



NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE

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Note: The attachment only contains the grant narrative and selected portions, not the entire funded application. In addition, certain portions may have been redacted to protect the privacy interests of an individual and/or to protect confidential commercial and financial information and/or to protect copyrighted materials.

Project Title: Memories Divided and Reconciled: Remembering World Wars I and II in France Today

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Memories Divided and Reconciled: Remembering World Wars I and II in France Today

A Four-Week Summer Seminar for School Teachers

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Rationale

Perhaps more than any other European nation, France is haunted by the past, and in particular the terrible traumas and conflagrations that scarred Twentieth Century Europe. This is not surprising, in light of the fact that during World War I the material destruction and military casualties suffered by the French exceeded those of any other Western European nation. During the Second World War, France experienced a catastrophic military defeat, a brutal occupation by the nation's traditional enemy, and the establishment of a collaborationist government all too willing to treat with the Nazis and participate in their efforts to destroy European Jewry.

Up until recently, the experience of loss, mourning, and remembrance of these two conflicts has remained separate in the national conscience. Apart from obvious chronological considerations, World War I resulted in a French victory, if perhaps a pyrrhic one, whereas World War II involved a humiliating defeat, deep internal division that the historian Henry Rousso has described as a "Franco-French civil war," and state complicity in the Holocaust. Given the traumas and horrors associated with World War II, as well as its chronological proximity, it is understandable that this more recent memory has dominated the national conscience for the past four decades or more. Efforts to come to terms with and make amends for this past, and thus fulfill a "duty to the memory" of the victims, (especially of the Holocaust) resulted, during the 1980s and 1990s, in numerous commemorative activities as well as belated legal efforts, in the forms of highly visible trials for crimes against humanity, to punish the perpetrators. The memory of the so-called "Dark Years" of the German Occupation of 1940-1944 also provoked political scandals on the national stage. For example, in 1994 revelations of then-President François Mitterrand's past as a right-wing activist before the war and a long-term civil servant at Vichy created a national controversy when the details of that past were documented in a biography by Pierre Péan.

By comparison, the memory of World War I emerged, at least as a subject of debate and controversy in contemporary France, only in the mid- to late -1990s, even if it had been always tangibly present in the monuments to the fallen soldiers of the Great War that can be found in each and every town, city, and village on the French mainland, and had periodically appeared on movie screens in the 1960s and 1970s with such films as Philippe de Broca's King of Hearts (1966) and Jean-Jacques Annaud's Black and White in Color (1976). When in the fall of 1998, some eighty years after the Great War's end, Prime Minister Lionel Jospin proposed to commemorate the terrible sacrifices of all French soldiers having served amid the unprecedented

slaughter of trench warfare, including those who rebelled against the military commanders sending them out on suicidal missions consisting of charging unprecedented slaughter of trench warfare, he was rebuked by President Jacques Chirac. The incident sparked public as well as scholarly debate. For some, it seemed unacceptable to honor the mutineers executed by firing squad on the same level as soldiers having perished under enemy fire. However, during commemorative ceremonies held on November 18, 2008 at the Douaumont ossuary on the battlefield of Verdun in the presence of dignitaries from all nations having participated in World War I, then-President Nicolas Sarkozy stressed the inhumanity of trench warfare for all combatants, made a point of honoring the memory of those who had rebelled against suicidal orders, and also honored German war dead. No significant political controversy ensued. Moreover, the issue of humankind's capacity for violence had made center stage in heated discussions as to why the average soldier did not revolt against the horrors of war—and a senseless war at that-- and in fact acquiesced in the violence. As Annette Becker and Stéphane Audouin-Rouzeau make clear, we are far removed from a period when a sense of national duty was as powerful as it was at the beginning of the Twentieth Century. National obligations that held sway then, including national mobilization on a massive scale are hardly imaginable in a country in which military conscription no longer exists. And yet, in an age of memory and commemoration that marks French society today, the issues raised by *la Grande Guerre* are all too timely.

Despite important differences between the Great War and the Second World War, a number of factors have conspired to make their respective memories more and more closely interrelated. In a sense, one could say that public memory is finally starting to align more closely with the historiography of the First World War. In spite of France's "victory," the bitter legacy of the First World War weighed heavily on the tragedy of the Second. It was of course the dread of renewing a needless butchery that largely contributed to France's passivity in the face of Hitler's repeated violations of international law in the 1930s, just as it was the memory of trench warfare that was mainly responsible for the illusory military strategy of the fortified, immobile defense embodied by the Maginot Line, which had been so costly yet proved so useless in 1940. One of the reasons for the tremendous initial popularity of Marshal Philippe Pétain (who would in 1945 be condemned for treason by France's High Court), was that when he assumed office in June 1940, he was still fondly known by the general public as the "Soldier's Doctor" and the "Victor of Verdun." On a more general, international level, Jay Winter, among others, has pointed out that the Great War set the stage for World War II in a number of important ways, including the deliberate bombardments of civilian populations that blurred if not erased the distinction between military and civilian targets, the industrialization of death, and the use of poison gas, all of which tended toward the total annihilation of the enemy. "What was thinkable, what was imaginable about human brutality, changed between 1914 and 1918," observes Winter.

