



*Memory Lab*  
*Trans-European Exchange Platform on History and Remembrance*

## EVALUATIONS

Is there a “Spanish model” of (not) dealing with the past?  
8<sup>th</sup> annual study trip and workshop,  
17 -23 September 2017: Madrid, Belchite, Barcelona, La Jonquera, Rivesaltes

Organized by:  
Youth Initiative for Human Rights BiH (Sarajevo),  
EUROM - European Observatory on Memories (Barcelona),  
Forum ZFD Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo), Franco-German Youth Office (Paris/Berlin),  
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## **Evaluation sheets: Answers of the participants**

- 1. Your general opinion on the study trip/workshop (content, structure, organisation)**
- 2. Please chose two moments/ places/ encounters/ sentences... from this week which you found particularly interesting, and explain why.**
- 3. Concerning the question “Is there a specific ‘Spanish model’ of (not) dealing with the past?”, what are your reflections after this week? And to what extent do you think that experiences from Spain raise interesting questions for other post-war-societies?**
- 4. From what you have done/seen/heard this week, what will be useful for your own work? 5. Suggestions/ideas/plans for the future concerning:**
  - a) Annual Memory Lab study trips/workshops (locations, content, ...)**
  - b) Memory Lab in general**
  - c) Own activities with other partners from Memory Lab**

*Note: The answers 1 – 24 haven been written in English, the answers 25 to 33 have been translated from Bosnian / Croatian / Serbian.*

### **1. Your general opinion on the study trip/workshop (content, structure, organisation).**

1. Since it was my first time attending the Memory Lab, I was really excited and that was for a reason. It was very interesting to expand and deepen my knowledge on the Spanish Civil War, especially in connection with all the memorials and museums we saw. I would not have expected to have that many starting points and different aspects for discussions concerning other European (and global) post-war-societies and their dealing with the past/ memorialization of crimes. Getting to know all the others was great for me, especially because some participants had already been working with the Study Center I am working at.

I think throughout the whole study trip the organization was very good! Thank you once again to the organization team!

2. Once again a very successful edition of Memory Lab. The content was something new and specific to the hosting country/region. The structure seems to get better every year with a perfect mix of inside and outside elements, of meetings and field research. The organization very professional, as always.

3. Very well organized study trip, with very interesting/thoughtful speakers, a well-balanced mix of presentations/excursions/workshops and enough time for discussions in little groups.

On the „human level“, I very much enjoyed the constitution of the group, constantly switching languages and geographical/historical backgrounds.

The only moment I wished would have been organized differently was the very last panel (Friday afternoon): the two contributors had to deal with a huge list of questions. There was no real

place/space for dialogue. At least for me it was all very confusing. Maybe another format would have been more inspiring, especially for the last afternoon? Like „world coffee“?

A format I would have wished more of during the week: „dancing chairs“ (great method!). To reflect in little groups more intensively about the shared experiences.

It was a very inspiring week, regarding both the content and the group.

And what you couldn't have planned better: being in Barcelona on the eve of a political crisis!

4. For the second time, I spent an extraordinary week with the colleagues of Memory Lab. Once again, there was a great organization, a wonderful international company, delicious meals and beautiful accommodation (certainly in Barcelona). The program was very high level, very diverse but relevant.

5. The workshop subject was definitely very much appealing, as it was from the very beginning questioning and inviting the participants to use their critical sense.

It was also very much appreciated to get a range of sources of information before the study trip.

I did not participate in many study trips, but I feel like highlighting the fact it's the first time I've been experiencing so much interaction between the participants throughout the week ; there was a great space arranged to be able to exchange experiences and elaborate collective reflection about different subjects : that I found a particularly challenging, enriching and valuable experience.

The week offered us various contents and sites, and a great variety of discussion partners.

I also was very much reassured by a great communication and non-judgmental listening from the Memory Lab team, as well as those who have been long-term participants.

As far as the organization is concerned, I have nothing to say about it, I lived the study trip as a very flowing and very well supervised week. Just a very personal comment maybe, that is I would have happily skipped all midday breaks in restaurants in favour of lunch bags with the sole purpose of gaining time.

6. The content was very successful, a review of the Spanish Civil War with all the nuances and points of view that a multicultural group can offer is one of the things that I liked the most, the organization was great, the punctuality, and the development of the conferences.

7. Considering the fact that I was in the organization team, I think everything was perfect :-). This was maybe one of the most challenging Memory Labs to organize, but I think everything went fine organization-wise. It is particularly cool that we managed to organize such a great annual workshop with less funds than usually. I liked the fact that we were able to make changes in a difficult situation on the spot without really affecting the program.

Content-wise, I particularly liked the balance between study visits, lectures and discussions. I think sufficient amount of time was dedicated to each segment. Only one remark – the visit of the Madrid campus might have been shorter.

8. The entire workshop was very well organized, coordinated, and managed, even when there were problems with financing or travel arrangements. I think a break between Madrid and Barcelona would have been useful (Zaragoza, Teruel) in order to break up the day of long travel, but I understand there were probably limitations in where we could stay. I think we could have also spent a day visiting some more sites in Barcelona itself (a morning session instead of the discussion and coffee breaks?) such as the Fossar de la Pedrera, the memorial to the International Brigades, and the research center on the Republic.

9. Having in mind that Spain is very specific case when it comes to dealing with the past, I believe that it was of extreme importance to organize program there. If we add the fact that the program was organized in the month prior to the Catalan referendum on independence, it brings additional level to

this case. I was aware of the specific nature of the Spanish model of (not)dealing with the past, but I really believe that it can not be understood without visiting Spain and discussing it with persons who are professionally dealing with the legacy of Spanish past.

10. I think it was all together, from all aspects an excellent week! Bravo!

I would have loved to have more lectures in terms of context: more from/with Paloma since she was there with us which was amazing! But I understand the time limitation.

11. It was for me a very interesting week. Even though I had a feeling before going that Spain was a neighbour country and that we had a lot in common, I was actually surprised to find out about all the differences. In terms of memory policies, the situation in Spain is very specific compared to what we have experienced so far and for that reason particularly interesting.

12. The study trip/workshop was fantastic- not only that the content was very interesting, relevant to SEE memory threads and to contemporary events in Spain itself, but the structure of reflection in groups and working through one's own reactions in such a framework was great. The organization was also very good- I appreciated the quick turnaround in difficult situations (like the Barcelona dinner in conditions of accounts being frozen!). More, it is highly commendable that the organizers managed to pull such a great event with less funds than usually!

13. I learned a lot, because I didn't know much about Spain before, and because Spain is such a particular case in the dealing-with-the-past-history of contemporary Europe, and this allowed to raise and discuss a lot of interesting and stimulating questions. I think it was good that the study trip/workshop focused on one topic -the Spanish Civil War and it's legacies – but in the same time allowed to address different aspects of this topic (as for example Francoist memory sites, International Brigades, question of refugees and exile), thanks to a well-structured and balanced program.

14. CONTENT – perfect! I enjoyed every minute of it, even the long bus rides with lunch boxes included :-). Yes, it was very well done, starting from the first lessons about the causes of the war and finishing with memory heritage in the present. I am also really glad that you chose lecturers from other countries, in order not to get only a one-side narrative. It is difficult to create enough interesting content for those who already know a lot about history and at the same time for others who are professionally not connected to research or teaching history. Great job.

STRUCTURE – varied and suitable for all participants. The dancing chairs game is something new to me and I appreciated it since it made me talk with and meet all the participants. We were probably expecting more from the last talk in order to share our thoughts about the study trip, but at least we learned more about the young Spanish football problems. :-)

ORGANISATION – everything went well and we all enjoyed the good company. Thank you all for your work and for the amazing experience that you offered to us. Especially because we learned a lot about the topic that exploded in the week after.

15. The workshop covered a lot of different places and gave a very comprehensive look at the civil war history in Spain.

16. The study trip was very well prepared and organized. I appreciated very much the preparatory reading list and the glossary. The speakers in Madrid and in Barcelona were very good and their lectures illuminated the background in detail. The structure of the workshop and the change between inputs and discussion were well balanced.

17. Study trip and workshop in Spain follow well established and pretty original Memory Lab structure that could be seen in the previous years, nevertheless, always having some new, refreshing contributions. Although having the same structure, it is the new participants who bring new energy, always different circumstances and context, different experience and group dynamic which makes it interesting and different each time. Regarding the content, in my opinion, there was disbalance of representativeness between Madrid and Barcelona, I would have preferred if we have had more relevant speakers-institutions from Madrid – campus architectural project was not very clear (sufficient, relevant) to me. Apart from that, all other speakers were great choice, especially historians specialized on Spanish Civil War or experts in memorialisation practices in Spain. It was good idea to organize the program in September, earlier than usually, allowing possibility of enjoying more convenient and warmer weather.

18. The workshop was conceptualized very well! Everything that we have seen was worth seeing and it is obvious that the memory spots were selected with great attention. When it comes to logistics, I am sure the travel from Madrid to Belchite could have been organized in a way that could have included a normal (not packed) dinner along the way.

19. This year's program represented something new, in the sense that it focused on a topic which was different from the topics which until now were in the center of our annual meetings : the civil war within one country, one state. The history of the Spanish Civil War constituted a very rich topic. This seminar allowed us to work on and to question the history of the Spanish civil war, and to make the difference between the history and the ideological, often even mythological interpretations of this history.

The content of the seminar took into account the specificities of the topic and to visit different sites, meet different experts and to exchange. The program was rich and well balanced, with a good time-management which within 5 days combined two main places quite distant to each other.

The accommodations and working venues were pleasant.

The organisation and the logistics were faultless.

This seminar was thrilling, with participants coming from different backgrounds what made the exchanges even richer.

20. I am very satisfied and very grateful with the organization of the MemoryLab, the locations fulfilled the expectation that I had on an in-depth study of the memory spaces of the Spanish Civil War which is one of my main fields of interest. The lectures were precise and interesting, especially those of Oriol, Paloma and Paco.

21. This edition of Memory Lab was, in my opinion, an exceptional one due to circumstances in which it was held. I believe, it gave "an added value" in terms of dealing with the past and made us all, including people of Spain and particularly Catalunya felt how the unsolved history can get back to us, in present.

22. As in the previous years of the Memory Lab study trips, this year's visit in Spain was very well-thought out and organized. Every detail of the trip was coordinated meticulously and made the whole experience very rewarding. I appreciated particularly the reading material, which gave a very important introduction to the history of Spanish Civil War and helped to frame the discussions during the workshops. It also facilitated the process of getting together participants from diverse backgrounds and educational and professional formations to reflect on the memorialization model of the Spanish case.

23. The content was good and well structured and organized. However, it is very loaded activity.

24. As always, it was a real pleasure to take part in Memory Lab program. It was very well organised and very sympathetic. I very much appreciated the arrival of new members coming from museums. I have learned a lot of very interesting aspects about Spanish Francoist regime but also about the political and academic difficulties to deal with the hot issue. I also want to congratulate the organisation team for planning all these debates and demonstrations about the independence of Catalunya and the reaction of the Spanish government... We had a good opportunity to see a concrete and lively example of the use of historical symbols in political acts. Well done!

After having attended several years Memory Lab, I am asking myself several questions. I have been sometimes a bit frustrated by the discussions (especially the last day). It would also have been interesting to go a bit deeper in some concrete experiences which are organised today (or to have the chance to discuss about school books for example) and to have in a way or another access to individual memories.

In my point of view, for the future, it would be important to stay close to some concrete questions or challenges that the participants bring with them (i.e. people working in the museums, or peace activists), in order to keep a strong sense to our work. I fear a bit that we might lose some specificity or sharpness because we rely less to concrete projects and that we are more and more going into general debate where academics would have more to say than practitioners.

25. I think that generally speaking the study trip was well designed, with excellent locations and very good guides. The workshop itself was quite good, with certain exercises which truly provided food for thought (especially one with the quotes at the faculty). The organisation itself, almost without exception, was excellent, nothing lacked in that sense. The balance amongst lectures, working exercises and visits was relatively good. Maybe the visit to a campus could have been shorter and allow for Paco's and Paloma's presentations to take place that same day. In that way we could have left earlier the next day for Valley of the Fallen, Belchite and other places. Also, I think that ICTJ expert was not all that well prepared, but I don't think is a fault on the organizer's side. Finally, I think that city government representative who spoke during a lunch was unnecessary. Despite all these knick-knacks, everything was great. I would add, maybe one of the best Memory Labs, and I participated in 7 of them, so I know what I am writing.

