

# «CULTURE OF MEMORY IN THE DIALOGUE OF GENERATIONS»

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE DIGEST

SEPTEMBER 20-24, 2016, BELOVEZHSKAYA PUSHCHA, BELARUS



Международный  
союз бывших несовершеннолетних  
узников фашизма



Общественное объединение  
«Белорусская ассоциация бывших  
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# INTRODUCTION

## **DIGEST OF INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE «CULTURE OF MEMORY IN THE DIALOGUE OF GENERATIONS»,**

**WHICH TOOK PLACE ON SEPTEMBER 20-24, 2016  
IN BELOVEZHSKAYA PUSHCHA, BELARUS**

International conference “Culture of Memory in the Dialogue of Generations” was organized with the financial support of the German Foundation “Remembrance, Responsibility and Future” (EVZ).

110 participants from Belarus, Ukraine, Russia, Germany, Pridnestrovie, Armenia, Kazakhstan, Syria took part in the conference. Among the participants were former victims of nazism, college and university students, representatives of Belarusian governmental institutions, international organizations and NGOs, scientific community, as well as the Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany in the Republic of Belarus Mr. Peter Dettmar and the representative of the Foundation EVZ Mrs. Elke Braun.

This book presents the conference digest: opening and welcome speeches, scientific articles written by historians from Russia, Ukraine and Belarus, and the experience of Germany in preserving historical memory.

Here you can find pictures of young and elderly participants of the conference. Photos were taken in Belovezhskaya Pushcha, Brest Fortress and neighborhoods.

The organizers of the conference are International Public Association “Vzaimoponimanie” (“Mutual Understanding”), the International Union of Former Juvenile Prisoners of Fascism, the Belarusian Association of Former Juvenile Prisoners of Fascism (BAFJPF) and the Brest Regional Organization of the BAFJPF Public Association, the Committee for Labor, Employment and Social Protection of the Brest Regional Executive Committee, International Public Organization “International Foundation ‘Mutual Understanding and Tolerance’”, as well as Documentation Center “Gunpowder Factory in Liebenau” and the Fund “Polish-German reconciliation”.

## INTRODUCTION TO THE CONFERENCE DIGEST

# ANGELIKA ANOSHKO

**Chair of the Board of International Public Association “Vzaimoponimanie”**  
(*“Mutual Understanding”*)



Over the years, members of the International Union of Former Juvenile Prisoners of Fascism support the tradition of annual meetings, where they discuss the problem of preservation of memory of the II World War events. For almost three decades, these people are finding the strength to remember and to speak, to warn and to act.

And today, as the youngest and most innocent witnesses of the Nazi crimes against humanity, they have the particular right to ask these questions: why the human willingness to kill each other increases frightfully with renewed force? why do such phenomena as racism, anti-semitism, xenophobia, discrimination still exist? where do aggression and violence gain strength?..

For more than 70 years after the end of the most terrible and inhuman war, we still haven't found any reliable way to preserve peace in the world. Maybe we did not do enough for this? or overestimated our abilities? or maybe there is just no way to do this? Perhaps it is just a utopia to think that our civilization will learn one day to solve conflicts only in a humane way.

But maybe we all just need to become more honest? and stop to pretend that somebody could have the ‘absolute right’?

Every country and every person has his or her own war. Oddly enough, but today's young people also have their own war. The war as they understand it, but not the one they were told about. This conference is an attempt to start an open and honest conversation between victims of Nazism, witnesses of military events, and representatives of today's young generation; between citizens of different countries with a common historical past, but with different historical experiences; between representatives of different religions and cultures; between people who survived tragedy more than 70 years ago in childhood or adolescence, and people who were thrown away from their happy everyday lives by modern military conflicts...

## WELCOME SPEECH ON THE OCCASION OF INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE “CULTURE OF MEMORY IN THE DIALOGUE OF GENERATIONS”

# PETER DETTMAR

### Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany in the Republic of Belarus



Dear Ms. Anoshko,  
Dear Ms. Braun,  
Dear Ms. Stativko,  
Dear Mr. Korzh,  
ladies and gentlemen,

first of all, let me thank you, dear Ms. Anoshko, for your kind invitation to take part in the opening of Conference «The Culture of Memory in the Dialogue of Generations». The topic was and remains relevant and will not lose its relevance in the future. It is important to perceive work carried out within the memory culture framework as a permanent task, in particular, in the implementation of educational work with the younger generations. Indeed, today this memory can be lost, the witnesses of that time pass away, and fewer victims can personally tell about the horrors that they had to endure. History quickly fades away if it is not part of the person's experience. Therefore, it is necessary to turn memories into a living future again and again. We do not intend to preserve our horror. We want to learn lessons that will become the reference points for future generations. Memory must warn us over and over again about what terrible deeds a person was capable of and, as we can see in many places of this planet, is still capable of today.

Ladies and gentlemen,

the best guarantee against xenophobia, totalitarianism, fascism and national socialism is still a living memory and active study of history. Remembrance of and honoring the memory — these concepts should not be perceived as an admission of guilt, which affects

the future. The sense of guilt is always a very personal moment, just like forgiveness. It can not be inherited. But the responsibility that we are bearing, the Germans, in order to justify the slogan «Never again!», is especially great, because in the past many Germans were to blame. These two words «Never again!» contain the understanding of what guilt, task and responsibility mean today to us, Germans. This concept includes the task to transfer the experience of the terrible past to future generations as a warning and to resist those who ignore it. The truth is that history does not repeat itself, but it is also true that history denotes prerequisites for the present, and the treatment of history thus becomes the foundation for the future.

The responsibility that we, the Germans, bear remains the same: our history vests us with a special duty to counteract any form of discrimination and xenophobia, the search for cure-all solutions and collective accusations. Never again the State and society should allow people to become, because of their origin, religion, political views, because of their difference from the majority, a collective image of the enemy for the silent majority, to be humiliated or threatened. We, the descendants, have promised and confirmed that we would not forget the horrors of history, that we shall preserve the memory of history and learn from it the lessons for the future. Memory does not have a “period of validity, it can not be declared by a decree as worked out or finished,” said Noah Flug, who survived, when a young man, the death march from Auschwitz

and conducting for many years an impressive activity against oblivion as President of the International Committee of Auschwitz. Victims oblige us to reject any form of discrimination and intolerance and to resolutely fight against hatred and discrimination in any form.

Ladies and gentlemen,  
 on January 30, 1933 Adolf Hitler was appointed Reich Chancellor. Thus the darkest chapter in the history of Germany has begun. On this day the National Socialists came to power and in a few weeks eliminated the first democracy in German land, the Weimar Republic. Almost 12 years later, on January 27, 1945, the Red Army liberated the death camp of Auschwitz, which has become a symbol of the breakdown of civilization, inhuman cruelty and genocide organized at the state level. These two dates are separated by only 12 years — and the eternity full of horror. At the end of the war of extermination unleashed by Germany, and the National-Socialist racist ideology, almost all Europe turned into ruins, and not only externally: even deeper than the ruins of European cities that could be seen, were invisible mental and moral wounds. We know about many millions of the dead. It is our duty to them to realize and remember that then, in the words of the Russian writer Lydia Ginzburg, who survived the blockade of Leningrad, «one man perished a million times».

Ladies and gentlemen,  
 the process of creating a joint memory culture in Europe, that is, including Germany, after the Second World War has a long and difficult history, which, to my mind, is not yet complete. Let me quote a few words that may cause embarrassment, said by Winston Churchill in 1946: «If we want to save Europe from the infinite evil and the ultimate destruction, then we need to be based on the act of faith in the European family and the act of oblivion of all crimes and mistakes of the past». Immediately after the Second World War Churchill believed that Europeans need to forget about their recent past, so that they could turn all their efforts to a new European project. Churchill's idea was this: while a vision the past divides and splits the nations, the vision of a common future must reunite them. At that time the goal was not to forget

the history. This was a pragmatic decision, for which they still had to pay a high price. While the winners and losers were reaching an agreement, the victims and, primarily, the Jews, have not been heard for a long time. Another principle is working today: to cope with the traumas of the past, you need to turn to it and to get new guidelines from the memory of crimes.

Thanks to this Churchill's approach it was easy for a long time in the East and West Germany to expel the feeling of guilt. Extensive internal changes and a change in values that also included responsibility for the crimes of National Socialism, occurred in the West Germany only with the change of generations of the 1968s, and in the East Germany only after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. The famous speech of the former President of the Federal The Republic of Germany, Richard von Weizsäcker, who died in February 2015, delivered on May 8, 1985, is considered a historic milestone not only in Germany. This speech has confirmed the mentioned change in values for West Germany as a fundamental state idea and has thus laid the foundation for a new culture of memory and the lessons that should be learned from this. This lesson is most clearly formulated in the first article of the German Constitution: «Human dignity is indefeasible.» The meaning of this phrase can not be overestimated.

I wish everybody a good and informative conference and thank you for your attention.

*(See pages 7-8 for the German version of the speech).*

**GRUßWORT ZUM ANLASS  
DER INTERNATIONALEN KONFERENZ  
„ERINNERUNGSKULTUR IM GENERATIONENDIALOG“**

# **PETER DETTMAR**

**Botschafter der Bundesrepublik Deutschland  
in der Republik Belarus**

Sehr geehrte Frau Anoshko  
Sehr geehrte Frau Braun,  
Sehr geehrte Frau Srarivko,  
Sehr geehrter Herr Korzh,  
Meine sehr geehrten Damen und Herren,

Lassen Sie mich zunächst Ihnen, sehr geehrte Frau Anoshko, für die freundliche Einladung zur Eröffnung der Konferenz „Erinnerungskultur im Generationendialog“ danken. Das Thema ist und bleibt aktuell und wird auch in Zukunft nicht an Bedeutung verlieren. Die Arbeit im Rahmen der Erinnerungskultur ist als permanente Aufgabe zu verstehen – insbesondere in der Erziehung der nachwachsenden Generationen. Tatsächlich könnte heute das Vergessen eintreten, denn die Zeitzeugen sterben, und immer weniger Opfer können das Grauen des Erlittenen noch persönlich weitertragen und weitergeben. Geschichte verblasst schnell, wenn sie nicht Teil des eigenen Erlebens war. Deshalb geht es darum, aus der Erinnerung immer wieder lebendige Zukunft werden zu lassen. Wir wollen nicht unser Entsetzen konservieren. Wir wollen Lehren ziehen, die auch künftigen Generationen Orientierung sind. Erinnern soll uns immer wieder mahnen, was an Grausamkeiten der Mensch zu begehen in der Lage war und – wie wir heute an vielen Orten in der Welt immer wieder feststellen müssen – immer noch begeht.

Meine Damen und Herren,  
die beste Versicherung gegen Völkerverhass,  
Totalitarismus, Faschismus und Nationalsozialismus ist und bleibt die lebendige Erinnerung

an und die aktive Auseinandersetzung mit der Geschichte. Gedenken und Erinnern ist nicht als ein in die Zukunft wirkendes Schuldbekenntnis zu verstehen. Schuld ist immer höchst persönlich, ebenso wie die Vergebung. Sie vererbt sich nicht. Aber die Verantwortung für uns Deutsche für das „Nie wieder!“ ist besonders groß, weil sich früher viele Deutsche schuldig gemacht haben. In diesen zwei Worten „Nie wieder!“ ist verdichtet, was Schuld Aufgabe und Verantwortung für uns Deutsche heute bedeuten – dazu gehört der Auftrag, die Erfahrung einer schrecklichen Vergangenheit als Mahnung an künftige Generationen weiterzugeben und denen entgegenzutreten, die sie ignorieren. Es ist wahr, dass Geschichte sich nicht wiederholt. Aber ebenso wahr ist, dass Geschichte die Voraussetzung der Gegenwart ist und dass der Umgang mit der Geschichte damit auch zum Fundament der Zukunft wird.

Die Verantwortung, die wir Deutsche tragen, bleibt: Unsere Geschichte trägt uns eine besondere Verpflichtung auf, gegen jede Form von Ausgrenzung und Fremdenfeindlichkeit, gegen Heilsversprechen und kollektive Schuldzuweisungen vorzugehen. Nie wieder dürfen Staat und Gesellschaft zulassen, dass Menschen wegen ihrer Herkunft, ihrer Religion, ihrer politischen Einstellung, wegen ihrer Andersartigkeit zum Feindbild einer schweigenden Mehrheit gemacht, gedemütigt oder bedroht werden. Wir Nachgeborenen haben versprochen und bekräftigen, dass wir die Schrecken der Geschichte nicht vergessen werden, dass wir die Erinnerung an sie

bewahren und die Lehren aus ihr heute und in Zukunft ziehen werden. Die Erinnerung „hat kein Verfallsdatum, und sie ist nicht per Beschluss für bearbeitet oder beendet zu erklären“, so drückte es Noah Flug aus, der als junger Mann den Todesmarsch aus Auschwitz überlebt und der als langjähriger Präsident des Internationalen Auschwitz-Komitees eine beeindruckende Arbeit gegen das Vergessen geleistet hat. Die Oper verpflichten uns, alle Formen von Diskriminierung und Intoleranz zu ächten und jede Art des Hasses und der Ausgrenzung entschieden entgegenzutreten.

Meine Damen und Herren,

am 30. Januar 1933 wurde Adolf Hitler zum Reichskanzler ernannt. Damit begann das dunkelste Kapitel der deutschen Geschichte. Die Nationalsozialisten übernahmen an diesem Tag die Macht in Deutschland und liquidierten innerhalb weniger Wochen die erste Demokratie auf deutschem Boden – die Weimarer Republik. Fast exakt zwölf Jahre später – am 27. Januar 1945 – befreite die Rote Armee das Vernichtungslager Auschwitz, das zum Symbol des Zivilisationsbruchs, menschenverachtender Brutalität und staatlich organisierten Völkermord geworden ist. Beide Daten trennen nur zwölf Jahre – und eine Ewigkeit des Grauens. Am Ende des von Deutschland entfesselten Vernichtungskriegs und des nationalsozialistischen Rassenwahns lag fast ganz Europa in Trümmern – nicht nur materiell: Tiefer als die mit bloßem Auge sichtbaren Ruinen europäischer Städte reichten die unermesslichen seelischen und geistigen Verwundungen. Wir wissen um die Abermillionen Toten. Ihnen sind wir es schuldig, uns jenseits der ebenso unglaublichen wie abstrakten Zahlen bewusst zu machen und zu halten, dass damals – um mit der russischen Schriftstellerin und Überlebenden der Blockade Leningrads Lidia Ginsburg zu sprechen – „millionenfach ein Mensch“ zugrunde gegangen ist.

Meine Damen und Herren,

der Aufbau einer gemeinsamen Erinnerungskultur in Europa, das heißt auch in Deutschland, hat eine lange und schwierige Geschichte nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg die nach meinem Eindruck noch nicht abgeschlossen ist. Gestatten Sie mir an dieser Stelle ein vielleicht irritierendes Zitat von Winston Churchill aus dem Jahr 1946: „Wenn

Europa von endlosem Unheil und endgültigem Untergang gerettet werden soll, müssen wir es auf einen Akt des Glaubens an die europäische Familie und einen Akt des Vergessens aller Verbrechen und Irrtümer der Vergangenheit gründen.“ Für Churchill galt unmittelbar nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg, dass die Europäer ihre jüngste Vergangenheit vergessen müssten, um alle Kräfte auf das neue Projekt Europa richten zu können. Während der Blick in die Vergangenheit – so der Gedanke Churchills – trennt und spaltet sollte die Vision einer gemeinsamen Zukunft die Nationen wieder zusammenführen. Das war damals nicht geschichtsvergessen, sondern eine pragmatische Entscheidung. Sie hatte allerdings einen hohen Preis. Während sich Sieger und Verlierer arrangierten, fanden viele Opfergruppe, an erster Stelle die jüdischen Opfer, lange kein Gehör. Heute gilt ein anderes Prinzip: Um eine traumatische Vergangenheit zu überwinden, muss man sich ihr stellen und aus der Erinnerung an die Verbrechen neue Orientierungen gewinnen.