That is why the unprecedented human and material destructions of the Great War are now, along with the legacy of Auschwitz, commonly referred to as one of the pillars of memory that bind member nations of the European Union together in seeking to create the conditions for a long-lasting peace. Indeed, this bond was dramatically visible when in September 1984 French President François Mitterrand met German Chancellor Helmut Kohl to celebrate Franco-German reconciliation: the photo of the two national leaders standing somberly hand in hand before the stark Douaumont monument to honor the nearly one million soldiers who had perished on the battlefields of Verdun has become an icon of the Franco-German partnership so central to the European Union. This desire to emphasize all that the once belligerent countries now share represents a major reason why recently-elected French President François Hollande has proposed to commemorate both wars on November 18. Though there is not a consensus for thus linking the two memories with one designated date, 2014 will certainly be highlighted by a long series of commemorations in France, since it will mark the one-hundredth anniversary of the outbreak of the Great War and the seventieth anniversary both for the Allied Landing in Normandy on D-Day and the Liberation of Paris: all three of these anniversaries will be the focus of a large number of commemorative ceremonies, television documentaries, museum exhibits, feature articles in the press, and scholarly books. Many of these special events and publications will be accessible to our seminar during the month of July, 1914, in Paris and Caen.

The purpose of our seminar, which will take place in Paris and Caen, Normandy, both key centers for the memory of war, will be, first, to examine the respective memories of the World War One and World War Two today, as they have been discussed and represented in recent works of history as well as in films and in works of fiction. Second, we will discuss how and why these memories have come to be closely related as the basis for the construction of durably peaceful and prosperous European Union, in part as part of a process in which the two wars are increasingly understood in France in their European and global dimensions, as well as in the broader continuum of Twentieth-Century history. This present-day dimension of memory will perhaps be most evident in the transformation of Normandy itself over the last decade or so. For example, the national museum of the battle of Normandy, the *Mémorial*, where we will study during our stay in Caen, now has a wing devoted to the Cold War. Moreover, the German Cemetery that we will visit at La Cambe as we have in previous seminars is now not just a site mourning Germans killed in the battle of Normandy, but also the location of a museum devoted to international peace and cooperation. Most importantly, the Region of Normandy that includes the sites of the D-Day Landings has asked for UN recognition as an international site of peace .

To a significant extent, the Seminar for School Teachers we are proposing for summer 2014 is a sequel to the seminar we have directed eight times since 1994, “Visions of the Dark Years,” devoted to the memory of World War II as it has evolved since the Liberation in 1944. As scholars of memory in France throughout our careers, we have followed closely the evolution of memory in commemorative practices, political debates, legal proceedings and especially literature and film. The memory of World War II in France in our opinion now forms part of a

broader continuum of memory, especially since, among historians and others, the Vichy past is now studied less in an exclusively national context than in the broader context of the war in Europe. Moreover, many historians believe that World War II itself is best understood as a new “Thirty Years War” stretching back to the Great War. As indicated by the very name of the museum which will house our seminar sessions in Caen, *le Mémorial, cité d’histoire pour la paix*, “the Memorial, a city of history for peace,” the French and European focus on World Wars I and II aims to build a lasting legacy of peace.

Organization and Structure

WEEK I :

The Seminar will open with a brief reception on Sunday evening, June 29, at the *Centre International de Séjour de Paris (CISP)* in Paris, where participants will be housed for the first week (See Appendix III for a description of the CISP). On Monday morning, June 30, we will initiate our collective discussion of the issues that will frame both our visits of the museums and historical sites and our study of the various works of film, literature, and history during the next four weeks. Referring to the dimensions of World War I and World II memory outlined in the introduction above, the directors will invite participants to articulate the perspectives, interests, and particular knowledge that they bring to the seminar. We will place particular emphasis on the renewed attention to the interrelationship of the two wars and the ongoing production of books and films devoted to the wars, and even the creation of yet another major museum of the Great War in the Paris region, le Musée de la Grande Guerre in Meaux, inaugurated 11 November 2011.

On Tuesday morning July 1, we will discuss excerpts of three works written by three of the most eminent historians of the Great War, Annette Becker & Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau, authors of *14 – 18 Understanding The Great War*, and Jay Winter, who penned both *Sites of Memory*, *Sites of Mourning*, and *Remembering War: The Great War Between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century*. These texts will prepare us intellectually for our visits to the museum at Péronne, the Thiepval monument, war cemeteries, and key sites of combat for the Battle of the Somme the next day. As Winter points out, most of the major battles of the Great War took place on French soil. The memory of the Great War is thus literally inscribed into the French landscape, not only in the form of the innumerable military cemeteries large and small which dot the countryside in the Picardy and Champagne regions (and notably in the fields surrounding the Péronne museum and the Thiepval monument that we will be visiting), but also in the visible traces of the trenches and shell holes that scar the land in places such as the Newfoundland Memorial at Beaumont-Hamel, (which we will also be visiting), and even in form of the unexploded ordnance, including shells containing still lethal poison gas, buried in the ground that yet today necessitate the intervention of specialized bomb squads periodically called in to neutralize the dangers.