26. This year's study trip to Spain was very substantive and useful. All lectures and visits were good and succeeded in bringing us closer to understanding of facts and context of the Spanish Civil War. We had a chance to get an insight into consequences of this important event that, as we concluded, are still felt in Spanish society and that are reflected in the policy of (non) dealing with the past and problem of use of a material heritage from the post-war period. The way Spaniards deal with this issue inspires thinking about the need to find a mode to use heritage from a "problematic regime", and particularly its material remains, such as impressive constructions and the same time avoid praising of such regime.

27. As every time before when I participated in study trips organized by the Memory Lab, this visit to Spain offered an excellent mixture of lectures, workshops and visits to memorials and museums. Five days passed in a flash. The study trip represented Spanish and Catalan memorialization culture in a quality way, as well as many issues faced and not resolved yet by Spanish society. Organisation was at high level. Some may complain about accommodation in Barcelona, in students' dorm, but I had no problems with that.

28. Due to its specific history in 20<sup>th</sup> century (compared to the rest of Europe) Spain was very challenging and interesting for research and meeting others through the Memory Lab workshop. Organizers kept the level of previous workshops and everything functioned flawlessly. Places we saw

and people we met provided us with a good insight into basic characteristics of the Spanish model of dealing with the past.

29. Both organisation of the study trip and the programme structure were excellent and it made possible for us to truly get engaged into content. The praise go for selection of the content (and ratio among lectures- visits- reflections) of this year's Memory Lab. I think it successfully incorporated different approaches, narratives, researches, confrontations, memorialisation sites with well prepared related information (contexts).

30. Since I was a (first-time) member of organisation team with no major tasks in terms of preparation of the programme and organisation itself, I saw myself from the perspective of a participant. In that sense the Memory Lab totally fulfilled my expectations. Any occasional by-problem was dealt with immediately and as far as the other team members and the programme organisation are concerned everything was more than fine. The content of the programme was of good quality and well-structured that enabled us to discuss about the programme topic at the very end when all participants gained the knowledge and experience based on presentations, lectures, workshops and visits.

31. I am really happy that I had an opportunity to participate in this study trip, and I have no complaints regarding content, structure and organization. Visits that involve exchange of experience, exchange of different interpretations, views and approaches, particularly from different academic disciplines, but also different social contexts contribute to more innovative activist engagement at the local level in context of topics of dealing with the past. The model of organization of the visit enabled an optimal exchange. On one hand we could hear new information and familiarize with different historic contexts and relation thereof with the present Spain. We had enough time to reflect all such experiences trough own and other prisms, academic, professional or activist.

32. I think that this annual study trip was very well designed and organized. The content was rich, the structure quite complex and demanding, but all that made sense in its final form. From my perspective the organization was very good, even long trips by bus were not tiring. I believe this was one of more demanding concepts and still everything passed without major delays, cancellations, etc. Although I am aware that all this was organized with very limited budget, from my perspective of a participant it was not noticeable. We had everything we needed and more than that.

33. Extremely useful, on several levels. A lot of new information on the process of overcoming of historical trauma. For me, particularly important was the opportunity to hear/discuss with people who are actively engaged/involved in Spain in creation and realisation of memorialisation politics. All programmes were well designed; organisation was very good, particularly when one bears in mind the time frame of our visit. Indeed, it was a privilege to watch from immediate vicinity events that we can recognize as historically important. Still, every day I think about what we saw and heard in Spain.

## **2. Please chose two moments/ places/ encounters/ sentences... from this week which you found particularly interesting, and explain why.**

1. The 'Valley of the Fallen' was remarkable in many ways - whether when it comes to its massive structure or the fact that you cannot find any context of its formation, meaning or ideas of dealing with this difficult heritage on site. For me it raised again the question of how to handle fascist heritage in an « appropriate » way – realizing myself how impressive places and buildings ('stone') can be. Since I am working in education, the memorial in Rivesaltes was also really interesting concerning the design of the exhibition on one hand but also the educational ideas, workshops and the concept itself. I

was pretty impressed that almost every program is developed according to the groups' interests, needs and knowledge – without fixed modules and very open to ideas coming from the groups (or their teachers). Also the way of working with very young kids on different layers of the history of the camp was very interesting.

But in general I have to say that it is not an easy choice to emphasize only two moments, encounters or sites – it was a very rich week and I am happy about the program. Although not foreseen the third important point were all the possibilities to exchange with the other participants. Without that it would not have been possible for me to reflect and think of all that we have seen, as I did together with others.

2. The visit of the Valley of the Fallen. The arrival was very impressive as was the site itself (in the sense that it was massive and the view outside was stunning) but the entire time we were there, I felt uneasy. The site is loaded with memories that are forgotten by most of the visitors that come to the site.

A protest in front of the Barcelona city hall. I know it had little to do with our official program or the reason for the trip, but it really stuck with me.

3. I want to share two of many more strong moments during the study trip:

- Joining the manifestation on the streets of Barcelona on the first night after the arrest of 13 representatives of the Catalanian government was „history pure“. We were dealing with the story of the civil war, had just visited historical places of the war and here we were, in the middle of a (peaceful) mass of people going on the street to defend their rights, chanting „no pasaran“, singing „bella ciao“ ... Of course I felt, especially as an historian, mixed feelings regarding this kind of instrumentalized re-use of historical symbols in order to defend and legitimate a present cause. But what predominated was the excitement caused by the formidable energy of this crowd that saw in its past more than a source of reflection: a legitimation, a source of strength for its political commitment. This very stimulating feeling was mixed with another one, I am still struggling with: that same evening, I sent messages to my friends in the rest of Europe but many of them didn't know what was going on and what I was posting about. Something important was happening, we were experiencing it „live“ – and the world didn't take notice or didn't really care. A disturbing feeling that so many people experienced every day all over the world, millions of victims of civil war, famine, injustice, while the medial world is looking in another direction ...

- Among a bunch of very stimulating personal encounters during the week, there was one that have impressed me much: my personal encounter with Jasmina. Here she was, a young activist in Belgrade, fighting for a reflected handling with places and persons involved in the wars that shaped her country in the 1990s. She told me about her first conscious encounter with the massacre of Srebrenica, when she was a student, how this became a major turning point in her study and political engagement. She told me about her current fights: against the silence, the lack of engagement, the commodity of the oblivion. In order to alert the public opinion – preventing war criminals to speak up, anticipating the disappearance of traces of the war (ruined buildings) ... And I realized how much courage it still implies, today, to put topics like this on the agenda. As an historian who is dealing every day with a 70 years old history, it opens new perspectives. And there again, like on the street of Barcelona 24 hours later, I had to reflect on the words of Stéphane Hessel: „Engagez-vous!“.

4. Rivesaltes: the way in which this memorial analyses two central concepts (undesired elements and camps) through film, footage, images, testimonies and more was an example to me. Their discrete but clear call to action is very convincing.

Belchite: a moving but weird place with a very unclear narrative. The overwhelming emotions when confronted to this kind of remains, make visitors very vulnerable. Critical reading of the past and the

commemorative functions of this place are all the more important. For me, it was confronting to realize that for various participants of the Balkans, this place could recall difficult memories.

5. Within the study trip contents, I would put forward :

- The most interesting and challenging moments for me, that was the heightening of my awareness of the history and issues faced by the states belonging to the former Yugoslavia. It was very inspiring to witness and accompany its juxtaposition with other ways states have chosen to deal with their past.
- The most striking and disturbing event, that was the guided visit to the Valley of the Fallen, with the enthralling presence of Paco Ferrandiz.

On a more personal level, I would stress out the visit to Belchite, as it was connected to my family history and therefore very meaningful to me. I also found very meaningful the human encounters with the workshops participants/organizing team.

6. The visit to the memorial of Riversaltes, I liked the concept of integrating with the memorial, in this case a guide was not necessary because the legibility of the place allowed you to go through it without any explanation, everything was implicit in the place, as reflection I remain the question of what could be the future of a concentration camp like this? I think of the refugees, and in the policies (deficient policies) of migration and I consider that the use of these places as temporary spaces before the relocation of thousands of people running away from the war could be an option, in the museum of the exile in La Jonquera you could see the photo of a child killed during the civil war during the bombings in Barcelona alert the international community of the moment about the situation, and several countries offered to provide asylum to children victims of the conflict, we could do the same today , however we no longer have the same sensitivity and we have normalized the death of thousands of children in wars.

7. Valley of the Fallen was definitely the most impressive place we visited. I never imagined it was that huge and monumental. I was really impressed by the size of the place, but also by the entire visual characteristics and architecture. The narrative behind it is also fascinating and I like the fact that Paco Ferrandiz visited it with us so we could have asked him on the spot everything we wanted to know. The second most interesting place we visited was Rivesaltes. When we first arrived there, I thought there were only remnants of the camp there and no museums, but when we entered the museum I was impressed by everything – the architecture, design, narratives. However, I was disappointed that all video and written materials were only in French, it would have been more practical if the exhibition was bilingual (French and English).

8. The visit to the Valley of the Fallen and Belchite were the most interesting since they were in a way some of the most « authentic » sites of memory associated with the war, whereas some of the other places were more recent museums or barely marked sites. These two places inspired discussions about how sites are used during certain political periods and what to do with potentially dissonant heritage after transition.

9. One important moment for me was related to the visit to Belchite. It is the place dedicated to the defeat that Franco's forces faced during the Civil War and it was made memory site by Franco's regime. But, by the narrative expressed by the guide at this place, it was clear that the story the guide had a need to share is not in the line with what was intended by the Franco's regime once it was established. This visit for me represents perfect illustration of the Spanish model of dealing with the past: there is this institution established by Franco's regime in order to commemorate fallen in the fight against Republicans. It still exists, but persons working there have their personal family history that is not in the line of what the founder of the memory site had in mind. But the place still exists as a memory site and is opened not only for tourists' visits, but also represents a battlefield for different "activists" who are fighting via graffiti within the memory complex.

Another important moment for me is related to the usage of the legacy of the Spanish Civil War fought by different groups of leftists in Catalonia for the purpose of today's political struggles. This conclusion of mine can not be connected to one particular visit or activity during the program, but I got this sense through visiting various places and discussions, especially having in mind that the Exhibition dedicated to Exile in La Jonquera was opened in late 2000's. Somehow I got the feeling that this narrative of Catalonia being at the right side of history during the Spanish Civil War (Barcelona was the last city that fell under Franco's regime in 1939 and only after it was bombed by German and Italian regime) is utilized in today's memorialization in this Spanish region that is requesting more autonomy. I do not know whether it is just coincidence, expression of reality or maybe political move.

10. The visit to the valley of the Fallen was for me probably the most powerful site visit during the seminar. Having Paco there with us was also very powerful and I appreciated the lecture with him before we actually arrived on site. Having read about this place a lot, finally seeing it and understanding post-dictatorship mnemonic dynamics in Spain through the lenses of that site, was very powerful.

11. Presentation by Gareth Stockey: although his presentation had to be very quick, it was particularly interesting for me because I have learnt a lot about Spanish history. His presentation was clear, full of information and really entertaining. I deeply regret he didn't have more time to make it to the fullest. It was very nice of him to share his PowerPoint after this week.

Guided tour in Barcelona with Nick Lloyd: again we didn't have enough time to benefit really from this tour which was very interesting. It was anyway really interesting. His knowledge of the Spanish Civil war, especially in the city of Barcelona, was enlightening. I have learnt a lot even though it was a bit frustrating.

12. I liked the session which included the selection of quotes about the role of forgetting and the discussion that occurred. It is a very important question that perhaps we don't explore as much as we should.

The visits of the Valle de los Caídos and Belchite were also of high interest to me both conceptually- what they mean, how they are mobilized- but also experientially- being in these places made me think again of the value of the kinaesthetic experience of being in a place, moving through, dancing between small group reactions and lone introspection in two places that are really evocative of both war destruction and triumphant dictatorial scenography.

In addition, I have to mention that special bonus: I particularly liked how contemporary events unfolding- the Catalan referendum and the prequel demonstrations- were weaved in our discussions about memory in Spain but also personal reflections of participants from ex-YU. It was a fantastic experience, chilling, emotional and profound.

13. a) Besides all the visits and lectures I found particularly important the different moments of group work and feedback-sessions, because they allowed to digest what we had seen and heard, and to share and confront our different personal perceptions, opinions and experiences.

b) All the questions and discussions which emerged from the current situation in Catalonia – which we witnessed « live » as the escalation of the crisis took place right during the days we were in Barcelona – and to what extent this situation is related to the legacies and memories of the past : How much are the memories of the Spanish Civil War and of Francoist repression present and used in the current conflict ? When with others we went to the protests in Barcelona, at one moment the crowd started to shout « No pasaran » . This is only one example of the mingling between the past and the present, and it led to a lot of stimulating discussions, within and outside the program. It was especially interesting to discuss the current situation with colleagues from former Yugoslavia, with their own experiences

regarding wars and independence in Yugoslavia in the 1990s. Another interesting question : Does the current crisis in Spain mean that the transition to democracy after Franco's death has been « fake » and only « superficial », and that the current crisis is a backlash of a non-digested past illustrated in the « pact of silence » ? Spontaneously I would say that such a view is much too simplifying, I think there are a lot of other reasons which can explain the current crisis, even if for sure the relation to the past should also be taken into consideration, and even if the transition to democracy in Spain after Franco's death of course also deserves a critical examination.

