's public memory, its institutions and its programs.[25] The questions raised by a discourse-theoretical approach to public memory do not cast doubt on the historical events themselves but instead seek answers to how we think about the past, how we interpret it and where the limits and possibilities of all utterances about the past lie.

Accordingly, some knowledge is generally considered more authoritative than other bodies of knowledge. What we believe to be true about our world depends on the discourses that structure, assemble and regulate "regimes of truth."[26] Sara Mills argues that an analytics of discourse "should be concerned with the mechanics whereby one becomes produced as the dominant discourse, which is supported by institutional funding, by the provision of buildings and staff by the state, and by the respect of the population as a whole, whereas the other is treated with suspicion and is housed both metaphorically and literally

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[23] Eviatar Zerubavel, *Time Maps. Collective Memory and the Social Shape of the Past* (Chicago – London: The University of Chicago Press, 2003).

[24] Sara Mills, *Discourse: The New Critical Idiom* (New York: Routledge, 1997); Achim Landwehr, "Die Kunst, sich nicht allzu sicher zu sein: Möglichkeiten kritischer Geschichtsschreibung," *Werkstatt Geschichte* 61 (2013): 1–14.

[25] Dan Diner, "Ereignis und Erinnerung. Über Variationen historischen Gedächtnisses," in *Shoah – Formen der Erinnerung: Geschichte, Philosophie, Literatur, Kunst*, ed. Nicolas Berg, Jess Jochimsen, and Bernd Stiegler (München: Wilhelm Fink, 1996), 13–31; Dan Diner, *Gegenläufige Gedächtnisse. Über Geltung und Wirkung des Holocaust* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007).

[26] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, Vol. 1: *An Introduction* (London: Allen Lane, 1979), 46.

at the margins of society."[27] To put it in the simplest way: all the techniques and practices of government are inevitably entangled with the discourses that produce, shape and regulate them.

Governmentality and Techniques of the Self

In order to understand the government's management of its subjects by the use of memory, I must briefly explain Foucault's concept of *governmentality*, on which I rely for my analytic perspective. In a series of thirteen lectures between January and April 1978 at the Collège de France, Foucault developed his framework of governmentality, which is concerned with all conceptualizations of power that govern human conduct – in other words, with the ensemble of powers utilized by a society to control its population. Foucault used the term "government" in a rather broad sense. He understood it to mean the assemblage of all the techniques that are used to regulate a population, through various instruments that formulate and give direction to how we behave. The Foucauldian notion of government is therefore that which organizes "the conduct of conduct," as Mitchell Dean argues:

> Government is any more or less calculated and rational activity, undertaken by a multiplicity of authorities and agencies, employing a variety of techniques and forms of knowledge, that seeks to shape conduct by working through our desires, aspirations, interests and beliefs, for definite but shifting ends.[28]

Studies of governmentality probe these calculated and rational activities, as well as the mentalities they create, which influence the conduct of "people, individuals, or groups."[29] These activities are not primarily ordered or carried out by what we often think of as the "government," that is, the state or the politicians officially running it. Instead, governmentality is a perspective that understands government in a nominalistic way.[30] It does not primarily focus on the state as the sum of multiple institutions but tries to "grasp its history and existence at the level of the specific arts, practices and techniques that have combined in

[27] Mills, *Discourse*, 19.
[28] Mitchel Dean, *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society*, 2nd ed. (London: SAGE, 2010), 18.
[29] Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France 1977–1978* (New York: Picador – Palgrave, 2007), 102, 120–122.
[30] William Walters, *Governmentality: Critical Encounters* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 10–19.

different ways and at different times to make something called 'the state' thinkable and meaningful in the first place, and viable as a framework for conducting human behaviour."[31]

Education and programs of empowerment are important features of the conglomerate of techniques of government that exists in contemporary democratic societies. Expanding on Foucault's ideas, Wendy Brown explains that "neoliberalism carries a social analysis that, when deployed as a form of governmentality, reaches from the soul of the citizen-subject to education policy to practices of empire."[32] Today's democratic societies rely on a concept of citizenship that distinguishes between "subjects" and "citizens."[33] In her book, *The Will to Empower*, Barbara Cruikshank persuasively argues that individuals in a democracy are transformed into "self-governing citizens" through what she called "technologies of citizenship." Hence, citizens are "made" by discourse in a certain way and are allowed to "participate in politics, to act in their collective interest, desires and goals. Whereas subjects behave themselves because an external force exerts power over them, citizens have power to act for themselves; they are their own master."[34]

From that point of view, democratic rationality desires an active citizen because such a citizen does not burden the state by being dependent on welfare – or even the health care system. So goes its basic logic. What is more, subjects and citizens alike are constantly urged by various actors, institutions and programs to become more engaged in society, either to empower themselves (which is usually demanded of subjects) or to empower others (mainly a task assigned to citizens).

This technique of government does not force its subjects to obey but instead governs their freedom of action by deliberately shaping the desired state of their bodies and souls. Foucault, as well as scholars like Ulrich Bröckling and Nicholas Rose who draw upon Foucault's ideas, have coined the term "the techniques of the self" to describe it.[35] Cruikshank has further shown that "democratic

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31 Ibid., 13.

32 Wendy Brown, "Neoliberalism and the End of Liberal Democracy," in *Edgework: Critical Essays on Knowledge and Politics* (Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2005), 39.

33 A lengthy study of the subject-citizen dichotomy can be found in the following groundbreaking work by Barbara Cruikshank, *The Will to Empower: Democratic Citizens and Other Subjects* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999).

34 Cruikshank, *The Will to Empower*, 19.

35 Detailed research on these techniques of the self can be found in Michel Foucault, *The Care of the Self* (New York: Pantheon, 1986); Ulrich Bröckling, *Das Unternehmerische Selbst. Soziologie einer Subjektivierungsform* (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 2007); Nikolas Rose, "Das Regieren von

citizenship is less a solution to political problems than a strategy of government. [...] This is a manner of governing that relies not on institutions, organized violence or state power but on securing the voluntary compliance of citizens."[36]

Neoliberal democratic rationality targets not only the economy but all spheres of politics and the everyday lives of governmental subjects. It promotes the individual's ability to care for oneself and, if possible, voluntarily care for others as well. Unlike older forms of government, the neoliberal idea of management of populations does not primarily use the law to enforce obedience but focuses on influencing the "conduct of conduct."[37]

Museums and the "Urgency of Memory"

These theoretical considerations are especially interesting when we analyze the politics of memory in human rights education, where we can clearly see a will to engage the citizen-subject in the name of democracy. Engaging others and oneself might be neither bad nor good. Analysis of governmentality teaches us that it is in any event a political act. Its political nature becomes more tangible when we examine the institutions of memory and their utilization in support of democratic rationality. For the purposes of this article I choose to examine one such institution, a museum.

My focus on a museum stems from the assumption that educational institutions in general and museums in particular disseminate political rationalities. Tony Bennett, in his convincing work, *The Birth of the Museum*, identifies museums as places that nurture tactics of self-governance and exhort the visitor to live in a more moral way.[38] Hence, the study of a museum provides insight into its capacity of "programming behavior," or more generally, its "technology of behavior management."[39]

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unternehmerischen Individuen," *Kurswechsel. Zeitschrift für gesellschafts-, wirtschafts- und umweltpolitische Alternativen* 2 (2000): 8–27.

36 Cruikshank, *The Will to Empower*, 4.

37 Thijs Willaert, *Postcolonial Studies After Foucault: Discourse, Discipline, Biopower, and Governmentality as Travelling Concepts* (Published as Doctoral Dissertation by Justus Liebig University Giessen 2013), 152.

38 Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1995), 17–25.

39 Ibid., 101.

Museum spaces are not neutral but instead always suggest particular moral obligations and concepts of citizenship.[40] History museums present the "past made present"[41] in accord with the contemporary "politics out of history."[42] The narratives to be found in a museum's exhibits are based on discursively regulated historical facts that depend on a particular politics of knowledge and "regime of truth." Therefore, history museums can be seen as a reflection of the official narrative of the past. They are active players that archive, constitute, authorize and make available what is at that time and place being acknowledged as "history."[43] In a museum, it is possible to observe what has been selected for display and what has been left out – or only superficially presented – as well as get a sense of how the official narrative has changed over time.

Today's history museums no longer display only the heroic stories of imagined communities. Instead, they often add stories of past failures to their exhibitions, thoroughly woven into a narrative of liability and the need for atonement. Such conscience-stricken gestures seem to have become necessary in order to emphasize a nation's true greatness. Greatness built upon moral superiority has replaced the older version of a nation's greatness per se.[44] This trend can be identified in global politics as well as national and international law, where acts of contrition for crimes committed in the past are understood to be a sign of maturity.[45] An example is the enactment of memory laws such as those prohibiting denial of the Holocaust, as well as other forms of public atonement for the past atrocities committed by a nation-state. Moreover, admitting "the guilt

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[40] Vanessa Andreotti, ed., *The Political Economy of Global Citizenship Education* (New York: Routledge, 2014).

[41] Michael Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization* (Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 2009).

[42] Wendy Brown, *Politics Out of History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

[43] Jennifer Carter, "The Rise of Human Rights Museology: The Evolving Relationship of Historical Memory and Rights Discourses in Holocaust and Human Rights Museums" (Paper presented at The Holocaust, Human Rights, and the Museum Workshop and Book Project 2017, unpublished).

[44] Derrida's essay, *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*, is a very important work on this issue. It is based, however, on a very general proposition and the normative discourse in international politics. I am aware that current political developments, especially the rise of new rightwing movements in various European countries and even more so the many statements made by Donald Trump since the beginning of his presidency point in a different direction. They are an attempt to reclaim and make prominent again the tale of a nation's natural greatness.

[45] Uladzislau Belavusau and Aleksandra Gliszczyńska-Grabias, eds., *Law and Memory. Towards Legal Governance of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), doi: 10.1017/9781316986172.

of nations"[46] has become a moral obligation of international politics.[47] Jacques Derrida goes so far as to say:

> The proliferation of scenes of repentance, of asking "forgiveness", signifies, no doubt, a universal urgency of memory. It is necessary to turn toward the past and it is necessary to take this act of memory [...] beyond the juridical instance, or that of the Nation-State.[48]

This "urgency of memory" calls for memorialization of particular events. The current didactics of history focus predominantly on learning from past failures. Germany is often referred to as a particularly good example of responsibly addressing a troublesome past – in terms of the legal measures it has enacted and even more in its practices of memorialization.[49] What is more, Germany's own assessment of its history has so far advanced that it has led Heiko Maas to demand that Germany's "Others" also learn from the Holocaust. His attitude suggests that Germans have now learned so much that they have graduated to become teachers of tolerance.[50]

Human Rights and Memory Education for the (Global) Citizen

In what follows I will apply the forgoing theoretical considerations to actual memory institutions and their programs in two ways. I will explain them in regard to the techniques of citizenship, and also with regard to the neoliberal rationale that is often concealed in their ideological underpinnings. I will therefore trace the theme of empowerment and the normative concept of citizenship in publications on human rights and Holocaust education. I will then turn to the Memorium Nuremberg Trials as a case study of the ways in which this theme is materialized in a particular museum space.

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[46] Elazar Barkan, *The Guilt of Nations. Restitution and Negotiating Historical Injustices* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2000).

[47] A lengthy discussion of the issue of atonement as retrospective politics and the different perspectives on it can be found in Bevernage, "The Past is Evil."

[48] Derrida, *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness,* 28.

[49] Elazar Barkan and Alexander Karn, *Taking Wrongs Seriously. Apologies and Reconciliation* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006); Anne Seibring, Editorial to Wiedergutmachung und Gerechtigkeit, *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, No. 25–26 (2013): 1, https://www.bpb.de/apuz/162877/wiedergutmachung-und-gerechtigkeit.