Winter proves particularly valuable for explaining how the massive human destructions of the First World War created an unprecedented crisis in remembering the millions who perished: since as many as half the men who were killed in the Great War had no known graves due to the fact that their remains were either unidentifiable or could not be found, families often had no place to go through the rituals of separation: they therefore found it exceedingly difficult to engage in a process of either public or private mourning. Such was the case not only in France, but also in Great Britain and Germany, where virtually no family or social group had escaped deep suffering from the loss of loved ones. As Winter observes, “The question of finding the dead, gathering their remains in cemeteries or bringing them home, was posed in all combatant countries and answered in very different ways.” (*Sites of Memory*, p. 6)

Wednesday, July 2 will be devoted to visiting the Museum of the Great War at Péronne, the Devonshire Cemetery at Mametz, the British Memorial at Thiepval, and the Newfoundland Memorial at Beaumont-Hamel. Built with the financial support of the European Union and the French national government as well as with local and regional funding, L’Historial de la Péronne / Museum of the Great War is located at the site of the Battle of the Somme, within the walls of the chateau that once served as the German command post. Designed in close consultation with the most eminent scholars of World War I, including Annette Becker, Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau, and Jay Winter, the museum opened its doors in 1992. The facility makes use of contemporary museography to provide an in-depth account of the Great War, the events and mentalities that made it possible, and a close-up picture of its combatants along with the equipment that they used. It therefore includes matters of culture, everyday life, and social history along with battle narratives and harrowing descriptions of the horrors of trench warfare.

Named after the British regiment that defended the surrounding area, the Devonshire Cemetery at Mametz offers a striking example of one of the many small military cemeteries scattered through the valley of the Somme, here appearing in a distinctly British form, with discrete red brick walls and personalized messages on tombstones contributing to the appearance of an intimate space for the final resting place of the soldiers having fallen nearby.

The British Memorial at Thiepval, however, offers a striking contrast, with a dramatic series of overlapping arches perched on a total of sixteen massive piers, and towering 150 feet over the surrounding memorial park. On its walls are inscribed the names of some 72,194 soldiers from the United Kingdom and South Africa who died in the Battle of the Somme but who were never found. Designed by Sir Edwin Lutyens, the monument is modeled after the London cenotaph also designed by Lutyens. As Winter points out, the inscription of names on stone would become a central feature of other important memorials such as the Vietnam Wall in Washington, D.C., and the Mémorial de la Shoah in Paris.

Opened in 1925 by British Field Marshal Douglas Haig, who had been commander in Chief of British forces in France during most of World War I, The Newfoundland Memorial at Beaumont-Hamel commemorates the action of the 29th Division from Newfoundland, which was at the center of the July 1, 1916 offensive against the German lines. That day marked the most tragic single day for military forces in the history of the U.K., with some 60,000 casualties, including 20,000 dead. In addition to the three small military cemeteries and a museum that recounts the story of the Newfoundlanders, the site features stark reminders of the frightful conflict in the form of still existent trenches, barbed wire, shell holes, and forbidden areas containing unexploded ordnance.

On the morning of Thursday, July 3, we will reflect on this intensive day of site and museum visits in order to better understand how such tremendously costly (and for us today tragically futile) battles were undertaken and what subsequent repercussions they had on memory. Stéphane Audouin-Rouzeau and Annette Becker's *Understanding the Great War* will provide the framework for this discussion. Published in 2000, the work stirred considerable debate in calling, in effect, for a reevaluation of the meaning of World War I and its impact on Europe. For Becker and Audouin-Rouzeau, what the war ushered in was an unprecedented violence, destruction and brutalization that not only marked the men who experienced these things directly, but subsequent generations as well. In the aftermath of the conflict, the implications of this violence were poorly understood, even though they paved the way to the totalitarian regimes that grew out of the conflict. Today, accepting the fact that "European civilization" assented to this violence is not easy, just as the families and descendants of the combatants find it troubling to accept the reality that their loved ones were capable of such violence and participated in it for four long years.

On Thursday afternoon, Bracher will be leading the group to the Mémorial de la Déportation and the Mémorial de la Shoah in the heart of Paris. Located directly behind the Notre Dame cathedral on the Ile de la Cité, the Mémorial de la Déportation provides an example of the Gaullist desire to commemorate under the banner of the French Republic all those (forced laborers, members of the Résistance, and Jews) deported from France by the Nazis. The Mémorial de la Shoah just a few hundred yards away on the Right Bank, however, emphasizes the specificity of Jewish victims deported and murdered simply by virtue of their identity. The Mémorial de la Shoah pursues an ambitious program of both public education and historical research, and is also the site of the Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine, the most important archival source on the Holocaust in France, whose holdings have been used not only by all researchers writing on the Jews in France during the war, but also in several crimes against humanities proceedings, including those against Klaus Barbie and Maurice Papon. We will look forward to meeting Claude Singer, a history professor at the Sorbonne and the Director of Pedagogy at the Mémorial who has written three important books (*Vichy, l'Université et les juifs. Les silences et la mémoire*, 1992; *L'Université libérée. L'Université épurée*, 1997 and *Le Juif Süess et la propagande nazie. L'Histoire confisquée*, 2003) and with whom we will discuss the

current state of Holocaust memory and the various programs undertaken by the Mémorial de la Shoah to foster knowledge and understanding of the Holocaust in France. That evening we will have a welcoming banquet at the *CISP*.