Der Ansatz Churchills hat es dem Verdrängen von Schuld in Ost- und Westdeutschland lange Zeit leichtgemacht. Ein breiterer innerer Wandel und Wertewechsel, der auch die Verantwortung gegenüber den Verbrechen des Nationalsozialismus einschloss, ist in Westdeutschland erst mit dem Generationenwechsel der 68er-Generation und in Ostdeutschland erst nach dem Mauerfall 1989 vollzogen worden. Die berühmte Rede des im Februar 2015 verstorbenen ehemaligen Bundespräsidenten Richard von Weizsäcker zum 08. Mai 1985 wird heute nicht nur in Deutschland als historischer Meilenstein gesehen. Die Rede bestätigte den vorgenannten Wertewechsel für Westdeutschland als Staatsräson und legte damit zugleich das Fundament für eine neue Erinnerungskultur und die daraus zu ziehenden Lehren. Am klarsten ist diese Lehre in Artikel 1 des deutschen Grundgesetzes formuliert: „Die Würde des Menschen ist unantastbar.“ Der Satz kennt keine Relativierung.

Ich wünsche Ihnen einen guten und erkenntnisreichen Verlauf der Konferenz und danke für Ihre Aufmerksamkeit.



## WELCOME SPEECH

# NIKOLAI MAKHUTOV

**President of the International Union of Former Juvenile Prisoners of Fascism (IUFJPF), Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences**

The International Union of Former Juvenile Prisoners of Fascism sincerely welcomes all participants of the International conference “Culture of Memory in the Dialogue of Generations” and wishes them successful work in the name of preserving the cherished memory of innocent children’s victims during the Great Patriotic and Second World Wars.

The glorious Belarusian land and the good-hearted Belarusian people once again hosted the gray-haired and young envoys of many European countries who had become participants in the worldwide tragedy of peoples during the war.

The young prisoners of fascism who have saved their lives 75 years after the beginning of the war are true living bearers of this memory, which is embodied in our fates, souls and hearts. We will pass this invaluable and humanistic symbol of our memory over to the living and future generations of people.

Antifascist forums, international conferences and meetings in many countries of the

world, books, video films, paintings, “Sud’ba” (“Destiny”) newspaper, museums, monuments, memorial plates have become carriers of this memory.

IUFJPF expresses gratitude to the organizers of this International Conference: International Public Association “Vzaimoponimanie” (Belarus), Belarusian Association of Former Juvenile Prisoners of Fascism Public Association (BAFJPF, Belarus), the Committee for Labor, Employment and Social Protection of the Brest Regional Executive Committee (Belarus), Gunpowder Factory in Liebenau Documentation Center (Germany).

The conference will certainly take its rightful place in the incessant dialogue of generations on the problems of the peaceful and bright future of all children on Earth - without wars, without Nazi and fascist manifestations.

We will be vigilant, firm and kind!

## WELCOME SPEECH

# ZHANNA STATIVKO

**Deputy of the House of Representatives  
of the National Assembly of the Republic  
of Belarus of the VI convocation on the  
Belovezhsky Electoral District No. 8**



Dear conference participants,

I greet you at the International Conference devoted to preservation of historical memory.

Many of you know firsthand how much grief and horror a war brings.

It is always emotional for me to address you, people who have suffered horrors and deprivations of fascist imprisonment. You have found the strength to withstand and not to break under the stress of inhuman treatment of yourselves.

And having survived in such conditions, you tell the younger generation about your fate and heroism of the people who won the victory over fascism.

Thank you for not being indifferent to the memory of the past and participating in public life as much as possible.

We, the residents of Brest Region, treat the theme of the Great Patriotic War with a special feeling of pride and sorrow. After all, it was on

the legendary land of the Brest Fortress that the first serious rebuff was given to the enemy, and an example was shown of the invincible will, courage and heroism of the Soviet people.

We entrust a great role in the patriotic education of the younger generation and the establishment in the modern society of the values of peace and humanity, to public associations the activities of which are aimed at the formation of an active citizenship and the preservation of historical memory.

I hope that the level of an international forum will give you an opportunity to exchange interesting ideas and concrete projects, as well as to find ways for further cooperation for the progressive development of their peoples.

With all my heart I wish you all health, peace, happiness and fruitful work.

## WELCOME SPEECH

# ELKE BRAUN

### **The Foundation “Remembrance, Responsibility and Future”, Germany**

Esteemed Nina Antonovna Lych, esteemed Nikolai Andreevich Makhutov,

I name you as representatives of the present leaders of the unions of juvenile victims of National Socialism,

Dear Mr. Ambassador Dettmar,  
Dear Mr. Chairman Skorobot,  
Dear Ms. Deputy Stativko,  
Dear audience,

I greet you all on behalf of my colleagues and the Board of the “Remembrance, Responsibility and Future” Foundation. We are happy and grateful that even 75 years after the Germans attacked the Soviet Union, many people who were taken to Germany for forced labor are actively advocating the preservation of the memory of persecution by the National Socialists and of their fellow sufferers. “Culture of Memory in the Dialogue of Generations” Conference gathered all of us, participants from Armenia, Estonia, Lithuania, Russia, Poland, Bulgaria, Ukraine, Germany and Belarus here in the Belovezhskaya Pushcha.

The culture of memory in our countries is still based on different views on history. This conference is designed to give you the opportunity to exchange different stories, as well as to communicate with interested young volunteers. Please, use this opportunity for discussions, exchange of points of view, and also for teamwork. One of the goals of the “Meeting Point: Dialogue” support program is to create opportunities for interpersonal exchange between young and old people in an informal



setting. In this regard, the EVZ Foundation was pleased to support this event.

Dear representatives of the unions of victims,

many of you have survived World War II, deportation, forced labor, cold, starvation and concentration camps, being children or teenagers. Your memories are very diverse and often based on the experience of psychological trauma. Today you live knowing that there are again wars in the territory of the former Soviet Union. Your voices are of particular importance. Meanwhile, you have a great responsibility. You have experienced National Socialist fascism by themselves. You can compare what happened before, and what happens now. With all moral authority, you can object to using the term «fascism» as a political tool, to its everyday use and application to people who stand for freedom, democracy and national sovereignty. All the more impressive, that you continue to attend international events. Today it is especially important to listen to each other and respect different views on the common history.

All the people present here stand up for their neighbors, even if they themselves need help today. Some do this with the support of the Remembrance, Responsibility and Future (EVZ) Foundation, which has supported in the past 16 years more than 900 humanitarian projects totaling more than forty million euros. With your activity, you make an impor-

tant contribution to the development of civil society. We wholeheartedly thank you for this.

Ms. Anoshko and her team from the International Public Association “Vzaimoponimanie” organized this conference together with the Belarusian Association of Former Juvenile Prisoners of Fascism. I would like to express my gratitude to

the team of Angelika Anoshko, as well as to all organizations and sponsors who took part in the preparation of this event. You invited professional speakers and good leaders, compiled an interesting program that I intrigued me very much.

I wish all of us a successful event!

## **WELCOME SPEECH**

# **GOHAR AKOPYAN**

**daughter of former member of the Central Council Bureau of the IUFJPF, Chairperson of the Armenian Union of Former Juvenile Prisoners of Fascism (Yerevan)**

Dear organizers of the International conference “Culture of Memory in the Dialogue of Generations” and your partners,

Dear Nikolai Andreevich, Angelika Nikolaevna, Nina Antonovna, Mr. Ambassador Peter Dettmar and Mr. Martin Guse,

On behalf of my family, the recently deceased Nina Karapetovna Akopyan, who headed the Armenian National Union of Former Nazi Prisoners for many years, I heartily congratulate all those who visited the blessed and courageous Belarus and national park Belovzhskaya Pushcha on this occasion.

I wish fruitful work to the conference, taking wise decisions and resolutions, carrying the light of peace and friendship all over the world, with the testament to the descendants, so that the horrors of the war that my mother experienced in her young years never recur.

## WELCOME SPEECH

BY NINA ANTONOVNA LYCH, CHAIR OF THE BOARD OF THE PA “BAFJPF”

Ladies and gentlemen! Dear friends!

You have accepted the invitation of International Public Association “Vzaimoponi-manie”, the International Union of Former Juvenile Prisoners of Fascism, the Belarusian Association of Former Juvenile Fascist Prisoners (BAFJPF) and the Brest Regional Organization of the BAFJFP Public Association, the Committee for Labor, Employment and Social Protection of the Brest Regional Executive Committee, International Public Organization “International Foundation ‘Mutual Understanding and Tolerance’”, Documentation Center “Gunpowder Factory in Liebenau” and the Fund “Polish-German reconciliation” and arrived to the International Conference, that takes place in Belovezhskaya Pushcha National Park in Belarus.

On behalf of the members of Belarusian Association of Former Juvenile Fascist Prisoners Public Association, as well as on behalf of all the former victims of Nazism living in Belarus, we warmly and kindly welcome you in our hospitable Belarus and want to thank you for your participation.

Time pushes our memory away from the terrible events of the Great Patriotic War. The war broke quickly into the peaceful life of our state – the Soviet Union, home Belarus, by the treacherous attack of Nazi Germany at the dawn on June 22, 1941. The walls of the Brest Fortress took the first strike of the German military machine.

Today in the work of our Conference takes part Vladimir Il'ich Semochkin, the chairman of the Brest regional organization of Former Juvenile Prisoners of Fascism. Vladimir Ilyich, the son of the political instructor Ilya Yegorovich Semochkin, who was deputy commander of the 125th Infantry Regiment and fought in the neighborhood of the apartment blocks of the Brest Fortress. Ilya Yegorovich died in June 1941 at the age of 33.

In order to save the lives of family members of the defenders of the Brest Fortress, women

and their young children were ordered to leave the shelter and to throw in the towel. Among them was the family of political instructor Ilya Semochkin: a pregnant wife, the eldest daughter and small Volodya. But all of them turned up in prisons, concentration camps, or became slave forced labors.

We bow low to the eternal memory of all those people who died on the battlefields and were tortured in the dungeons of concentration camps, ghettos, prisons during the Second World War.

The date of the beginning of the Great Patriotic War is a mournful date for all of us. The war means dead and wounded, crippled human beings, war means the eternal fear of those who spent their young years in slavery, war means a stolen childhood.

Children and war are incompatible concepts. Children are the extension of Life on the planet Earth! And war is a force that takes Life away.

In this cruel war was born the notion of «Children-prisoners», saved in the hearts of millions of people as the image of an innocent child with eyes full of horror, who is separated from parents and placed behind the barbed wire.

The crimes of the National Socialists left deep wounds on the body and in the souls of the former victims of fascism.

Implementing the plans of extermination of the population on the occupied territories, during the war Nazis created 260 places of forced detention, where 2.5 million people were murdered, among them 800,000 Jews, including deportees from Germany, the Czech Republic, and Austria. Over 400 thousand people, including 33 thousand children, were slaves. Only few of them managed to survive and return home.

## WELCOME SPEECH

# NINA LYCH

### **Chair of the Board of the Belarusian Association of Former Juvenile Prisoners of Fascism (BAFJPF) Public Association**



The reminder of every fourth dead Belarusian is embodied in the image of birch trees in the memorial complex «Khatyn».

Three months after the victory, on August 8, 1945, the Nuremberg trial was organized. The governments of the USSR, the United States, Great Britain and France concluded an agreement on organizing a trial of the main war criminals. Then another 19 states joined the agreement, and the tribunal is known now as the court of nations. The process began on November 20, 1945 and lasted almost 11 months. 24 war criminals, top leaders of fascist Germany, were judged by the court.

No one can ever erase the past from memory. Memory is more than a glance into the past. Only those who know the history can learn from it the lessons of the present and the future.

Therefore, by our participation we promote the preservation of peaceful coexistence. These are personal meetings with the younger generation, performances in educational institutions, creation of films and publication of books about the fate of prisoners, creation of monuments, museums, joint activities with young people, visits to memorial sites of the history of World War II.

In our Republic we do everything to save the history of the immortal act of bravery of Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War.

Today we gathered to take part in the International Conference. These personal meetings between representatives of different countries and generations promote mutual understanding and reconciliation.

Hearty thanks to all the organizers who helped us to gather together on the Belarusian land, to the participants and guests of this conference.

I wish all the organizers and participants spiritual and physical strength, success, health, peace and joy, successful and fruitful work of the Conference in order to prevent the repetition of Nazism and fascism.

Thank you for your attention,  
Brest, Belarus, September 21, 2016.

## WELCOME SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE “CULTURE OF MEMORY IN THE DIALOGUE OF GENERATIONS”

# MARTIN GUSE

### Gunpowder Factory in Liebenau Documentation Center



Ladies and gentlemen,  
Dear Ms. Angelika Anoshko,  
Dear colleagues,  
Dear friends,

I heartily thank the International Public Association “Vzaimoponimanie” (“Mutual Understanding”) and its leader Angelika Anoshko for the invitation to this conference, for presenting me as co-organizer and for reading my welcoming speech. Unfortunately, I could not personally participate owing to urgent activities with German children and youth. I sincerely regret this. In this speech I convey my heartfelt greetings to the participants in the conference and best wishes on behalf of the Board and the members of the Documentation Center of the Gunpowder Factory in Liebenau.

My special cordial greetings are to the elderly honorary guests of this meeting, who have personally survived the horrors of the terrorist dominance of the National Socialists. We admire you with special respect and deep understanding.

Germany was liberated seventy years ago from the national socialist barbarism by the military intervention of the international alliance, and the forced workers in Libenau — by British troops. Thousands of Soviet prisoners of war since autumn of 1941, as well as more than 2,000 young women and men from Belarus and the Ukraine since 1942 have been moved to this village in the north of Germany. In the village where I later grew up, the burdening national-socialist past has been concealed for a long time. But now this is the com-

munity of Liebenau, which since the 1990s has expressly acknowledged these developments and is working hard to ensure that the history of forced labor in a gunpowder factory be investigated and known outside the country.

Since the residents of Belarus and the Ukraine in those years were taken to the gunpowder factory in Liebenau, this led me to multiple international contacts with these countries. There appeared close relations with former forced laborers and their families, as well as a series of youth exchanges. In 2016 the 19th youth exchange united young people from Belarus, the Netherlands, Poland and the Ukraine. A fruitful cooperation has been established with school classes, partner communities and institutions such as the International Public Association “Vzaimoponimanie” from Minsk. There was a personal friendship between the young and the elderly.

In our joint partnership work we remember the barbarity of World War II and the terror of the National Socialists. We make this our own commitment to restrain by every possible means the strengthening of despotism and dictatorship, abuse of power and hatred in the world. We want and should contribute to the development of reliable research, which we will introduce to young people from our and other countries. We will investigate the issues of the national socialist past, the issues of a general crime against humanity, but we will also build friendship in the conditions of modern life and society.

*“One hundred thousand dead are statistics. But those who leave and do not return, those who are hurt — there are much more of them”,* said French writer Antoine de Saint-Exupéry.

In our projects, we recall the fate of young people during the Second World War. Their personal desires and hopes were brutally destroyed because of the hatred and arrogance propagated by the state policy.

Facts do exert an influence, but it is always quite incomprehensible, unreal, and alien. We have to carry them on and pass on to future generations as a reminder. With sorrow, sympathy and memory, we in Libenau consider it our duty to do everything possible that depends on ourselves, so that as few people as possible become victims of wars, racism, anti-Semitism and violence. We remember, because we can not forget and we must not forget! And not least because today’s news are filled with global violence, terrorism and war.