[50] María do Mar Castro Varela and Baris Ülker, eds., *Doing Tolerance: Democracy, Citizenship and Social Protests* (Opladen: Barbara Budrich, 2017).

The logic and activating potential of the techniques of the self that underlie many educational programs can also be identified in UNESCO's publications on Human Rights, Citizenship and Holocaust Education. They will serve as my main examples.[51] The question I want to answer is: what is the relationship between the contemporary – presumably depoliticized – human rights discourse about the memory of the Holocaust and the UN's desired formulation of citizenship?

Human rights education (HRE) has been gaining in importance for the past twenty years. It has been institutionalized and formalized to a great extent by various structures of the United Nations, as well as national and international NGOs. In a newly published volume edited by the South African scholar André Keet, Keet identifies an interdependence of human rights, democracy and citizenship in education. All three themes are included under the rubric "education for democratic citizens."[52] A paper published in 1998 by UNESCO on "Citizenship Education in the Twenty-first Century" gives the following brief explanation of the aim of citizenship education:

> Citizenship education can be defined as educating children, from early childhood, to become clear-thinking and enlightened citizens who participate in decisions concerning society [...]. Conversely, citizenship education which trains "good" citizens, i.e. citizens aware of the human and political issues at stake in their society or nation, requires from each citizen ethical and moral qualities. All forms of citizenship education inculcate (or aim at inculcating) respect for others and recognition of the equality of all human beings; and at combating all forms of discrimination [...] by fostering a spirit of tolerance and peace among human beings.[53]

Ever since, HRE has been presented as a desirable "global educational philosophy" that encourages all endeavors for a more peaceful and just world. It is in line with the efforts of the Council of Europe (CoE) and the UN to "promote

[51] A discussion of the different terms, "democracy", "human rights" and "citizenship" education, as well how they overlap, can be found in Michalinos Zembylas and André Keet, eds., *Critical Human Rights, Citizenship and Democracy Education, Entanglements and Regenerations* (London: Bloomsbury Critical Education, 2018).

[52] Zembylas and Keet, eds., *Critical Human Rights*, 1.

[53] The entire publication can be found at "Module 7: Citizen Education," www.unesco.org/education/tlsf/docs/module_7.doc.

human rights, democracy and the rule of law."[54] The CoE formulates its vision of HRE as follows:

> Learning in education for democratic citizenship and human rights education is a lifelong process [that includes] training, awareness-raising, information, practices and activities which aim, by equipping learners with knowledge, skills and understanding and developing their attitudes and behaviour, to empower them to exercise and defend their democratic rights and responsibilities in society, to value diversity and to play an active part in democratic life, with a view to the promotion and protection of democracy and the rule of law.[55]

It is clear that according to these definitions, citizens living in a democracy have rights, but they also have obligations. They are expected to participate actively in society, to behave in accord with its values and to respect its laws. Looked upon from the analytical perspective of governmentality, and keeping the techniques of the self in mind, the vocabulary employed by the CoE and the UN in the above quotes immediately reminds one of "the will to empower" that Barbara Cruikshank has identified as inherent in contemporary democratic discourse. Today, "the once critical approach to issues of oppression and discrimination has been adopted by mainstream development agencies [such as UNESCO], albeit more to improve productivity within the status quo than to foster social transformation."[56]

The CoE's and the UN's more mainstream ideas about citizen empowerment, which do not acknowledge that power-relations and domination are structures of democratic societies as well as under authoritarian forms of government, "only contribute to the depoliticisation of the concept."[57]

Depoliticization is very important to retrospective politics at its juncture with human rights, because the human rights project has a strong tendency to

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[54] David Kerr, "The Council of Europe Charter on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education (EDC/HRE) and its Implementation," 2013, https://www.coe.int/en/web/edc/charter-on-education-for-democratic-citizenship-and-human-rights-education.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Shirin M. Rai, "(Re)defining empowerment, measuring survival" (Paper prepared for Workshop on Empowerment: Obstacles, Flaws, Achievements, Carleton University, Ottawa, May 2007), http://www.ethicsofempowerment.org/papers/RaiEmpowerment.pdf.

[57] Ibid., 2.

depoliticize the fields in which it engages, especially that of conflicts.[58] Wendy Brown reminds us:

> The Human Rights discourse not only promulgates a politics that it dissimulates through the rubric of tolerance, it also promulgates a discourse of depoliticization that is itself a means by which the politics of tolerance – the operations of tolerance as a discourse of normativity and power – are dissimulated [...]. The process [...] produces a more generic depoliticization of conflicts and of scenes of inequality and domination.[59]

The importance of Brown's critique is clear when we examine a particular topic in the conglomerate of human rights and citizenship education: Holocaust education. As part of its Millennium Development Goals 2030, UNESCO published a policy guide for *Education about the Holocaust and Preventing Genocide*.[60] The guide sets forth the "Rationale for Education about the Holocaust," along with "Learning Objectives," and the possible "Implementation" of those objectives. The guide emphasizes the "contribution" of Holocaust education to global citizenship education throughout its pages. It is assumed that teaching students about the history of Nazi Germany and especially the Holocaust will motivate them to reflect upon the prejudices and stereotypes they might hold and ideally *unlearn* them: "Learning objectives [of Holocaust education] align with approaches to Global Citizenship Education [...]. Intended outcomes can range from knowledge acquisition to behavioural change."[61]

All of the many texts on this topic published by the UN and UNESCO, as well as their partner organizations, sound very much the same. For example, in its educational programs, the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance promises "behavioural changes" and explicitly refers to building "global citizenship." Even though "the citizen" and "citizenship" are everywhere in these documents, they do not give any explanation of the implications or underpinnings

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58 See for example Bevernage, "The Past is Evil"; as well as Tshepo Madlingozi, "Taking Stock of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission 20 Years later: No Truth, No Reconciliation and No Justice" (Paper presented to the 3rd International Colloquium of the Instituto Humanitas, Unisinos, Brazil, September 16, 2015).

59 Wendy Brown, *Regulating Aversion: Tolerance in the Age of Identity and Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), 142.

60 UNESCO, *Education About the Holocaust and Preventing Genocide. A Policy Guide* (Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2015), http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0024/002480/248071e.pdf.

61 Ibid., 38.

of the concepts. This is especially noticeable if one has learned from Barbara Cruikshank that in democratic discourse one does not become a "citizen" simply by holding legal citizenship, but by being actively formed by various means linked to relations of power.

However, I did find in all the publications indications of how the concept of the "good citizen" is globally endorsed by education. The aim of the international organizations is advancing respect for human rights, and thus creating a more peaceful future. Good global citizens are created by touching the "hearts and minds" of students.[62] UNESCO believes that "the concrete horrors and inhumanity of the Holocaust marked the antithesis of the Global Citizenship that the world needed to cultivate for the future."[63]

The model of linking a look back into (selected) pasts with the present and the future is ubiquitous. Engagement by students with past atrocities, so the logic behind the model goes, will promote the values of democracy, sustain peace, and moreover, create *upstanders* for human rights.[64] Highly political issues, such as structural racism, are addressed in this model as problems resulting from individual misbehavior, a problem of tolerant vs. intolerant people, not a problem of the political order itself. There is very little understanding that institutionalized hierarchies and oppression carried out by state institutions have much more impact on systemic inequality than an individual could ever have.[65]

In the context of (global) citizenship education, the morally charged message is that genocide more generally and the Holocaust in particular have a very simple causality: hatred, prejudice and intolerance harbored by individuals. The neoliberal preference for rational, responsible subjects holds even when the topic is genocide. Of course, genocide does not just happen because too many members of a group hold too much of a grudge against alleged *others*. The Holocaust did not just happen because too many Germans were intolerant. Merely focusing on individual responsibility ignores the role of Nazi ideology, the nation-state and the international community.

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[62] E. Doyle Stevick, "How Does Education About the Holocaust Advance Global Citizenship Education?" (Paper commissioned by the UNESCO Education Sector, 2017), 4, https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000261969.

[63] Ibid., 4.

[64] The term "upstanders" can be found in various works that discuss genocide and human rights education. It is meant to complement the categories of perpetrators and bystanders. See, for example, the Wassmuth Center for Human Rights, "Be an Upstander," https://wassmuthcenter.org/be-an-upstander.

[65] On this, see again Brown, *Regulating Aversion* as well as *Wendy Brown and Rainer Forst. The Power of Tolerance: A Debate*, ed. Luca Di Blasi and Christoph F. E. Holzhey (Wien: Turia + Kant, 2014).

Moreover, in the human rights discourse, differences between people appear *natural.* It does not officially approve of discrimination, but it does not question that some are "others" either. Especially in the case of genocide, this is a dangerous understanding of what has happened, because it condemns only the persecution and killing, but not the construction of otherness that led to the persecution in the first place.[66] Memory education more or less builds this perspective – or should we say, interpretation – of genocide into the public memory. Memory is used to create a mandate for human rights advocacy, as in the example of Heiko Maas. In that regard, the memory of the Holocaust has a clear-cut function as a technique of government. The memory of the Holocaust is not primarily dedicated to paying respect to the victims and deepening understanding of history in all its messiness and complexity. Rather, the duty to remember becomes a call to be better, directed at subject-citizens.

The UN and CoE educational programs state that the object of their efforts is the governance of behavior, or the "conduct of conduct" as Foucault put it. Memory is shorn of historical and political analysis. Their approach to citizen education chooses simple answers to improve public morals instead of engaging in a complex way with the roots of past atrocities and their impact on today's societies.

The Memorium Nuremberg Trials: Commemorating the Lessons of the Holocaust?

The forms of pedagogy fostered by UNESCO are part of the human rights project and promote its will to empower the subject-citizen. UNESCO's aim seems to be to make citizens take responsibility for any unproductive behavior, such as denigrating *others*, by reminding them of the mass crimes of the past. Rather than teach us about the origins and the rise of fascism, the lessons from Auschwitz are supposed to teach us to behave more humanely than our forebears did.[67]

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[66] The historian Joan Scott problematized the naturalization of supposed differences in her persuasive essay on the categories of experience, where she wrote: "They [studies about the history of differences] take as self-evident the identities of those whose experience is being documented and thus naturalize their difference [...]. The evidence of experience then becomes evidence for the fact of difference, rather than a way of exploring how difference is established." See Joan Scott, "Experience," in *Feminists Theorize the Political*, ed. Judith Butler and Joan Wallach Scott (New York: Routledge, 1992), 25.

[67] Jean Luc Nancy observed that, "In a sense, the Declaration [of Human Rights] is part of the general movement that, somehow nebulously, fosters the condemnation of 'fascism' and what this word

Talal Asad makes an intriguing point by taking a quick look at the historical origins of humanitarianism:

> Compassion and charity are as old as human history, but helping human beings who are suffering – especially suffering due to human – has taken on new forms in modern times without entirely displacing older ones. In scope, humanitarianism tends to be global; ideologically it is linked in one way or another to the progressive emancipation of humanity, and emotionally it builds into "crimes against humanity."[68]

Crimes against humanity are a theme of the following section of this paper. The educational efforts of the CoE and UNESCO provide context and content to contemporary German memory politics. This will be illustrated using a museum, the Memorium Nuremberg Trials, as a practical example of public memory. To make my argument and link it to the previous discussion, I will look at the techniques used in the museum's space as well as its educational materials, which like those of the UN and CoE aim to guide and shape, rather than directly control, the actions of others.

As I have already explained, all forms of memorialization are conditioned by society, its institutions, and its constitutive discourses. Thus, not all aspects of history find their way into public memory. The Memorium was particularly compelling to me because it addresses a part of history that exists at the crossroads of war and postwar, of national and transnational, and of the particular and the universal. Therefore, it employs a narrative similar to the one on which Heiko Maas relies. To be sure, a certain knowledge of history is required in order to recognize the selection processes behind the public memory celebrated by the Memorium. Accordingly, I have chosen to provide a brief biography of the museum, by which I do not only mean the history of the site itself, but also the history that it puts on display.