On Friday morning July 4, we will first go to view the discrete plaque marking the former site of the Vélodrome d'Hiver (rue Nelaton, adjacent to the Bir Hakeim metro station), the indoor sports stadium used to detain many of 13,000 Jews rounded up by the Paris police on July 16 and July 17, 1942 and handed over to the Germans. We then will proceed to the nearby Place des Martyrs Juifs du Vel'd'Hiv (Quai de Grenelle) to view the commemorative sculpture inaugurated by François Mitterrand in 1994: it was here that Jacques Chirac gave his speech in 1995, apologizing for French complicity in the massive roundup. We will next visit the Historial Charles de Gaulle, a state of the art facility inaugurated at the museum of Les Invalides in the winter of 2009 which tells the story of the life and political and military career of Charles de Gaulle, offering a dramatic overview of every phase of the war years and of the question of French resistance to the Germans from a distinctly Gaullist perspective on the period that is still strongly present in French cultural and political life.

On Friday afternoon, having examined a number of important aspects of Vichy and its memory, it will be our great pleasure to welcome Henry Rousso to the Seminar to discuss his landmark 1987 book *The Vichy Syndrome* in the perspective of the developments of the last three decades, including the crimes against humanities trials of French citizens Paul Touvier and Maurice Papon, the ever-increasing importance of the memory of colonialism and the Algerian war, and the dramatically different approaches to memory taken by Presidents François Mitterrand, Jacques Chirac, Nicolas Sarkozy, and now François Hollande . Rousso will assess what progress France has now achieved in confronting the painful legacy of the Dark Years and lead us to consider a series of questions that will remain pertinent throughout the seminar: has France now indeed achieved an overwhelming consensus on Vichy? Has competition among various memories made it impossible to transmit the legacy of the war and the Holocaust to younger generations in France? How have the increasing European and international perspectives on the Second World War specifically impacted French memory of the Dark Years?

On Saturday morning, July 5, we will discuss the salient features of Gaullist memory as evident not only in the speech memorialized at the Historial Charles de Gaulle and by the Mémorial de la Déportation, but even more stridently by Le Mémorial de la France Combattante, one of the most uniformly revered sites of the Résistance. We will focus on the problematical aspects of Gaullist discourse and note how Pascal Convert's recent sculpture and documentary film *Mont Valérien, aux noms des fusillés* propose a more human, even anti-heroic approach which nevertheless aims to unite a community in memory by honoring the courage and sacrifice, but also the specific persons, of previously forgotten *résistants*.

That Saturday afternoon, Bracher will lead the group to the Mont Valérien, a promontory overlooking Paris from the east where the Germans executed over 1,000 *résistants*, hostages,

and Jewish detainees. And it is at this site that General de Gaulle had Le Mémorial de la France Combattante constructed. The site has been recently renovated and now includes a center for visitors and documentation as well as a museum devoted to the Resistance. The tension between the epic narrative told by the monument and the poignant personal tragedies of those shot by the Germans on the Mont Valérien will become palpable during the visit, which will thus prepare the group for further discussion of the evolution of the memory of the Dark Years.

On Sunday, July 6, the group will take a well-deserved and much needed rest after a very intensive first week of visits and discussions, and will also have time to do laundry and prepare for our trip to Caen.

Week II:

On Monday, July 7, we will proceed to Caen, Normandy, where the remaining three weeks of the Seminar will take place, and allow the participants to settle into their apartments and shop for supplies and groceries at the supermarket nearby. On Tuesday, July 8, we will meet with Stéphane Simonnet, the historical director, who will orient us to the salient features of the museum, now called “Le Mémorial: cité de l’histoire pour la paix,” whose exhibits have been thoroughly updated in light of the most recent findings of historical research and in view of giving the museum a more European, even universal vocation. Our sessions in Normandy will be moreover housed there at the **Mémorial**, which is Europe’s largest museum devoted to the history and memory of World War II, and committed in particular to engaging the youth from Europe and around the world in reflecting on pressing issues of war, peace, liberty, and human rights past and present. We will then have the opportunity to complete the circuit of World War II exhibits, which provide a coherent narrative of events as experienced in France.

On Wednesday morning, July 9, we will discuss Jean Echenoz’s novel *1914*. Published just recently in 2012, the work provides at once an historical and very contemporary representation of the beginning of World War I and its devastating impact on a group of friends from a small provincial village, their loved ones, and their progeny. Though in some ways a detached historical novel emotionally moving in its simplicity and objectivity, *1914* is nevertheless very *contemporary* in its brutal evocation of the war and the full force of its destructiveness. Written by a widely read and highly respected contemporary novelist who has generally shied away from dealing with war and the terrible traumas of the Twentieth Century, *1914* serves to demonstrate the degree to which France’s “haunting past” now stimulates the nation’s moral conscience *and* fires the imagination of many prominent novelists. *1914* moreover points to the fact that the memory of World War I is now assuming the France’s novelistic center stage, along with that of World War II and the Holocaust.

On Wednesday afternoon, we will see that the same holds true for French cinema, which has produced a good number of highly popular feature films on the Great War, including of

course the one that we will screen, Bertrand Tavernier's *La Vie et rien d'autre / Life and Nothing But* (1989).