14. VALLE DE LOS CAIDOS - the trip itself was interesting. Valle de Los Caidos is a special place and it was really important for us to visit it. The professor who went there with us was fantastic and the fresh flowers on the graves told us more than any other book.

CAMP DE RIVESALTES – I am a historian and a museologist. I love museums and I am professionally interested in visualisations of the past and narratives of difficult histories. Since this is a new museum it was really interesting to see how it functions and the created narratives.

15. The Valley of the Fallen: An amazing place in every possible way. This is exactly why Memory Lab is such an important thing for me – it allows us to see places that are often part of the “hidden” history and places that we would maybe miss in another context.

Camp de Rivesaltes : This memorial does a very good job at connecting different periods in time and tells several important stories in French and European history. Something that you do not see very often in memorials.

16. a) The discussion with Paco Ferrandiz and others on the 19.9. and the following visit to the Valle de los Caidos : The attempt for a contextualisation and careful conversion of this place suggested by the commission and the counteracting and destructive decisions of the government after this.

b) The visit to the Museum-Memorial of Exile in La Jonquera and the visit in Rivesaltes on 21 September : Two memorials in two states, two locations, two concepts, two separate narratives dealing with the similar historic events (exile).

17. Visit to the Valley of the Fallen and being astonished by the physicality and power of the place. Referendum related demonstrations in Barcelona – for being the witness of historical moments, witnessing the school example of emotions taking over rational thinking.

18. Valley of the fallen is definitely a must-see memory site for anyone interested in memory related issues and the visit to it along with a great tour that we were given on spot is something that will linger with me for a long time. It triggered so many questions related to what to do with contested memorials, what the role of the state and other memory agents is in it and so many more.

Instead of trying to choose another memorial site out of so many impressive ones that we have visited in Memory Lab week, I choose to compliment the reflection format that we had the last day of the week. I think it is very valuable to have as much time as we had for the discussion because I think that is what we often lack when visiting memorial sites.

19. The presentation by Gareth Stockey, full of British rationality, was very interesting to me. His historiographic approach of the Spanish history and the civil war has shown that a serious and « scientific » analysis serving a meticulous and accurate history is possible, in opposition to a partisan and judgemental history.

The visit in Belchite has been a strong moment for me. The traces were side by side with the inexpressible. One felt that the space was not staged and this is exactly what makes the strength of this site.

20. a) The Valley of the Fallen: because of the visual impact of its architecture and design on the inside and outside, in addition to the ideological meaning that conveys, made me realize that the memorials contain subjective meanings, and therefore prevent the victims of the opposing sides can reconcile with the past of their deads and their perpetrators, even more when the latter maintain an anachronistic institutional continuity.

b) Memorial Museum of l'Exile: this site is quite interesting as it is the culmination point of the civil war. However, there are two particularities that caught my attention more than the others: two artistic representations that unite memory and exile, the first are the footprints left by the exiles' feet marked on the roof of the building; the second a series of photographs in which the word memory is written on paper, then submerged in water and slowly fading away until disappearing, these two are some of the most significant things about memory that I found this week.

21. Definitely Valley of the Fallen as such memorial of untold story behind it. During the conversation, somebody had mentioned that such monument should be destroyed. But, in my opinion, the story of the Valley of the Fallen must be told to as many people as possible in order to denounce it and then make public debate about what to do with it.

La Model prison, another place in attempt to tell the story about what had happened there. Interesting setting in entire environment and neighbourhood. If the stakeholders make a good planning on proper usage of it, this place could become one of the first museums to legacy of Spanish Civil War followed by Francoist dictatorship.

22. Among the many interesting places that we visited during the week, I would distinguish the visit to the Valley of the Fallen in Madrid. It was specifically interesting for me since it brought to my attention the question of how to deal with monuments and memorial sites that represent an oppressive regime. A few participants discussed over the idea that even the Valley of the Fallen itself should be destroyed in order to stop reifying a period that was catastrophic for the lives of many people. Despite of that, however, I believe that such sites should exist but counter-narratives and counter-discourses should be built around them and the efforts should be put on building strong educational systems that teach difficult pasts in a constructive and as scientific manner as possible.

Another interesting encounter was at the Museum of Exile in La Jonquera, where one of the guides spoke very passionately about the importance and role of Catalonia in the Spanish Civil War and how the history of that period still resonates with the people there. She specifically invited us to think critically about what we had seen but also talk about what is happening in Catalonia when we go back to our homes. That made me reflect about the polarization that still exists in the Spanish society.

23. The first moment is the Valley of the Fallen and the second is the memorial in La Jonquera. The first represents a symbol and place of Franco's rule and its legacy in Spain. The second represents, more or less, the view of Spanish civil war in Catalonia and in general the view of those who supported the Republicans. Both represents solid example of how Spanish society is still divided on how Spanish civil war and Franco's dictatorship is remembered.

24. The two moments I particularly appreciated were:

- The visit of La Vallee de los Caidos: thanks to the explanations of Paco Fernandez, we had the chance to understand the monument in the multi-faceted way. Without it, we wouldn't have understood much, given the lack of any information on the site... This monument religious and political is the symbol of the hidden past, being also a mass grave without mentioning it. But the attention given to the place, the way it is maintained by the State as well as by associations (who decorate with flowers the tombs of Franco and Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera) showed us the cowardice of the Spanish political elite to deal with its francoist period, crimes and inheritance. I have been very impressed by this visit.

- The working group on the role of memory and silence in the transition to democracy and peace: the chosen sentences were very inspiring.

25. It was interesting to me when the guide at the faculty used word 'fascist' (for Franco's forces), making air-quotes sign with her hands. Later she explained that when talking to her students she usually uses term 'nationalistic'. It was an interesting moment, as it indicated how difficult it is in Spain and other countries too, to speak about history and how easily everything can be interpreted as politicisation of something.

Generally speaking, the visit to the Valley of the Fallen was interesting, because that place exceeded all my expectations in terms of self-contained perversion, and gave me continued sensation that Catholicism mask covers deeply fascist system. So I read all warnings on not taking photos, saw guards avoiding to talk about who places flowers on the grave, etc.

26. The two places that were the most thought-provoking for me were the Valley of the Fallen and Rivesaltes.

The Valley of the Fallen was of particular interest for me because of the question I mentioned in the previous comment, i.e. how to 'redefine' a construction like this, that is a church, mausoleum, but the same time a symbol and carrier of an idea and ideology of the regime which Spain needs to face, into a place that will pass a message to young people and people in general how the fascism and similar ideologies based on discrimination and destruction is destructive, instead of being a place of gathering of neo-fascistic and similar groups and praising of this ideology and its 'Spanish fathers'.

Rivesaltes inspired me to think about the current immigrant crisis and the fact that follows 'life in motion', i.e. people escaping from war, insecurity, lack of freedom, poor living conditions in fact rush into camps, reception or collective centres.

I believe that we, as humankind need to think, although we might not see the right solution at the moment, how it is possible that in XXI century we still have such institutional structures that result in closing a certain group of registered people into a provided space and exercise our local and global policies.

27. The Valley of the Fallen – I heard a lot about this place and I was happy to have a chance to visit it. The monument of Franco's megalomania is still alive and sound; the place where the state and religion merged. My experience of this place was in a way both warning and example how Europe would look like if the Axis powers won World War Two. Special praises go to our excellent guide, Paco Ferrandiz.

Demonstrations in Catalonia – while we were studying history, the present sneaked behind our backs. History is not a static, but a dynamic process. Current situation can be preserved for some time, but sooner or later changes occur. Sometimes they are negative, sometimes they are positive.

28. Visit to the Valley of the Fallen, mostly because of scaring monumentality of the place, but even more because of the amazing presentation by Paco Ferrandiz who revealed (unmasked) facts about the place and intentions of those who built the monument.

The history taking place at the time in Barcelona, announcement of a referendum, euphoria, reaction of people in public places ... all that was the most impressive moment of our visit – the fact that we were present there at that important moment.

29. For me, particularly interesting were Rivesaltes and Belchite, for very different reasons. The former because it is very remarkable, documented, linked and interpreted from today's perspective. I believe I would like to go back there and stay for some time (I had time just to skim through some parts of the standing exhibition). The latter (Belchite) was interesting due to an obvious dispute

(belonging more to the past than to the present), but also all the living memories of the people who continue their lives in an immediate vicinity.

I would like to point out the lectures by Txema Urkijo and (especially) Gareth Stockey as very useful. More specifically I refer to important information about the Spanish Civil War, context/s but also putting the Memory Lab topic into a frame - such as impact of 'who won the war' onto memorialisation policies and forgetfulness policies; whether (and in what way) the values of 'justice for victims' vs. 'having a democratic institutions' are balanced (and why it had to be 'or –or') relation; questioning of terms 'right' and 'fair' in context of equalizing of parties and presence thereof in narratives and public space.

30. The Valley of the Fallen made a strong impression on me and I am still asking myself how it is possible for such place to exist in such form in a member-state of the European Union that allegedly has abandoned totalitarian and non-democratic regimes.

Visiting of memorialisation sites in Barcelona with Nick Lloyd was great and I regret we did not have more time for that activity. In this very short time I got to know a lot of relevant information and Nick himself made me interested in to investigate at other locations more thoroughly about events he mentioned.

31. Thinking about criteria for selection of visited locations I decided to mention places that have left the strongest emotional impression. Regardless to quantity of new information offered at the marked places of suffering or museums, the strongest impression leave those that affect emotions of the visitor. Two locations that made greatest impression on me were the La Model prison and the Valley of the Fallen.

During the visit of the La Model prison I felt quite uncomfortable and I felt urge to just quickly see the place and leave. It was a great example of turning the prison into a museum after all those years.

There are so many similar places in Prijedor that should be memorialized in such way, but unfortunately we will have to wait for many more years for that to happen.

The Valley of the Fallen made me feel immense astonishment, on one side because of the history of building of the entire complex and on the other side because of the so strong religious dimension of the place. If I were to decide whether this place needs to be flatten or preserved, I think I would find myself pretty much resigned. Although the complex has more of touristic than commemorative function, I feel that by visiting his grave we all in some way paid respect to Franco.

32. I think that none of the programme elements was unnecessary, thus it is difficult for me to point out only two places/meetings surplus, but let me try:

El Valle de los Caidos / the Valley of the Fallen – I presume that for most participants this creepy place was the most impressive location we visited. Flowers on graves of fascists only few meters from the grandiose basilica in which people pray, with piles of tourists making photos for 'long lasting memories' and sharing them on social networks and leaving comments such as "The isolated location adds beautifully to its melancholy feel." Fact that the place is supported by the Spanish government funds tells us about present ideological division of modern Spain, but also about questionable concept of the national reconciliation. In this occasion, it is not polite to comment the role of the Catholic Church in all this. Input given by Paco Ferrandiz was very good and specific and it was really pity that we did not have an opportunity to discuss with him some more after the visit.

Nick Lloyd and the Barcelona tour. Moving through the streets filled by thousands of tourists and protesters we were privileged to get to know something about hidden, suppressed and neglected history of that city, of Spain but also of the European left, which, not that long ago, was capable of controlling the city and defeating fascists, and then slaughtering each other in the worst possible way. Nick's tour was informative and passionate, an excellent mix of an academic knowledge and

knowledge acquired from other, various sources. It definitely inspired me to additionally research and read.

Lecture by Vjerran Pavlaković on « our Spaniards »: Specific and well-structured overview.

33. Paco Ferrandiz (and discussion with him and visit to the Valley of the Fallen), visit to Belchite (especially because prior to the Memory Lab study trip I read about Belchite siege memories of Yugoslavian Spanish Civil War fighters). It seemed to me that lady curator at the site had balanced presentation.

All we learned from Paco Ferrandiz is extremely significant, and we would not easily get such information as an individual visitors or searching literature. The way he speaks is convincing and shows he cares about the topic.

And guidance and discussion with Nick Lloyd!!!