The Memorium, which is not officially a museum but has all the features of one and will therefore be regarded here as a museum space, was opened in 2010. It is located in Nuremberg, Germany, a city that is well known for being the

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would, over a long period, ignominiously signify. However, any questioning of the underlying reasons for the rise of fascisms is relegated to the background, if not even further." See Jean Luc Nancy, "On Human Rights. Two simple Remarks," in *The Meanings of Rights. The Philosophy and Social Theory of Human Rights*, ed. Costas Douzinas and Conor Gearty (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 17.

[68] Talal Asad, "Reflections on Violence, Law and Humanitarianism," *Critical Inquiry* 41, No. 2 (Winter 2015): 402, doi: 10.1086/679081.

location of the Nazi Party Rally Grounds (*Reichsparteitagsgelände*) and the place where the Nuremberg Race Laws of 1935 were enacted. Due to its importance during the twelve years of Nazi rule, the Allies chose to hold the International Military Tribunal that tried 24 Nazi war criminals in that very same city, adding another event to Nuremberg's Nazi-linked heritage. Therefore, many visitors coming to the Memorium Nuremberg Trials expect to be visiting a site of great historic meaning and moreover, a site that was central to Nuremberg's Nazi heritage.

But the Memorium is dedicated to a part of German history which really only began in 1945, after the Allied victory over Nazi Germany. It solemnly presents the perpetrators and their crimes, and focuses on the Nuremberg Trials as a historic event as well as their legacy. Most of the display panels in the museum discuss the International Military Tribunal (IMT), the London Statute on which it was based, the trials, the prosecutors, the defendants and their lawyers. It also gives some space to the witnesses who appeared and the impact of the trials on German society, as well as international responses to them. A smaller part of the exhibition then looks at the follow-up trials that prosecuted Nazi concentration camp doctors and the death squads (*Einsatzgruppen*) that killed many Jews in Eastern Europe.

The IMT trials in Nuremberg between 1945 and 1947 involved the prosecution of four criminal offenses. The one which is most important today is the offense of Crimes against Humanity.[69] The last gallery of the Memorium is dedicated and pays tribute to the further development of this new category of international criminal law. It covers the founding of the International Criminal Court (ICC) and the international criminal tribunals at The Hague, which held the first such trials since Nuremberg. The gallery represents a bridge from the past to the present.

In Derrida's essay mentioned above, the author makes an important observation that should be considered when one tries to understand the significance of the Nuremberg Trials and their "narrative-setting"[70] function:

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[69] The other criminal offenses prosecuted at the IMT were War Crimes, Crimes against Peace, and Conspiracy to commit those crimes. The latter two charges were introduced to the field of international criminal law in Nuremberg in order to encompass the mass crimes committed by the Nazis. See Henrike Zentgraf, "Nürnberg in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart," *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Wiedergutmachung und Gerechtigkeit, No. 25–26 (2013): 8–14, https://www.bpb.de/apuz/162877/wiedergutmachung-und-gerechtigkeit.

[70] I use this term with reference to the legal scholar Marina Aksenova, who studied the role of the ICT in shaping historical accounts of genocide and found that international law and its tribunals play an important part in the production of history. Furthermore, she writes, international

> Even if words like "Crimes against Humanity" now circulate in everyday language. That event [the Nuremberg Trials] itself was *produced* and authorised by an international community on a date and according to a figure determined by history. This overlaps but is not confounded with the history of a reaffirmation of human rights, or a new Declaration of Human Rights.[71]

Derrida's words are particularly interesting as they relate to memory and the memorializing of the Nuremberg Trials. Even though the legal category of Crimes against Humanity was first introduced at the IMT in Nuremberg as one of the four offenses that were prosecuted, the Trials were not concerned with the Holocaust.[72] Nonetheless, the storyline present in public memory (although not in the Memorium) makes an immediate connection between the new criminal offense and the Holocaust. It perpetuates Europe's aforementioned "founding myth"[73] and accepts that the criminal charge was the designated response to the Holocaust. This narrative has not only been employed by Heiko Maas in his inaugural speech, but also by Hermann van Rompuy, among others.

The well-known philosopher and political scientist Hannah Arendt strongly opposed the universalized concept of Crimes against Humanity. Instead of universalizing, and thereby depoliticizing the crimes committed by the Nazis and their collaborators, Arendt called, according to Judith Butler, for "a new mode of political and legal reflection that she believed would safeguard both thinking and the rights of an open-ended plural global population to protection against destruction."[74] What Arendt meant by that is not the enlightenment notion of humankind. Instead, she was well aware that for the Shoah to have happened, Jews had to be excluded from membership in universal humankind. They had to be forced to remain outside, where they were excluded from the collective

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criminal law "serves as a medium for communication of a certain narrative of historical truth." See Marina Aksenova, "The Role of International Criminal Tribunals in Shaping the Historical Account of Genocide," in *Law and Memory. Towards Legal Governance of History*, ed. Uladzislau Belavusau and Aleksandra Gliszczyńska-Grabias (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 54.

[71] Derrida, *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*, 29.

[72] The follow-up trials were to a certain extent dedicated to crimes connected to the Holocaust, but cannot be compared to the Auschwitz Trials of the 1960s, which only dealt with the crimes of the Holocaust. See Diner, "Ereignis und Erinnerung."

[73] A discussion of this can be found in Aleida Assmann and Peter Novick, "Europe: A Community of Memory?" *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* 40 (2007): 11–38.

[74] Judith Butler, "Hannah Arendt's Challenge to Adolf Eichmann," *The Guardian*, August 29, 2011, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/aug/29/hannah-arendt-adolf-eichmann-banality-of-evil.

of humans and specifically identified as *others* – and in the racist ideology of the Nazis, were no less than *sub-human*.[75]

When Arendt speaks about the world of Nazism, which she claimed was irreconcilable with the rest of humankind, she is talking about a world in which plurality – not the similarity of all humans and their constructed hierarchies, but their diversity – had been destroyed. What she envisions for the future is not universality, but an "open-ended plural population."[76] The idea of plurality rather than universality recognizes Jews as Jews and every other human being as distinct, but without attaching any specific meaning to difference by labeling anyone as *other*.[77] Nevertheless, the new world order, at least in the part of the Global North on the western side of the Iron Curtain, aspired to universal humanitarianism. It created a new category of law designed to condemn the immense crimes of Nazism, which it considered to universally injure all humanity. The sociologist Natan Sznaider, drawing upon Arendt, goes so far as to state that forcing the Jews, who were persecuted and murdered because they were Jews,[78] into the category of common humanity would lead to a Christian appropriation of the "Jewish catastrophe" and free the tragedy from any ethical bonds.[79]

An interesting parallel can be drawn here. In 1915, well before the recognition of Crimes against Humanity as a legal construct, Great Britain, France and Russia wrote a joint declaration concerning the Armenian Genocide in 1915. In its initial text it stated that the massacre was committed "against Christianity and civilization."[80] France, however, voted to change the wording because mentioning "Christianity" was too explicit. Eventually the two words were replaced by "humanity." Asad adds for our consideration that,

> Whatever the motive behind this verbal change what we have here is the translation of a particular into a universal: The moral content given to the term *humanity* as the

[75] Natan Sznaider, *Gedächtnisraum Europa. Die Visionen des europäischen Kosmopolitismus, eine Jüdische Perspektive* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2008), 68.

[76] Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1958), 237.

[77] Robert Fine, "Crimes Against Humanity. Hannah Arendt and the Nuremberg Debates," *European Journal of Social Theory* 3 (August 2000): 293–311.

[78] The debate over who was Jewish or not was conducted by the Nazis in accord with their racist ideology. It affected many people who would not have considered themselves as Jewish. Discounting murderous antisemitism is one feature. That is often disregarded as one of the political reasons for the rise of fascism and Nazism, as J. L. Nancy has pointed out.

[79] This is my translation of a quote taken from Natan Sznaider, *Gedächtnisraum Europa. Die Visionen des europäischen Kosmopolitismus, eine jüdische Perspektive* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2008), 68.

[80] Asad, "Reflections on Violence."

> synonym for *Christianity* reveals the assumption that whereas actual human beings are finite and particular – Turkish killers, Armenian victims, say – international law remains universal, a site that transcends differences between Christians and others.[81]

This is troublesome. It adds heavy weight to a critique of the tacitly Christian eurocentrism that underpins the project of universal humanism, and calls for more extensive work.[82] The complexity of this criticism raises many questions, although I shall consider only one in the last part of this article: does German memory-politics display a certain disregard for the specific, divisive historical contexts of genocides – in our particular case, the Holocaust – and if so, how does that cohere with education about human rights and citizenship?

From Remorse to Complacency in Memory Education

In an attempt to contextualize the depiction of the Nuremberg Trials at the Memorium in terms of memory education for (global) citizens, I will once again turn to the wider human rights project. As stated on its website, the Memorium not only presents the past but also "the impact of the Nuremberg Trials up to the present." As mentioned, the present is represented by the exhibit "From Nuremberg to Den Haag." It covers the International Criminal Court (ICC) and more recently established international courts like the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR). These tribunals mainly adjudicate allegations of Crimes against Humanity and strongly rely on the Nuremberg Trials to add legitimacy to their purpose.

The Nuremberg Trials are a positive reference point – we could even go out on a limb and say they are the founding myth – for today's international community and its objectives of the rule of law and international respect for human rights. Although Nuremberg was regarded as a Nazi stronghold in the 1930s and 1940s, contemporary Nuremberg has given itself the nickname "The City of Human Rights." Several memorials and documentation centers, as well as the

[81] Ibid., 405.

[82] Of course, much work on this has already been done and I want to recognize decolonial theory and critique as the pioneer in that respect. Bringing Hannah Arendt's philosophy into conversation with that of Frantz Fanon and Sylvia Wynter, for example, would be most fruitful. I cannot do that in this particular article, but it most certainly will be followed up elsewhere. A decolonial critique can be found in Sylvia Wynter, "The Ceremony Must Be Found: After Humanism," *On Humanism and the University I: The Discourse of Humanism* 12, No. 3 (1984): 19–70, doi: 10.2307/302808.

Street of Human Rights designed by Israeli artist Dani Karavan, proclaim the city's rejection of Nazism and its Nazi heritage in favor of a new identity. This narrative glosses over the fact that until the 1990s the Federal Republic of Germany did not recognize the verdicts handed down at Nuremberg, rejecting them as illegitimate victors' justice.[83] Still, by facing up to its past, Nuremberg has tried to transform its overall story into a tale of success.

When the Memorium was formally opened, the narrative behind Nuremberg's (and more generally, Germany's) claim to a new identity was expressed very clearly in news reports of the day: "Von Schuld und Sühne," "of guilt and atonement" was one of the headlines.[84] One might wonder if the journalist who chose that headline was aware of Jean Améry's famous collection of essays called *Beyond Guilt and Atonement*,[85] in which the Auschwitz survivor refuses any attempts at reconciliation. What is more, Améry claimed the right to nurture resentment towards the perpetrators of genocide instead of forgiving them in pursuit of a harmonious future. He regarded forgiveness as a response to the experience of the Holocaust to be morally dubious and said that it should not be the aspiration of a democratic citizen.[86] Furthermore, the Memorium – even though presenting a more nuanced account of history than what finds its way into public memory – not only promotes the narrative of a successful rise of respect for human rights. It also utilizes techniques to motivate its visitors not to just passively consume the information it provides, but rather to take an active stance in light of the lessons they should learn from history. One of the Memorium's educational programs asks its participants to come up with their own ideas for an international justice system. They are challenged to develop something like an international court and to take as their inspiration the last section of the exhibition, which is sponsored by the UN and is entitled "Why Justice Matters." Whatever ideas of their own the visitors might have, the exhibition's design ensures that their responses stay within the framework of liberal democracy and respect its most important virtue, the rule of law.