On Thursday morning, July 10, we will discuss the various elements of Tavernier's *Life and Nothing But* that make it emblematic of the perception of the war now prevalent in France and Europe. Set in 1920, the film interweaves the stories of a number of individuals and groups engaged in various quests to find, identify, mourn, and honor the hundreds of thousands of French soldiers still missing. By focusing on Major Dellaplane, who has the seemingly impossible task of directing military efforts to identify and account for some 350,000 troops yet to be accounted for, film reveals to us a postwar France still suffering from a profound state of shock. On one important level, Tavernier's film thus provides a graphic illustration of what noted historian Jay Winter observes in *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*: "The question of finding the dead, gathering their remains in cemeteries or bringing them home, was posed in all combatant countries and answered in very different ways." (p. 6) Just as we see major and minor characters struggling to deal lingering uncertainty and grief over the fate and location of their loved ones, so Winter also points out that across the various national undertakings to memorialize the war dead, there are remarkable similarities among the various efforts to find meaning in the loss and some consolation for unprecedented bereavement. It was in France and Flanders (part of Belgium) that the problems of burying the war dead were most acute, because that is where the bloodiest battles had taken place.

Yet while revealing the strong parallels among their various ways of seeking to face bereavement and overcome the trauma, *Life and Nothing But* nevertheless exposes clear and stark divisions and inequalities separating groups of people according to social class, race, gender, religion, and politics. Alice, the main female character, revolts against the exclusion of women from business, politics, and military affairs; the artist and sculptor Mercadot jubilates in what is for him booming business, since some 35,000 communities are urgently soliciting sculptors to fashion monuments to the war dead; Major Dellaplane bitterly criticizes military and political leaders for seeking to distract attention from the war's catastrophic human losses by orchestrating pompous ceremonies for the inauguration of the Tomb of the Unknown soldier. Finally, it is interesting to note that Tavernier offers a discrete, yet powerful echo of Abel Gance's famous film *J'accuse*: just as one of Gance's most powerful sequences juxtaposes the "Victory March" of Allied troops through the Arch of Triumph and down the Champs-Élysées with the march of the dead who arise out of their tombs to come and demand accountability for their suffering and sacrifice, so Major Dellaplane states in the closing scene of *Life and Nothing But* that, according to his calculations, it would take 11 days and 11 nights to march France's war dead through the Arc of Triumph and down the Champs-Élysées.

Thursday afternoon, we will welcome historian Rémy Desquesnes, who has written numerous books on the Germans' Atlantic Wall defenses, the D-Day Landing, and the Battle of Normandy, who participated in the original design of the Mémorial museum in Caen, and who served as its Director of Pedagogy for more than ten years. Desquesnes will provide the

historical background for our two days of excursions to the D-Day Landing beaches, war cemeteries, fortifications, and battlegrounds connected with Operation Overlord and the Battle of Normandy. Of particular interest will be the selection of Eisenhower as the chief Allied commander, the elaboration of the overall strategy and specific plans for Operation Overlord, and the various difficulties that the Allies had to overcome in this military operation of unprecedented scale and momentous import.

On Friday, July 11 and Saturday, July 12, Desquesnes will lead us on a two-day bus tour of the beaches, cemeteries, fortifications, and landing sites, and will provide detailed commentary at each stop. At La Pointe du Hoc, one of the major German gun positions first taken by the Rangers, we will have a detailed view of the Germans' Atlantic Wall system of defense. A visit to Omaha Beach and to the American cemetery at Colleville, where almost 10,000 American soldiers are buried, will be important in gauging the human cost of the war. We will also have the opportunity to visit the new American museum devoted to the D-Day landing since it is located adjacent to the Colleville cemetery near the parking lot. At each of the sites, Desquesnes will point out the complexities of the Allied Operation Overlord and the human drama specific to each of the many different theatres and phases of the battle of Normandy before, during, and after the D-Day landing. We will also visit the almost perfectly preserved German gun battery at Longues-sur-mer, and the Cinema in the Round's 360 theater to view a film celebrating the 50th anniversary of the Allied landing in Normandy. Desquesnes will also lead seminar us to contemplate the significance of sites largely overlooked by visitors, such as the somber German cemetery filled with the graves of teenage conscripts at La Cambe.

Sunday, July 13 will be a day for rest and reading, as will Monday, July 14, which is a national holiday, meaning that our meeting rooms in the Memorial will be closed.

Week III:

On Tuesday morning, July 15 we will lay the foundation for our discussion of three very important and very different cinematic representations of World War II, the Occupation, and the Holocaust in France: these are films whose production dates span four decades and whose widely varying perspectives illustrate key aspects of the evolution of memory from the late 1960s up until the present day. First we will screen part 1, "The Collapse" of Marcel Ophül's landmark documentary *The Sorrow and the Pity*, which made a profound impact on French perception of the war and the Occupation, particularly since it highlighted many of the unsettling realities of the Dark Years that had been glossed over by the Gaullist resistance epic.

On Wednesday morning, July 16, we will discuss the film, its reception, and the features that made it so scandalous at the time, including the rapid collapse of France's defenses under the German onslaught of May and June 1940, French complacency and anti-Semitism, the notion of a fascist "idealism" as articulated by Christian de la Mazière (a French aristocrat who enlisted in the Waffen SS to fight with Hitler's forces on the Russian front), and Ophül's deliberate

neglect of de Gaulle and the Free French, coupled with the director's heavy emphasis on the importance of the mainland Resistance groups having originally formed outside of de Gaulle's organization. We will also discuss historiographical developments which have challenged Ophül's presentation of occupied France and which have recently been articulated by noted historian Pierre Laborie in his 2011 book *Le Chagrin and le venin*. Laborie argues that, while important for opening up subjects long considered taboo up until the 1970s, Ophül's film distorts many of the complexities of the attitudes and behavior of the French populace during the war years and that, in light of more complete studies made possible by the opening of archives, a much more nuanced approach is now appropriate.