The Documentation Center wanted and wants to dare and try to make enemies friends. And to do it not looking back, but with a look straight to the present and the future. We keep memory together in order to prevent war, racism and hatred, to build a peaceful future in the «House of Europe» and on the globe. We carry out this work in the hope that young people, like the elderly, want to admit the following:

That they can and must make their contribution to reconciliation between peoples.

That historical and economic development, hatred, envy and racism have initiated and still generate the circumstances that lead to and result in the violent death of countless people.

That people of different nations, cultures and religions can live in peace only when they meet, exchange and express respect for each other, understanding and tolerance.

Millions of victims of National Socialist violence and World War II remind us of pedagogy in the understanding that Dutch philosopher Benedictus de Spinoza already described in the 17th century:

*«Peace is not the absence of war, but virtue stemming from the firmness of the spirit, the mindset, the propensity for kindness, trust, and justice».*

The true keynote of the work of Documentation Center of the Gunpowder Factory in Liebenau is based on the Covenant of Survivors of January 25, 2009, developed and signed by the last surviving concentration camp prisoners. They expressed in it to what the witnesses of the events at the powder factory especially draw attention of the young participants in the youth meetings:

*«Our ranks are thinning. At all levels of our unions, both nationally and internationally, people are taking our side to preserve memory: they give us faith in the future, they continue our work. The dialogue that began with us should continue with them. For this work, we need the support of the State and society. Last eyewitnesses of events turn to Germany, to all European states and the international community, so that the human gift of memory and recollections is preserved and appreciated in the future. We ask the young people to continue our struggle against the Nazi ideology and for a just, peaceful and tolerant peace, for a world in which there is no place for anti-Semitism, racism, hatred and right-wing extremism. This is our testament.»*

Let us all follow this covenant with all our strength! I wish the conference success and good discussion. I greet all of you with all my heart!

*(See pages 17-18 for the German version of the speech).*

# **GRUßWORT ZUR ERÖFFNUNG DER INTERNATIONALEN KONFERENZ "ERINNERUNGS- KULTUR IM GENERATIONENDIALOG"**

## **MARTIN GUSE**

### **Dokumentationsstelle Pulverfabrik Liebenau e.V.**

Sehr geehrte Damen und Herren, sehr geehrte Angelika Anoshko, sehr geehrte Kolleginnen und Kollegen; liebe Freundinnen und Freunde!

Der Internationalen gesellschaftlichen Vereinigung „Verständigung“ um Direktorin Angelika Anoshko danke ich sehr herzlich für die Einladung zu dieser Konferenz, die Berücksichtigung als Mitveranstalter und die Verlesung meines Grußwortes. Meine persönliche Mitwirkung musste ich leider durch akute berufliche Einsätze für benachteiligte deutsche Kinder und Jugendliche kurzfristig absagen. Das bedaure ich von ganzem Herzen. Umso herzlicher sind meine persönlichen Grüße und Wünsche sowie die des Vorstandes und der Mitglieder der Dokumentationsstelle Pulverfabrik Liebenau e.V., die ich mit diesen Zeilen an die Mitwirkenden dieser Konferenz übermittele.

Mein besonders herzlicher Gruß richtet an die betagten Ehrengäste dieser Tagung, die die Schrecken der NS-Terrorherrschaft noch persönlich miterlebt haben. Wir verneigen uns vor Ihnen allen mit besonderem Respekt und in tiefer Verbundenheit.

Deutschland wurde vor siebzig Jahren von der nationalsozialistischen Barbarei durch militärische Intervention einer internationalen Allianz befreit: Die Zwangsarbeiter/innen in Liebenau von britischen Truppen. Tausende sowjetische Kriegsgefangene waren ab Herbst 1941 sowie über 2.000 junge Frauen und Männer aus Belarus und vor allem der Ukraine ab 1942 in dieses norddeutsche Dorf verschleppt worden. In das Dorf, in dem ich später aufgewachsen bin, in dem man lange zur belasten-

den NS-Vergangenheit geschwiegen hat. Zugleich ist es aber auch die Gemeinde Liebenau, die sich seit den 1990er Jahren eindeutig dazu bekennt und massiv dafür einsetzt, dass die Geschichte der NS-Zwangsarbeit in der Pulverfabrik erforscht und Grenzen überschreitend vermittelt werden muss.

Weil Bürgerinnen und Bürger aus Belarus und der Ukraine damals in die Pulverfabrik Liebenau verschleppt worden waren, führte mich die internationale Zusammenarbeit bereits mehrfach in diese Länder. Ein intensiver Kontakt zu ehemaligen Zwangsarbeiter/innen und ihren Familien ist ebenso entstanden wie unser Jugendaustausch, der bei bisher 19 Begegnungen junge Menschen aus Belarus, den Niederlanden, Polen und der Ukraine zusammenbrachte. Es entwickelte sich eine fruchtbare Kooperation mit Schulklassen, Partnergemeinden oder Institutionen, wie der Internationalen gesellschaftlichen Vereinigung „Verständigung“ aus Minsk. Persönliche Freundschaften zwischen jung und alt sind dabei entstanden, die keiner der Liebenauer Freunde missen möchte.

Mit unserer partnerschaftlichen Zusammenarbeit erinnern wir an die Barbarei des Zweiten Weltkrieges und an den Terror der Nationalsozialisten. Wir tun dies mit der selbst auferlegten Verpflichtung, mit allen erdenklichen Mitteln dazu beizutragen, dass das Wiedererstarken von Despotie und Diktatur, von Willkür und Haß, in der Welt eingedämmt wird. Wir wollen und müssen unseren Beitrag zu einer wahrheitsbasierten Art des Forschens, Nachfragens und Diskutierens leisten, indem wir auch zukünftig vor allem Jugendliche aus unserem und anderen Ländern in

unseren Kommunen zusammenführen: Forschend und entdeckend zu Fragen der NS-Vergangenheit – aber auch suchend in Fragen zu weiteren universellen Menschheitsverbrechen sowie Freundschaft aufbauend in aktuellen Lebens- und Gesellschaftsfragen.

„Hunderttausend Tote, das ist eine Statistik. Aber einer, der fortgeht und nicht wiederkommt, das schmerzt – das ist viel mehr“, hat der französische Schriftsteller Antoine des Saint-Exupéry treffend formuliert.

In unseren Projekten wird an einzelne Lebenswege junger Menschen während des Zweiten Weltkrieges erinnert. Auch ihre ganz persönlichen Wünsche und Hoffnungen wurden aufgrund verantwortungsloser – von Hass und rassistischer Überheblichkeit getragener Politik – brutal zerstört.

Die Fakten wirken auf immer wieder nahezu unfassbar, unwirklich, fremd! Wir sind verpflichtet, sie weiter zu tragen und als Mahnung an die nachfolgenden Generationen zu vermitteln. Mit Trauer, Anteilnahme und Gedenken gehen wir in Liebenau die Verpflichtung ein, alles in unseren persönlichen Kräften Stehende zu tun, damit nicht immer mehr Menschen Opfer von Kriegen, Rassismus, Antisemitismus und Gewalt werden. Wir erinnern uns, weil wir nicht vergessen können und nicht vergessen dürfen! Und nicht zuletzt weil die aktuellen Tagesnachrichten von Berichten über weltweite Gewalt, Terrorismus und Krieg strotzen.

Die Dokumentationsstelle wollte und will den Versuch wagen, aus ehemaligen Feinden Freunde werden zu lassen. Und dies erfolgt nicht nur im Blick zurück, sondern gerade auch im Blick auf Gegenwart und Zukunft. Wir erinnern uns gemeinsam, um vor Krieg, Rassismus und Fremdenhass zu warnen, um an einer friedlichen Zukunft im „Haus Europa“ und auf der Erdkugel zu bauen. Wir leisten diese Arbeit in der Hoffnung, dass jung wie alt erkennen mögen,

a) dass auch sie selbst einen Beitrag zur Völkerverständigung beitragen können und müssen.

b) dass geschichtliche und ökonomische Entwicklungen, Hass, Neid und Rassismus jene Umstände hervorbrachten und auch heute noch hervorbringen, die den gewaltsamen

Tod unzähliger Menschen zur Folge hatten und haben.

c) dass Menschen verschiedener Völker, Kulturen und Religionen nur dann in Frieden miteinander leben können, wenn sie sich begegnen, austauschen und Respekt, Verständnis und Toleranz füreinander aufbringen.

Die abermillionen Opfer der NS-Gewaltherrschaft und des Zweiten Weltkrieges gemahnen uns zu einer Pädagogik in dem Sinne, den der niederländische Philosoph Baruc de Spinoza schon im 17. Jahrhundert niederschrieb:

„Friede ist nicht die Abwesenheit von Krieg: Friede ist eine Tugend, eine Geisteshaltung, eine Neigung zu Güte, Vertrauen und Gerechtigkeit.“

Das eigentliche Leitmotiv der Arbeit der Dokumentationsstelle Pulverfabrik Liebenau aber basiert in besonderem Maße auf dem „Vermächtnis der Überlebenden“ vom 25. Januar 2009, erarbeitet und unterzeichnet von letzten noch lebenden Häftlingen der NS-Konzentrationslager. Sie brachten darin zum Ausdruck, was auch die Zeitzeug/innen der Pulverfabrik Liebenau in ihren Lebensberichten für die jungen Gästen unserer Jugendbegegnungen immer wieder betont haben: „Unsere Reihen lichten sich. In allen Instanzen unserer Verbände, auf nationaler wie internationaler Ebene, treten Menschen an unsere Seite, um die Erinnerung aufzunehmen: Sie geben uns Vertrauen in die Zukunft, sie setzen unsere Arbeit fort. Der Dialog, der mit uns begonnen wurde, muss mit ihnen fortgeführt werden. Für diese Arbeit benötigen sie die Unterstützung von Staat und Gesellschaft. Die letzten Augenzeugen wenden sich an Deutschland, an alle europäischen Staaten und die internationale Gemeinschaft, die menschliche Gabe der Erinnerung und des Gedenkens auch in der Zukunft zu bewahren und zu würdigen. Wir bitten die jungen Menschen, unseren Kampf gegen die Nazi-Ideologie und für eine gerechte, friedliche und tolerante Welt fortzuführen, eine Welt, in der Antisemitismus, Rassismus, Fremdenfeindlichkeit und Rechtsextremismus keinen Platz haben sollen. Dies sei unser Vermächtnis.“

Lassen Sie uns alle gemeinsam mit aller Macht dafür eintreten, diesem Vermächtnis zu folgen! Ich wünsche der Tagung einen erfolgreichen Verlauf und gute Gespräche.



## THE CONCEPT OF HISTORICAL MEMORY AND ITS MODERN INTERPRETATIONS

# ANDREI B. SOKOLOV

**Ph.D in History, Professor  
Yaroslavl State Pedagogical University**



Dear colleagues,

I would like to thank the organizers for the invitation and the opportunity to speak.

I was asked to introduce the concept of historical memory to the audience, which I would gladly do, but I would like to start by mentioning the Anglo-American historian Simon Schama, who is today almost the most published author writing about history. Long time ago, back in the mid-90s, he had written a book called *Landscape & Memory*, which was, from my point of view, a very successful example of the implementation of this concept. The idea of this book is that natural and geographical objects are original places of memory, storing the codes of the past. Spatial history is today one of the dynamically developing directions in historiography. The book of Schama consists of three parts: «Wood», «Water» and «Rock». He talks about myths and memories of what really happened, and how they are sometimes difficult to separate. He writes about how the landscape influences mentality and people's perceptions, and how people construct in their heads the notions of the landscape based on memories of the past. A native of a Jewish family whose ancestors had fled from these places in the beginning of the last century, he begins his narrative from the way he came to this land (however, from Polish side), where «where frontiers march back and forth to the abrupt commands of history. The same fields of wheat and rye moving in slow waves with the rhythm of the breeze had been Lithuanian,

German, Russian, Polish» (this is a quote). Actually, the first chapter of Schama's book begins with a conversation about bisons and is called «The Royal Beasts of Bialoveza». The author writes there: «I had come to Poland to see this forest. See what, exactly, I wasn't sure. Historians are supposed to reach the past always through texts, occasionally through images; things that are safely caught in the bell jar of academic convention; look but don't touch. But one of my best-loved teachers, an intellectual hell-raiser and a writer of eccentric courage, had always insisted on directly experiencing "a sense of place," of using "the archive of the feet." My subject was landscape myth and memory, and this woodland wilderness, the puszcza, stretching all the way along the borderland that Poland shared with Belarus and Lithuania, was the "native realm" of writers of our time like Czeslaw Milosz and Tadeusz Konwicki; or past time like Adam Mickiewicz.<sup>1</sup> Generation after generation, such writers had created a consolatory myth of a sylvan countryside that would endure uncontaminated whatever disasters befell the Polish state. And with a swerve of logic that only connoisseurs of Polish history can appreciate, this sempiternal homeland was celebrated (in Polish) as "Lithuania." «O Lithuania, my country, Thou art like good health, I never knew till now how precious till I lost thee?» «Imagine,» said my friend, "if the Americans sing 'Canada is beautiful'." Variable identity is the trophy of history. I know that under the greenery of the blood, and in the clearings in the depths of oak and pine forests - graves. Fields, forests and rivers

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saw blood and terror, inspiration and despair, death and resurrection, Lithuanian kings and Teutonic knights, partisans and Jews, the Nazi Gestapo and the Stalin NKVD. This is a refuge, where in the fern you can find buttons with an overcoat of six generations of fallen soldiers”<sup>1</sup>. I included this quote in my message, not only because it is directly related to the topic of the conference, but also as a tribute to the hosts and the land that that has accommodated us for these days.

It is believed that Maurice Halbwachs, the French sociologist, has originated the concept of historical memory. His fate was tragic: he was arrested for helping his son, a Resistance member, and died in March 1945 in the concentration camp Buchenwald. As a scientist, he was much ahead of his time, and he was fully appreciated only decades after his death. As early as 1925, he published the work «The Social Framework of Memory,» and already posthumously, in 1950, they published his book «Collective Memory». The essence of his concept is that the concepts «historical knowledge» (or otherwise, historiography) and «historical memory» are not identical, and in many respects are opposed. He wrote: «History is a collection of facts that have taken the most important place in the minds of people. But being read in books, learned in schools, the events of the past are selected, compared and classified based on the needs and rules that were not relevant for those that for a long time kept a living memory of them. The fact is that history begins at the moment when the tradition ends, when social memory fades or disintegrates. The need to write the history of a particular period, a society or even a person arises only when they have already gone so far into the past that we have little chance of finding around ourselves a lot of witnesses that keep a memory of them»<sup>2</sup>. Halbwachs also explained that even if historical science tries to retain the image of the past, still kept in the collective memory, «it retains from it only what is interesting for our society».

Halbwachs identified two distinctive features of history and historical memory. The first difference is that history tends to

1. Schama S. *Landscape and Memory*. N.Y., 1995. P. 24

generality and strict division into periods, to the construction of schemes, whereas in memory there is nothing artificial; it only stores what lives and can live only in the consciousness of the group that supports it. Historical memory is finite, because it is limited by the existence of those groups that store the memory of events and figures. Should a human life span be larger, a historical memory could have lasted longer. The second difference is that if history tends to generality, then there are several versions of historical memory, because many groups exist simultaneously, each of which having its own history.

An important part of the Halbwachs concept is the substantiation of communicative practices for transmitting historical memory. He himself recalled that in his childhood he had received information about the Second Empire, about the war with Prussia in 1870, about the Commune and the establishment of the republic from the mouth of the old nanny, «full of superstitions and prejudices, which no doubt took the picture of these events how it was painted by people’s imagination.» Each of those present in this hall could have this kind of memories. I remember that when a school-boy, I listened, to put it mildly, with astonishment, to the story of my great-grandmother, who retained absolute clarity of thought until her death at the age of 90. When the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 occurred, she was 32 years old, she was working at a factory in one of the cities of the Yaroslavl province, and she recalled that the meal in the working families was good (at any rate, meat was part of the daily diet, in contrast to the hungry Soviet era), and the strikes were organized by two Bolsheviks as follows. They used to lock the gates and carry the keys, so that the workers could not get to the shop. Why do I remember this? Because even now I feel how much this story was different from the official historical version that was presented to us in school.