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[83] Gerhard Werle, "Von der Ablehnung zur Mitgestaltung: Deutschland und das Völkerstrafrecht," in *Völkerrecht als Wertordnung – Common Values in International Law. Festschrift für / Essays in Honour of Christian Tomuschat*, ed. Pierre M. Dupuy et al. (Kehl am Rhein: N.P. Engel, 2006), 655–669.

[84] Olaf Przybilla, "Von Schuld und Sühne," *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, November 22, 2010, https://www.sueddeutsche.de/kultur/memorium-nuernberger-prozesse-von-schuld-und-suehne-1.1026660.

[85] Jean Améry, *Jenseits von Schuld und Sühne. Bewältigungsversuche eines Überwältigten* (München: Szeszny, 1966). An English translation was published a year later.

[86] David Heyd, "Is There a Duty to Forgive?" *Criminal Justice Ethics* 32, No. 2 (2013): 163–174, doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0731129X.2013.817719.

In this regard, the museum space functions as a tool of government. It teaches about the conduct of conduct expected from the German subject-citizen. Heiko Maas, who entered politics after having found out about the questionable role of his family under National Socialism, can be seen as the prototype of a citizen activated by memory. He rose to the lofty moral position of a responsible advocate for peace and human rights, which eventually made it possible for him to demand that refugees learn about the Holocaust in order to unlearn their prejudices. Or rather, they should learn about the Holocaust in order to value the Global North's version of democracy. All of this is a depoliticized discourse that emphasizes the German citizen's responsibility to contribute to a world striving for peace and humane conditions, morally underpinned by the memory of the Holocaust. This narrative of "the birth of universal benevolence as a specifically *modern* virtue, the moral imperative to reduce suffering [...] is not unfamiliar," as Talal Asad reminds us.[87] But Asad also points out the different manifestations of this imperative as it changes in different societal contexts:

> They are diverse in the sense that they may evince horror at what they see or remorse at what they have done; they may express a feeling of inadequacy at the thought that they are unable to prevent some terrible suffering or of complacency at supporting a virtuous cause from a position of security.[88]

Looking at the Holocaust from the perspective of the lessons that have been learned and the remorse for it that has been expressed, it becomes more approachable and less troubling. If we take Arendt and Améry seriously and face the fact that "universal" humankind was never open to *all* humans but always produced its *others*, the question of whether advocating for human rights really is the only virtuous response to the Holocaust becomes pressing once again.[89] The intertwined discourses nonetheless appear almost natural and thus do not allow for the realization that they are but one perspective out of many in a world of multiple narratives and multiple responses to the past.

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87 Asad, "Reflections on Violence."

88 Ibid.

89 Thorough analyses of this issue have been conducted by scholars from different fields, such as political theory, postcolonial theory, and philosophy. See, for example, Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Schocken Books, 1951); Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 1963); Wendy Brown, *Regulating Aversion: Tolerance in the Age of Identity and Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006); and Makau W. Mutua, *Human Rights Standards. Hegemony, Law and Politics* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2016).

Conclusion

Memory education is a subfield of human rights education. HRE is itself a contested area for the dissemination and articulation of different forms of knowledge, and is "ultimately about the exercise of power."[90] I argue that at the juncture of the commemoration of the Holocaust and the tolerance that its memory is expected to engender, we find a storyline or discourse that has no reference to any kind of power-relationships, ideology, or actual perpetrators and victims. This lack stimulates a future-oriented memorialization of both the Holocaust and universal human rights. It takes the experience of genocide as the point of departure toward a better future in which human rights are fully respected. The dominant narrative about human rights I outline in this article not only controls how those rights are articulated and understood, "but also the choices and actions people take in consequence."[91]

As one example of such actions, I have examined how memory-based educational material about the Holocaust is formulated. That material nurtures certain norms and values, and consequently motivates citizens to behave in accord with them. As I discuss above, the narrative reflected in the knowledge embodied in the human rights education materials produced by the UN and CoE promotes universalization of the suffering of the Holocaust. That is to say, it confuses Holocaust-memory and the dominant universalizing discourse about human rights. Following the ideas of Asad, and synthesizing different aspects of the forgoing considerations, I come to the conclusion that the remorse expressed for Germany's past crimes has created the complacency about supposedly superior German morality demonstrated by Heiko Maas. That complacency is legitimized because of the universalized memory inherent in the accepted narrative of human rights. Germans can now give others lessons in tolerance, can accuse refugees of antisemitism, and can refuse to accept them as new members of German society because they do not value democracy enough. At the juncture with the human rights discourse, the memory of the Holocaust has become a means of governing not only German citizens, but also Germany's *others* – ignoring the fact that where there are *others*, there is always racism and perceived supremacy. All of which should be foreign to the memory of genocide and not disguised within it.

[90] Joanne Coysh, "Exploring Discourse and Power in Human Rights Education," in *Critical Human Rights, Citizenship, and Democracy Education. Entanglements and Regenerations*, ed. Michalinos Zembylas and André Keet (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), 63.

[91] Ibid., 51.

REPORTS

Lost Villages in Masuria: A Polish-German Project to Preserve Cemeteries

Carried out by “Sadyba” (the Association for the Protection of Masuria’s Cultural Landscape), the Borussia Olsztyn Foundation, the University of Warmia and Masuria in Olsztyn, the Heinrich Heine University Düsseldorf, and the Gerhart-Hauptmann-Haus Foundation. Co-financed by the German-Polish Youth Office.

Cemeteries are often all that remains of Masurian villages destroyed at the end of the Second World War. Hidden in the deep forests of the Puszcza Piska in northeast Poland, they are often hardly distinguishable from other elevated patches of ground. In the course of the past 70 years, moss, bushes and trees have overgrown these old resting places. They cover up the last traces of the Masurian people, who lived in the former East Prussian, now Polish region for centuries, in the borderland between Germany and Poland.

Local initiatives are trying to save what still remains of the cemeteries there. By documenting, cleaning up and signposting the cemeteries, they are making the region’s cultural heritage visible again. For two years now, a Polish-German cooperative effort of the Gerhart-Hauptmann-Haus Foundation and students of history and landscape architecture at universities in Düsseldorf and Olsztyn has been doing research on the region. Participating in several work camps, each two weeks long, the students have uncovered the old burial places, documented the layout of the graveyards and researched the history of lost villages in both German and Polish archives. Among other goals, this cooperation is meant to support economic development and tourism in present-day Masuria.

Cemeteries are a common expression of the cultural heritage of a border region and are the focus of the student exchange program carried out in cooperation with several associations, foundations and universities in Germany and Poland. Through the program, young people are dealing with relics of the more than 500-year history of the villages in this multi-ethnic cultural space. They research and document the last traces of those villages and make them visible to the region’s current generations.

In the northeast of Poland, the region of Warmia i Mazury (in German Ermland und Masuren and in English Warmia and Masuria) is today a voivodeship of the Republic of Poland. Until 1945 the region was the southern part of the Prussian province of East Prussia and part of the German Reich. Masuria has always been a wooded region, characterized by many lakes, for which it is rightly called the “Land of a Thousand Lakes.” Despite its charming landscape and its attractiveness to tourists, Masuria has always been on the periphery, far from economic and political centers.[1] Nevertheless, Masuria is a European region that, despite being peripheral, has witnessed the crucial conflicts of the twentieth

The report is an extended version of a presentation given at the workshop “Grenze, Gedächtnis, Friedhöfe” held in Prague on September 26 and 27, 2018 and organized by the research consortium Grenze/n in Erinnerungskulturen.

1 Andreas Kossert, *Masuren. Ostpreußens vergessener Süden* (Berlin: Siedler, 2002).

century and their consequences. In Masuria, the effects of nationalism, conflicts over borders, and the devastation of war can be viewed as sharply as if seen through a magnifying glass.

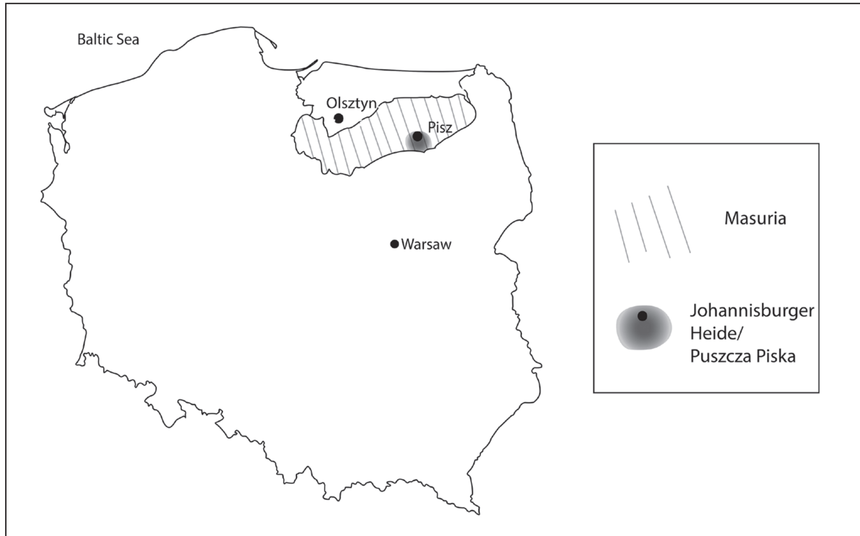

Figure 1: Masuria, Poland
Design: Leo Grabowski

I. Masuria Through the Centuries

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, both Germans and Poles claimed the region of Masuria as their national territory. In the Middle Ages Masuria was ruled by the Teutonic Order, which supported its development for agriculture. After many battles with their initially pagan Lithuanian neighbors and later with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Teutons agreed to the Treaty of Melno in 1422, which established a border that remained unchanged over the centuries. North of this border, the Order colonized the region and supported its settlement by granting land titles and different kinds of privileges.[2] The region, which is sometimes called the "Great Wilderness," became the home

[2] Grzegorz Białuński, *Bevölkerung und Siedlung im ordensstaatlichen und herzoglichen Preußen im Gebiet der "Großen Wildnis" bis 1568* (Hamburg: Verein für Familienforschung in Ost- und Westpreußen, 2009).

of a vast number of different ethnicities. The remnants of the Prussian tribes destroyed by the Order were joined by Germans, Lithuanians, and above all, Polish migrants from the neighboring region of Mazovia. The latter settlers brought the Polish language with them to the "Great Wilderness" and gave it its name, which is derived from "Mazovia" and later developed into "Masuria." The Masurians spoke a Polish dialect, which was influenced by a number of other languages and peoples. The Masurians were different from their Polish neighbors in the Kurpie and Mazovia regions of Poland, mainly because of their religion: they were Protestants and subjects of the Teutonic Order. As early as 1525, the Order's last Grand Master had founded a temporal duchy with a Protestant orientation, which became the basis for the later Kingdom of Prussia. At the same time, however, they also respected some Catholic rituals, such as pilgrimages to the sanctuaries of Heiligenlinde/Święta Lipka and Dietrichswalde/Gietrzwałd.[3]

Under the rule of the Teutonic Order, bigger and smaller villages developed along the border with the Polish-Lithuanian Kingdom, which were meant to colonize the hinterland and enhance the military security of the region. In the course of the Order's many conflicts with its eastern neighbors, villagers were time and again conscripted into military service. They suffered violence and destruction in the wars, which did not spare even villages deep in the forest. For that reason, the number of inhabitants scarcely grew for a long period of time.[4]

The region experienced an upswing when the Duchy of Prussia, which had been part of the Electorate of Brandenburg since 1618, became the Kingdom of Prussia in 1701. Since the end of the seventeenth century, the Electors of Brandenburg had founded new villages in the wooded region of Johannisburger Heide, west of the river Pissek. The first inhabitants were woodcutters, charcoal makers and ash burners who were lured to clear and settle in the area by a grant of particularly favorable conditions from Brandenburg.[5] The Prussian government invested in the region and promoted the timber trade. After the destruction caused by wars against Russia at the end of the eighteenth century, timber from Johannisburger Heide served in the reconstruction of the northern parts of East Prussia. After the Third Partition of Poland in 1795 and the incorporation of parts of Kurpie and Mazovia into Prussia under the name "New East Prussia," Masuria was no longer a true border region, at least temporarily. This state of affairs would only last until the renewed partition of Poland in 1815. That shift of borders resulted in new possibilities for establishing waterways. Accordingly, from 1797 on, the Pissek River was made navigable. Among other things, the goal was to ship timber and possible surpluses of grain to

3 Richard Blanke, *Polish-speaking Germans? Language and National Identity among the Masurians since 1871*, Ostmitteleuropa in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, Vol. 24 (Köln: Böhlau, 2001), 42, 222.