### **3. Concerning the question “Is there a specific ‘Spanish model’ of (not) dealing with the past?”, what are your reflections after this week? And to what extent do you think that experiences from Spain raise interesting questions for other post-war-societies?**

1. I don't know if I would call it a model but certainly there was and still is a specific way of dealing with the past of the Spanish Civil War and Franco dictatorship in Spain. I think the question of silence is one that was and is important for a lot of post-war-societies. The situation in Spain was special in that way that the two parties agreed on silence. That might have been a requirement for the transition period but I am not convinced that this is some kind of frame that works necessarily for other transition societies as well. It was interesting to hear in how far this « skipped » memory and not-talking about the past still reflects in today's society and its conflicts.

Looking at and talking about other memorialization processes in post-war-societies the question of remembrance and silence seem to be part of central debates. The negotiation of memory is essential for societies and their identities. You could see connections on certain points, in structures and of mechanism of dealing with the past that seem to work at least similar to those in Spain. But within our group reflection I became also aware of the difficulties in comparing memorialization processes.

2. I think there is a specific Spanish model of not dealing with the past. Spain certainly is not the only country not to talk about certain episodes from its past, but what I find specific about Spain's case is that while not dealing with it, everyone is talking about it. This past is still very vivid and even instrumentalised and I underestimated that. Does this experience raise interesting questions, for sure, but it can't serve as a model, cause I don't think it works.

3. I've been struggling all along with the notion of « Spanish model ». Then can you really speak from a « Spanish model », a « French model », a « German model » ? Every process of dealing with the past is to be analyzed within the specific historical context of the country you're talking about. What I realized during this study trip is that Spain found itself after the death of Franco in a situation kind of similar to the one de Gaulle had to deal with after the end of the German occupation in France : the urgency to avoid a civil war. After the outbreak of the « epuration », decisions were taken to « close the door » and a lot of archival materials related to the collaboration were put under tight wraps. In Spain, the trauma of the civil war had left very deep traces and the new political actors of the mid-1970's decided to avoid another confrontation. Therefore it took decades in France to confront its past and to admit the « dark sides » of its history. In Spain, it's disturbing indeed to see that over 40 years after the death of Franco there's still this unease and unwill of most of the politicians to face the

past. But wasn't it so different in France ? President Chirac was the first french head of state to recognize the responsibility of the French government in the « Vel d'hiv » and he did it in an historical speech hold in 1995 – 50 years after the end of the war.

Regarding the (un)willingness of the Spanish population to address the issue in a more critical way, I don't see neither a Spanish specificity. When I mentioned a couple of years ago to a french woman of my age that I was working on the history of the internment camps run by the french government from 1939 on, she replied agitatedly that what the German had done in the concentration camps was worse, demonstrating that, in her eyes, there was no need to face a painful past – more than that : to address the complexity of the history.

Two other comparisons popped up in my mind recently :

The first one is due to the very interesting article that Sven M. published recently about „Franjo Tudjman's admiration for Franco and the ‚Valley of the Fallen‘, and Tudjman's idea to build something similar in Croatia“. I don't know enough about Croatians history to elaborate further. But Sven's analyze opened new perspectives.

The second comparison has to do with Japan and the efforts of prime minister Shinzo Abe to make Japan « great again ». A former « loser » of the second world war, Japan has accepted for decades its historical responsibility – even though some very negatives aspects of this history, like the « comfort women » wouldn't be addressed or recognized, at all cost. Now, 70 years later, Abe and its supporters are trying to rewrite history. At least Japanese politicians' visits to worship at the „Yasukuni Shrine“ have resulted in controversy. In the „valley of the fallen“, the Franco Foundation can put fresh flowers on the grave of the former dictator without popular or political outrage. At least there was a little unease to feel when the issue was addressed to a local employee.

One of our Spanish speakers pointed out the lack of courage of the Spanish politicians. But this is not specific to Spain. Germany is now considered a „champion“ in dealing with its past. The course of the story would have been very different though if parts of the population itself wouldn't have addressed first, for decades, with great engagement, and courage, very painful questions, including familiar implications. The decisions on the political level were the outflow.

4. There is for sure a specific Spanish model of dealing with the past. As we've said before, the timing of the seminar couldn't have been better. The current events demonstrate that it is impossible to just keep your mouth shut, forget and move on. Memory work is essential for healing and reconciliation. Otherwise, the traumatism of the past will take revenge on society.

5. The 'willfull amnesia' in the form of the pact of forgetting can be understood as an attempt of the parties to work on a democratic transition and Spain joining the European Community ; the discourse of « *Las dos Españas* » would pacify those who had been growing up under the dictatorship and had only had selective access to an obscure Spanish history.

Some observers would say a majority of Spaniards now still think the consolidation of democracy compensated for the lack of transitional justice.

Still, a common shared history of the Civil War and the Francoist dictatorship might never be officially enshrined, as it has risen unresolved ideological disputes since the memory boom of the 90's. The 2007 Historical Memory Law also proved to be unsatisfactory and divisive.

I would not say the whole process can be considered as a « model », and it definitely does not seem like an efficient way of dealing with the past, at least from today's point of view.

As far as the political sphere is concerned, it feels it's too burdened by the legacy of the transition (upon which its very legitimacy is based) to do anything about it.

It remains that as long as the Spanish citizens remain interested in finding out more about the events that took place between 1936 and 1975, there is hope that there will be opportunities for civil society to develop a more nuanced, consensual narrative on what really happened, thus a way towards dealing with it.

It definitely taught me a lot and I will look at the French way and German way of dealing with the past with a sharper understanding of what was at stake in every transition period. It also definitely aroused my interest and curiosity about other post-war societies, that I wish I can learn more about before my next (hopefully) opportunity to take part in the Memory Lab.

6. I do not think there is a specific model of not dealing with the past, I think that Spanish society only wants to forget, a percentage does not want to be reminded on a daily basis of the consequences of the war, I think that the memorials in Spain should be shown as the the memory, the page pass and overcome, as spaces of reconciliation. At present, in Colombia, the concepts of memory are being strengthened since the signing of the peace process with the FARC, a process that ends more than 50 years of war, I think that the memory of the victims and the perpetrators should function as an axis that leads to reconciliation, not to the creation and fortification of hatred.

7. I think there definitely is a Spanish model of dealing with the past, although it could probably be said that each case/country is a special model. The silence and amnesia are not just characteristic of the Spanish society, but what is specific is that silence about past atrocities prevented bloodshed, unlike for example in the former Yugoslavia, although the past seems to be coming back to haunt Spain. There are numerous analogies between Spain and former Yugoslavia, which is why they make an interesting comparative study. But I think that the main question is what kind of democracy in Spain did the silence allow to happen? Is it really a democracy if there are forbidden and taboo topics? Also, what do silence and amnesty mean for justice and reparations for victims? When is the right time to start talking about the past?

8. I do think there is a Spanish model and even though each country is a specific case, I believe it is valuable to learn about and discuss other examples. I think there are numerous parallels between how authoritarian regimes dealt with civil wars (Tito vs. Franco) and how these societies dealt with the past after the collapse of those systems. Silence in Spain has now come back to haunt that country, but for now this model avoided bloodshed, unlike what happened in the former Yugoslavia. Furthermore, the issue of how to deal with exhumations and their potential to be politicized offers a lot of comparative material between Spain and Croatia/Slovenia.

9. Somehow I got the impression (and as more I think of it, my impression is getting stronger) that in the countries of the Western Balkans political elites representing ruling parties do not want to face the reality and openly talk about the past. The opposite powers that could initiate this process are so weak and will not be able to get into power soon. There are a lot of sources of information (gained via domestic and international mechanisms), but this region opts to cultivate the culture of crimes denial. And it is decision made at the governmental levels, although it does not have to be verbally expressed. On the other hand, it seems to me that in Spain we have scenario in which it is impossible to deal with the legacy of the past – due to strength of two groups of political representatives that are approximately equally strong and “afraid” of each other. In such a situation it is impossible to deal with the past in a way that literature on transitional justice suggests. Both sides have very strong stand points related to legacy of past that are so opposite and they can not find common ground different that the one existing today where everything is possible: to have Francisco Franco Foundation as well as Experts’ Commission for Legacy of the Valley of Fallen, but both groups/schools of thought are paralyzed when it comes to their influence on ruling regime. In comparison to the Western Balkans, it seems to me that there is no decision made at the governmental level, but each regime (either left or right) is doing a bit into direction they want, but can not really overrule the opposite side.

10. Of course it does! Placing Spain and the model it chose in the late 1970s is an excellent case study to include... as before, I plan to have it as a case study in courses I teach. Having been there will definitely deepen what I can bring to the classroom.

11. The situation in Spain after nearly 40 years of dictatorship and the way the question of memory was dealt with shortly after the death of Franco make it actually specific even though it cannot be seen as a "model". The visit of the Valley of the Fallen was actually very interesting in that sense. It has been conceived to be impressive. It is actually a place of cult, of worship and very active at the same time (fresh flowers everyday, mass every week). The place is truly shocking to me, touristy and all. What does it mean in our global reflection? A place like that which might be seen at its extreme margin as a place of remembrance is just sickening.

Remembrance and oblivion are both part of our human identity. We need to remember as much as we need to forget, the question is to find the right balance.

12. I think there is a Spanish model of amnesty and amnesia, prioritizing democratization over memory. Until events last weekend in Barcelona, with police brutality in the referendum, one could say that from the point of view of democracy, rule of law and human rights, Spain has been exemplary in its transition. The choice of democracy over memory was one made at the beginnings of the transition and it looked to have worked in keeping the energy on the country's reconstruction. However, perhaps as in the German case, the "inability to mourn"- for the post-Republican side of the dead and the bodies, for the Francoist of Franco himself directly and proudly- kicked back and made the contemporary situation tense, ripe with unsolved memories. Some would say that the unsolved memories of WW2 in SEE, the inability to mourn during socialism, kicked back in the 1990s. Each context is different, but in all these cases they reflect Adorno's caution that by not dealing with the past, by not addressing the core issues, they always haunt you.

Yet this approach on amnesty and amnesia and almost Stunde Null is by no means an exclusive Spanish approach: with a few exceptions such as Czechoslovakia and its famous lustration and to some extent the agglutinated DDR, most Eastern European societies had similar approaches on their socialist past in the 1990s. In Chile after Pinochet, for about a decade, the democratic left chose not to discuss crimes directly aware of the polarization of society (irruptions of memory occurred then in private, and after the 2000s also in the public sphere). In situations of post-war, Lebanon is notorious for its politics of amnesty and amnesia.

The questions that Spain- and other similar situations raise- are whether an approach focused first on building strong institutions of democracy and economy in name of a societal consensus and only later prone to open up questions about the past makes sense more than an immediate concern for truth and justice at all levels of society. One argument in favour could be that time- and a relative sense of stability- could be perhaps more constructive for deeper dialogue afterwards rather than starting immediately with a deep societal self-inquiry, and with understandable feelings of anger which are directed in punishment and retaliation. In fact, if one thinks of West Germany, with a high profile court for the 'main culprits', but letting most of the population continue with their work and unchallenging them from the top (of course, until the 1960s turmoil from within, generational), did that contribute to the country's stabilization and then a self-reflective stance once things were stable? How would dealing with the past have developed in Germany if a majority of the population would have been castigated somehow and the country ruralized and humiliated as in the Morgenthau plan? In contrast, to take cases like East Germany, where many former bureaucrats or teachers for instance working for DDR were immediately let go in the name of 'cleaning' the system of collaborators, resentment and precarity morphed in different forms of rejection of the new 'system' with different directions of radicalization. The question here is about the depth and scale of justice inside the society. Is it then the amnesty of hundreds of thousands who have collaborated with dictatorship institutions /fought in wars then to be preferred than their castigation, with social effects? What does that mean in

terms of truth and justice for those who have not collaborated? Does not talking about the past make it necessarily resurface and morph its violence in symbolic ways?

But beyond musings about the overall mood of society in relationship to memory, the issue where it gets tricky is the continuity of elite families of the dictatorship time in structures of political and economic power- the exhibition we saw at La Jonquera was evocative of how privilege has been passed on to family members- not unlike the conversion in grand capitalists and ‘democratic politicians’ of Romania’s communist party nomenklatura. The problem with the model for me is not the fact that the structural privileges developed in dictatorship were not challenged at the top by this transition. It is not that being born in a family of privilege and with a history of being involved in acts of political violence makes one responsible, but the fact that this privilege and inequality is perpetuated uncritically, without questioning the relationship between dictatorship and wealth (as in ex-Yu war economy and wealth today) is highly problematic.

To conclude this rather rambling reflection – which still needs to be consolidated in my thoughts as I did not return to thinking about it properly after I left and started working on some crazy deadlines- I think that an approach of blaming all sides for a ‘collective madness’ could on the one hand create a setting that is more focused on building and the future, but it can freeze, if not mutate, feelings of victimhood, which can irrupt later. But it could be considered as an option in the immediate aftermath of such war and dictatorship as it focuses on the future rather than the past. When the present is not problematized though- who holds the power and what is the genealogy of this power, this is also a great possible source of instability. I could go on more, but I should stop.