Halbwachs viewed commemoration, that is, practices to preserve the memory of mnemonic (memorable) events as an attempt to suspend or at least to hide the process of changing tradition. Commemorative mnemonic stories

2. Halbwachs M. *Collective and Historical Memory* // *Permanent Stock*. 2005. # 2-3. P. 22.

strengthen the stereotypes of our consciousness, evoking specific memories of the past. Therefore, commemoration is highly significant politically. Halbwachs originated the idea of «places of memory», which include not only certain geographical points, but also dates, special figures and events, everything that awakens memory of the past.

After the Second World War, the interest in historical memory in sociology has increased, while the development of this concept took place in the context of responsibility for the war and the crimes of the Hitler regime. The leader of the so-called Frankfurt School, Theodore Adorno, and his followers turned to the study of the historical roots of anti-Semitism and have developed a theory according to which the political behavior of the masses is determined by socio-psychological factors. In the context of discussions in the Western Germany about whether it is possible to blame the German people for Nazism, Adorno was the leading intellectual whose views influenced the younger generation of the German “sixties” who demanded the building of a new German statehood on the complete denial of National Socialism and repentance for its sins. Arguing about the desire to forget national socialism, Adorno asserted that this was the manifestation of the so-called “weakened memory”, in which there is a strong neurotic component and which resists the adoption of rational reasoning. I would like to support the statement about Adorno’s influence by an excerpt from an interview that I had ten years ago with, so to say, a man of the German sixties, a prominent didactic professor of the Bielefeld University Johame Rolfes, who remarked, referring to the chauvinistic and antidemocratic version of the past expounded in the Nazi history textbooks: “Such experience testifying to the use of history for political purposes, aroused my interest in this subject, which was further strengthened in connection with the issue of the historical roots of the radical German fascism and the Holocaust”<sup>3</sup>. As we can see, the approach of the Frankfurt School in the sociology of historical memory differs in its accents from Halbwachs.

3. «The Future is Unthinkable without the Past»: Interview with Professor Rolfes // *Teaching History and Social Studies at School*. 2007. # 3. P. 60.

In modern literature, Halbwachs has both supporters and critics. One can consider a direct adherent of his concept the famous French historian Pierre Nora, who for many years led the preparation of a multi-volume edition entitled “Places of Memory”, which published 45 French historians. For him, places of memory are not sites in a narrow geographic sense, but people, events, objects, buildings, traditions, textbooks, and the research is not focused on the “historical core” of the place of memory but on its reflection in the mind and the forms of its perception. The meaning of the work is in clarifying when this place of memory has acquired its symbolic meaning and how this meaning was changing over time. The authors identified several forms of change in the territory of memory, including spontaneous forgetting and substitution of some mnemotopes; opposite process of displacement of repressive or forgotten images; evolution of the most stable places of memory, lining up in a different hierarchy over time. In post-Soviet Russia we see both the return and the evolution; for example, recurrence of the symbols of the empire, Orthodoxy, Cossacks, the nobility, or the rethinking of “milestone” events, in particular, the October Revolution. Nora went even further than Halbwachs in contrasting history and memory. He wrote: “Compared to history, which in all times was in the hands of the ruling power, scientists or professionals, memory has the prestige of democracy and protest, it has appeared as a revenge of the insulted and humiliated, like the history of those who did not have the right to history. History was built based on memory, but against memory, which was considered individual, psychological, deceptive, nothing more than a testimony in need of interpretation. The history was unified, and the memory is plural, because it is individual in its essence. The idea of collective memory, emancipating and sacralized, turned this agreement upside down”<sup>4</sup>.

Let us single out several statements supporting the concept of historical memory in modern conditions and related discussions. The first consideration is of a practical nature. It consists in the fact that the concept of “historical memory” is rarely used in the

4. Nora P. *World Memory Celebration* // *Permanent Stock*. 2005. # 2-3. P. 206.

sense in which it has appeared. Most often, the arguments about historical memory are the manifestations of so-called historical politics, a characteristic phenomenon of our time, when the States, to the extent never displayed before, manipulate historical memory, adopt laws that pursue the so-called falsifications of history, establish memorial dates and feasts. This is explained as the concern for historical memory, but in fact it is, as a rule, an attempt to officialise memory. Let us take the recent Russian example: the widespread «Immortal Regiment» action. From my point of view, it is an official creature in disguise: it is not without reason that the media have repeatedly stressed that its value was not being designed in the Kremlin, and Putin «joined» its participants in Moscow.

The second statement is of theoretical nature. It concerns one of the contentious issues, namely the antithesis of history and memory. Several researchers have objected to such opposition. This position is taken, for example, by well-known scientists, German Jorn Ryuzen and Englishman Peter Burke. They prefer to say that historical memory and historiography are close or parallel phenomena both reflecting historical culture; moreover, academic history itself can be regarded as a form of memory, as «collective memory in the age of science». A similar point of view is shared by the most prominent expert on this issue in Russia, Lorina Petrovna Repina. Thus, she wrote: «There is no fatal choice, there is not even a gap between history and memory. We must not forget about the persistence of not fully reflected mental stereotypes in the historians themselves, and about the socio-political incentives for their activity in the field of «new mythology», on the one hand, and the processes of intellectualization of ordinary historical consciousness, however ambiguous and contradictory they may be, on the other»<sup>5</sup>.

The third statement is historiographical. The concept of historical memory contributed to significant changes in the field of historical epistemology, manifestations of which I find in two positions. Firstly, in the writings of some third generation representatives of the

5. Repina L.P. *Historical Memory and Contemporary Historiography // New and Contemporary History*. 2004. # 5. P. 44.

Annals school and within the framework of the so-called new cultural history they highlight the importance of addressing the oral tradition, which is rejected in positivist and Marxist historiography, taking only a written text (and not every one) as a reliable source. Suffice it to recall the classic work of the American historian Robert Darnton «The Great Cat Fight», in the first chapter of which he turned to the mentality of the French peasantry of the Old Order era through restoration by the archival records of fairy tales made by folklorists in the 19th century. Secondly, the phenomenon of the mid-to-late twentieth century has become the emergence of oral history as a new historiographical trend. In a sense, oral history based on recording oral testimonies is opposed to official history; it gave the rostrum to those whose voice was outside of history, «written by the winners» - rejected, victims, marginalized groups, to those whose opinions and feelings were of little interest to historians. According to one of the well-known representatives of oral history, Alessandro Portelli, its true value is not that it communicates new facts, but that it gives access to the perceptions and sensations of people, including those who are called «silent majority»<sup>6</sup>.

The fourth statement is psychological. The historical precondition for the spread of the concept of historical memory and the development of oral history were the tragedies of the twentieth century, therefore, according to almost unanimous recognition, the central point of the concept of memory was trauma. As noted by the modern Russian author Nikolai Kuposov, «since its origination, the interest in historical memory has evolved under the undoubted influence of the Holocaust problem. Thanks to this, the «memory of the victims» has become a classical, maximally legitimate model of modern historical memory.» Of course, there are aspects in the concept of trauma that generate discussions. Thus, there are two approaches: one sees the origins of trauma in real events that occurred in the real world; the second focuses not on the event as the source of the trauma, but on the significance attached to this event in the minds of the persons involved. Anyway, the view that

6. Portelli A. *What Makes Oral History Different // Oral History Reader*. L., 1998.

traditional historiography is unable to convey the significance of traumatic events and their impact on the psyche of people and the collective consciousness, is fairly widespread. Here I would like to refer to the interview that I had with the prominent modern historian Hayden White, published in Russia. In his opinion, when it comes to trauma, personal, such as death or loss, or historical, for example, the Holocaust or the bombing of Dresden, the Holodomor in the USSR or the genocide in Rwanda, the language of “scientific historiography” does not work<sup>7</sup>. Even the enumeration of the number of victims does not affect the emotional level (indeed, the debate about whether the number of victims of Stalin’s terror is exaggerated is far from the true sense of trauma and tragedy). The discourse of trauma has a moral dimension, which inevitably leads to different shades of pain over the victims. To illustrate this, I will quote one more excerpt from the interview, which I was lucky to have with the most prominent German historian, now deceased, Reinhart Koselleck. It was also published in Russia. That was how he talked about the memory of the war and the “hierarchy of victims”: “Germany has admitted the guilt before the Jews and conducts appropriate policies. However, in addition to the Jews, there were other categories of victims, for example, gypsies or homosexuals. When I argue against Holocaust memorials, it is not because I call to forget about the murders of Jews, but because the memory of Jews becomes privileged and a hierarchy of victims arises. But a death is always a death, and we have starved to death three and a half million Russian prisoners of war. They were practically killed, this is 60% of all Russian prisoners. I have always said that if the German nation supplied killers, then all victims should be remembered on a parity basis, and not only remember about the Jews. I have quarreled with Weizsäcker, Kohl, I was expelled from the committee of the Bundesrat, since I demanded that everyone should be remembered. No, it was politically correct to remember only the Jews: there was pressure from Israel and America, the rest were put on hold. And it sounds disgusting to me, because if you call the SS the killers, then how can you use their classification: Jews, homosexuals,

criminals, gypsies, Russians, Poles, Italians, French - these are the criteria of the concentration camp, but they are accepted. That is, the memory is styled according to the SS criteria”<sup>8</sup>. I do not comment on this statement at all, I brought it with one intention — to show how acute the discussion of trauma and historical memory topics might be.

The fifth statement, to continue the previous one, is about oblivion, which is the reverse side of memory and is at times a salvation from the traumatic experience of the past. This phenomenon is described in oral history. In Svetlana Alexievich’s work we find the story of Olga Vasilievna Podvysenskaya, who served in the navy during the war: «We did not tell the children about the war for some reason. I did not even wear medal pads,» and further: «After the war, they have not talked about the war veterans for quite a time. Our granddaughter knows everything about us, she is interested, we used to tell her, she is given such essay topics at school. But we did not tell the children, and they did not ask us.» She answered nothing to the qualifying question of Aleksievich: «Why did not you tell the war to your children?», but her husband Saul Genrikhovich, also a war veteran, answered: «We probably have not yet understood, have not realized what we had done. After tens of years, life made us think about the long-lived experience. But that time the war was too close and too terrible to remember. I wanted to save the children from this horror»<sup>9</sup>. The desire to forget, to get rid of memory-trauma is described in many works on oral history. In general, it was probably German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche back in the XIX century, who first thought about the role of forgetting. Focusing on the importance of oblivion, he wrote that if a person were deprived of the opportunity to forget, he «would be like someone who is forced to abstain from sleep, or like an animal condemned to live only by the same rumination. Thus, it is quite possible to live with almost no memories and even to live almost happily without them, as shown by the example of an animal; but it is absolutely and surely inconceivable to live without the possibility of forgetfulness in general.

7. Interview with H. White // *Dialogue with Time*. 2005. # 14.

8. Interview with R. Kosellek // *Dialogue with Time*.

2005. # 15. P. 337-338.

9. Aleksievich S. *War has no woman’s face. The last witnesses: Stories*. M., 1988.

Or, to make it even easier to express my idea: there is such a degree of insomnia, a constant rumination, such a degree of development of the historical feeling that entails tremendous damage to everything live, and ultimately leads to its death, be it an individual or the people, or culture»<sup>10</sup>. Briefly commenting on this statement of Nietzsche, I note that I refer it to that category of history which he himself called a monumental, or official, glorifying history, close to the phenomenon that we have already defined as a historical policy.

Finally, the final sixth statement, provoking the nature: is there in principle a phenomenon of collective, or social, cultural memory, no matter how it is called? In this regard, I would like to recall the dispute between the founder of psychoanalysis, Sigmund Freud and his follower, and then scholarly opponent Karl Gustav Jung, whose teaching can be regarded as one of the prerequisites for the concept of historical memory. One of the differences between them lay in the non-recognition by Freud of Jung's idea of the collective unconscious. Jung himself wrote: «The surface layer of the unconscious is personal to a certain extent. However, this layer rests on another, deeper one, no longer originating and acquired from personal experience. This congenital deeper layer is the so-called collective unconscious. It includes, in contrast to the personal soul, the content and patterns of behavior that are the same everywhere and in all individuals»<sup>11</sup>. According to Jung, in the personal unconscious emotionally colored complexes form the intimate soul life of the individual. The content of the collective unconscious are archetypes. Without delving into this issue, we note that it was reflected in one of the core discussions in the psychology of memory: to what extent is memory determined biologically or culturally? It is clear that in the context of Soviet «collectivity» the cultural-historical approach dominated, which was reflected in the works of Lev Vygotsky, Alexander Luria and Alexei Leontyev. The merits of Soviet psychologists are great, including practical applicability in pedagogy. However, as noted in modern studies, with all the abundance of accumulated

empirical material, the laws of memory functioning were not discovered. Nevertheless, the data and provisions of psychology can be used when it comes to the phenomenon of historical memory. These include: the idea of memory as imagination, for memory is not a simple mold of past events; the fact that the productivity of memories is a by-product of conscious, socially-mediated activities; the thesis about the emotional coloration of memory culture; the provision about the role of associations, that is, the actions, sensations and feelings that cause the restoration of links and its functioning.

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10. Nietzsche F. Works. In 2 vol. V. 1. M., 1990. P. 162-163.  
11. Jung K.G. Archetype and Symbol. M., 1991. P. 97-98.



## THE ARTISTIC HISTORY OF THE WAR IN THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS

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In recent years, interest in the history of schoolchildren and students (of non-historical departments) in Russia is decreasing. Even 10 years ago, when questioning schoolchildren and students in the framework of the international project “Youth and History”, we received the following data (I will give an example from a survey of schoolchildren in Kostroma and Yaroslavl)<sup>12</sup>:

The first question of the questionnaire «What does history mean to you?» aimed at clarifying the pupils’ attitude to history not as a school subject, but as a process of human development. The received data surely confirmed that interest in history went beyond the school activity: 71% of students definitely did not agree that history was just a school subject. They were generally aware of the importance of history as such for the life of society and each person. The second option of the answer «Is history a source of pleasure» is aimed at elucidating the emotional attitude of schoolchildren towards history, which is also important from the point of view of motivation, especially as it indicated the ability of history to develop imagination. Here we also received figures that inspired cautious optimism: 49% of respondents saw a source of pleasure in history, while 20% definitely disagreed. From the point of view of socialization, it is important to point out that 68% of schoolchildren see in history a chance to learn from the failures

12. *Training of a history teacher in the conditions of modernization of higher pedagogical education: Monograph / ed. A.B. Sokolov, M.V. Novikov. Yaroslavl, 2005. - P.88-89*



and successes of others. The overwhelming majority (78%) disagree with the statement that history is dead and gone, not connected with the present life, and, therefore, are ready to perceive it as relevant and contemporary. At first glance, a less definite picture appears in the answer option: «History is a set of instructive examples: what is right or wrong, good or bad». At the same time, we have approximately the same number of disagreed (39%) and agreed (33%) with a large number of doubtfuls (27%). These data seem to us indicative. They seem to reflect the fact that two stereotypes remain in the understanding and teaching of history: the first is «It is necessary to learn a lesson from history» (in a primitive form this implies a search of examples in the history confirming this or that point of view); the second: «History teaches only that it does not teach anything» (here in exaggerated form the educating and socializing potential of history is downgraded). It is significant that the majority of schoolchildren (65%) rejected the pessimistic view of history as a collection of atrocities and disasters. This is extremely important, since a certain share of historical optimism, a positive view of the past (if the «black pages» in the history of this or that country are not ignored and not hushed up) is, in our opinion, a prerequisite for the socialization of schoolchildren through the means of history.