4 Wilhelm Sahm, *Geschichte der Pest in Ostpreussen* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1905), 99, 105; Kossert, *Masuren*, 73–77.

5 See Emil Johannes Guttzeit, ed., *Der Kreis Johannisburg* (Würzburg: Holzner Verlag, 1964), 66–71.

market.[6] However, even by the time of World War I, no agricultural surpluses were being produced. The inhabitants were hardly able to grow enough food for themselves, as the sandy soil of Johannisburger Heide did not allow for more production.[7]

The region experienced a modest economic boom at the end of the eighteenth century. Iron mills were established at Jaschkowen and, in 1797, at Wondollek, which made commodities such as cast-iron pots, plates, stoves and weights from the locally produced bog iron ore. The iron industry, which was able to sell its products all over East Prussia and as far away as Mazovia until the late nineteenth century, provided the bulk of jobs in the Johannisburger Heide.[8] A connection to the rail line between Allenstein and Lyck was constructed at the end of the nineteenth century. Another track was built through the Johannisburger Heide to the border settlements of Dlottowen/Fischborn/Dlutowo,[9] and was extended to Kolno during World War I. Nevertheless, the region remained poor and weak in infrastructure. The mortality rate, particularly among children, was high and began to fall only at the beginning of the twentieth century.[10] The population of the villages hardly grew, which was mostly due to the emigration of many Masurians to the German Ruhrgebiet, where many from the region tried to build new lives by working in the mining industry.[11]

The Prussian state placed great value on the education of its subjects. Even in the remote region of Masuria, public schools operated from the mid-eighteenth century.[12] However, education came only slowly to the forest regions. When in the 1830s the languages used by the inhabitants of the District of Johannisburg were recorded, only a fraction spoke German, and only in the towns. The only language spoken in the villages was "Polish," i.e., Masurian.[13] An 1834 decree by the Prussian king, who wanted German to

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6 Max Töppen, *Geschichte Masurens. Ein Beitrag zur preussischen Landes- und Kulturgeschichte, nach gedruckten und ungedruckten Quellen dargestellt* (Danzig: Theodor Bertling, 1870; reprint: Aalen: Scientia-Verlag 1969), 391. Citations refer to the reprinted edition.

7 Guttzeit, ed., *Der Kreis Johannisburg*, 113.

8 Einrichtung Wondollek, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz (hereafter GStAPK), I. HA, Etatsministerium 57 D, Hauptamt Johannisburg, Nr. 446; Ausbau 1809, GStAPK, I., HA, Rep. 87 D, Nr. 2807, Bd. 1.; Töppen, *Geschichte Masurens*, 392–395; Guttzeit, ed., *Der Kreis Johannisburg*, 198–199.

9 "Linia Pisz – Kolno," Ogólnopolska Baza Kolejowa, https://www.bazakolejowa.pl/index.php?dzial=linie&id=152&pkno=przebieg.

10 According to the Church registers of Gehsen, 1846–1876, Evangelisches Zentralarchiv Berlin (hereafter EZA); Sterberegister Gehsen 1877–1944, Archiwum Państwowe w Olsztynie (hereafter APO), 42/1745/1 (those filed under APO after 1877 also under Olsztyn.ap.gov.pl/baza/shany/php?).

11 Gerhard Wydra, ed., *Der Kreis Johannisburg im Wandel der Zeiten* (Hamm an der Sieg: Selbstverlag, 1998/99), 197; Kossert, *Masuren*, 214–220.

12 Guttzeit, ed., *Der Kreis Johannisburg*, 256.

13 Einwohnerzahl nach den vorhandenen Sprachen 1832–1841, GStAPK, XX. HA, Rep. 12, Abt. I, Tit. 3, Nr. 1, Bd. 1, Bl. 64–65 and 203.

be the only language spoken in the schools, provoked fierce protests. Not until 1837 was German the predominant language of instruction in the schools.[14]

In any event, until the founding of the German Reich, children attended school only occasionally in the Johannisburger Heide, although by the 1860s the state and the Church had firmly urged the population that they should be "attending school until the completion of the fourteenth year of life."[15] In 1871, on the occasion of a census, more than a quarter of the population openly admitted to being illiterate.[16] We may suppose that there were many more in reality: at the notaries and in the courts it appears that only a few Masurians even knew how to write their own names.[17]

With the rise of nationalism in the nineteenth century, the Masurians became a focus of the national ambitions both of the German and the Polish sides. To safeguard its territory, the Prussian-German state wanted to be sure the Masurians remained loyal subjects. Thus, their customs, including their language, were respected. Indeed, the Masurians proved to be loyal. Their most common first names alone demonstrated their loyalty to the Prussian-German state: typical Masurian names were Wilhelm Podleśny, Amalie Walendziak and Friedrich Podworny. Their first names were German, in most cases referring to the Imperial House, while their surnames were Polish. State subsidies "for the support of Germanness," such as subsidies for the building of community halls, dairies and school choirs, were gratefully accepted.[18] The subsidies were connected, however, to a clear Germanization policy, which was meant to increasingly enforce the use of the German language among the Masurians. At the same time, the Polish national movement implored the Masurians to admit to their Polishness and shake off centuries-old oppression by Crusaders and the German state. German propaganda – under a different flag – was hardly less explicit.[19]

The Masurians were the first to be hit by World War I in the East, and particularly fiercely. The Johannisburger Heide was occupied twice by Russian troops. There was rape and looting, and males were deported to Russia.[20] Accounts of destruction at the end of the war showed that 2,800 houses in the District were uninhabitable.[21]

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14 Kossert, *Masuren*, 149–151, 197.

15 Bericht Konsistorialrat Weiß an den Oberkirchenrat, 10. November 1864, EZA 7, Nr. 19141, 87.

16 *Die Gemeinden und Gutsbezirke der Provinz Preussen und ihre Bevölkerung. Nach den Urmaterialien der allgemeinen Volkszählung vom 1. Dezember 1871* (Berlin: Verlag des Königlichen Statistischen Bureaus, 1874), 330.

17 See, e.g., Archiwum Państwowe Olsztyn (APO), Grundakten Pasken, 42/0/295/2776, 2777, 2778, 2780, 2783.

18 Förderung des Deutschtums im Kreis Johannisburg 1902–1911, GStAPK, II. HA, Regierung Gumbinnen, Rep. 2, Nr. 3507, Bd. 2, Bl. 8, 15–16, 19, 101.

19 Blanke, *Polish-speaking Germans*, 55–100.

20 Kriegsberichte aus dem Regierungsbezirk Allenstein, 2. November 1914, GStAPK, XX. HA, Regierung Gumbinnen, Rep. 2 II, Nr. 3560, Bl. 80; Statistik zu Kriegsschäden 1918–1927; GStAPK, XX. HA, Regierung Gumbinnen, Rep. 2 II, Nr. 3579, Bl. 103, 153; Kossert, *Masuren*, 233, 239.

21 Baurat Lange an Ministerium der öffentlichen Arbeiten, 13. Februar 1917, GStAPK, XX. HA, Regierung Gumbinnen, Rep. 2 II, Nr. 3706, Bd. 1, Bl. 2–3.

When the Polish state was re-established after the war, the Masurians had to make a decision: would they stay with the German Reich or join the new Poland? A referendum on nationality took place on July 11, 1920 and produced a clear result in favor of the German Reich. However, it introduced the poison of growing nationalist strife,[22] which heated up in the course of the inter-war period and sometimes even led to firefights along the border.[23]

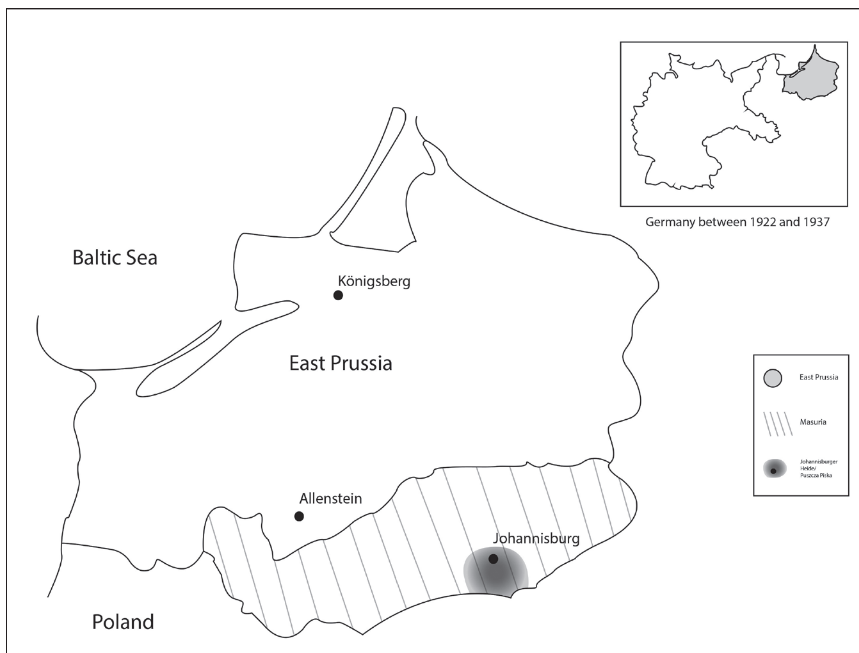

Figure 2: Masuria after the border delimitation following the 1920 plebiscite
Design: Leo Grabowski

22 Florian Paprotny, "Die Plebiszite von 1920 – ein Votum für Ostpreußen. Eine Online-Ausstellung," http://martin-opitz-bibliothek.de/de/news-events/aktuelle/die-plebiszite-von-1920-ein-votum-fur-ostpreussen.