That Wednesday afternoon, we will screen Rachid Bouchareb's *Indigènes / Days of Glory*, which caused a sensation when it first came out in 2006. Though criticized for certain licenses taken with historical fact, Bouchareb's highly-praised film proposes a promising model for the resolution of problems posed by the traumatic memory of immigrants and their descendants. The film not only made the selection at Cannes in May 2006 but also garnered the personal attention of President Jacques Chirac, who was so impressed by his own viewing of the work in early September that he announced his decision to raise the pensions granted to soldiers from the former colonies to the same level as those received by French citizens on the following September 27, 2006, the day when the film was first screened for the general public. Judging from the film's reception and the testimony offered by the director and his actors, what may be needed to compose a national memory shared by all of France's citizens is precisely more attention to the painful but forgotten or overlooked episodes of its past such as that featured in *Days of Glory*.

Describing his own motivation for telling the story of one group of the 300,000 soldiers from France's African and North African colonies who played a key role in driving the Germans out of Italy, spearheading the August 14, 1944 Operation Dragoon landing of Allied troops on France's Mediterranean shores, and subsequently pushing German forces back up the Rhone valley across the German border, thus liberating a "Fatherland" that they had never seen and which offered them only second or third class citizenship if any at all, Bouchareb emphasizes that focusing on this particular story concerning his own ethnic group has strengthened his attachment not only to the past of his family but also to French history. Stated Bouchareb:

One of my uncles fought in the Indochinese war, a great-grandfather in the First World War. This project has bonded the actors and me together by our common history. In our families, these events are rarely brought up. As for French cinema, it had never displayed these soldiers. This film is based on a necessity: that of re-appropriating the history of our ancestors that is an integral part of French history. . . . This film allows me to return to our past. And, I hope, to illuminate the present. Because of my roots, I have been at the nexus of problems brought on by colonization, decolonization, and immigration. (Olivier de Bruyn, "Des héros si ordinaires," *Le Point*, 21 September 2006)

Actor Jemal Debbouze offered a similar observation: "This history is not only our families' story, but also France's history. More than ever I feel French and proud to tell my story." (De Bruyn) By relating the story of these soldiers from the colonies to the widely known context of the Second World War, Bouchareb has thus paradoxically managed to inscribe himself and his own socio-cultural group within the broader narrative of French and European history. As striking as it may seem, Bouchareb's undertaking is but the most recent example using the traumatic episode of the past both to recognize specific itineraries and to affirm common principles and heritage.

After discussing Bouchareb's *Days of Glory* Thursday morning, July 17, we shall devote that Thursday afternoon to a screening and discussion of Roselyne Bosch's *La Rafle* ["The Police Round-Up"] which garnered intense media coverage and public interest when it was first screened on March 10, 2010. Indeed, in just the first week of its public showing, over 800,000 people flocked see the film, which eventually attracted over 2,850,000 viewers to France's cinema halls. Bosch's film sought to provide a detailed cinematic representation of one of the most horrific examples of the brutal round-ups, detentions, and deportations which repeatedly targeted Jews throughout the summer of 1942. In the 1990s, the annual commemoration of the Vel' d'Hiv round-up in the heart of Paris on the former location of the indoor sports stadium (demolished in 1959, now marked by a plaque) had been the stage not only for dramatic protests on July 16, 1992 against the refusal of President François Mitterrand to recognize state responsibility for Vichy's crimes but also for newly-elected President Jacques Chirac to break with his predecessors exactly three years later during the commemorative ceremonies held on July 16, 1995, when he clearly accepted "the responsibility of the French State" for the "collective sin" of collaborating with the Nazis in arresting, detaining, and transporting Jews into German hands.

On the one hand, *La Rafle* enjoyed great success with the general public, who tended to strongly identify with its most endearing figures, the two children who survived and those who helped them escape. As Annette Wieviorka, arguably the most distinguished French historian of the Holocaust, has pointed out, Bosch's film duly stressed the crucial role of the French police and administration in identifying Jews, keeping detailed files on them before coming to arrest them on July 16 and 17, 1942, and handing them over to the Germans, who of course deported them to Auschwitz. On the other hand, however, Wieviorka joins a number of critics in deploring the tendency to transform the story into a melodrama providing cinemagoers with an uplifting aesthetic experience. While the film does graphically depict the unspeakable conditions in the hot, massively overcrowded indoor sports stadium, where some 7,000 of the over 13,000 Jews arrested had to endure five days of detention while severely lacking in food, water, sanitary facilities, and medical care, it gives a rather idyllic picture of conditions in occupied Paris and shows neither the proximity of residential areas to the camp at Beaune-la-Rolande nor the participation of French gendarmes in wrenching children out of the arms of their mothers to place them in boxcars destined for Drancy. Our discussion will seek to determine the most

appropriate assessment of the film and to discern what its production and success say about the current state of Holocaust memory in present-day France.

On Friday, July 18, and Saturday, July 19, participants will concentrate on their individual research projects, and consult the seminar directors as needed. Sunday, July 20, will once again be a day of rest.

Week IV:

During the last week of the seminar, we will reserve Friday for the presentation of individual research projects, and devote the mornings of the first four days to the discussion of two recently published World War II narratives which have made a noted impact in France, Irène Némirovsky's *Suite française* and Laurent Binet's *HHhH*. The afternoons of the first four days of the week will be free to allow participants to read these lengthy texts and work on their research projects.