13. *K.Mitrofanov. What does the history teacher really have to work with (about the differences in the subjects of historical research and teaching) // Mod-*

Today, all positive indicators decreased almost twice. Students and schoolchildren openly state that «history is something that has become obsolete», they do not see any point in studying history, they do not associate it with life. However, in some answers there is a statement that it is «just interesting» to study history.

The conclusion that can be drawn from this is: it is necessary to look for new means of teaching history, to use sources that will support this interest. First of all, these are artistic texts and visual (artistic) sources. In the process of interaction between «historical» and «artistic» (for example, the representation of history in art monuments), in the process of artistic communication, there appears a definition of historical meanings, as well as the «reverse» influence of artistic life on the historical consciousness of society.

The logic of the development of «historical» and «artistic» is such that historical research increasingly becomes multi- or metadisciplinary in its methodology and technique, and art covers almost all spheres of human existence.

For the educational process, these factors are significant if we take into account the fact that one of the components of historical knowledge is the historical representation, i.e. the image of an object or phenomenon that arises individually, and is not common to all.

In the modern teaching of history, the historical image (idea) is the subject of study, research, and it is paid great attention in history studies at school and university.

The researchers note the following features of historical images:

- preliminary nature: («we do not know how we know it, it is in the air ...»)
- «conventionality»: i.e., some kind of a secret understanding, the majority thinks the way it is commonly believed. The mechanism of this unspoken convention has not been studied.

- imagery, emotional coloring. It is a part of the worldview: each person has his own historical insight, this is subjective knowledge, therefore, it is difficult to assess them by quantitative parameters, tests, etc.<sup>13</sup>

Understanding the differences between knowledge and image has a number of implications for the study and teaching of history. First, recognition, «legalization» of the historical image, historical metaphor. Secondly, the solution of the problem of opposing images and scientific and objective principles in teaching is the use of literary images and metaphors as full-fledged subjects of historical knowledge. According to researcher O.Yu.Strelova, today we can talk about such a phenomenon as a figurative education<sup>14</sup>.

At the same time, it is important to remember that the historical source lies in the base of the modern school history study. Sources are the main means of learning to work with information and for the formation of critical thinking in schoolchildren and students.

Sources on the history of the Second World War and the Great Patriotic War are infinitely diverse. But, traditionally, in our «big» history and in the educational process, preference is given to written sources, especially official ones, they are usually taken to trust, while descriptive narrations, especially artistic texts, visual sources have an auxiliary, illustrative role as «biased». Meanwhile, students and schoolchildren should understand that no source carries objective information, information is perceived by the person, the researcher, and therefore, any source should be treated critically. Do not forget that the sources, performing important information functions, can show how the history is distorted (consciously or unconsciously). I will give an example of such distortion. Compare the two sources, which reflect the same event - the execution by the Germans in 1941 of Jewish population of Kiev in Babi Yar.

*ern methods in modern teaching. Proceedings of the scientific and practical conference. M., 2002. - P.2*

*14. Strelova O.Yu. Images-myths-falsifications // Teaching history and social studies in school. 2010. №8. - p.22-25*

## Source 1.

"All the Jews of the city of Kiev and its suburbs should appear on Monday, September 29, 1941, at 8 AM at the corner of the Melnikovskaya and Dokhturovskaya streets (near the cemeteries). Take with you the documents, money, valuables, as well as warm clothes, underwear and so on. Whoever does not follow this order and is found elsewhere will be shot. Those citizens who penetrate into the apartments left by the Jews and take their belongings, will be shot.\*

\* Central State Archives of the October Revolution, Moscow. Fund 7021, inventory 65, stock unit 5.

## Source 2.

*М. Шербакову  
просьбу рассмотреть  
Н. Шверник  
14/11*

ТОВАРИЩУ МОЛОТОВУ В.М.

Направляю Вам проект сообщения Чрезвычайной Государственной Комиссии о разрушениях и зверствах немецко-фашистских захватчиков в городе Киеве.

Проект согласован с т. Александровым Г.Ф..

Прошу Вас дать согласие на опубликование его в печати.

*2/11-442.*

*Шверник* Н. ШВЕРНИК.

*сжигали*  
Гитлеровские бандиты производили массовое зверское истребление еврейского населения. Они вывесили объявление, в котором всем евреям предлагалось явиться 29 сентября 1941 года на угол Мельниковой и Доктеревской улиц, *(Гости мирных советских граждан)* взять с собой документы, деньги и ценные вещи. Собравшихся евреев палачи *повели* повели к Бабьему Яру, отобрали у них все ценности, а затем расстреляли.

This example clearly shows that even the use of official sources, which are considered to be «objective», requires great caution and critical analysis. Now let us turn to the artistic texts and their possibilities in teaching.

Modern historical science tends to depart from the so-called «objectivist history» and pass to a narrative – a figurative descriptive exposition of historical events and phenomena. This fact is noted by many domestic and foreign authors. Thus, Roger Chartier in his article «History and Literature» writes: «in our time, all scientific disciplines (including the most «exact» sciences) are returning to the problem of the inevitable ‘literary dimension’ of their writings.»

History today is perceived not as a set of facts and concepts intended for memorization, but as an interpretation of historical events and phenomena. Different historians give their own interpretations of the events of history, but writers also offer their own vision of these events in artistic forms. Researcher E.N. Tsimbayeva notes that the historical reality and artistic principle «... intersect in the work because they always intersect in the mind of the writer. He creatively recreates reality, inevitably and unwittingly relying on it...»<sup>15</sup>. The author emphasizes that the historical and artistic space «... have a common origin. After all, if historical realities constitute only a small part of the artistic system of the literary text, this latter, however brilliant, is only an insignificant part of the great historical reality – the existence of mankind. And cannot be imagined without this»<sup>16</sup>. Of course, when referring to an artwork as a historical source, one should also take into account the fact that such an approach is being developed quite recently, and «the necessary empirical base has not yet been formed ... and the necessary theoretical tools have not practically been developed»<sup>17</sup>.

The most recent pedagogical and methodological literature emphasizes the fact that his-

tory teaching is aimed not only at the transfer of certain historical knowledge, but also at the formation of critical historical thinking skills that are important for the socialization of the individual. Most school graduates will not become professional historians, and their communication with the historical past will more likely occur through writers' works than through the works of history researchers. Therefore it is important to develop the ability of students to acquire knowledge and critically comprehend information obtained in reading works of fiction.

The importance of the use of works of art in the teaching of history increases in connection with the recent changes of the goals of studying history. In methodological publications of recent years, one of the main tasks is the development of creative thinking of schoolchildren and students, and fiction is an indispensable means of teaching. The significance of empathy — the ability to experience involvement in past events and actions of historical persons — is paid greater attention than before. Fiction is an important tool for achieving this.

The address to fiction often helps to understand the motives of the actions of historical characters, which often had a more complex and contradictory nature than presented in the usual history textbooks. Finally, one should not forget that one of the tasks of teaching history, which, unfortunately, often was not given due attention, is the increase in the literacy of schoolchildren and students, the development of their ability to speak and write correctly. Artistic works can provide irreplaceable help in this.

Historians often reject the use of artistic texts in the educational process, indicating a great degree of fiction present in them. I suggest that we compare the following two texts.

*(See pages 31-32).*

15. Cit. ex: Zverev V. *Historian, Fiction and Reality. // Historian and Artist. 2007. #2. P.109*  
16. *Ibid. P.109.*

17. Zverev V. *Historian, Fiction and Reality. // Historian and Artist. 2007. #2. P.103*

## Text 1.

**ORDER OF THE SUPREME HIGH  
COMMAND GENERAL HEADQUARTERS**

**# 0428**

Moscow, November 17, 1941

The experience of the last month of the war showed that the German troops are poorly adapted to the war in winter conditions, they do not have warm clothes and, suffering many hardships from the coming frosts, huddles in the frontline zone settlements. Arrogant enemy was going to winter in the warm houses of Moscow and Leningrad, but this was impeded by the actions of our troops. ... German soldiers live, as a rule, in small towns, in villages, in peasant huts, barns, rigs, baths near the front, and headquarters of German units are located in larger settlements and cities, hide in basements, using them in as a shelter from our aviation and artillery. The Soviet population of these items is usually evicted and thrown out by German invaders.

To deprive the German army of the opportunity to settle in villages and towns, cast the German invaders out from all settlements to cold in the field, stink them out of all the premises and warm shelters and make them freeze in the open — this is an urgent task, the solution of which will to a large extent accelerate the defeat of the enemy and disintegration of its army.

The Supreme High Command General Headquarters hereby Orders:

1. Destroy and burn to ashes all settlements in the rear of the German troops at a distance of 40-60 km in depth from the front line and 20-30 km to the right and left of the roads. To destroy settlements within the specified radius of action, immediately assign aviation, make wide use of artillery and mortar fire, teams of reconnaissance scouts, skiers and partisan subversive groups supplied with incendiary bottles, grenades and explosives.

2. In each regiment, form teams of raiders of 20-30 people each for the explosion and burning of settlements in which enemy troops are stationed. ... Outstanding brave soldiers to be singled out for a government decoration for courageous actions to destroy settlements in which German troops are located.

3. In case of forced withdrawal of our units in this or that sector, to take with them the Soviet population and obligatorily destroy all settlements without exception, so that the enemy could not use them. For this purpose to use first of all the teams of raiders formed in the regiments.

4. The Military Councils of the fronts and individual armies to check systematically how the tasks to destroy settlements in the above-mentioned radius from the front line are carried out. The General Headquarters should be reported every 3 days in a separate report how many settlements were destroyed in the past days and by what means these results were achieved.

*Headquarters  
of the Supreme High Command<sup>18</sup>*

## Text 2.

## V.S. Pikul «Barbarossa»

The year 1941 was really terrible! But it seems twice as terrible when you find out that Stalin ordered, during the retreat, to burn everything what the fire could burn. Russia blazed up, the smoke glowed its sacred heavens. The Germans are invaders, yes, they burned our villages to punish its residents for hiding partisans. But Stalin ordered his own people to burn the homes of other own people. «For courageous actions,» he dictated, «to destroy settlements single out for a government decoration ...»

Whom to reward? – Arsonists with torches. Was there anyone who would tell him:

«Comrade Stalin, winter is coming, we leave villages with old people, women, children ... where shall they go?»

All perished in the fire – houses, cowsheds, gardens. Mothers cuddled children in horror. Old men dug pits in the outskirts of the village, in which they hoped to spend the winter, like forest animals. The groan was heard over the Russian land, but Stalin relentlessly dictated his will: «To destroy settlements ... immediately assign aviation, make wide use of artillery and mortar fire ...»

The texts are, of course, essentially different. V.S. Pikul not only conveys the content of the Order in an artistic form, but gives his own assessment of the actions of the Soviet command in November 1941, while his attitude is based on the official source, which he interpreted in the same way as any historian researcher does, working with the source.

To create the image of the Great Patriotic War, a large number of various visual sources are used: documentary video materials, feature films, paintings, portraits, posters and cartoons (caricatures), photographs. From all the variety of visual sources, let us consider a cartoon, which by definition is a historical source, because it was created at the time of the event (there are no delayed cartoons), the cartoon loses its relevance over time and it can only be understood when knowing the historical conditions, the atmosphere of its creation. A cartoon is a response to an important event, it reflects the essential signs of an event that

are easily recognized. As a rule, the author is an immediate witness of the event. It is important that students understand the subjectivity of the cartoon as a source: a cartoon is an interpretation, an expression of the author's attitude toward the event (he ridicules, is angry, scolds, denounces, etc.), there are no impartial cartoons.

Working with a cartoon as a source can be organized as follows: primary acquaintance (who, when, where, what event?); detailed examination and analysis of the image (subject, idea, plot, symbols, metaphors, details, people, their location, facial expression, etc.); interpretation (decoding of the author's "message", definition of his attitude to the event and the characters of the cartoon); verification, clarification of this interpretation of the cartoon using additional information or other sources.

Consider, for example, an English cartoon of 1939 depicting Stalin and Hitler.

**Primary acquaintance:** an event is revealed, which is reflected in a caricature form, students try to determine as accurately as possible the time of the appearance of the cartoon, find out in what country it appeared.

**A detailed study of the cartoon:** who is depicted? How do you define it? Describe the characters of the cartoon, how do they relate to each other? Are they enemies or friends? Why did you decide so? What is the background of the image? What does one boot mean?

**Interpretation of the "message":** what did the artist want to communicate to the audience? What kind of visual tools did he use for this? Where could this cartoon appear? Whom was it addressed to? What does it express: love, approval, understanding, fear, ridicule, warning? Whom, in the author's opinion, should the British be more afraid of? How and when would the attitude of the British to the heroes of this cartoon change?

**Verifying your own interpretation:** you can offer students a textual source about the events of September 1939, about the situation in the world after the outbreak of the Second World War.

A cartoon can seem a simple, sometimes even primitive image, but it is nevertheless an artwork and an interesting historical source, the work with which will promote the development in students not only imagination but also critical historical thinking.

We have uncovered, on some examples, the possibilities of artistic, imaginative teaching of the history of war, which is essential for the humanization of the teaching of history, fuller realization of its educational potential, the development and maintenance of interest in the study of history. Moreover, one should bear in mind the fact that «figurative» information, like any other information, can become a means of manipulating the consciousness and feelings of schoolchildren and students (the image of the enemy, the image of the hero, the image of the «ailien», etc.). Besides, as already mentioned above, images are part of the worldview and are not subject to the «right-wrong» assessment, which requires a more careful attitude to the system of testing and evaluating historical knowledge, as well as reviewing the criteria and forms of evaluation.



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## THE STUDY OF THE HISTORY OF THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR IN HIGHER SCHOOL IN THE CONTEXT OF THE FORMATION OF HISTORICAL MEMORY

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The period of study at a higher educational institution is an important stage in the process of formation of the personality. In the university the students not only receive professional knowledge, there is assimilation and consolidation of the corresponding value system. In the process of education, young people acquire social competence, namely, the ability to participate in solution of the tasks of their university, region, country, take on civil responsibility, participate in the work of democratic institutions, be able to regulate conflicts by non-violent means, etc. Therefore, the civil and patriotic education of young students is one of the priorities in the system of higher education.

No doubt, history has a special role in shaping the attitude of young people to their country, to its past and present, to its traditions and culture. In our opinion, apprehension of the key events of the Great Patriotic War is of exceptional importance for the formation of the national idea of the Belarusian and Russian states, for upbringing of the younger generation. It should be noted that in the education system of Belarus there is a lot of experience in introducing and teaching the course «The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet People in the Context of the Second World War». In 2005, on the eve of the 60th anniversary of Victory, it was introduced in all educational institutions of the Republic of Belarus. However, the debate about the expediency and necessity of the course as a separate discipline of the humanitarian cycle in higher education, has not subsided to this day.



Almost all those gathered today in this room are children or grandsons of the front generation, graduates of Soviet schools and universities. The history of the war organically entered our historical memory through the stories of war veterans, the names of the heroes that our pioneer squads and schools carried, through fiction and dozens of movies about the war.

However, today's students are a different generation. They have young grandfathers and grandmothers, young parents. This is the generation for which the Great Patriotic War is no longer a personally significant event. They do not have the sharpness, depth and bitterness of perception of that terrible tragedy. Therefore the students are apparently ignorant of the main plots and events of the past war.