23 Beispiele in Grenzschutz Osten, 1920, GStAPK, I. HA, Innenministerium, Rep. 77, Tit. 1814, Nr. 6.

In the 1920s and 1930s, the Masurians benefited from state subsidies for reconstruction paid by Germany from funds aimed at supporting Germanness. A certain degree of agricultural restructuring took place, which had started even before the war. If in the nineteenth century the focus had been on timber production, now the production of milk and meat was at the fore. Growing fodder such as oats, barley and clover proved to be more productive than rye, buckwheat or potatoes. In the 1930s, quite a number of farmers were able to invest in agricultural machinery and vehicles.[24] Their modest degree of wealth was obvious in comparison to their neighbors in the Polish regions beyond the border, which had suffered much more from acts of war during World War I. The economic difference increased smuggling across the border and attracted Polish seasonal laborers to the Masurian fields. However, such "trade contacts" did not bring the two peoples closer together.[25] The youngest generation of Masurians, who had exclusively learned German at school and in Sunday school, increasingly considered themselves "East Prussians." Masurian or Polish was the language only of the elderly and farmhands.[26]

The consequences of the Prussian policy of Germanization, together with propaganda about the "Polish threat" and insecurity caused by the overall economic situation, made the Masurians receptive to the political promises of the NSDAP. The Masurians were counted among the party's most faithful followers. In the Reichstag elections of July 31, 1932, more than two thirds of the voters in the Johannisburg district voted for Hitler's party.[27] After the NSDAP took power the following year, Germanization efforts became even more radical. The Slavic roots of the Masurians were reinterpreted and newly found in Prussian tribes that were said to have been of Baltic origin. From 1938 onward, the National Socialists germanized place names. Thus, the Pissek river became the "Galinde," and Niedzwedzen became "Reinersdorf."[28] Individual Masurians even germanized their Polish-sounding family names, such as one family whose name had frequently appeared in the archives as Pissowotzki since the fifteenth century but now had renamed themselves "Prange."[29]

At the end of the Second World War, when the Red Army advancing towards Berlin reached pre-war German territory for the first time, the Masurians were hit by the full power of Soviet hate and vengeance. The Masurian villages in the Johannisburger Heide, which were located immediately next to the old border, went up in flames. The people

24 Guttzeit, ed., *Der Kreis Johannisburg*, 125–127.
25 Robert Traba, "Anpassen, abstoßen oder leben lassen? Die ostpreußische Südgrenze als identitätsstiftender Faktor für die Masuren und ihre polnischen Nachbarn im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," in *Grenzen und Grenzräume in der deutschen und polnischen Geschichte. Scheidelinie oder Begegnungsraum?* ed. Georg Stöber and Robert Maier (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2000), 183–203.
26 Blanke, *Polish-speaking Germans*, 237–238.
27 Kossert, *Masuren*, 298–299; Blanke, *Polish-speaking Germans*, 255.
28 After an inhabitant who had immigrated from Salzburg in the eighteenth century.
29 Bundesarchiv Bayreuth, BArch LAA ZLA 1/5336951. In the files of the BArch LAA, the former inhabitants of the village of Pasken frequently used the name "Galinde," which was introduced by the National Socialists, for Pissek.

took flight to the West. Not even those who later returned to their destroyed villages were able to keep their homes. They met looters from the surrounding region who took all their property and destroyed the last remnants of their houses down to the ground.[30] Southern East Prussia came under Polish administration, and the new rulers demanded a clear confession of Polishness from the Masurian people, something many were not willing to do.[31] The difficult economic conditions as well as the new social-political circumstances of Communist rule did the rest; the majority of Masurians left the Land of a Thousand Lakes as soon as possible and the destroyed villages of the Johannisburger Heide were not reconstructed. After a history of 500 years of settlement, they were lost. Their remains were overgrown by moss and brush and they were forgotten.

II. The "Lost Villages of Masuria" Project

Whoever strolls through the Johannisburger Heide/Puszcza Piska today will at best see the old network of roads and some bushes that suddenly appear in a wood where a settlement had once been. However, there is still one piece of evidence that has at least partly survived the destruction to tell about the life of the Masurians. In the thick of the dense vegetation, the cemeteries of the lost villages can be found. These Protestant cemeteries were a crucial element of the cultural landscape of the Masurian lake lands. Each village had its own cemetery. Not infrequently, even individual families had their own burial places, with particular features of design.[32] In addition to the destruction caused by World War II and politically motivated attempts to extinguish all traces of what was believed to be German, thoughtless vandalism caused massive damage to the old cemeteries. Nevertheless, the surviving remnants still tell us about life in the past in this European border region. Preserved individual gravestones keep the names of former inhabitants alive, tell their dates of birth and death and, by their designs and the ways in which they were made, inform about the standards of living and the preferences of the Masurians, as well as about the blows of fate that they suffered.

[30] Traba, "*Anpassen*," 202–203.

[31] On this, see Renata Gieszcyńska, "Der Regierungsbevollmächtigte für den Bezirk Masuren – Jakub Prawin – und sein Handeln gegenüber der deutschen Bevölkerung," in *Die Haltung der kommunistischen Behörden gegenüber der deutschen Bevölkerung in Polen in den Jahren 1945 bis 1989,* ed. Adam Dziurok, Piotr Madajczyk, and Sebastian Rosenbaum (Gliwice/Gleiwitz, Opole/Oppeln: Dom Współpracy Polsko-Niemieckiej/Haus der Deutsch-Polnischen Zusammenarbeit, Instytut Studiów Politycznych Polski Akademii Nauk/Institut für Politische Studien der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2015).

[32] Anna Długozima, "Fenomen cmentarzy warmińskich i mazurskich w aspekcie ich położenia w krajobrazie," in *Nekropolie Warmii i Mazur*, ed. Wiktor Knercer and Beata Wacławik (Olsztyn: Zakład Poligraficzny "Spręcograf," 2016), 15–42.

Figure 3: Cemetery of Groß Pasken/Paski Wielkie, 2017
Author: Sabine Grabowski

The history of the lost villages is all but unknown to Masuria's current inhabitants. As a consequence of World War II, the expulsion of the Germans and the forced resettlement of Poles and Ukrainians coming from formerly eastern Polish territory that is today part of Russia, there was an almost complete turnover of the population in the former German province of East Prussia. These "new Masurians" had no relationship with the landscape, the area's cultural heritage or the history of the region.[33] There were bitter feelings towards everything German as a consequence of the brutal German war of extermination, and the political attitude of the region's new Polish rulers aimed to destroy all traces of German settlement. This resulted in the legal liquidation of old cemeteries and the re-use of their gravestones.[34] Shattered gravestones and plaques used as tables or flooring are no rarity in the region today.

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33 Dominik Krysiak, *Warmia i Mazury w latach 1945–1950. Kształtowanie się stosunków politycznych i narodowościowych* (Olsztyn, Białystok: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2013).

34 Wiktor Knercer, "Ślady na ziemi – cmentarze," in *Nekropolie Warmii i Mazur*, ed. Wiktor Knercer and Beata Wacławik (Olsztyn: Zakład Poligraficzny "Spręcograf," 2016), 11–12.

The political and social frame for dealing with the cultural heritage of the old Masurians changed along with the democratic changes of the 1990s. Local initiatives were started to preserve the cultural heritage of the region, which included preserving relics and researching historical relationships. Their participants were interested in exploring the roots of their home region and in preventing further decay of its cultural heritage. The various projects differed from each other in their approaches according to local conditions and the historical objects with which they were dealing. In the Johannisburger Heide, the "Sadyba Mazury" initiative was founded, which attempts to research and document the history of the lost villages and their cemeteries, and at the same time provide an experience of them for younger generations.[35] The chairman of the association, Krzysztof A. Worobiec, was inspired by reading the two-volume novel *Die Jeromin-Kinder* by the Masurian author Ernst Wiechert, which was published in 1945–1947.[36] In his work, Wiechert tells the story of the Jeromin family from Sowirog/Sowiróg on Lake Niedersee/Jezioro Nidzkie. His detailed, precise depiction of the modest everyday life of a charcoal burner and his children among the forests and lakes fascinated Worobiec, a local historian. It made him look for traces of the actual village that served as the model for the one in the literary story. However, Sowiróg today is nothing more than a name on a map. The village itself has disappeared and only its cemetery can still be found. From Worobiec's search for Sowirog there developed a project to locate the lost villages of Johannisburger Heide, write down their history,[37] and make their cemeteries visible again. Furthermore, through international workshops for young adults and classes in the local schools, the public was informed about the historical context, supporting a new regional awareness. Since 2009, Sadyba Mazury has already conducted five international work camps, in the course of which ten overgrown cemeteries have been cleared and provided with fencing and information signs, in cooperation with the local forestry institution. This small Masurian association is supported by the foundation Borussia/Fundacja Borussia from Olsztyn which runs a variety of projects connected to the cultural heritage of the region.[38] Since 2017 the foundation Gerhart-Hauptmann-Haus/Deutsch-osteuropäisches Forum in Düsseldorf has joined as another project partner.[39]

In the context of this German-Polish cooperation, students of history at Heinrich Heine University, Düsseldorf, are brought into contact with students of landscape architecture at the University of Warmia and Mazury/Uniwersytet Warminsko-Mazurski in Olsztyn. Together they discuss the history of the lost villages from the point of view of their respective disciplines. They take trips to Masuria, as part of which the German students visit the archives where material about the history of Masuria is to be found. First

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35 Homepage of the association, Stowarzyszenie na Rzecz Ochrony Krajobrazu Kulturowego Mazur "Sadyba," https://sadybamazury.wordpress.com.

36 Ernst Wiechert, *Die Jeromin-Kinder*, 2 Vol. (München: Zinnen-Verlag, 1945–1947).

37 Krzysztof A. Worobiec, *Zagubione wioski Puszczy Piskiej. Nieznana historia mazurskiego pogranicza* (Olsztyn: Borussia, 2018).

38 Fundacja Borussia Olsztyn, http://www.borussia.pl.

39 Gerhart-Hauptmann-Haus – Deutsch-osteuropäisches Forum, http://www.g-h-h.de.

among these archives is the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz (GStAPK) in Berlin-Dahlem. There the future historians are given access to the files of the Prussian authorities up to 1945. Among these are files of the Ministries of Interior, Agriculture, and Culture, and correspondence of the Prefecture of Königsberg and the regional authorities of Gumbinnen and Allenstein, which had authority over Masuria. At the same time, files from the early modern age, such as the *Generalhufenschoss* (Prussian tax files from the eighteenth century) must be examined, as well as the files of the Teutonic Order, of course. Most of the local foundations in Masuria resulted from the activities of the Teutonic Order in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The medieval grants of privileges, names, and information about acreages are found in the archives of the Order in Berlin-Dahlem. For future historians, a visit to the GStAPK is often their first contact with an archive. The students learn how to use an archive and are confronted with original sources. Such an encounter is not without difficulty, because the manuscripts are not easy to decipher – they are written in the medieval clerical script, in German cursive or in *Sütterlin* script.

Another station the students visit on their research trip is the Archiwum Państwowe w Olsztynie (the State Archive in Allenstein, APO). Apart from the files of the prefecture and the regional authority, remnants of district files and above all the land registers of the villages are to be found there. Assessing them has proven to be very valuable for analyzing the social structures of the lost villages. Here we find records of real estate sales, marriages, and inheritances through which the social structure of the villages can be understood. The students are challenged by looking through the sometimes voluminous material, while at the same time they must decide what is of significance for reconstructing the history of a certain village.

The German historians are assisted by students of landscape architecture from Olsztyn in these activities. German and Polish students meet for the first time in Olsztyn. They get to know each other and get first impressions of their counterparts' research work and fields of study. Whereas the historians are fascinated by the contracts they find among the files, the future landscape architects are rather more interested in the maps that sometimes accompany the contracts.

After this first meeting, the focus turns to joint fieldwork. From Olsztyn, the group moves on to Pisz/Johannisburg, where they are accommodated during the work camp. The district town of Johannisburg, founded as Jansbork by the Teutonic Order in 1346, was the administrative and economic center of the Johannisburger Heide until 1945.[40] The town forms the base from which the lost villages of the Heide are explored. The 2017 work camp focused on making the cemeteries in the former villages of Groß Pasken/Paski Wielkie and Klein Pasken/Paski Małe visible again. In 2018 the camp focused its attention on the villages of Wilken/Wilki and Niedzwedzen/Reinersdorf/Niedźwiedzi. In 2019, the focus will be on the village of Dziadowen/Königstal/Dziadowo. In the course of their work on the cemeteries, the students clear the overgrown graves of moss and

[40] Wydra, *Der Kreis Johannisburg*.

Figure 4: Students working on the cemetery of Wilken/Wilki, 2018
Author: Sabine Grabowski

scrub, repair the curbs around graves, and decipher inscriptions. Assisted by the Office of the Head Forester at Pisz, trees that have grown up on the graves are felled. The future landscape architects take on the task of measuring, documenting and inventorying the graves that are uncovered. Based on their findings, they produce detailed maps of the cemeteries. Meanwhile, the historians check to see if the names on the gravestones match those on their documents, in order to reconstruct the biographies of individual people. They are not always successful, but sometimes they discover impressive stories that shed light on the fates of the lost villages. The results the German and Polish students jointly produce are summed up in a final presentation and are preserved in a written document.