13. I think there has been a specific way in Spain to deal with its past in the aftermath of the Franco-dictatorship, a specific way in two respects : a) not the silence itself on the Francoist repression and the Civil war (that governments remain silent or impose silence on negative aspects of the past is nothing particular), but the fact that there was indeed a « pact of silence », means an implicate agreement by the government AND the opposition to leave the past out of the political sphere, and that this was kept uphold for at least 20 years, and b) the total impunity for perpetrators. The pact of silence and the impunity have been challenged in the last two decades by the historical-memory-movement, this means that there has been an sociopolitical evolution, but the tradition of the pact of silence remains very strong. Does the « Spanish experience » raise interesting questions for other post-war societies ? Indeed it does, as it seems to contradict the dominating transitional-justice-theories about the importance of actively dealing with the past for the development of democracy in a post-war/post-dictatorship-society. Spain has developed into a democracy in the decades after 1975 – despite and/or because the « pact of silence » ? For other post-war-societies one might ask : Is there sometimes too much memory ? Under which circumstances can silence be beneficial for the development of peace and democracy ? Which balance to find between silence and memory ? These are important questions, not easy to be answered, and I don’t say that one should follow the path Spain has taken, but looking at Spain allows to raise and discuss these important questions.

14. That is difficult to answer in just few sentences. Obviously the adopted model was not a successful one, but there are no great models around Europe to learn from. Victory dictates the chosen historical narratives and memory politics are a part of it. The new revisionism that started in the EU in the 90s wanted to erase some dominant narratives, creating new interpretations of the past that mostly worked on the basis of the narrative of victimisation. The Spanish historical narrative was different, adopting models that silenced more than they tried to remember. Opening the mass graves, giving names to the victims, putting into question the model of not remembering are already milestones. I do think that this is an all-European question to solve and that all the models can be discussed. If, on one side, civil society is pushing for answers and giving a voice to the ones who were defeated, the old political legacies work in other ways, sometimes in the name of “democracy”. Erasing names of generals from streets and squares, giving new/other voices to monuments and recreating places of memory that were

defeated or erased gives to the suppressed the justice to remember other histories, the non dominant ones. In the 70s the non dealing with the past was still the way to follow, specially where families were still very affected by the events. The 90s produced or demanded for new interpretations, I do think in a way or another or the countries followed it. Dependently on the political policies new narratives were all accepted (with new monuments, day to remember, streets) or rejected. The question that I am asking myself is about how life goes on in everyday remembering the pain and trauma or how to live when you are not allowed to commemorate it. I do not have an answer yet. I have examples, but still no great answers.

15. It seems very difficult to say that there is a specific “model” of dealing with the past. For me, the biggest impression was the big gap between different regional memories, and if something is specific about Spanish case, this is it. It seems there are as many histories as there are regions in Spain and this would be worth exploring further. In that sense, we can take away the question “whose history is it” from the Spanish case?

16. My conviction: If there is a Spanish model, it is one of not dealing with the past. I cannot judge if this has worked on a national level towards reconciliation, but I have my doubts. I am convinced that this model resp. its actual practice and execution is not compatible with international standards and regulations regarding human rights.

17. I think there is a Spanish model as much as there is a Balkan model or any other post-conflict model with its specificities which can be useful for other affected societies, interesting for analysis and comparative studies. For me the most striking reflection is related to the existence of the fascist regime in Europe after 1945, and European tolerance for it; further, the issue of the victorious and, particularly, defeated side and their dealing with the past was one the striking questions that pop up from the Spanish experience. Especially, when asking what happens when the wrong side wins the war.

18. I would say there are Spanish Models of dealing with the past. As we spent last days of the workshop mainly in Catalonia, I think the Catalan relationship to Spanish past is quite special. Museums we have visited showed the narrative in which the past was put in purpose of legitimizing the Catalan struggle for independence. I believe elsewhere in Spain the approach to history is rather different and more diverse.

19. I still do not think that there is a Spanish model of dealing with the past. Of course, after the Second World War, Spain, on the contrary to countries as Germany, Italy or France, lived under a dictatorship what made all critical work impossible, on the public and private level. But what could one say, *mutatis mutandis*, about the France of Pétain, which spirit continued to exist for decades after the war, with the effects and consequences we know?

But the Spanish example raises questions, and also worries, regarding the post-conflict periods in the Balkans.

When the unspoken and the history nest very deeply in « family secrets », then it is an entire society which needs to make a huge work on itself.

20. I concluded that in Spain there is a model of not dealing with the past, the pacts of silence, arbitrary and undemocratic amnesties have been responsible for awakening the old conflict of the thirties, that is, the lack of a restorative justice, able to ensure the truth, justice, reparation and non-repetition in favor of all the victims make that even today families continue looking for their deads. The total absence of responsibilities from the past is reflected today in each of the monuments, buildings and plaques we have visited. As a citizen of a country that is in transition to post-conflict

after a war of more than 50 years, I can say that the Spanish experience leaves many ideas and experiences of what to do and what to avoid at the end of a war, non-application of transitional justice or non-inclusion of verification bodies during the transition to democracy in Spain can guide countries seeking a new model of peace. In the same way, it is necessary to take into account other global models that are at hand, for example the experiences and opinions of the citizens of the countries of the former Yugoslavia that accompanied us, as well as the post-war policies of countries such as Ireland, Peru, Nicaragua, etc.

21. Bearing in mind the fact that people of the Balkans were somehow “pushed” into the process of “reconciliation” and dealing with the past and bearing in mind that even 25 years after the war it is a painful topic that everybody and anybody have an opinion about, I think it is way better solution than imposing pact on silence on it and leave it to boil for over 70 years and that history now is coming back in big style threatening to dissolve one country with unimaginable consequences not only for Spain but to the other societies.

22. I deem that the Spanish model is heavily based on the premise of a politics of moving past the divisiveness of the war and building a prosperous society that is mostly concerned with democracy and overall development. While I do not believe that it has been a constructive way of dealing with the fascist legacy, still, one of the questions that stays with me is whether it might be a feasible strategy for a society to start dealing with the past after it has established strong democratic institutions and while the traumatic memories of the war are not as vivid in the collective memory of a people.

23. It seems that all countries have their specific model of dealing or not dealing with the past. Spain is no exception. It is also evident that the Spanish experience can help other countries to better deal with the consequences of the violent past. However, I think that the countries like Spain and others must address the questions of the past and discuss openly. The oblivion only creates vacuum in the memory, a vacuum that can be misused by certain political groups in the society.

24. I am a bit sceptical about this question and I am wondering what do you want to do with our answers... I don't believe in models, only in good and bad experiences. I think that the Spanish history of the 20th century is really part of the European history. As such, it can be compared and related to many post-war societies from the European continent. It's also a question of focal distance, if we look at the macro level (State) or at the individual ones.

25. I think there is Spanish model of (not) dealing with the past, and it is exactly that – not dealing with the past. For sake of peace and democracy there is a pact of silence. In principle, I could understand that concept: peace before justice (that was also a principle of solving of conflicts in Yugoslavia), but there is an issue of all remaining Franco's heritage, property, political positions, etc. I think it is a deeply hypocritical transition that is unsustainable in a long run. That's partly confirmed by this burning Catalanian crisis, dragging Franco out from 'mothballs'; and when a discourse is narrowed down to 'fascist and republicans'. I think this partly confirms the Balkans set up where unresolved conflicts reappear in future, but also indicates an issue of relatively limited transition to democracy faced by so many countries. In addition, the example of Spain shows that striving for the truth and establishing facts is impossible to stop even by pan-political agreements.

26. Although we speak about "Spanish model of dealing with the past" and in spite the fact it may be specific due to some of its features, questions raised by the Spanish experiences go far beyond both the Spain borders, in term of space and also history in terms of time. Issues that Spain deals with could be a lesson to all post-conflict societies, but also to conflicts within modern societies and social communities.

27. It is terminology issue, whether to use term ‘Spanish model’, ‘Spanish case’, or something else. In any case, there are some specifics that may be found in Spain. ‘Agreed silence’ caused by fear after almost 40 years of dictatorship and bloody experience of civil war. Silence was present at the state level, but as we could see, situation at the local level was completely different. There was an active memorialisation and in some areas excavation of massive graves was carried out. Raising issues are whether decades of democracy, peace and economic development could be deemed as a success of the society which covered up the Civil War and dictatorship crimes, and criminals have never been processed?

28. In fact the Spanish model is the closest one for us, people of the former Yugoslavia, and in particular the time of Franco’s regime. Each country and newly established governments in countries or local communities where certain ethnic group has a control, implement only an implicit one-way memorialization of one of the conflicted parties, the one that won in the respective territory. Unfortunately, we are far from the German model, the Spanish one is much closer to us, and in some segments it has already advanced to the extent where we can predict how dealing with the past will look like in future in the former Yugoslav republics even when (if) all of them become EU members.

29. I would say that what was going on in Spain in regard to memorialisation of the Civil War, during a certain period, had a form of a model indeed. Here, I particularly refer to the period of much organised (regulated) cultural memorialisation. I have to admit that what we have now as a consequence of that ‘model’ looks like extremely fluid and hard pursue of past. In my Memory Lab application I had many questions regarding (not) dealing with the past in Spain, but it seems now to me that I’ve returned from Spain with many more (different) questions. Current situation in Spain (and reasonable focus on it, which we strongly felt in visited Catalonian locations) somehow dimmed certain aspects of the narrative on past. Continuous pointing out of need for ‘more democracy’ within the context where democracy concepts have been differently interpreted coloured range of the narratives from the Civil War, through period of silence, and justifications/arguments up to on-going present.

At a moment we heard a quote ‘Spain was a laboratory for the WWII’ (during visit to La Jonquera): such external interpretation of what has happened, and the non-silence outside Spain while there was silence in Spain, seem to be an important segment in (re)construction of past after 1975. The legal “regulation of memories” in Spain created double identities between what was supposed to be in the public sphere and what stayed in Spanish homes. And then, when public space, public memorialisation opened up for equalisation /expression of private feelings (including resistance, trauma, pluralism), it seems to me that this partly led to significant chaos. Sometimes it was difficult to follow what education today (not)includes in terms of difficult past; is there any, and what kind of, structured approach (or at least sectorial one) by civil society to the past; ...

In terms of experiencing the Spanish model of (not) dealing with the past, I think the most important question for other post-conflict societies is a constructive (productive) oblivion. Or, more specifically, a question: when, to what extent, and what kind of oblivion could be useful for a post-conflict society. If we take into consideration a healing effect that oblivion may have then we surely need to look at the Spanish model in part that reflects its consequences even today (such as mass-graves, the Amnesty Law, etc.). Therefore, a suppression of some memories/past as a solution for better future (‘democracy’) needs to take into consideration needs ‘from below’ instead of unilateral forming of memories ‘from above’. I believe that all of very multi-faceted social dynamics in Spain indicate that if this (I would still conditionally say) model functioned during a certain period (bearing in mind circumstances, purpose and context) it has created the present that deals more with the ‘model’ itself rather than Spanish past.

30. I can't tell there is a Spanish 'model', because if it was a model then it would be possible to apply it onto other similar events/places, which I don't think is a case with the Spanish way of not-dealing with the past. It is certainly special, but it is not a model. The most interesting for me was to make comparisons between the Spanish Civil War period and People's Liberation War in Yugoslavia, and between the period of Franco's dictatorship and Socialistic Yugoslavia, and of course this period after both systems ended.

31. I have to admit that I am still not completely clear about all what this model represents. At the moment I am reading additional material received from you, so I am hoping I will get better understanding of the entire process.

What I would like to point out is the fact that experiences of Spain, but other West European countries too, can be very useful and applicable in our region and it would be good if we would at least partially start to apply them in our memorialisation policies.

Spanish model shows that regardless the official agreement on silence about the past, social memory cannot be so easily suppressed and that it appears in the current society in variety of forms. It is interesting to see memorialisation policies created in relation to the Spanish Civil War period, almost by an accident, or given by a situation, and not in continued process guided by any of social subjects. The Spanish model definitely shows that past cannot be defined in black-white, and it shows that there is no such case as complete social oblivion. In that context it is impossible for me to say whether it is a model of "(not) dealing with the past".

32. A specific Spanish model of (not) dealing with the past definitely exists and I believe that knowing about and understanding of the Spanish experience is very important for all of us from former Yugoslavia engaged in this area. After one week in Spain and familiarizing with their way of dealing with such difficult past, it seems to me that in spite of everything, we from former Yugoslavia have created some space for free and essential dealing with own past, which seems unthinkable in Spain even 70 years after the civil war.