Today I would like to share the experience of teaching this course and the conclusions that can be made after 11 years. Starting to create a curriculum, we conducted a questionnaire among the freshmen of the Belarusian State University. This allowed us to determine the general level of knowledge on the indicated problems. The answers we received seemed incredible. Of the 137 students who took part in the survey, more than 30% could not correctly call the chronological framework of the Second World War, and 28% did not name the correct date for the beginning and end of the Great Patriotic War. Analyzing these data, we formulated the main task of the course: the formation of historical memory of the war, the moral and patriotic education of student youth. We took into account many factors, but proceeded from the fact that the education of

civic and patriotic stands in the teaching of the history of the Great Patriotic War was to be determined by the content of the course, as well as the ways and forms of instruction. Let us dwell in more detail on the description of each of them.

The problem of content selection. First of all, we tried to use such facts which bear not so much knowledge, but emotional load, the facts appealing to human feelings. In the content of the course of the history of the Great Patriotic War, there are hundreds of thousands of examples of personal courage, heroism, selfless devotion to the Motherland, when people gave their lives for their homes and land, not for titles and awards, but for «their own friends». For example, no one will be indifferent to the fact that during the war years 4 million Soviet citizens went to the front as volunteers, or that more than 800,000 women fought together with men in all combatant arms. Therefore, more attention is paid not only to military actions at the fronts, the number of tanks and aircraft, but also to the coverage of such aspects as people in a war, children and war, the problem of Soviet and German prisoners of war, partisan and underground movement, daily life in the occupied territories, front-line life, «friends and foes'», humor at the front, etc.

The main force which had borne the brunt of the war, was a Soviet soldier. However, how often do we think about how the war affected the psychology of a man who was wrested from the habitual way of peaceful life by the force of circumstances and found himself at the front. Unfortunately, with the traditional approach to studying military history, a great problem remains behind the scenes, that can be identified as «a man in a war». Here, too, is the behavior of a person in extreme combat conditions, and the attitude toward death, the «growing up» of yesterday's schoolchildren, exhausting work at the margin of human capacity, the burdens of front life. What was more difficult in the war: to survive or live? Who will tell about this better than the soldiers themselves. The former infantryman A. Sviridov recalled: «All combat arms endured the hardships of the war years, but nothing compares to the hardships of the infantry. Once the pursuit of the enemy was over, an infantry soldier, if he had not been hit by a bullet or a fragment, went over to defense...

And the day passed in torment, because there was nowhere to dry or warm up. You can not stretch your legs or just straighten up: the enemy will shoot you. You can not fall asleep either, or you'll freeze to death. And so, staggering with fatigue, shivering from cold, you spent the day, and at night you had to dig again ... Sometimes, you did not always succeed to rise for attack by command: the great-coat froze to the ground and a numb body did not obey.»

To my mind, when considering various subjects of the topic «Man in War» it is advisable not only to use memoir and fiction, but also to formulate questions that allow students to reflect on the options for answering the questions «Why a person remains human at war», «What is that deep support which keep in him his defenseless humanity?»

When developing the course, it is worth paying serious attention to the coverage of various aspects of the captivity. In general, the problem of captivity is very extensive and needs scrupulous research. There is no common opinion among experts not only about the number of Soviet prisoners of war in Germany, but also about foreign prisoners of war in the USSR. The issue of mortality in captivity of soldiers and officers of the Red Army remains intricate. Thus, by the German sources the figure is 3.3 million deceased (58% of all prisoners). In modern Russian historiography, they most often mention more than 3 million people without taking into account captured militia men, partisans, raiders of fighter squadrons, etc.

Considering the multifaceted nature of the problem, we shall single out only a few of the most significant points in its presentation. First, the treatment of Soviet prisoners of war by the Nazi leadership, soldiers and officers of the Wehrmacht. Secondly, the attitude to their own prisoners of the Soviet leadership, which left a heavy mark on the fate of hundreds of thousands of people and their families. Thirdly, the attitude towards enemy prisoners of war in the USSR. When covering the issues of captivity, it must be emphasized that the overwhelming number of Soviet soldiers and officers did not surrender and was captured because of political and military leadership's mistakes on the eve of and during the war. It is necessary to show that the heroism and courage of Soviet soldiers amazed even the

enemy. The German documents contain numerous information that the Red Army soldiers were captured wounded, exhausted, deprived of food and ammunition, because of the incapability of further resistance.

Comparing the situation of soldiers and officers of the opposing armies that were in captivity, it should be noted that for all the similarity of their destinies — long pedestrian crossings, hunger, psychological depression — there was one fundamental difference between them. The German side purposely killed certain groups of prisoners of war, regardless of the requirements of international law. The orders of the Nazi command, prescribing to brand the captives with red-hot iron, to shoot the carriers of the «Bolshevik worldview» without trial and investigation, served as a guide to action for Wehrmacht servicemen and caused the death of millions of Soviet soldiers and officers.

The Soviet Union, which did not sign the Hague and Geneva Conventions on prisoners of war, fulfilled all their requirements in practice. During the war there were no written directives or verbal orders to kill these or those categories of enemy prisoners of war.

Another extremely important and politicized problem is the price of Victory. Of course, the main component of the concept of «the price of Victory» remains the war victims lost by the Soviet Union during the war years. Within the 15 post-war years, the losses of the Soviet side were estimated at 7 million, in 1961 N.S. Khrushchev pointed out that «the war claimed two dozen million lives,» four years later L.I. Brezhnev named the number of over 20 million people. In the era of perestroika, M.S. Gorbachev said «27 million lives of Soviet people.» At present, the scale of losses tends to increase. Authors so easily manipulate with millions of victims that there is an impression as if it is not an issue of human destinies, but of exhausted and inexhaustible human resources. For the restoration of historical justice, it is necessary to indicate the number of losses of the Soviet armed forces and civilians, to carry out a comparative analysis with the losses of the Wehrmacht and the civilian population of the Third Reich. It should be noted that it was the Soviet Union that took the brunt of Nazi Germany and its allies. Out of the total number of dead, captured and wounded, 72% of Germany's human losses fall on the

Soviet-German front.

The tragic consequences of the war can not be estimated without taking into account indirect human losses: the difference between the dynamics of population change during the war years and the rate of its growth characteristic of peacetime. According to estimates of scientists, indirect losses of the USSR amounted to 23 million people. Among the demographic consequences one can call a sharp change in the ratio of male and female population, the problem of childhood homelessness, a decrease in the birth rate.

Summarizing the results of the war, we should show the gigantic significance of the victory over fascism for the subsequent course of Russian and world history, the decisive role of the USSR and the Soviet people in this victory.

Of course, the history of the war is multifaceted. In addition to military operations in the Second World War, there was an economic, political, diplomatic, ideological confrontation. A severe truth about the most terrible war in the history of mankind can only be formed from the totality of all the components. In addition, the publication of a huge number of previously unknown documents, a serious expansion of the source base, urgently requires experts to work painstakingly in the study and finalization of whole stories of the history of the Second World War. Unfortunately, the article format does not allow us to highlight all the problems that I wanted to pay special attention to in the development of the course.

The next factor is the ways and forms of teaching. We are well aware that today neither schools nor universities are the main source of knowledge on history. As shown by recent sociological surveys conducted in Belarus among young people, the main source of information is the Internet. As a priority, it was named by about 70% of the entire youth audience. Only 15.4% and 14.6% of young people watch on TV information and political, historical and cultural programs [2, p. 163, 167].

It can be stated that ignorance of key events of history by young people makes them easy prey for those who are trying to offer a “new look” at the history of the war. The introduction of such stereotypes into the mass consciousness of youth replaces the key meaning of the war and devalues the significance of the Victory of the Soviet Union over Nazi Germa-

ny. If it is presented not as a just, patriotic war of the entire Soviet people against fascism, but as a battle between two totalitarian empires, the Victory ceases to be a matter of national pride, and is interpreted only as the victory of some invaders over others. In this regard, the task of teaching young people to think critically comes to the fore.

Critical thinking is formed, first of all, when working with sources. And students do not know how to do this. Tell young people to ask questions about the proposed text. They can not move beyond the question "What does the document say about?". Therefore, the ability to extract information from a source, determine the intention of the author, analyze, compare helps to ensure that students not only seek information, but correlate it with personal knowledge, personal experience, seek to verify the authenticity, etc. Only in this way can one form a person, who can not be manipulated.

And it is not just written sources. It seems possible to use the whole spectrum - memoirs, diaries, front letters, periodicals of wartime, leaflets, posters, cartoons, documentaries and animated films created during the war. As an example, such task can be cited. Many representatives of the front generation, recalling the war, said: "It was our high point," "I recall our first autumn battles like my first love." Think over, what made the war veterans talk about war as the best time in their lives?

It is necessary to give tasks aimed at developing an emotional attitude to the historical past. Invitation of veterans, former juvenile prisoners, witnesses of those historical events, work with diaries, letters, memoirs help students to realize the uniqueness of human life, the inhumanity of wars as a way of resolving conflicts. Such activities give examples of preserving human dignity, sacrificial service to society. It seems extremely important to increase the effectiveness of patriotic education by inclusion in the content of studies the materials on literature and art, which helps to emotionally color the events described. No appeal to love the Motherland can be compared with the power of the impact of literary works. There is a huge scope for creativity, since the theme of the Motherland is a central one in Belarusian and Russian literature.

Viewing and discussion of films is of great interest for students. Thus, when studying the

topic of the German occupation regime, the students were offered fragments of M. Romm's documentary film "Ordinary Fascism" and a short feature film "The Country of Toys", etc. It is the formulation of the problems of personal choice, personal responsibility that are necessary for the formation of moral values of the younger generation.

A few words about the results of the course "The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet People in the Context of the Second World War". A survey among students was conducted in Minsk, Mogilev and Vitebsk regions. Thus, to the question "Did the study of this course influence the formation of your civic and patriotic stand?" 57% of the respondents answered positively, 27% - "very unlikely", 10% - "not concerned about patriotic problems". To the question "Does the study of the course of the Great Patriotic War contribute to a deeper understanding of the heroic deed of the Belarusian people in the defeat of fascist Germany?" 66% of respondents responded positively [3, p. 52, 54]. These data allow making a conclusion about the expediency and necessity of preserving this course in the system of higher education, and also show that there is something to work on.

As it was already said, for Belarus the theme of war, preservation of historical memory about the Great Patriotic War is extremely significant. I am pleased to note that attention to this problem is shown at the highest level. As A.G. Lukashenko said: "Millions of those who have not returned from the war are sleeping eternally under the thousands of obelisks all over the Belarusian land. And while our hearts are beating, we have no right to forget about their feat in everyday routine. We bow our heads low before the memory of the heroes, who have done everything for our freedom, happiness, and bright future. This memory calls us, sons, grandsons and great-grandsons of brave fighters, to be worthy of their glory. In their past, the people are always looking for that source that is able to strengthen moral courage. Memory is necessary for living ones, so that, looking at the greatness of the past, to build tomorrow." [1, p. 5-6].

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## STORING MEMORY OF CHILDREN'S VICTIMS OF WAR

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*On September 29, 2016 Nikolai Andreevich Makhutov, Doctor of Technical Sciences, Professor of the Institute of Mechanical Engineering RAS named after A.A. Blagonravov, turned 79 years old.*

*The editorial office of the newspaper «Sud'ba» ("Destiny") congratulates the former prisoner of fascism, wishes him further success in scientific and social activities, enjoyment of its results, good health and long life.*

#### 1. PROBLEM DEFINITION

Our International Conference «Culture of Memory in the Dialogue of Generations» takes place on the glorious historical land of Belarus in 2016.

The year 2016 for the peoples of Russia, the CIS, Europe and the world was the year of the 75th anniversary of the beginning of the Great Patriotic and Second World Wars, the 70th anniversary of the end of the Nuremberg trial and the 25th anniversary of the collapse of the USSR.

On April 11 and September 11, 2016 the world commemorated International Days of the release of prisoners of fascist concentration camps and the memory of the victims of fascism.

“Vzaimoponimanie” (“Mutual Understanding”) International Public Association, the International Union of Former Juvenile Prisoners of Fascism, note this year at our conference as a year of memory and sorrow for hundreds of thousands and millions of children who died in fascist concentration

camps, ghettos, prisons, and march columns. Belarus, Russia and the Ukraine, together with Bulgaria, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Uzbekistan, Estonia, like in the past memorial years, have become centers of international events related to the fate of children prisoners during the tragic years of the war.

18 million people passed through 14 thousand fascist concentration camps, of which 11 million died: one in five of them was juvenile. Only one in ten concentration camp children stayed alive.

The international meeting of the former juvenile prisoners of fascism in Belovezhskaya Pushcha, on the heroic land of the Brest Region, at the Brest hero fortress, the battle for which marked the beginning of the confrontation between the USSR and Germany, followed by four years of battles, losses, occupation, liberation of our states and the Great Victory on May 9, 1945.

One of the main goals of the 2016 International Conference is to discuss in the plenary sessions and working groups the origins, causes, consequences and memories of the tragic and heroic destinies of the peoples involved in the Second World War and the Great Patriotic War, the bloodiest war in the history of mankind.

The International Union of Former Juvenile Prisoners of Fascism (IUFJPF) notes its historical peculiarity: for the first time in all centuries and millennia of mankind, children have become the object of political, economic, demographic, national, military criminal acts

of the 3rd Reich and its supporters.

The lessons of the military tragedy of children and the transfer to the living and future generations of the memory of this tragedy are vital subjects, issues and problems of our International Conference.

The participants in the Conference are representatives of national associations of victims of Nazism (IUFJPF, BAFJPF, RUFJP, UUPVN, etc.), organizations involved in the support of victims («Mutual Understanding» IPA, Belarus, DC «Gunpowder Factory», Germany), their social protection at the level of the Belarusian State and the Brest Region have the opportunity and the duty to reiterate:

- nothing and no one is forgotten;
- there is no limitation period for crimes against humanity and childhood;
- the memory of the victims of the war and of the lost childhood is sacred;
- all the honest people should do everything to prevent the repetition of the tragic past;
- People, stay vigilant!

## 2. SYMBOLS OF MEMORY OF WAR, VICTIMS AND VICTORIES

### 2.1. *Imprinted fates of children of war*

Children of war is a relatively new historical term in public, political, economic and humanitarian discussions of recent years.

While in the Second World War about 50 million people became irretrievable victims, and about 27.5 million of our compatriots perished in the Great Patriotic War, there were 15-17% of minor children among those dead. In our common country, the USSR, the participants in and victims of the war in the zones of military operations and in the occupied territories were:

- juvenile prisoners of concentration camps, ghettos, prisons, marching columns;
- children-partisans, young men, sons of regiments, scouts;
- children and children-prisoners at the beginning of the war, and then soldiers of the Red Army, aviation and navy;
- children working in the rear.

Millions of children could not see and hear the Victory salute in 1945. Hundreds of thousands of children were shot, hanged, murdered in fascist dungeons, killed by hunger and disease. Children were subjected to innumera-

ble and inhuman medical experiments, they took children's blood for wounded military Germans and their allies, they were forced to slavery work in industrial enterprises and in agriculture. The children were Germanized and turned into Aryans.

The International and National Unions of former juvenile prisoners of fascism with all their life's destinies and deeds for three quarters of a century after the beginning of the war keep a memory watch of the children's war victims.

The symbols of this memory are the documentary evidence of those years:

- photograph of a fascist soldier who shot the mother and child;
- a photo of children behind barbed wire, live witnesses of which became members of the IUFJPF and the RUFJPF and are present in the conference hall;
- A photograph of a children's sculptural group in the immortal Stalingrad;
- a lot of photos of dead children;
- photographs of children who left the concentration camps.

To these symbols we refer the Monument to the soldier-liberator with the rescued child in his arms in Treptow Park in Berlin and the memorial «Tragedy of the Nations» on Poklonnaya Hill in Moscow.

### 2.2. *Children-prisoners: living witnesses of fascist crimes*

Modern International and National Unions of former juvenile prisoners of fascism have begun to be created since 1992 on the basis of the association of prisoners organized in 1988 in Kiev with the support of the All-Union Children's Fund named after V.I. Lenin and its chairman, the famous writer A.A. Likhanov. At that time, our ranks included 1 million 200 thousand members. Years passed, and more than 800 thousand people died, joining those who did not survive during the war.