When they clear the forest, the students are helped by students from the local lyceum[41] in the area. First, the local young people take part in introductory lectures about the project, to learn about the historical framework of the founding and destruction of the lost villages. They then participate in practical work at the sites. They have the task of ensuring the cemeteries will be maintained in the future and will not be overgrown again. In that way they take responsibility for the survival of the cultural heritage of their home region.

The balance after two projects of this kind of work is definitely positive. All participants praised the practical experience they gained by taking part in the work camps. The combination of subject-specific, practical work and physical effort to clear the forest was very much welcomed by the students from both disciplines. Both sides were of the opinion that the insights they gained were very fruitful. The knowledge the students obtained about the region of Masuria and its historical connections led to lively debates among the group, and a desire for future cooperation. They are looking forward to a visit by the Polish participants to Düsseldorf and preparing a traveling exhibition.

Cooperation with the students from the local lyceum is just as important. The young people are educated by dealing with their immediate environment and becoming aware of the multi-faceted cultural heritage of their own home region. A certain degree of alienation toward the region is still felt by the grandparents of today's younger generation. Some of their elders were forced to migrate to the region, but young people born in the 2000s are not put off by that. However, they are not very aware of the events that made the fate of their home region a hotly debated issue between German and Poles in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Their awareness must first be raised and the context must be explained, so that they can relate the history of the region to their own family histories. The personal commitment of the students to repairing the cemeteries supports their respect for the burial places as well as the people buried there. Their respect for the past will contribute to preventing future vandalism at the cemeteries and strengthen their interest in their common cultural heritage.

In order to communicate the significance of the old cemeteries to the broader public, the Sadyba Mazury initiative has started to place information signs in German and Polish at relevant places in the Johannisburger Heide to inform visitors about the former villages

[41] I Liceum Ogólnokształcące w Piszu im. Bojowników o Polskość Mazur, http://www.zso.pisz.pl.

and the burial places. These signs are located along an extensive network of cycling paths which are based on old cart tracks through the forest between the lost villages. They improve the tourism infrastructure in what is today a popular holiday region.[42]

Beyond all this, what has resulted from the two work camps of this German-Polish cemetery project when it comes to preserving the history of the disappeared Masurian villages?

The design of the project, with its different participants and contact partners, allows its results to be presented in several different ways. On the one hand, there is the publication of scholarly papers,[43] on the other hand the results are briefly presented on the local information signs.[44] Finally, they will be presented in a documentary film about the 2017 work camp.[45] Presentations in other media formats, such as short films that can be downloaded with the help of a QR-code on the information signboards and a bilingual traveling exhibition, are already in preparation.

Micro-studies of individual villages and their inhabitants allow for development of a basis for comparison of the social and economic structures of various parts of the district. Furthermore, the analysis of the structure of property ownership, drawing on additional material from the Lastenausgleichsarchiv (Equalization of Burdens Archives) where reports on property at the end of the Second World War are to be found, allows for assessment and augmentation of the results gained elsewhere. With the help of individual family histories, it is possible to make detailed statements about how events at the macro-level influenced the deeply interwoven social and economic structure of the Masurian population. Based on the results of the two work camps in 2017 and 2018, it can be stated, for example, that there was a significant difference in the level of economic development between the villages of Klein Pasken and Groß Pasken on the one hand and the villages of Wilken and Niedzwedzen on the other. The latter villages were physically much closer to the district capital of Johannisburg. Not least, this difference can be noticed in their cemeteries. The higher quality of the grave decorations in Wilken and Niedzwedzen reflects the economic prosperity of those settlements.

The individual family histories investigated in the course of the research work contribute to a better understanding of general trends. To begin with, the language in which property and inheritance contracts and their amendments are written demonstrates the language most frequently spoken by individuals – or which they felt safe to use when

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[42] Tourist map titled *Z nurtem Pisy przez Puszczę Piską – śladami przyrody i historii* (Pisz: Fundacja Ekonomii Społecznej Wskazówka, 2018).

[43] Andreas Göttmann et al., "Pasken – die Geschichte eines verlorenen Dorfes in Masuren. Paski – Historia zaginionej wsi na Mazurach," in *Znad Pisy. Wydawnictwo poświęcone Ziemi Piskiej* 25 (2019), 111–135.

[44] See a photo of a board presenting the cemetery in Sowiróg, https://sadybamazury.wordpress.com/i-edycja-2009/#jp-carousel-2059.

[45] Daniel Raboldt, *Im Rücken der Geschichte*, 2017, documentary, 0:36:00. For more information on the film, see http://www.nocturnus-film.de/home/projekte/im-ruecken-der-geschichte-dokumentarfilm.

it came to negotiating contracts – at different times. This allows us to learn the ways in which each respective generation perceived itself. For example, we learn that a particular woman spoke only Masurian all her life; however, her children had the inscription on her gravestone carved in German. She herself would not have been able to read it.[46]

Assessing more cemeteries of the lost villages during future German-Polish work camps will enlarge the database for comparing dates, economic information and family histories. The information the students gather will help us to gain a more differentiated idea of the common cultural heritage of this European border region.

Sabine Grabowski

doi: 10.14712/23363231.2020.5

46 Göttmann et al., *Pasken – die Geschichte*, 127.

REVIEWS

Yury Fedorov, **Hybrid War à la Russe**. Kyiv: Center for Army, Conversion and Disarmament Studies, 2016. 160 pages. ISBN 978-966-159-066-8

Yury Fedorov is an independent Russian expert specializing in international security and Russia's military affairs. Prior to moving to Europe, he worked as professor at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations and was a researcher with the Russian Academy of Sciences' Institute for USA and Canadian Studies. Later, he served as research fellow at The Royal Institute of International Affairs in London. As a freelance commentator, he regularly contributes to the RFE/RL Russian Service. Fedorov has published extensively on Russian foreign and security policy, arms control, and U.S.-Russia relations. In this book he provides a timely account of Russia's latest war on Ukraine.

In its endeavor to deconstruct what Russian elites call the new generation warfare – commonly referred to as "hybrid warfare" in the West – Fedorov's book is structured in three main parts, each of them analyzing a specific facet of this new kind of war. The first part of the book discusses Russia's aggression against Ukraine in its narrowest sense. It focuses on practical rather than theoretical aspects of Russia's strategy, such as what motivates Russian policy towards Ukraine and what the constituent elements of its strategy are. When analyzing the ingredients in the imperialist recipe for the main dish served up in top Russian circles and to Russian society at large, the author identifies two core elements – megalomania (Russia "rising from its knees") and paranoia (the West as an inevitable, implacable enemy). These elements shape both Russia's geopolitical discourse and foreign policy. Fedorov argues that Russia's egregious international behavior is characterized not only by a grandiose project of imperial revival devised by President Vladimir Putin and outright hostility towards Western engagement with the post-Soviet (read, "Russian") space, but also by a mind-set that is governed by a distorted vision of the Russian-Ukrainian relationship and of Russia itself. Both visions, Fedorov says, have very deep roots.

Fedorov analyzes in detail this prevailing Russian mind-set. Amongst the elements of this mentality are the myths of a "triune Russian nation" and a "single Russian people." There are also broader, but still biased historical narratives that are the ideological foundations of Russia's imperial projects. Within this framework, Ukraine undeniably plays a crucial role. Its absence from the Russian fold makes the restoration of the Russian empire impossible. The scenario of Ukraine's integration within Euro-Atlantic structures would amount to nothing less than a major defeat for the Kremlin, and seriously threaten the end of Putin and his personalized rule.

Next, Fedorov drills down into the concept of hybrid warfare, which he understands as a "mix of conventional military operations with non-military methods of destabilization, corrosion and destruction of an opponent" (p. 8). These tactics are an amalgam of techniques that include, among others, economic pressure, subversion, and massive propaganda campaigns, all of which have been brought to bear on Ukraine.

A substantial number of pages in the first part of the book is devoted to the genesis and evolution of Russia's military campaign against Ukraine. That campaign involves the creation of highly complex "hybrid forces" whose composition the author carefully examines. Although it is accompanied by preparations for conventional conflict, hybrid warfare appears to the Kremlin as the most cost-efficient, and to a certain extent, the most safely covert strategy. It guides Russia's effort to destroy Ukraine's independence. One of the main arguments of the author is that the prolonged prior planning of this scenario in Ukraine by Russia's top circles was simply awaiting a pretext in order to trigger its full-scale implementation. The trigger was pulled when Yanukovych's regime was overthrown. Russia's successful annexation of Crimea was not necessarily attributable to the genius of the Russian military, but rather to the chaos that ensued in the vacuum created by Yanukovych's ouster from power. That success however was followed by the failure of the Kremlin's overly ambitious Novorossiya project. The Kremlin has been unable to sustain a large-scale invasion of Ukraine, and it also faces the inconvenient reality of a population in south-east Ukraine that is not so willing as it should be to stage a widespread popular uprising. This adds to Russia's even bigger failure in securing a friendly government in Kyiv, one that will adhere to Russian dictates.

The Kremlin is advancing and actively pursuing its foreign policy goals by fomenting and perpetuating turmoil in Eastern Ukraine that would impede the proper functioning of the entire Ukrainian state. It is relying, on the one hand, upon its ties with extremist and ultra-nationalist parties and organizations all across Europe, which often are anti-establishment and Eurosceptic. On the other hand, it is banking on its powerful foreign propaganda apparatus. Fedorov analyzes these two tools of Russian foreign policy in the second and third parts of the book. He points out that Russia's actual success in engaging European entities to benefit its own interests has been rather modest. First of all, the Kremlin has thus far failed to co-opt the political mainstream in Europe, because the annexation of Crimea substantially damaged its relations with other European nations. Secondly, its attempt to create an ambitious, integrated network of right-wing conservative forces that could facilitate a rapprochement between the European and Russian elites has ended in a fiasco. The Europeans are unwilling to risk their reputations and their electoral bases, and have thus proved to be rather weak tools for influencing European policies vis-à-vis Moscow.

Russian propaganda, the focus of the third part of Fedorov's book, has often been described as one of the most effective instruments of Russian policy in Europe. Its effectiveness is based not only on its scope, i.e., its assault upon a broad audience with messages that are carefully tailored by its propaganda machine for each target group within that audience, but also on its articulation by an impressive, complex array of actors. The weaponization of information, through widespread dissemination of disinformation, is the assigned task of Russian government bodies, Russian state-funded agencies and foundations, its intelligence services, its economic actors, corrupt journalists abroad, and academics, to name a few – the list is far from exhaustive. The targets of Russian

disinformation are no less diverse than the perpetrators of its propaganda war. They include business associations and corporations, particularly those interested in doing business with and in Russia. Those businesses have suffered from their inability to smoothly conduct their affairs as a result of international sanctions and thus have become the main lobbyists for softening them. Russia's targets also include elements of the Western mass-media, the general public, and decision-makers.

Kremlin-sponsored mass-media, notably RT and Sputnik, plays a paramount role in this strategy. The TV networks are key communication channels to the Russian audience both at home and abroad, as well as to the non-Russian public. They benefit from colossal budgets and have a worldwide reach. Meanwhile, the permanent information war in the realm of social media has developed into what amounts to a profession for propaganda trolls committed to performing their abhorrent work 24/7. Of equal, or even larger concern are Russia's so-called "friends" in Europe, particularly personalities who hold key positions of power in European countries and who have been, and possibly still are, being aided by the Kremlin in their business interests and their political endeavors. Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban and Czech President Miloš Zeman are only two examples examined by the author.