33. It seems that now I am more convinced that silence is not a solution and that it only forwards a conflict to the next generation and complicates their lives. The conflict becomes deeper and suppressed and it becomes more dangerous in a long run. In the country I live the system that committed crimes has not yet been dismantled. Because of the deepened gap both society and even the publicly supported art makes no progress and falls behind the contemporary western production.

#### **4. From what you have done/seen/heard this week, what will be useful for your own work?**

1. In my work I am constantly dealing with memory and how to mediate different cultures of remembrance (and changes in memory over time) showing how construction of memory works. Learning of new perspectives was very interesting. Getting to know representatives of memory work in many different countries, listening to their experiences and discussing the importance of remembrance was really important.

And in a very practical way I simply got to know more about the Spanish Civil War and the International Brigades since there have been fighters of the International Brigades in the Dachau concentration camp.

And although we were not especially dealing with questions of educational work, visiting places like the museum in La Jonquera and Rivesaltes as well as La Model-Prison was really interesting. The conception of these exhibitions (selection of pictures, f.e.) and the way of mediation to different groups

of visitors were showing interesting (and also controversial) ways of approaching people, particularly young people. I will take this back to work with me.

2. Realizing that nothing is ever really 'in the past'.

3. Everything! The historical places we discovered (and the discussions we had around their current configuration), the presentations we heard (with interdisciplinary approaches), the discussions I had with so many inspiring persons, the new contacts it generated. If there was only reason for wishing the Memory Lab a long life, this is it: offering such an inspiring platform and a fruitful networking.

4. The Memory Lab issues are right in the middle of what I am dealing with each day. Just as last year, I came back from this week with more knowledge and with a lot of new insights on what memory work ("remembrance education" as we call it in Belgium) should be. I share those insights with my colleagues, our guides and the partners in our Flemish network on Remembrance Education ([www.herinneringseducatie.be](http://www.herinneringseducatie.be)).

5. What first came to my mind is the fact the type of learning and questioning objectives offered by this workshop invited me to open my mind and curiosity to the complexity of issues (in the past and present) by stepping beyond my usual field of work.

This study trip was also a very important source of knowledge and learning in the way I will adapt my way of working with Spanish/Catalan groups in the Memorial. I will definitely start thinking about workshops that take a lot more into account their background and offer a more fine-grained reflection on the problematics they have faced/will face.

6. As an aspiring architect to the master's degree in urban design the integration of memorials with public space for example: in the daily life of the story told on the walls of the university city, within reach of all, the memorial Riversaltes, as the design and integration with the place, and the conclusion of a possible work on the memorials as urban catalysts, that is as producers and anchors for the production of urban networks and public space, in addition to activities around them. The concepts on the memorials of the civil war in Spain and the way in which the subject of memory has been dealt with provides me with ideas and bases for the contribution of memorials or spaces of memory to the post-conflict in Colombia, developing a concerted work with victims and perpetrators, who have been reinserted into society.

7. I plan to do some research about forced migrations and museums and about how forced migrations are presented and exhibited in different museums in Europe, so that visits to La Jonquera and Rivesaltes and everything I have seen there will be useful for this research.

8. Since I have worked on both the Spanish Civil War and memory politics in the former Yugoslavia there is a considerable amount of material and insight I was able to gain during the Memory Lab. I have already given 2 interviews (index.hr and Jutarnji list) based on my experience in Spain during the workshop. Comparative work on exhumations will certainly be something I will continue to explore, especially after discussions with Paco Ferrandiz.

9. This is the most difficult question. My answer goes into direction of the importance of political structures when it comes to initiating dealing with the past processes. I really believe that you can have perfect initiatives, you can realize them ( e.x. to establish RECOM in the Western Balkans and that RECOM finishes its work with final report that I would be satisfied with), but what is important is related to the impact it will have on society. And in order to have satisfactory impact, you need to have elites that understand the importance of undertaken activity/to support the initial idea. It should be

completely opposite to the impact the ICTY have in the Western Balkans. The issue of political elites in Spain tells a lot about general atmosphere on dealing with the past and they control the process of opening the issues related to Franco's legacy.

10. Connections with academics/researchers...

The sites we visited all illustrate the challenges in this case study and are fantastic as data to bring to my teaching, to the syllabus and the readings I have done in the past.

11. Undoubtedly, what I have learnt about the International Brigades and more generally about the Spanish Civil war.

What I have heard about the Spanish way of (not) dealing with recent past is also interesting and gives a new perspective to remembrance policies. Oblivion can sometimes be a serious option when it comes to getting out of a vicious circle of renewed hatred between people or parts of population.

Understanding the past and making it intelligible, more than remembering actually, is most often necessary to reach the same goal.

This is mainly what I have learnt from this week in Spain.

12. Ok, I'll be more brief from now on. The Spanish situation is key in my current research work in between the Southern Cone of Latin America ('*Cono Sur*') and Southeastern Europe. It makes me be more careful about dealing with the past as an imperative normative act, by trying to think on what has been achieved in Spain after all, but also about temporality: **for how long** can this go on, **when (and what) is the threshold** when the politics of amnesia should actually end and is society fully ready to deal with the past.

13. My knowledge about Spain was extremely superficial before this year, thanks to this year's Memory Lab I gained not only much more knowledge about the history of the Spanish Civil War and its legacies, but also an personal link to the situation in Spain. I do not intend to make of Spain one new field of research (but who knows?), but for sure it has become a new field of interest, and knowing now more about the Spanish Civil War, the Francoist repression and their legacies is already now useful for me in order to raise new questions regarding dealing with the past in post-war-societies in general and for comparative approaches with other post-war-societies. (How much my interest in Spanish experiences has increased through this workshop/study trip is also illustrated by the simple fact that after the trip I have bought several books and movies about the Spanish Civil War and its legacies, what will help me to go deeper into the topic.)

14. Everything. How to work in groups, how to learn from group work, new interesting lectures to read more about. We do have a collection about International Brigades and I do think that we have to revisit all the collections from ex-YU museums connected to the topic.

15. In my future work, I am planning to focus, among other things, on museums and museum exhibitions talking about violent past in post-conflict societies. Camp de Rivesaltes and their programs for even the youngest kids (as young as 6 years) is something that got me thinking about how young is too young to open certain conversations and what are the possible lines of research connected to this population.

16. There is a need for a basic agreement on some principles of commemoration on an European standard.

17. It was good for my personal development- I have learnt a lot about the things I didn't know much before; by visiting several museums and memorials I have gained new information and knowledge

about different museum-exhibition practices; it is always useful to reconnect with the other ML participants.

18. I will present some of the memorial sites and memorial practices to my students. Also, the case of Spanish Civil War and legacies of Francosim in Spanish History Education might become a research topic in my PhD or other research.

19. /

20. I am starting an investigation into the history of the Barcelona Model prison and its political-criminal system, specifically our visit will help me to understand what the Model prison represented during its existence for the city of Barcelona, the forms of institutional thinking about the criminal in each of its stages, from the republic, the anarchist revolution, and the Franco dictatorship.

21. All content of Memory Lab was excellent, as always. But the most useful thing for me that I have learn was at demonstrations. It taught me how the people stand united in the solidarity when their basic rights had been violated regardless whether they are pro or contra independence. Valuable lesson for all people in Balkans who immediately split themselves into the pro or contra blocks not realizing that people got united in defense of their human rights.

22. Due to my background in Political Science, it is particularly beneficial for me as a future practitioner to engage in critical thinking about politics of commemoration, and explore under which conditions a stable peace and democracy can flourish, and what are the most strategic models that could facilitate the transition processes of post-war societies. The practical knowledge that I acquired in the study trip could be of use for me to strategically incorporate in intersectional considerations to practical work in the field of gender and politics of remembrance.

23. The experience presented by several actors involved in different projects on dealing with the Spanish civil war and its legacy are the most useful and will certainly help me in how I will deal with similar topics in my country.

24. /

25. In addition to two published stories from Spain, the narrative offered by the right wing in Spain, which moves around setup of the two totalitarian regimes is something that reminds me a dominant narrative in Croatia and East Europe in general. Information we got, and the way the information was presented to us provides a good insight into manipulation with historical facts for many years. The texts you provided also opened for me a whole new spectrum of literature.

26. All those considerations and conclusions I stated in previous three questions. Issue of dealing with difficult past and today's conflicting social situations, linking of past and present, learning from the past and messages for the future, reflection about the present and the vision of building of a society in immediate and distant future.

27. Among all different places we visited, for me the most impressive was a visit to recently opened memorial Rivesaltes in France. That is an example of how with financial support from state a memorial could be made, practically from the scratch. It is useful to know that something like that is possible.

28. Due to activities directed to building of the memorialization culture in my local community and engagement in establishment of a documentary centre, it was very useful for me to get to know forms of interaction of memorials and historical places interact with general public. Based on the Spanish model of (non) dealing with the past, now I can better understand processes in my country, since the time frame for Spanish processes has been three times longer, and tells us about roads not to be taken when dealing with the past because it won't give any effect. For example, construction of 'common' monumental memorials.

29. Many things: getting to know specific relation towards memorialisation (dealing with past), understanding and possibility to challenge it; comparative approach in the environment I am working/researching; different ways to use public space.

30. Since we have a couple of exchange programmes with our partners from Spain, the knowledge I gained during this trip will be crucial for development of these programmes in the future.

31. Some models of memorialisation of specific places and events were very interesting, especially in context of current battles for making a monument honouring killed children in Prijedor. This contributed to better understanding of memorialisation process, and I hope it will affect finding of better and more adequate memorialisation solutions in Prijedor.

32. I established and revived/refreshed contacts with some participants; I got incentives for future , more detailed and more intensive research of 'Spanish case' ; and maybe a key issue: it was yet another, very valuable reminder that I want to deal with the issue of reconciliation with more dedication and more systematically.

33. Excellent examples how to foster smouldering fascism, and manipulation of memories (for example, Lorca in schools). It is much easier to point all this by examples from distant countries. And the Balkans have been cooking in the same pot.

## **5. Suggestions/ideas/plans for the future concerning:**

### **a) Annual Memory Lab study trips/workshops (locations, content, ...)**

### **b) Memory Lab in general**

### **c) Own activities with other partners from Memory Lab**

1 a) I think Greece, Slovenia or Albania would be very interesting destinations. In my personal view I would not mind having more time dealing with questions on mediation of history and memory to young people and educational methods – but this is certainly the view of someone working in education.

b) -

c) I would be really interested in a cooperation/ youth exchange/... with the memorial in Rivesaltes. The dealing with different layers of history in one certain place is something that could be a topic for this kind of exchange. (As Frank already said this is something that could be realized like in past projects in cooperation with the FGYO and a third partner from Southeastern Europe.)

2a) The Slovenian-Italian border region (Kaja told me interesting stories about that).  
Romania.

b) No suggestions.

c) /

3a. I would suggest to organize a study trip to Portugal: under the dictatorship of Antonio de Oliveira de Salazar, the repression of political opponents led to the exile of many of them towards France. Under the German occupation, while many of them were part of the „STO“, many others were deported to Nazi-Germany as slave laborers. This is a story that just started to be uncovered (cf. the research of Ansgar Schäfer from the Instituto de Historia Contemporanea da Faculdade de Ciências Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa/Portugal).

b) The transeuropean and the interdisciplinary approaches and group mixing are fantastic! No suggestions.

c) I came back from Spain with 3 concrete projects:

- I am currently organizing for next spring (2018) a small workshop with Julie B. and other film-experts from France and Germany in order to get professional support regarding a documentary film project on the transgenerational perpetuation of traumas;
- Representatives of EUROM will come and visit our memorial site next year. Together, we plan a research project on the former Spanish forced laborers in Bremen;
- Moreover I want to engage archival research in Belgrade regarding potential former Yugoslav forced laborers in Bremen.

4a) Northern Europe?

How do France, Germany, (Belgium)... deal with their colonial past?

Role of migration for memory work?

b) /

c) Annual study trip with a Belgian group to Bosnia which will take place in November.

The contact with Rivesaltes is certainly something I would like to develop more.

5 a) I would find a great interest working more specifically on the Algeria independence war fragmented memories, bearing in mind it is very far from being pacified (and very sensitive to study from the Algerian perspective)

History and Memory of Chile, South Africa or Rwanda would also very much draw my attention.