On the mornings of Monday, July 21 and Tuesday, July 22 we will discuss Irène Némirovsky's highly-acclaimed and somewhat controversial *Suite française*. We will assess the widely varying critical assessments of the book and seek to clarify the nature and scope of Némirovsky's contribution to the history and memory of the Vichy years. With respect to the first part, *Tempête en juin*, we shall on Monday July 21 discuss why contemporary readers have been so taken by her depictions of the chaotic exodus, and how Némirovsky has drawn new attention to an often neglected event, the civilian exodus that claimed 100,000 lives in May-June 1940. We shall also discuss how her narrative technique is instrumental in casting a harsh light on the behavior of various social classes. Finally, we will take stock of her attempt to represent this critical moment in French history and compare her narrative with what the most recent historical research tells us about France's reaction to the May 10, 1940 invasion.

In studying the second part of *Suite française*, *Dolce*, on Tuesday July 22, we will first compare Némirovsky's text with Vercors's *Le Silence de la mer*: in both, one finds a detailed portrait of a highly educated German officer who also happens to be a musician professing love for France and things French. Likewise, the main characters in both texts find themselves caught between personal attraction and national loyalties. As does the protagonist in Vercors's novella, Némirovsky's Lucile finally chooses the latter over the former. We shall seek to determine to what extent her motivations and choices can be seen as emblematic. We shall study the correlation between social status and political affinities as depicted by Némirovsky: while only the countess articulates fervent Pétainism and openly collaborates with the Germans, many among the local populace find themselves, like Lucile, drawn into friendly relations with the occupying forces. Finally, we will ask why *Suite française* has struck such a vibrant chord with present-day readers and what it contributes to our overall perception of the Dark Years in France.

During the morning sessions of Wednesday, July 23, and Thursday, July 24, we will discuss Laurent Binet's *HHhH*. A national and international bestseller as well as a global critical

success, *HHhH* deals with the assassination of “Hitler’s Hangman,” the SS chief Reinhardt Heydrich, by Czech and Slovak partisans in May 1942. At once a history of Heydrich’s crimes and of the courage of the Czech and Slovak partisans who assassinated him, the novel also reflects on how this past can and *should* affect those living in the present, and what the ethical and moral responsibilities of the novelist are in writing about recent history. Binet’s novel is distinctive in that unlike many contemporary French novels dealing with World War II and dwelling on the war’s criminality and the taint of that criminality on the present, *HHhH* suggests that we value the past for its lessons in anonymous heroism and self-sacrifice, virtues that Binet suggests, are worthy of our attention in the troubled present. Binet’s text further distinguishes itself by self-consciously narrating the author’s fascination with this dramatic chapter of history, which proves to be of an intensity such that it draws him not only to identify with his protagonists but even to insert himself into his own narrative. We will discuss to what degree this singular aspect of the novel is emblematic of historical memory specific to present-day France.

Both the morning and afternoon sessions on Friday, July 24 will be devoted to the presentation of the participants’ individual research. We anticipate that, as with our previous seminars, these projects will span a range of literary, historical, and cultural topics. If past experience is an accurate indicator, some participants will choose to present topics of personal intellectual interest, while others will opt to develop teaching units for films or literary works studied during the course of the seminar. Some of the participants may choose to present their projects in French, and we will welcome this format, as we will, of course, welcome projects presented in English. On Saturday, July 25, we will have our final seminar meeting before boarding the bus that will take us all back to Paris.

Appendix IV: Day-by-Day Schedule: NEH Summer Seminar

“Memories Divided and Reconciled: Remembering World Wars I and II in France Today,” 2014

29 June (Sunday): Opening reception.

30 June: Morning: Introduction to War and Memory in Contemporary France

1 July: Morning: Annette Becker & Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau, *14 – 18 Understanding The Great War*, pt. 1
Afternoon: Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*, “Sites of Memory” & “Homecomings: the Return of the Dead”
Winter, *Remembering War: The Great War Between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century*,

2 July : Morning: L’Historial de Péronne / The Museum of the Great War
Afternoon: The British Memorial at Thiepval, The Newfoundland Memorial at Beaumont-Hamel, The Devonshire Cemetery at Mametz

3 July : Morning: Discussion of L’Historial, Thiepval, and *14 – 18 Understanding The Great War*, pt. 2
Afternoon: Le Mémorial de la Shoah / Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine
Le Mémorial de la Déportation (Ile de la Cité behind Notre-Dame)

4 July : Morning: Vel’ d’Hiv’ memorials Rue Nelaton & Quai de Grenelle
Historial Charles de Gaulle, Les Invalides museum
Afternoon: Visit of Henry Rousso

5 July: Visit the Mont Valérien Monuments, Memorial, and Museum

6 July : Rest

7 July : Bus transfer to Caen
Settle in at the Tempologis apartments

8 July : Preliminary meeting with our hosts at the Mémorial
Preliminary visit of the museum exhibits

9 July : Morning: Jean Echenoz, *14*
Afternoon: Screening of Tavernier, *La Vie et rien d’autre (Life and Nothing But)*

10 July : Morning: Discussion of Tavernier, *La Vie et rien d’autre*
Afternoon: Rémy Desquesnes on the conception, organization, and execution of Operation Overlord