The above-mentioned child losses of the military and post-war years turned into millions of unmade families and unborn children.

At our Conference, we, as living witnesses and victims of fascist innumerable crimes, are obliged to preserve forever the memory of those who are no longer with us.

### 2.3. *Spiritual and material memory media*

For the 75-year history of the fate of the former juvenile prisoners were reflected in the most diverse publications of different periods:

1941 – 1946: in the sent and unsent letters of the war years written by the prisoners themselves, their parents and friends, in the protocol records on the crimes of the fascists against children in the occupied territories, in concentration camps, ghettos, and prisons; in the records of the filtration committees after the release of juvenile prisoners; in the above-mentioned materials of the Nuremberg Trial; in court cases when clarifying the circumstances of detention in places of fascist captivity;

1946 — 1965: in autobiographies, references, certificates of former juvenile prisoners when they enter work, study or serve in the army;

1965 — 1988: in the materials of the search for former juvenile prisoners of fascism, initiated by the Ukrainian researcher and publicist V.V. Litvinov and continued by hundreds of prisoners before the creation of the UFJP under SDF named after Lenin;

1988 — 1994: in numerous newspaper and magazine publications in the central and local press, in the first collections of memoirs of prisoners published in the USSR (before 1991), the CIS, the Baltic states (after 1991);

1994 — 2008: in the materials of committees and government funds on compensation payments from Germany and Austria;

1994 — 2008: in numerous memoirs, in one-volume and multi-volume generalized publications on the fate of former juvenile prisoners published in the Ukraine, Russia, Belarus, and Latvia;

1996 — 2007: in foreign publications of materials of international conferences, congresses, meetings (Berlin, London, Washington); in the books and studies of foreign authors on the history of child prisoners. More than 200 basic publications are contained in the lists of references.

A special place for the accumulation and coverage of the work experience of the IUFJPF is occupied by the collections of working materials (more than 25 volumes) of the CC Bureau of the IUFJPF, the Work Centers in Kiev and Moscow, the Chairmen of the IUFJPF and the National Unions of Belarus, the Ukraine, Russia and Latvia.

The sharpened children's memory and vivid sensations of the concentration camps made it possible for many prisoners to release wonderful books of poetry, write words and compose music for thrilling hymns and heartfelt songs, to release the corresponding records, recordings and CDs.

High impact on the minds and souls of not only the children of the war — prisoners of concentration camps, prisons and ghettos, but also those who did not see it from this tragic side, have the canvases of the People's Artist of the USSR M.A. Savitsky (Belarus), a former prisoner. His collections of paintings, exhibitions, albums are known throughout the world as symbols of an unbroken spirit in the most tragic moments of fascist captivity.

We have remembered for long the exhibition of art works (paintings, etchings, sculptures, embroideries, embossing) held in Moscow, Kiev, Minsk on the eve of the 50th-60th-70th anniversaries of Victory. It was the creation of talented hands of young prisoners of fascism, passed through concentration camps, members of our international union.

Continuation of this good tradition are contests of drawings of children of war and their grandchildren, held in Kiev by the Ukrainian Union of Prisoners - Victims of Nazism under the leadership of M.D. Demidov and in Moscow by the Russian Union under the leadership of I.P. Kharlamova and M.N. Suslova.

A great deal of work was done by the Belarusian, Russian, Ukrainian and Latvian national unions with the assistance of the Krasnogorsk Film Fund to collect and organize film and photo documents about the crimes of the fascists against children and childhood.

The IUFJPF CC Bureau issued exciting videos by the materials of the jubilee meetings of the former juvenile prisoners of fascism dedicated to the 50th, 55th, 65th and 70th anniversary of the Victory, in which the faces dear to us were imprinted in the Parades on the Red Square and on Poklonnaya Hill, wreath-laying ceremonies at the Eternal Fire, at the monument to G.K. Zhukov and the monument "The tragedy of Peoples."

The presence of the presidents and heads of government of Russia, Belarus, the Ukraine, the United States, France, Great Britain, Germany, and China gave special significance to the events.

Video films were also created in the Ukraine, Belarus, and Latvia. Our meetings were reflected in the IUFJPF photo albums sent to all heads of the National Unions.

In recent years (2015-2016), the IUFJPF was one of the organizers of important international forums aimed at the historical, patriotic and moral education of future generations by the example of the fate of former juvenile prisoners of fascism.

One of them was the International Conference “World War II through the eyes of children-former prisoners of fascist concentration camps”, held in 2009 in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, where World War II ended.

The next in importance became the Anti-Fascist forums in 2010-2016 in Moscow on Poklonnaya Hill, in the Central Museum of the Great Patriotic War, the Russian Army Theater and the Museum of the Armed Forces.

In 2012 – 2016 international conferences were held in Moscow with the participation of Russia, Belarus, the Ukraine, Armenia, and Germany, dedicated to:

- the 70th anniversary of mass movement to fascist captivity of hundreds of thousands and millions of people from the USSR, countries of Eastern and Western Europe;
- the fate of the burnt down villages;
- the memory of the victims of the Holocaust;
- the 75th anniversary of the beginning of the Great Patriotic War.

At these conferences, an important initiative of the Ukraine, Belarus and Latvia was noted, officially at the state level commemorated the tragic nature of this event for the historical memory of peoples.

In its patriotic and educational work, the IUFJPF finds increasing support of the youth - military students, suvorovtsy, cadets of military schoolchildren, university students, children and grandchildren of former juvenile prisoners.

#### 2.4. The IUFJPF newspaper “Sud’ba”

For over 20 years the newspaper “Sud’ba” is the only publication of the former juvenile prisoners of fascism.

The decision to create a IUFJPF organ was made at the constituent conference of the IUFJPF in 1992 in Dnepropetrovsk.

Our great success was the choice of the Editor-in-Chief, a former young prisoner of

Alytus, a wonderful journalist, a graduate of the Leningrad State University and a partial man, LK. Sinegribov. Thanks to his efforts, with the assistance of members of the editorial board and the active author and correspondent work of many hundreds of ordinary prisoners and heads of the International and National Unions, their offices, 163 issues of the newspaper “Sud’ba” were published from 1993 to 2016.

From the remote Trans-Baikal city of Ulan-Ude, hundreds of thousands of copies of the prisoners’ newspaper have dispersed to hundreds of addresses in the CIS, the Baltics, Europe, Asia, America and Australia. We can say without exaggeration: our personal destinies became the basis of “Sud’ba”, and “Sud’ba” became a continuation of our destinies.

In connection with the 20th anniversary of the newspaper “Sud’ba” on November 16-18, 2012 in Ulan-Ude, the IUFJPF, the editorial board of the newspaper and the Administration of the Republic of Buryatia conducted the International Action “We Are Still Alive”.

The newspaper “Sud’ba” has received the signs of state and republican attention, became a laureate of the mass media and educating movement “Znanie”.

We sincerely hope that regular publication of the newspaper “Sud’ba” will continue, will stir up our feelings and our memory and allow us to see how much tragic, bright and heroic was in the long course of life of the young prisoners of fascism.

#### 2.5. Perpetuation of memory of former juvenile prisoners

The International and National Unions of former juvenile prisoners of fascism have always attached and attach great importance to the perpetuation of the tragedy and deeds of the children of war. One of the first in this noble cause as far back as in Soviet times was Moscow school №1094 and its principal L.A. Stolyar, where a museum was created and before it an obelisk was installed.

Then the plaques began to be opened, quite modest at first, and then more and more expressive and professional monuments to children-victims of the war — in Smolensk, Moscow, Kaunas, Kiev, Mogilev, Bryansk and many other cities. The most exciting of them were monuments in Kiev — in Babii Yar, in Kaluga, in Saratov, Mogilev-Podolsky, Sumy, Chelyab-

insk, Simferopol and other cities.

World-famous monuments to the victims and heroes of the war are close to us by their spirit, because there are children among them: in Moscow - on Poklonnaya Hill, in Latvia - in Salaspils, in Lithuania's Kaunas - at the Ninth Fort, in Brest - in Brest Fortress, in Berlin - in Treptow Park, in Kiev - at Babii Yar and in Volgograd - Motherland on Mamayev Kurgan, Belarus - in Khatyn, in Russia - on the Kursk Arc. One of the recent was a memorial to children-prisoners in Moscow in the Park of the 30th anniversary of the Victory.

Former juvenile prisoners of fascism consider the place of their worship to be memorial complexes in concentration camps: in Auschwitz, Mauthausen, Buchenwald, and others.

With tears in our eyes, we often stand in silence at the exhibits of the Central Museums of the Great Patriotic War in Moscow, Kiev, Minsk, devoted to an unprotected childhood and including genuine evidence of children's tragedies.

Important events of the former juvenile prisoners of fascism were the creation in Kiev, Moscow, Minsk, Kaluga, Mogilev of school, city and regional museums devoted to unconquered children-prisoners.

I should note a number of specialized international exhibitions prepared by the IUFJPF, the Russian, Belarusian and Ukrainian "Foundations of Mutual Understanding and Reconciliation." The most complete of them was an exhibition in Moscow "The Slaves of the Third Reich." A remarkable museum that covers in Minsk by the Belarusian Foundation the tragedy of forced movement to Germany of women, old people, children.

The memorial events of the IUFJPF includes the issue of medals and commemorative signs. They undoubtedly include our badge of the IUFJPF on the background of the split Globe, the medal of the Russian Union of FJP "Unconquered", "The Sign of Dignity" of the member of the IUFJPF and dozens of other signs of the National Unions and their branches.

The noble cause of perpetuating the memory of children-victims of the war is currently being continued by schoolchildren and students, collecting and processing the memories of veterans, preparing course papers, diplomas and candidate theses.

Here, the most cordial gratitude can be ex-

pressed to the leaders of the IUFJPF: I.I. Martynov, A.V. Rodina, L.I. Ermolyuk, L.K. Sineghribov, Yu.I. Nikitin, L.N. Timoshenko, E.M. Ilyakhin, V.I. Afonina.

For IUFJPF, the main object of educational work were and are children — our hope for a peaceful future.

The opening, on October 25, 2011, of the memorial complex in the village of Khatsun in the Karachev District, the Bryansk Region, was an exciting event for Russia, the CIS and Baltic states, for all partial people of Europe and the world who know and study the history and tragedies of the Great Patriotic War.

70 years before, on October 25, 1941 in Hatusun fascists and punitive squads shot 318 people: all villagers, including children. Khatsun of Russia has become one of the world famous memorials of the victims of Nazism: Khatyn in Belarus (22.03.1943) and Lidice in the Czech Republic (10.06.1942).

A tree planted by juvenile prisoners of fascism will grow at "Khatsun" memorial. One of the initiators of the memorial creation was a young prisoner of "Stalag 342", writer and patriot E.P. Kuzin, the author of the book "Khat-sun Confession."

The members of the IUFJPF took an active part in the creation of the complex: in the preparation of source materials, fund raising, in organizing participation in its opening. The newspaper "Sud'ba" dedicated a special issue to this event.

In memory of all children prisoners of concentration camps, children of undergrounders and partisans, who suffered like adults, a modest but deeply symbolic commemorative sign "Remember you, baby" was opened in Moscow on September 19, 2010 near the church of the Archangel Michael in Troparev.

Through the efforts of the IUFJPF, the RUFJP, the Moscow city branch of the RUFJP, this sign was the place for collecting lumps of earth from all memorable places where children died and suffered, and where monuments and modest memorable signs were installed.

The IUFJPF newspaper "Sud'ba" began to systematize all monuments known to us to young victims of the war and planned for installation in the future, starting from the world-famous monuments "Tragedy of the Nations" in Moscow on Poklonnaya Hill and "Soldier-Liberator" in Berlin in Treptow Park and ending with school, settlement, city signs

of memory for children of war.

It is hoped that this will be a unique collection of evidence of the tragedy of peoples and children, perpetuating their cherished memory for the sake of the future.

Throughout its 25-year activity, the IUFJPF actively cooperated nationally and internationally with official, interstate, governmental and public organizations, defending the interests of former juvenile prisoners of fascism.

### *2.6. Recognition of the merits of the IUFJPF and National Unions in preserving the historical memory*

For active international, state, professional and public work in the period from 1988 to 2016 IUFJP and its National Unions were awarded Honorary Diplomas of the Governments of the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Poland, Germany, the Victory Committee, the Mutual Understanding and Reconciliation Funds, the Living Memory Foundation, and the International Resistance Federation.

Dozens of heads of the IUFJP, National Unions and their branches were awarded the highest state orders: the orders of Friendship (Russia), For Merits of I-III degrees (the Ukraine), Honorary Orders of Latvia, Lithuania, Belarus, and Kazakhstan. Hundreds of leaders and members of the IUFJP in the war and post-war years were awarded state medals for combat services, jubilee medals for the 50th, 60th, 70th Anniversary of the Victory. A number of members were awarded state awards for special tasks on strengthening the country's defense capability.

Dozens of members of the IUFJP in different countries have become people's artists, merited scientists, educators and sportsmen, laureates of State and government prizes, honorary citizens of cities, members of state and public councils and academies of sciences.

Many activists of the UUPVN were awarded the "Gold Medal" of the Polish Association of Prisoners and Resistance Fighters. About 50 heads and members of the IUFJP received the highest award of the IUFJP — "Sign of Dignity". Tens of thousands of prisoners were awarded the "Unconquered" medal.

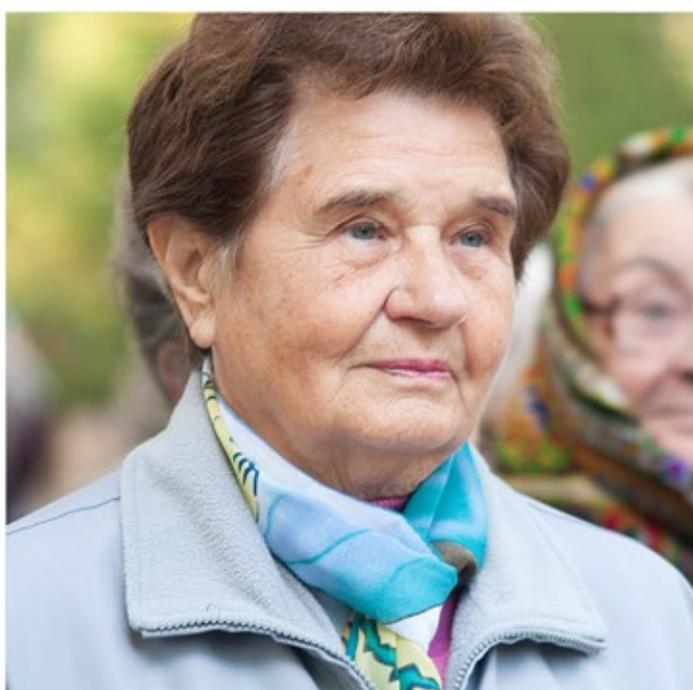
Thousands of activists of the IUFJP have been awarded diplomas of national legislative and executive authorities, local government bodies, public associations and organizations.

### **3. TASKS FOR SAVING MEMORY IN THE FUTURE**

Based on the results of the first twenty-five years of the work of the UFJP and IUFJP and its governing bodies, the main tasks for the upcoming period in accordance with the Charter were and can be as follows:

- further consolidation of all the IUFJP forces for coordinated solution of their new tasks to protect the historical memory of child victims and war heroes;
- expansion and deepening of the developments on resistance to neo-Nazism and neo-fascism in all their manifestations;
- preparation and release of final summarizing publications on the fate of living young prisoners, on recollections of living and departed comrades;
- production of television, film, and radio materials at local, state and international levels on the humanistic, social and economic problems of juvenile prisoners;
- expanding the circle of authors, readers and recipients, deepening the content of the newspaper «Sud'ba» with focus on preserving the memory of the lessons of war;
- integration of materials on the basis of the archival research and educational work of National Unions with the release of official data on the fate of children of war;
- the entry of the IUFJP and NUFJP into international associations of young prisoners and victims of the wars of the 20th and 21st centuries;
- maintenance of the authority of the IUFJP and National Unions, strengthening of friendship between all associations and their members.