A subject that would also be of interest to me is what happens to the connection history/collective memory -of the 2<sup>nd</sup> WW for example- when the witnesses are gone.

b) Apply and participate again for sure, become an active participant if possible

c) Potentially create links with Bunker Valentin Breme on a common issue we found with the Rivesaltes Camp

Work with the OFAJ on a common project

Also, a discussion started with the education department of the Max Mannheimer Haus – Dachau, and I should be working on a contribution to Vjerran Pavlakovic research on the Yugoslavs in the French camps from 1939 - 1941

6. -

7a) Albania seems like an interesting case study which would fit into our plan for visiting an SEE country next and there are definitely interesting issues we could explore regarding memory practices and (not) dealing with the past there.

b) I think we have reached a point at which we need to re-think the purpose, structure and aims of Memory Lab. Although each year we visit a new country and each is an interesting case study in itself, the annual gatherings are becoming a little repetitive (in terms of structure) and there are not really follow-ups to the annual event. We should somehow find a way to keep Memory Lab alive, but to refresh it with new ideas, topics and maybe even a new form of activities. I particularly liked the activity organized by History Museum BiH this June and think that more similar activities, at which Memory Lab partners would be invited to participate, should be organized. For me, this is the purpose

of Memory Lab – to create a network of experts who could ‘borrow’ their expertise for a concrete cause (in this case, rethinking of the Sarajevo siege exhibition). I also like the idea that new persons (not just the ‘old’ organization team) take initiative and organize similar events under the Memory Lab umbrella.

c) I definitely plan to stay involved in Memory Lab activities in one way or another. I would like if we could organize a brain-storming session about the future of Memory Lab, maybe something similar to what we had in Berlin a few years ago.

8a) During discussions with colleagues we thought that a Memory Lab about « Forgotten Fronts of WW1 » (especially since it will be the centenary of 1918 next year) could be a good topic. The deluxe version of this concept would actually be a 2 part trip (Soča + Macedonia) or just at the Soča. This would involve visiting key sites at the former Soča/Isonzo front in Slovenia and Italy, culminating in a trip down to Rijeka/Fiume tracing the path of D’Annunzio in the aftermath of WW1. Sites include Kobarid (ww1 museum), Log pod Mangartom (A-H cemetery), the Potevi mira (Paths of Peace, the innovative way to see the former front lines), Redipuglia (massive ossuary and museum for the Italian point of view), Basovizza and Risiera di San Sabba (2 WW2 sites in Trieste), and ending in Rijeka (numerous sites of memory and a chance to discuss what has been seen during the trip). The hosts here would be U of Rijeka and the City of Rijeka which are partnered as part of the European Capital of Culture 2020. The 2<sup>nd</sup> part in Macedonia would start in Thessaloniki (former Salonski front) and move north into Macedonia (Bitola – with its sites of memory). The example of cross-border cooperation in Italy-Slovenia could then be applied during the visit to Greece-Macedonia.

b) /

c) I am going to continue to work extensively with Ivo Pejaković, Oriol Lopez Badell, Paco Ferrandiz, Tamara Banjeglav, Orli Fridman, Dea Marić, Gruia Badescu and Elodie Montes, as well as possibly others on a number of already agreed upon projects.

9a) I really believe that each country has a lot to offer in the light of memory work, so wherever we can find reliable partner organization, it could/should be organized. Hungary is getting more and more interesting, but Poland as well. We should not forget Romania or Greece in the Balkans.

b) I really believe that Memory Lab is the best concept of the program that I attended so far, so it should continue organizing annual study visits with the same format, since each time everyone (both participants and organizers) benefit a lot from it. It is impossible to gain this type of knowledge and impressions of the countries we visited only through studying them through literature.

c) Each study visit provided me with space to discuss joint activities with at least one participant. This time it is about forced labour during WWII.

10a) I think the visit at the Madrid University Campus may have been a bit too long... I would have appreciated another lecture... even there possibly.

b) /

c) I think it would be great to have scholars from Spain possibly join us in teachings in the summer school we have at FMK.

11a) In the Balkans, I think it would be interesting to visit a place like Albania and learn more about the situation there.

In Western Europe, I would like to know more about the Netherlands and also the United Kingdom. The approach there is totally different and I think it would be interesting to confront it.

I know Memory Lab need to have a partner organization in the place we would like to visit so it’s more about wishful thinking.

Concerning the content, it would be interesting to have a workshop with a comparative approach in no specific area maybe but the idea would be to meet specialists from different places and periods.

b) I know Memory Lab has been created as a platform. Nevertheless, Memory Lab through all its study trips and workshops has developed in a way a unique perspective and approach. It might be interesting to think about what the group could make with this. Even though I think Memory Lab should stay a platform because it is a wonderful place of exchange, it might be interesting to think about what else it could become after all these years.

c) /

12a) I would be very happy to help organize a Memory Lab in Romania at some point – I realize that while it is Southeastern Europe (at least that's what is told in Romania since you're a student in elementary school...and what many geography textbooks say), and while it has many similarities with ex-Yugoslavia — various principalities belonging with different degrees of autonomy to Ottoman/Habsburg/Russian empires, united successively in 1859 and 1918; a wide array of minorities, royal dictatorship in 1938, fascism during war, antisemitism, ethnic (Hungarian-Romanian) violence during the WW2 erupting in 1990 (with the Targu Mures deaths etc), communism and post-communist transition (until 1948 they were in the same bloc; the 1970s turn on Ceausescu towards the non-aligned movement, the 'maverick' of 1968, turn 1980s despot), irredentist dreams of Greater x (Greater Romania clashing with Greater Hungary and other greats), Macedonian-like Moldova situation, etc etc etc— it is not usually included in such discussions, due to divergence from 1948 in both communist experience as well as the 1990s (conflict in Transylvania, while mobilized by 1990s elites, and expected by many analysts, did not materialize). Nevertheless, I think it would be an interesting parallel to make both for the other Southeast Europe participants, as well as for Western Europeans, to include a country that faces memory struggles with two distinctive and clashing systems : fascism and antisemitism – role in Holocaust in the Soviet Union, collaboration with Hitler, local pogroms of the far right- and the legacy of a heavy communist dictatorships- 1940s-1950s political violence, imposed collectivization of rural areas, strong secret police state- the Securitate- 1980s idiosyncrasies, paying the country debt and the generalized precarity of life, the new urbanism, bloody revolution in 1989), which would provide a striking contrast to the memory of socialism in Yugoslavia. Memory threads:

1. Myths and memories of national unity vs empire and strong regional identities at 100 years from the 'Great Union' (self identifications-Transylvania as Central Europe/ethnic conflict region, Banat as multicultural paradise, Wallachia as deeply corrupt Balkan 'South', Dobrogea as Turkey redux, Moldavia as the backward 'East'; the German minority between 'the preferred minority' to the 'selling of the Germans'; the Hungarian autonomy vs memories of Empire and 1940s Horthy massacres)
2. Fascism, antisemitism and the Holocaust- a place of amnesia?
3. Memories of communism and its discontents: between criminalization and amnesty
4. The 1989 revolution as foundation myth

Places: Bucharest (for 2,3,4: lectures; urban memory walk, including sites referring to the divided 1930s and 1940s and sites of the 1989 events; visits of 'Victory of Socialism' project – 'Ceausescu' Palace+ architectural ensemble; meeting with the Institute of Investigation of Communist Crimes and authors of Criminalization report; meeting Elie Wiesel foundation etc), possibly Pitesti (Pitesti Prison – the memorial of 'Pitesti phenomenon' of early communism of 'reeducating' fascists and liberals into torturers, then communists – themes 2,3; Dacia plant – industrialization and everyday memories of communism for 3) (on the way between Bucharest and Sibiu); Brasov/Sibiu (lectures for 1,3: Transylvanian memories of union and war; 1990s Hu-Ro clashes; the German exodus; city walk: divided memories),

In addition, I wholeheartedly support the idea of a Memory Lab in the 'western borderlands', including Rijeka, Istria, Ljubljana, Trieste and around (Istria, Primorska/Venezia Giulia)- the memories of WW1, Italian fascism, division with the SHS Kingdom, WW2, socialism, Trieste as in-between city etc etc could be a fantastic one.

- b) Just many thanks for the fantastic work and looking forward to new activities! The Sarajevo museum workshop was great, similar events are very welcome, if there is budget of course...
- c) I suggested, via the kind messenger help of Sven, an activity next year, particularly relevant for the other SEE partners (this could be a rehearsal for a subsequent Memory Lab, or, in case there is interest and fits well with the schedule, a sort of Memory Lab itself)

Quick outline (could be distributed to partners):

*December 1<sup>st</sup> 1918, A Century After: Workshop and more*

On December 1<sup>st</sup> 2018, Romania celebrates its regular National Day with special zest as the Centennial of the ‘Great Unification’ of 1918. On December 1<sup>st</sup> 1918, the National Assembly of Romanians from Transylvania, with the support of the Transylvanian Saxon leadership, proclaimed in Alba Iulia the union of Transylvania with the Kingdom of Romania. This was the final act of a series of unions with territories that belonged to three different Empires, it was later narrated as the ‘Great Union’ to climax them all. Same day, some hundreds kilometers Southwest, Belgrade witnessed the declaration of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, a first incarnation of Yugoslavia, a country that would cease to exist.

Romania, narrated for a century as a nation-state of the majority Romanians, a group united by language but differentiated by religion and regional histories, and with minorities ranging from Germans and Slovaks to Turks and Tatars, has endured. Yet after a century of centralized rule, flawed interwar and post-1989 democracy, dictatorships and mass exodus, and a particularly disappointing ‘transition’ – called by a British academic’s book ‘Romania after 1989: The Theft of a Nation’ –, there are voices who question it all. ‘Why is Romania different’, he contested book of a popular historian was a bestseller, an exercise in exceptionalism (popular not only in Yugoslavia...) and in self-orientalization. Regionalism and autonomy, or even independence are voiced not only by minorities, but by particular elites in Transylvania and the Banat, arguing that their Central European histories and cultures make them incompatible to be ruled from Balkan Bucharest, prone to corruption and mismanagement. Moreover, the centennial of 1918 occurs as the country’s leading film makers issued harrowing films about antisemitism and fascism in the interwar times and the role of Romania in the Soviet Holocaust, attacking the myth of the golden interwar ‘Greater Romania’ as haven, brutally interrupted by the communist takeover. It occurs as media exposes how surviving torturers of the communist state receive state pensions while the tortured wait for justice, as the 1989 events are constantly being reinterpreted, as Ceausescu is turning for many from the image of the brutal tyrant to a patriotic leader. The centennial of 1918 takes place in a country consumed by competing memories and sense of struggling self-identity.

“Romania has only two friendly neighbours: Yugoslavia and the Black Sea”, goes a popular 20<sup>th</sup> century saying. Yugoslavia was imagined, particularly in the 1980s years of Ceausescu’s regime, as a socialist paradise, the country that made it; it was seen with admiration, affection, but also tropes of friendliness and brotherhood. The latter, as I was to find out in my years in the region, was not reciprocated. Romania was an other, never part of the narrative, part of the Brigama surrounding the land of in-between. Yet the 2018 centenary can be a good way to start looking at parallels and inverted perspectives and it prompts us to rethink the last century starting with the legacies of the day of December 1<sup>st</sup>. I propose a workshop in which we look at the memories and meanings of the two unions in dialogue with one another. Possible avenues of thought include: What does December 1<sup>st</sup> mean for people in various parts of the broader region, how do the memories of the unifications compare, contrast, challenge each other? How do current debates in Romania echo, or twist, similar ones that have occurred in Yugoslavia and its successor states? How do concepts of conflict, territorial aspirations, sovereignty and autonomy, dictatorship, fascism and communism differ in the way they are employed in the different contexts and how does that help local understandings? What are the lessons of memory work in the former Yugoslavia for Romania, and to what extent is the Romanian experience of value to memory work in the region?

I invite memory practitioners and scholars from the former Yugoslavia and beyond to join us in Bucharest (or, perhaps a Transylvanian location like Sibiu or even Alba Iulia) in 2018 for a workshop in which to discuss these issues. I will apply for funding from the Romanian Cultural Fund- any possible support from colleagues would be also appreciated. As an outcome, either a document (non-academic book/special journal including reflections; or even academic if there such interest) or a traveling exhibit in a series of museums, from the Adriatic to the Black Sea. If there is interest, and ideas for the organization of this workshop, please write to me at [gruia.badescu@ouce.ox.ac.uk](mailto:gruia.badescu@ouce.ox.ac.uk).