Fedorov's work is a highly useful read for understanding an inherently complex subject. It also provides intriguing food for thought. As a handbook on "hybrid warfare *à la Russe*," this book largely fulfils its aim. It offers comprehensive insight into not only Russian strategic doctrine, but also the tactics that support what the Kremlin sees as a new generation of warfare. As such, it can be regarded as one of the most clear, straightforward outlines of the Kremlin's current international strategy, and it is helping to raise awareness of the implications of Russia's "hybrid adventurism" for the future. In portraying Russia's experience in Crimea and Donbas as a testing ground for "new means and methods of war," the author not only highlights the opportunities that the turmoil in Ukraine has presented to the Kremlin but also the threats that the West will be facing in the future from an ever more aggressive actor, wielding improved hybrid instruments. Particularly telling is the contrast between Russia's adaptation of its goals and tactics to the dynamic realities on the ground and the West's inflexibility, as well as its failure to properly assess those realities and come up with a firm response. Western behavior has been influenced to a significant extent by a lack of consensus between individual members of the European Union.

All in all, Fedorov's book should be mandatory reading for any person who aims to enhance his or her knowledge about hybrid warfare in general, and about Russia's understanding and implementation of it in particular. The reader will gain insight into Russia's current international behavior. One cannot fail to acknowledge and therefore praise the writing of this book and the substantial research upon which it is based. Both strengths ultimately certify its authenticity. Additionally, the book offers added value and enlightens the ongoing debate and the efforts to devise a strategy for Europe, the U.S., and NATO to handle the challenges that Putin's Russia poses to the very foundations of the rules-based international order. It straightforwardly lays those challenges

on the table. Last but not least, the book is useful for strategic forecasting, because it not only assesses the trends and motivations in the Kremlin's foreign and security policies, but also anticipates its future moves, a task at which the West has largely failed in recent years.

Raluca-Andreea Manea
doi: 10.14712/23363231.2020.6

Norbert Frei and Dominik Rigoll, eds., **Der Antikommunismus in seiner Epoche. Weltanschauung und Politik in Deutschland, Europa und den USA**. Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2017. 267 pages. ISBN 978-3-8353-3007-8

In the last few years, we have observed a growth of historiographic research on anticommunism that a few years ago was unthinkable. Arising from research into transnational anticommunist networks, the collection of essays here reviewed documents the results of a symposium held at the Jena Center 20th Century History and the Imre Kertész Kolleg, which took place in November 2014.[1] The fourteen papers, some written in German and some in English, are structured into three parts. They examine the genesis, the impact and the meaning of anticommunism as an ideological worldview in Germany, Europe and the United States. In the preface to the collection, one of its editors, Norbert Frei, says that the focus of the work is to explore how anticommunism became the common political denominator of certain institutions, individuals and political parties. What made anticommunism a popular lens with which to view so many political, social and cultural issues in the twentieth century? What linked and what distinguished the anti-Bolshevism that followed Russia's 1917 revolution from Cold War anticommunism (p. 8)?

The opening paper by Anselm Doering-Manteuffel is separate from the three parts of the book that follow it. The author discusses the stabilizing effect anticommunist mobilization had on its adherents, which stemmed from their fear of economic and political revolution. Doering-Manteuffel seeks to integrate the philosophy of anticommunism into the history of ideas. He draws upon Ernst Nolte's expertise and the so-called "westernization" of Western Europe in the middle of the twentieth century.[2] Nolte described the phenomena that emerged during the industrial revolution in the nineteenth century.[3] Social dislocation in that period caused feelings of anxiety among Western Europeans. The threat to their material and ideological values awakened the hidden driving force of anticommunism (p. 11). The author has developed a four-phase model of social and economic breakdown in the anticommunist era, based on the development of anticommunism in Germany. Doering-Manteuffel distinguishes the following periods in the history of twentieth century anticommunism: the period of "changing enemy images" up to the beginning of the 1930s; the anti-Bolshevist policy of extermination pursued by the Nazi regime; Cold War-era anticommunism in Germany and the West; and finally, anticommunism faced with the policy of détente with the Soviet Union. This exposition of Doering-Manteuffel's original theoretical approach could have been a successful conclusion to this collection of essays. Unfortunately, for various reasons, such collections of essays often lack a concluding chapter.

1 See the report on this conference in *H-Soz-Kult*, January 8, 2015, https://www.hsozkult.de/conferencereport/id/tagungsberichte-5759.

2 See Anselm Doering-Manteuffel, "Amerikanisierung und Westernisierung," version 1.0, in *Docupedia-Zeitgeschichte*, January 18, 2011, doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.14765/zzf.dok.2.311.v1.

3 Ernst Nolte, *Marxismus und industrielle Revolution* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1983).

In the first part of the book, the authors analyze the creation of a pan-European anticommunist movement and how it was used to create national identities in the new states formed after World War I. Dominik Rigoll compares early forms of anticommunism that appeared in Germany and France from a transnational genealogical perspective. He views anticommunism as a timeless phenomenon that always emerges when capitalist exploitation and governance are in peril (p. 32). His deconstructive approach shows how the 1917 Bolshevist revolution was retrospectively styled as the so-called nucleus of the Cold War.

In the next contribution, Robert Gerwarth points out how different narratives that portrayed Bolshevism as the nemesis of European culture led to the association of revolutionary communist ideas with Jewishness. Gerwarth argues convincingly that in Europe after 1919, dissemination of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*[4] heated up those narratives, even though the *Protocols* were an invention of the Czarist police (p. 61). He concludes that the idea of being encircled by nihilistic forces led to varying types of anti-Bolshevism, because between 1918 and 1945, in Central and Eastern Europe, the extent and longevity of anticommunism depended on the given political context.

Likewise, Grzegorc Krzywiec places the rise of anti-Bolshevism, fueled by anti-Semitism during the Polish-Soviet war of 1919, in the context of producing a Polish national community. The author also reflects on the image of the Bolsheviks that shaped a cultural code between 1917 and 1923, which still exists in some social circles today (pp. 72–73).

Attila Pók shows this same continuity in his contribution describing the genesis of anticommunism in Hungary. Pók traces plebeian anticommunism in today's Hungary back to a long tradition in Hungarian political thinking that began in the nineteenth century (p. 75). After 1918, during the Republic of Councils, anticommunism was the central element of political culture in Hungary (p. 90). The author concludes by raising an interesting question: in the formulation of Hungarian post-communist identity, can anticommunism play the role of the "Constituting Other"?

In the second part, the authors highlight anticommunism as a worldview serving two globalisms: liberal internationalism and communism. Michael Wildt focuses on the anti-Bolshevist anti-Semitism of the Nazi regime and retraces the core concept of so-called Jewish Bolshevism that was the central ideology of the National Socialists after 1919. Wildt discusses the unknown origins of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and their propagandistic role as an anti-Semitic treatise (pp. 98–99). Furthermore, he argues that we cannot understand the Holocaust without acknowledging the Jewish Bolshevist phantasm, which was rooted in the end of World War I (p. 109).

In his essay that follows, Anson Rabinbach refers to Hanna Arendt's philosophical emphasis on structurelessness and terror as being the essence of totalitarianism (p. 112), and her acknowledgment of the theory of communism as a secular religion (p. 117).[5] Arendt warned that the reinvestment of political life with religious passion was

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4 In these protocols, the Jewish Elders were supposed to have discussed their plans for destroying the world order.

5 Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Schocken Books, 1951).

a dangerous strategy. The author relates to anticommunism as a phenomenon of the modern age and its eschatological heritage unfolded in the idea of progress. Rabinbach comes to the conclusion that Arendt recognized the danger of communism as a project to transform human nature and render human beings superfluous (p. 122). Rabinbach, a specialist in the European thought of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, stresses the ominous nature of the anticommunist phenomenon and how dangerous this heritage still is.

Siegfried Weichlein's essay focuses on the transformation of Catholic anticommunism in West Germany and the United States after World War II. The author delivers a critical view of the antiliberal and fascist origins of Catholic anticommunism. After the Holocaust, anticommunism was confronted in West Germany with the obligation to open up to democratic values and human rights in light of the so-called Cold War liberalism (p. 127).

In the final paper of the second part, the authors Iris Schröder and Christian Methfessel discuss the commonalities of anticommunism and internationalism, and the mobilization of both by international organizations. In a convincing way, the authors locate both the League of Nations and the United Nations in traditional ideas of liberal internationalism of the nineteenth century. Surprisingly, the authors conclude that it was not the exclusion of the Soviet Union, but precisely its inclusion in the international agenda and cooperation (such as 1975 in Helsinki) that fostered its destabilization (p. 154).

In the third part of the book, entitled "Anticommunism in Power," the researchers examine concrete anticommunist practices of Italian and Spanish fascism, the Adenauer era in West Germany and the McCarthy and Reagan years in the United States. Amedeo Osti Guerazzi argues that, similar to National Socialism, fears that Christian European civilization was being subverted turned into hysteria that proved to be constitutive of anticommunism under Italian fascism. This fear was expressed in the effective anticommunist restructuring of the Italian police. Guerazzi underlines that the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* founded the myth that the triumph of evil communism would result in bloody chaos as Asiatic subhumans rape and kill the ruling class (p. 160).

Stefanie Schüler-Springorum's thesis is that in Spain, it was precisely anticommunism that campaigned for communism, even if the communist victory in 1977 did not last for long. Schüler-Springorum describes anticommunism during the Spanish Civil War and the 40 years of dictatorship that followed as the most violent movement in the country's history, which created the most victims. Thus, the author considers Spanish anticommunism as the most persistent of all ideologies, the heritage of which still burdens Spanish democracy today (pp. 175 and 185).

Axel Schildt attempts to trace the continuities in anticommunism from Hitler to Adenauer. He examines the transference of the now forbidden anti-Semitic components of Cold War constellations and the Christian framework.

In the last two papers, the researchers focus on anticommunism in the United States. Jörg Nagler traces its development from the first Red Scare to the McCarthy era. He finds that the cooperation of civic actors, state officials and elites is constitutive of U.S.

anticommunism. The collective delusions of certain political groups were thereby deliberately intensified. This was done in order to legitimize stronger control of society. Ever since then, the long-term impact of McCarthyism as a culture of control has shaped U.S. domestic and foreign policy (p. 212).

Thomas A. Schwartz illustrates the continuation of these policies of control into the Reagan presidency. Schwartz refers ironically in his title to one of the most popular American films, *Back to the Future.* One scene of the movie suggests a connection between 1950s America, when Ronald Reagan was just an actor, and the America of 1980s, in which Reagan was the President (p. 218). According to Schwartz, this scene demonstrates that anticommunism in the Reagan era was merely a hollow shell of what it had been in the 1950s (p. 219). However, somewhat indelicately, the author closes with a quotation from Karl Marx, who argued that great world-historical facts appear twice: the first time as tragedy and the second time as farce (p. 233).

Most of the contributions to this book identify the common source of anticommunist policy in opposition to internationalism, liberalism and socialism. The instrumentalizing of anxiety led to a plethora of oppressive measures that encoded anti-Bolshevist and later, anticommunist images of hate in the political and religious culture of the European nations as well that of the United States. In addition, the authors illustrate the partly hallucinatory excesses (p. 176) and exclusion strategies that were turned against parts of countries' own populations, like the bloody anticommunist terror of the Nazi regime (p. 188) and the sacrifice of civil rights in order to combat communism during both of the Red Scare eras in the USA (pp. 116, 216 and 226).

In the field of research on anticommunism, this collection is an insightful and highly recommended contribution that reveals the twentieth century to be an age of extremes, which stimulates contemplation of the presence of the anticommunist past.

Jana Stoklasa

doi: 10.14712/23363231.2020.7

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Published by Charles University,
Karolinum Press, Ovocný trh 560/5, 116 36 Praha 1
Czech Republic
www.karolinum.cz
Typeset by Karolinum Press
Printed by Karolinum Press
MK ČR E 18588
ISSN 1213-4449 (Print)
ISSN 2336-3231 (Online)