- 11 & 12 July:** Visit La Pointe du Hoc, Omaha Beach, American cemetery at Colleville, German cemetery at Cambes, Utah Beach and other points of interest in the context of Operation Overlord (D-Day) with Prof. Rémy Desquesnes
- 13 July : Free**
- 14 July : French National Holiday, meeting rooms at Mémorial closed**
- 15 July :** Morning: Presentation of films, and the evolution of memory portrayed therein
Afternoon : Screening of *Le Chagrin et la pitié* (pt. 1)
- 16 July :** Morning: *Le Chagrin et la pitié* (discussion)
Afternoon: Screening of *Indigènes / Days of Glory*
- 17 July :** Morning: *Indigènes* (discussion)
Afternoon: Screening and discussion of *La rafle*
- 18 July :** Individual consultations with seminar directors & work on projects
- 21 July :** Morning: Némirovsky, *Suite française (I. Tempête en juin)*
- 22 July :** Morning: Némirovsky, *Suite française (II. Dolce)*
- 23 July :** Morning: Binet, *HHhH*
- 24 July :** Morning: Binet, *HHhH*
- 25 July :** Presentation of Projects
- 26 July:** Final meeting and assessments; Bus transfer to Paris

Appendix V: Housing

Paris: All participants will be lodged at the *Centre International de Séjour de Paris (CISP)* located near the Porte de Vincennes on the eastern edge of the city. The *CISP* is run by the city of Paris and welcomes educational groups. Each room is equipped with its own shower and toilet. The rooms are small but comfortable, with bed and desk and a window looking out on Paris. Our meetings in Paris will take place in a seminar room on the ground floor. We will take breakfast and dinner in the *CISP* cafeteria. There is readily accessible metro and bus service to the center of Paris about 10 minutes away on foot.

Caen: In Caen we will stay at the *Résidence Sphinx Tempologis*, an apartment building located about 300 yards from the *Mémorial*, where we will have our daily meetings. Each participant will have a completely furnished studio apartment with a fully equipped kitchen, bathroom, television, and balcony. Linen and cleaning service is provided once a week, and there are laundry and exercise rooms within the facility as well. The *Sphinx Tempologis* is a ten minute walk from two supermarkets, a bakery, a post office, a Catholic church, a café, and two restaurants. Buses serve the downtown area, and one can also make the trip on foot in about 30 minutes.

Appendix VI: Le Mémorial

Constructed at Caen, the site of the Battle of Normandy, the biggest and most momentous military engagement of the war, the Mémorial is a state of the art facility. While containing, as do other museums, numerous documents and artifacts from the war years, it incorporates them into one coherent presentation of World War II seen in the context of the Twentieth century, from the failure of peace agreements and the collapse of the world economy in the twenties and thirties, through the Holocaust and the development of the atomic bomb, and finally, on to conflicts of the fifties and sixties in the aftermath of global war. The Mémorial encourages visitors not just to view facts from a distance, but to acquire a sense of what it was to live the events, which are presented by a variety of artifacts and audio-visual documents. Visitors are also encouraged to further their learning at interactive audio-visual stations located throughout the various exhibits.

More importantly for our seminar, the Mémorial also houses a library, a documentation center, seminar rooms, and a small movie theater intended to facilitate group study. The library and documentation center have extensive holdings not only of books published in the last thirty years on the subject, but also of film, radio, and television productions, which would lend themselves particularly well to an in-depth study of special topics. The Mémorial regularly hosts workshops for French high school teachers and provides a number of pedagogical materials to help them fully exploit student visits which are integrated into the regular course of study. The pedagogical mission that the Mémorial has embraced made it an ideal site for our NEH Summer Seminars in 1994, 1996, 1998, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2009, and 2011.

Appendix VII: Caen and the Surrounding Area

With their extraordinarily rich cultural and historical heritage, Caen and the Normandy region have many advantages to offer seminar participants. Besides being the site of the Mémorial and being near the the D-Day landing beaches, Caen is the city of William the Conqueror, whose legacy is embodied in his castle as well as in two eleventh-century abbeys (L'Abbaye aux Hommes and L'Abbaye aux Dames) whose construction dates from his reign. Within the castle ramparts overlooking the heart of the city are the Musée de Normandie, which presents the history of the region from an archeological and anthropological perspective, and the Musée des Beaux-Arts, whose holdings include paintings by Veronese, Rubens, Boucher, and Van der Weyden. Directly under the castle ramparts are a Gothic cathedral dating from the Thirteenth century and the main business district. Caen is also the site of a major university and research center. Numerous bookstores offer the whole gamut of scholarly and popular publications. Concerts featuring a wide array of music take place throughout the summer.

As the capital of the Basse-Normandie region, Caen is strategically located on a major rail line which puts it only two hours from Paris. The Normandy beaches are within minutes from the city center, and regular buses provided easy access to them on weekends for participants of our previous seminars; the picturesque towns of Rouen, Deauville, and Honfleur are within one and one-half hours by car or bus. Bus-ferry connections make it possible to reach England within three hours. The city of Bayeux, renowned for its Gothic cathedral and its tapestry (La Tapisserie de la Reine Mathilde), which recounts the Norman conquest of England, is within twenty minutes by train or car. Participants will of course also be able to enjoy the many restaurants, cafés, open-air markets, parks, and gardens within the city of Caen.