13a) In South Eastern Europe for the next time, one very interesting location would certainly be Albania, because it has a specific history in comparison to socialist Yugoslavia and Eastern Europe in general during the communist period. For a later stage, a great choice could be the Italian-Slovenian-Croatian borderlands, as it would be a perfect illustration of Memory Lab's ambition to be Trans-European and to connect South Eastern Europe and Western Europe. - Otherwise I think it would be worth to rethink the structure and methodology and even the entire concept of the annual trips – sure, Memory lab has proven to be attractive and stimulating, but this should not prevent us to think about possible new paths, in order to avoid routinisation.

b) It is now eight years in a row that Memory Lab has (successfully) organized its annual workshop/study trip, establishing a stimulating network though which have have emerged many new projects... But the danger is routinisation. And everything today seems to be a “Lab”: “Thinking Lab”, “Coffee Lab”, “Innovation Lab”, ... Perhaps time to invent something new?

c) Besides bilateral contacts with various Memory Lab associates I am currently in particular involved in the development of one joined seminar cycle for memory practitioners planned by Forum ZFD BiH, History Museum BiH, Buchenwald Memorial and Memorial Camp des Milles, which was first talked about at the Memory Lab in Serbia in 2016, and which is now entering the concrete planning phase and is foreseen to take place in 2018/19 in Bosnia and Herzegovina, France and Germany.

14. ROMANIA (Gruia said that can be great!)

SLOVENIA (We have the venue, coffee and some history to share)

First World War/ Great war:

- the walk of peace <http://www.potmiru.si/eng/>, b) <https://www.kobariski-muzej.si/eng/>

- Oslavje, Redipuglia <http://www.itinerarigrandeguerra.com/en/33055/Memorial-of-Redipuglia>

Second World War:

- Gorizia/ Nova Gorica (border IT-SLO),

- Ljubljana <http://www.muzej-nz.si>

- Maribor (border SLO- AUS)

If we focus on border topics, we can do also Croatia.

b) Love you all, you are doing a great job. I never enjoyed more and people are amazing. Keep doing it, you really are enriching our lifes.

c) We already exchanged our FB adresses. :-)

I will remain in contact with the museum people, since I invited them to join the ICMEMO

international committee in order to do more projects together ; we were discussing also working on EU projects connected to the heritage of International brigades.

I have also connected some of the participants with my colleagues from Slovenia who are working on same topics. It is important to connect people and to try to find ways to collaborate on projects.

15a) Although quite demanding (organizationally and for the participants), I loved the fact that we were able to cross the borders and follow the story of asylum seekers in Spanish Civil War through Spain and France. I would love to be able to have these kinds of thematic wholes that would connect different countries and allow us to clearly put the local/national history in the context of other events.

- b) As mentioned before, Memory Lab is a great opportunity to take in a lot of knowledge and experience in a very short time. It allows me to dig into different topics using the best local professionals and always shows elements of the history that would stay pretty much inaccessible in other ways. Being able to spend time with memory professionals from different countries willing to discuss and open important topics was an invaluable experience for me.
- c) I am planning to create a research program in cooperation with some of the museums represented by Memory Lab participants in the following years.

16a) Workshops in Romania, in Bulgaria and in Italy

- b) Memory Lab as an experienced body for the discussion of basic principles for commemoration in Europe. Memory Lab should prepare and produce a report on this topic which should be discussed step by step and should be presented to some European institutions after all
- c) Cooperation with EUROM

17a) Albania - I have a network of museums, partners and contacts that might be useful for planning and organizing study trip/workshop in Albania – dealing with the communist past as blossoming topic in the Albanian society (civil society, museums, art projects, etc)

Turkey – as the country with no memory studies/dealing with the past developed; potential local partners (donors?) identified and some initial contacts made. To be discussed.

Slovenia/Italy

- b) It would be good to work on strengthening the capacity of the ML organization team/body, it is too good platform with great potentials to depend on one person only.
- c) Organization of the international workshop « Wake up Europe, Sarajevo Calling » *Connecting Local History and International Perspectives*", workshop organized in cooperation with Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft, but in the framework of the Memory Lab, 26 June to 29 June 2017. Memory Lab platform was largely used for inviting its members - curators, historians, museum and memory professionals (Buchenwald, Camps des Milles, Shoah memorial, etc) to give their contribution. The aim of the workshop was to work together on rethinking of the current permanent exhibition «Besieged Sarajevo » and to elaborate recommendations for its further development.  
Organization of the study trip to Bosnia and Herzegovina for the Belgian group of museum professionals and educators in partnership with Kazerne Dossin from Belgium (developed with Griet Brosens and Marjan Verplancke), in collaboration with Prijedor based NGOs – Izvor, Kwart, Optimisti. – November 2017

18a) Cooperation with history teachers associations and other cultural institutions in the Balkans

- b) Several ideas for cooperation with history teachers associations and other cultural institutions in the Balkans
- c) Projects related to remembering First World War in post-Yugoslav countries

19. /

20a) I suggest that you give more time to the lectures that introduce us to each topic, I consider that the papers by Paloma, Oriol, Gareth, and Txema were complete but they may have had more time to go deeper in each topic.

- b) /
- c) /

21a). In 2018, it would be good to make big strategy planning with clearly defined goals for the future. Maybe it is time that Memory Lab goes international(?) or to make a publication on previous editions of Memory Lab and publicise it.

b) Regardless that I'm personally little bit tired of it, this is, by far, the best experience in my professional work.

c) There had been already some plans and negotiations with the members of Memory Lab for next year. Plans soon to be made public.

22a) An interesting location for consideration would be Albania, due to the fact that very little attention has been paid to its model of "not dealing" with the communist past. Only in the last five years or less has the leftist government attempted to establish its first museums and memorial sites. And, due to the fact that the country is still in its first steps of initiating a proper state-driven politics of remembering its communist past, Memory Lab could provide for a very fruitful platform where ideas and reflections over Albania's politics of memory and remembrance could spring off and make it to concrete projects with both state and non-state actors.

b) The quality of the Memory Lab study trips is amazing and every detail is meticulously thought-out. I would only suggest that some more thought is put into how heavily packed the visits to different sites/institutions are made and how traveling from site to site is coordinated.

c) /

23a) I will suggest Greece. The history of Greek civil war is strongly connected with the history of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania. It involves more countries and still today represents a problem inside Greece and in neighboring countries. The workshop can include visits of several sites in Athens, Thessaloniki but also neighboring Bulgaria and Macedonia where some of the refugees and members of the communist partisan movement were evacuated.

b) Keep up the good work! :-)

c) Until today we (organization to which I'm affiliated) had several projects on topics related to the recent past with one of the partners of Memory Lab. My idea and I hope that we'll continue our cooperation in direction of working on joint projects.

24 a) I would make one suggestion: what about enlarging our group to people working on the questions of the representation of the violent past with other tools (photographers, performers, artists from companies...).

I would like to give the floor to some of the participants: for instance, what about a discussion lead by people working in museums? So they could share their views, questions and their perceptions starting from their own window.

If we are willing to see some other countries that can be relevantly compared to Former-Yugoslavia, I think it would be really interesting to go to Northern Ireland one day.

b) In my opinion, it would be interesting to share our experience in a way or another in order to spread some of the reflections and to show the interest of this experience. It could be a book with pictures, or some other way to invent.

c) /

25a) Well, one of the options could definitely be Croatia, focusing on southern part, visit to fascist and communist camps on islands Rab and Goli otok. There is also Rijeka, and possibility of connection with the WW I front at Soča (Italian-Slovenian border). Also, Slovenia itself could function well.

b) /

c) /

26a) I believe that Albania could be very interesting for the next study trip.

b) /

c) /

27a) /

b) /

c) In cooperation with the Historical Museum of BiH, Jasenovac Memorial site prepares an exhibition about workers of the railroad workshop from Sarajevo who were deported to Jasenovac camp.

28. It is necessary to keep the tradition of gathering during one calendar year. Maybe include some other interested people in the organisation, and redistribute obligations regarding organisation of future workshops. Initiate cooperation between the participants through organisation of smaller-size events at different locations (this has been already happening, but it should be registered as a part of the Memory Lab programme), and encourage new forms of cooperation amongst the participants (in Belgrade we had additional time for this during the workshop, and it was very useful).

a) Since it South-East Europe turn then I think it should be either Greece or Albania, maybe more Albania due to its specifics when compared to other countries, most of all its' introvert regime.

b) The Memory Lab is the best opportunity I've got in area of building of a memorialisation culture, the way it was created and the connections and relations we established are invaluable. It is important that we all invest effort to maintain the platform in distant future.

c) The most of the activities I realize with:

Forum ZFD Sarajevo – realisation of the project of establishing documentation and information centre in Prijedor, and other similar activities.

Youth Initiative for Human Rights Sarajevo – organisation of Youth camp in Kozarac, near Prijedor.

Occasional and permanent cooperation with other Memory Lab workshops participants. The most recent form of cooperation is arranging visit of Belgium visitors to Prijedor, with Griet Brosens and Elma Hašimbegović.

29a) Turkey, Istria, Albania, Austria.

b) I have no suggestions regarding this segment, but I do feel urge to point out really excellent organisation (this was my first Memory Lab study trip, so I can't make comparison to previous programmes, which does not undermine the spotless organisation from the very beginning, even before arriving to Spain).

c) Being a freelance researcher, I've been already cooperating with some of the Memory Lab participants, and I plan for some future activities in area of culture of memorialisation.

30a). Bearing in mind current financial insecurity, maybe we should focus on activities that may be organised by two or more partners within the Memory Lab network, under the name of Memory Lab, and with the support of coordination/organisation team. No specific location or topic crosses my mind at the moment, but we will have time and opportunity to discuss that.

b) Maybe reduction of the annual study trip group should be considered. My impression is that the group was great, but this kind of programme is always very intensive and it simply doesn't leave much time for people to get to know each other, exchange certain ideas directed to establishment of cooperation amongst different organisations and individuals. If the group would be smaller, maybe it would be more productive and allow more time to socialize.

c) We will continue our cooperation with Forum ZFD regarding our transitional justice programme, i.e. more specifically in relation to the "School of Different Memories", and we have already discussed about some other potential activities for the next year.

As of this year we are partners in the European youth programme organised by the Memorial Camp Rivesaltes, and based on this annual trip experiences and meeting the memorial staff in person, thanks to the Memory Lab, we plan to improve that programme for the next year.

31a) Current situation and past events in Croatia certainly impose Croatia as a logical suggestion.

b) I am extremely glad that I had a chance to participate in Memory Lab this year, and get to know 'Spanish model' of (not) dealing with the past. As I've already commented, content was of great interest for me, since my professional background is not related to social studies, but on the other hand occasionally it made it more difficult for me to understand some segments of the transition process in the post-war Spain.

c) During the study visit we made arrangement for several visits to Prijedor for participants from Belgium. This is planned for November.

32a) Since this is my favourite programme of this kind, I would like very much for the tradition of annual study trip to continue, although I fully understand all obstacles you are facing. My suggestion would be to investigate the Balkans more thoroughly- Albania, Bulgaria, Greece and maybe at some point turn our view towards East, where Ukraine awaits for us as a magnificent treasury of the 21<sup>st</sup> century historic revisionism.

b) It crossed my mind, at one point, although I'm not sure if it is possible, to use the knowledge within the group and organise some on-line courses about topics selected by participants as priorities. Knowledgeable people and experts within the group could be paid to prepare 2-3 on-line courses, and courses could be designed as follow-up of certain study trips. However they would be also open for people who did not take study trips. Potential topics could be: Case of Spain and Catalonia, Belgium and colonial heritage – new insights and in-depth approach; economic background of wars in ex-Yugoslavia, etc. This would be particularly good in case we don't organise an annual study trip next year. And I am not only suggesting, I am also ready to engage into realisation of this idea if we agree it makes sense.

33. It would be interesting to organise, during this year, visits (lectures) of some individuals we met during the ML study trip. I would love if some of the participants that I have been meeting for third or fourth time could make presentations for my colleagues and students. It should not be difficult to organise two-three-day visit of one guest, and it would be a nice way to present work and experience of others.

a) Selection of topics and locations was extraordinary, so even places I thought I knew a lot about turned out to offer more new information. The idea of East-West rhythm was excellent. Sometimes, it is easier when you see that countries more advanced than one you live in have pile of similar unresolved or strangely solved issues.

Poland, Albania, even Czech Republic or Hungary could be interesting locations for future study trips.

b) The concept is extraordinary both in terms of content and methodology. At the price of sounding pathetic I have to say that ML helped me to regain trust in history, methods and objectives of historic studies, because experiences at the local level are catastrophic, with only couple of exemptions.

c) We organise biannual gatherings of secondary school students with Christian Savary from Coutances (Normandy); next year we will organise second joint trip to Serbia and neighbouring countries (two years ago we went to Croatia - Đakovo, this year we went to Macedonia - Skopje). Christian and I met during the Memory Lab study trip to Kosovo and Macedonia.

I intensively cooperate with Julie Biro in preparing her documentary movie, primarily as a local logistics and regional consultant (this sounds too serious)

These days Nick Lloyd and I exchange documents and printed materials on Yugoslav international brigadiers and modern reception of their role in the second half of 20th century.