Given the complex socio-economic situation of our countries in the beginning of the 21st century and accumulation of the burden of past years, the increasing losses in our ranks, one of our most important tasks is preservation of the dignity of the IUFJP member. It is our inherent duty and privilege.



## NEWSPAPER OF THE FORMER JUVENILE PRISONERS OF FASCISM "SUD'BA" ("DESTINY") AS AN INFORMATION SITE OF THE DIALOGUE

### LEONID K. SINEGRIBOV

#### Chairman of the RUFNP, Editor-in-chief of the newspaper "Sud'ba"



Dear friends,  
You see in front of you the 163rd issue of the newspaper «Sud'ba» ("Destiny"), the publication of the International Union of Former Juvenile Prisoners of Fascism. As each issue is always an event in the life of the editorial office, this number is also a certain stage in the history of the international movement. It is characterized by the following circumstance. There are still 11 issues to be published before the 25th anniversary of "Sud'ba" (May 2018). What will they be like? It depends on us, activists of the IUFJPF.

Let us remember what was the immediate impetus to the creation of the newspaper, and where did it all begin?

When, shortly after the formation of the Russian Union, we, the activists of the movement, including people from other republics, worried about the crisis situation created in the RUFNP, gathered at a meeting of the RUFNP Council in Tula to overcome the said crisis situation, Yuri Volsky, an activist from Dnepropetrovsk, put forward the idea of organizing the release of own newspaper. And soon after the meeting in Tula, his newspaper was created.

Here is the document of January 14, 1993. «Decision of the Bureau of the Central Council of the International Union of Former Juvenile Prisoners of Fascism, signed by the First Secretary of the IUFJPF V.V. Litvinov. The decision says: "In order to inform the public about the activities of the IUFJPF, the exchange of experience of the FJP associations in the newly independent states, demonstration of the life

of the martyrs of Nazi captivity, taking into account the petitions of the Russian, Ukrainian and other UFJPs, and in accordance with paragraph 2.6 of the IUFJP Statute, the Bureau of the IUFJP decided: 1. To start, in the first half of 1993, the publication of the IUFJP newspaper on the basis of Pravda Buryatii Joint-Stock Company (Ulan-Ude). 2. To appoint L.K. Sinegribov, Secretary of the IUFJPF CC, member of IUFJP CC Bureau, an editor of the IUFJP newspaper. L.K. Sinegribov to submit for the IUFJP CC Bureau's approval the charter and program of the newspaper specifying the format, periodicity, circulation, dispatch procedure, to prepare a draft constituent contract, to issue materials for registration of the periodical in accordance with the procedure established by law.»

So that's it. On April 15, 1993, the newspaper «Sud'ba» was registered by the Ministry of Press and Mass Media of the Russian Federation. The certificate of registration in Moscow was received by the Chairman of the IUFJP N.A. Makhutov. A month and a half later, in the distant Ulan-Ude, the first issue of the newspaper «Sud'ba» was printed, one hundred copies of which were delivered to the city of Smolensk, where the meeting of the Central Council of the IUFJP was held.

The appearance of "Sud'ba" is a vivid example of how, contrary to the seemingly insurmountable force of circumstances, one can and should serve the interests of the victims, to serve fiercely and selflessly.

A small stroke. The first issue of the newspaper was printed in the republican printing

house on bail, which was provided by a handful of people, consisting of 7 former prisoners of fascism living in Ulan-Ude. And the entire circulation of 20,000 copies was bought out and sent out to UFJP associations with funds collected as «cap-money» in the same Smolensk during the meeting of the IUFJPF. There was also such a note in a cap with money. I can not refrain from reading what is written there. «Statement. We, the undersigned, Chairman of the International Union of FJP Makhutov N.A., 1st Secretary of the IUFJP Litvinov V.V., Deputy Chairman of the Russian Union and Chairman of the Smolensk Oblast Branch M.G. Badayev, made this statement in that a member of the Estonian Union of FJP, Director of MUK Joint Stock Company Smirnov V.A. handed over to the Presidium of the plenary session of the IUFJP for the development of our newspaper «Sud'ba» 50 (fifty US dollars). The Presidium passes the received dollars to the editor of the newspaper.» Then follow the signatures of the one who handed, who accepted, who was present at the transfer. I remember that Nina Lych, the Chairman of the Belarusian Association of FJPF, handed personally the cap with the collected money to the editor of «Sud'ba». That's how «Sud'ba» appeared.

Until now, many people are surprised how the newspaper “Sud'ba” survives, in the total absence of budgetary or other funding, with a meager material and technical base, with an editorial staff consisting only of an editor who has to perform on a voluntary basis every imaginable type of work: literary, design, proof-reading, production, technological, forwarding, courier. The IUFJP newspaper have existed for almost a quarter of a century, contrary to the predictions of those who argued that issue of own publication for such a cash-strapped organization as the IUFJP was an empty undertaking, a mere quixotism. They used to say, you are doomed and would abandon your plans a few months later. No, we did not. At all stages of our movement, our newspaper played an important role.

One can say that thanks to “Sud'ba”, a culture of charitable assistance has been formed on a regular basis in our union. For more than two decades the former prisoners have trusted charitable foundation “Newspaper ‘Sud'ba’”, the publisher of the newspaper. Donations to the newspaper from year to year ensure its regular release and independent existence.

And remember the care of the Bryansk Foundation in support of the newspaper “Sud'ba”. With the funds collected in Bryansk, more than 10 years ago, an editorial and publishing complex was purchased, on which “Sud'ba” is published today.

The most important principle of editorial policy, which determines the very existence of the newspaper “Sud'ba”, was and remains an extremely careful attitude to the memories of prisoners. Modern media do not give a complete picture of the lives of people who survived in Hitler's concentration camps. They extremely rare publish interviews with victims, their memories of the occupation, their forced driving to a foreign land, slave labor and existence at Reich's plants and factories, gavel work, bullying in concentration camps, the happiness of returning to their homeland, the bitter fate after liberation. The activity of public associations defending the rights and interests of the victims of Nazism is hushed up. There are no stories and essays about visiting places of forced labor, where people lost their strength, health, lost their relatives and friends. As for “Sud'ba”, a publication created by prisoners and for prisoners, our newspaper is filled from the first to the last page with letters and materials warning generations that violence against human nature and personality, especially in childhood and adolescence, is unacceptable and disastrous. Pages “Letters to ‘Sud'ba’”, “Mail of ‘Sud'ba’”, “From Mail”, etc. arouse wide response. Mail generates mail. Interest in “Sud'ba” is shown by school museums, children's and youth libraries. Each letter containing elements of memories of being in captivity, in a concentration camp or on forced labor is published without any correction other than spell check. We try to preserve the author's style, not to emasculate facts, to highlight the basic idea. We do not “trim” letters to one standard, we save figurative and expressive sayings from the former, camp vocabulary, we keep a living, direct speech of a person about what saved his memory after decades.

Yes, as the editor of the publication, which often publishes touching memories, I often think: is it possible to fully believe everything that is reported by the elderly people who survived the war? Firstly, many tragic events related to the initial stage of the formation of the personality, and even more so of the infant,

could not only slip out of memory, but even never arise in the mind, and if they arose, it could be displaced from memory forever with years.

Secondly, the memory of childhood, consciously or unconsciously, is corrected and interpreted for decades already from the position of an adult, and today an elderly person. Involuntarily you will think, reading these memoirs: «But was it all like that?» But when you read a frank and bitter confession, you reflect on the fate of the author, who exclude any anonymity of the publication (as a rule, those writing to «Sud'ba» by hand inform their home address and telephone number), you crosscheck the facts of his concentration camp biography with known historical events, you come to the conviction that everything what a person writes about was in reality. Yes, he was a child, but what is most important, he does not doubt what happened to him during the war.

«Does not doubt» — this is what determines the publication!

Moreover, not everything is said in the confessions of people who suffered from Nazism during the war!

We do not have the right to forget that in Stalin's times, and even in Khrushchev's and Brezhnev's too, those who were behind the barbed wire of fascist camps were often named almost as traitors. They used to say, honest people fought, and you were God knows where. Many people preferred not to talk about their military past. Only in the 1960s and 1970s in the Soviet Union the search for children from concentration camps began at the initiative of individual writers and journalists. Documentary stories, newspaper and magazine essays, and radio broadcasts began to appear in the territories that survived the occupation. However, the authorities did not encourage all this. A story is known about former prisoners of Auschwitz and Mauthausen, brothers Anatoly and Vitaly Savchenko, who tried in the Ukraine to organize the issue of a newspaper of former prisoners. They were convicted of «anti-Soviet activities» and expelled from the country. Only in the beginning of perestroika, in the 1990s, the Soviet people, so to say, began to speak out, have recognized their dignity, honor and pride, reached an understanding of the essence of the past, the tragic that took place during the harsh years of the war.

The reality of our events and destinies is that in the post-Soviet society during the so-called perestroika years, desperate attempts were made to influence the historical memory of the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945. The majority of the media in Russia, for example, pursued a policy of de-heroizing its history, exaggerating the mistakes and errors of Stalin's leadership during the war years, unjustified human losses, and so on. As a result, politicians, journalists and scientists who belong to the generation of children and grandchildren of the participants in and contemporaries of the Second World War, have already become among the people most affecting the historical memory. And these people are far from being unambiguous in the assessment of what happened to us, the former juvenile prisoners of fascism. You can hardly count on their compassion. Remember the publications in the «Sud'ba», telling about ignorance of modern officials and functionaries, their insulting questions addressed to us: «Were really there those concentration camps?» «If they killed people in the camps, then why did you stay alive?», «What do we owe juvenile prisoners. Is it due to the fact that they were not finished there?»

We must admit that the truth about the fates of children during the war breaks into the public consciousness on the shoulders of our social, humanistic movement. Our memories became the basis for a dialogue with the society. Our worthy contribution to this beneficial process was made and continues to be made by our newspaper «Sud'ba», which is known everywhere where prisoners live.

Nevertheless, the fact remains: bitter fate of Soviet children trapped in the occupied territory, captured by fascists and stolen into slavery, thrown into Hitler's concentration camps and suffered there to a full measure, has not yet reached the depths of public consciousness properly. Our fates and biographies are in the shadow of memory up to now. This was stressed at the 6th reporting and election conference of the RUFNP, which took place on June 16 in St. Petersburg. This is confirmed by reports regularly sent to «Sud'ba» from the organizations of prisoners of Belarus, Ukraine and other countries.

Dear friends,

We, the former juvenile prisoners of fascism, are the last witnesses of the Second World War and the immediate participants in the Great Patriotic War. United in the international union, we have an amazing luxury — our own regular publication, which makes a worthy contribution to the overall picture of the people's memory of the war! To save this publication, to continue this holy work and to meet, together with "Sud'ba", the 75th anniversary of the Victory over fascism with dignity is an urgent task of our movement.

We are still alive!



## BABII YAR: PAST AND PRESENT. MEMORY CHALLENGES

# ANATOLY PODOLSKY

**Ph.D. in History**  
**Kiev, Ukraine**



For the past quarter of a century, a tradition has already been established in the sovereign Ukraine to commemorate the victims of Babii Yar, which was virtually impossible to imagine in the days of the Soviet regime (until 1991) in Kiev and other places of mass killing of Ukrainian Jews during the Second World War and the Nazi occupation of the Ukraine.

In those years it was difficult or nearly impossible to imagine a true culture of memory about the terrible crimes of Hitlerite Germany against Jews, Ukrainians, Gypsies, Poles, Russians, representatives of other peoples and ethnic groups, prisoners of war, whose relatives were often forbidden to come to the places of massacres. They were afraid to pass on the memory of their relatives, tortured by the Nazis, to their children.

Such a situation of fear and forced oblivion in a post-war Ukraine was the result of a policy of commemoration of the Soviet power with regard to the Second World War (Great Patriotic in the terms of that time), formed during the war by Stalin and his entourage. According to this policy, all victims of Nazism ("fascism" in the language of the Soviet ideological machine) were labeled by the euphemism «peaceful Soviet citizens» or «the Soviet people». The authorities prohibited the allocation of the victims on ethnic, national, religious grounds; first of all it concerned the Jews. Victims of Babii Yar were defined solely as Soviet citizens. Such a totalitarian false political concept in the minds of several post-war generations has discredited the memory of the monstrous number of murdered Jews on the

territory of the Ukraine.

In the today's Ukraine, a true memory, in particular about the events in Babii Yar, is going through a process of a rather complex, sometimes painful formation and often has a contradictory nature. This memory is activated in the Ukrainian society and the State, as a rule, on the eve of mournful dates, commemorative practices become more active, all state bodies issue orders for honoring events, the media, political, cultural, educational spheres, etc. are activated. After mourning, the interest in the events of the past, attention to and respect for the memory culture is postponed until the next anniversary. Unfortunately, this strangely reminds us of the approaches of the totalitarian communist regime: the desire to remain in the networks of oblivion.

For the State and to a large extent for modern Ukrainian society, work on places of memory, interest in one's own history, tragic events of the past is not a mainstream. Perhaps this reluctance to know and remember the difficult past is one of the reasons for the tragic events of the Ukrainian modern history, in particular the last two years and the military conflict in the east of the country. I am convinced, and my experience in the field of research and teaching of the history of the Holocaust helps to realise and understand that the security of the Ukraine today is not only to strengthen the defense capability of the armed forces, gas independence or the solution of major economic problems. It also consists in an open-minded approach to understanding the lessons of the past, in responsibility for memory.

Who knows today the truth about the incredibly terrible and tragic events in Babii Yar, about the people killed there 75 years ago? Who remembers the place and the crime that happened there, as part of his national Ukrainian history? What is happening now in the territory of Babii Yar? Do they plan, after all, to create the Museum of the History of Babii Yar? This should be considered.

A bit of history. Relying on German and Soviet documents, Babii Yar in Kiev is one of the most horrible places of Nazi massacres of Jews of Eastern and Central Europe during the Second World War. It was here, in Kiev, that one of the most monstrous acts of the Holocaust was committed, when the military took lives from civilians. September 29-30, 1941 in Babii Yar, the punitive units of the SS (namely the Einsatzgruppe Ts, the German police battalion Yug and their assistants) killed 33,771 people. These were exclusively Jews: women, men, children, the elderly...

For two years (1941-1943), the German occupation authorities and its punitive bodies turned Babii Yar into a place of constant

murders. During this period, the invaders executed about 100 thousand people... They killed people twice a week. The last shootings were held on November 4, 1943, two days before the liberation of Kiev by the troops of the First Ukrainian Front of the Red Army. Victims of the Nazis, except Jews, were prisoners of Syretsky concentration camp, patients of psychiatric hospitals, Ukrainian nationalists, Gypsies, civilians of Kiev of various nationalities. According to current historical studies, today we can quite cautiously tell about 100 thousand dead, among them about 65-70 thousand Jews, the rest are other victims of the Nazis.

In addition to the documents of the two repressive anti-human regimes, there are evidences of those who survived this tragedy, who witnessed the crimes of the German authorities in Babii Yar and Kiev. After the war, despite the ideological prohibition to remember the truth, Soviet censorship of texts, which logically followed from this prohibition, literary works appeared about the tragedy of Babii Yar. In my opinion, the very testimony of people who survived and saw this real end of the

**Все жи́ды города́ Кіева и его окрестностей должны явиться в понедельник 29 сентября 1941 года к 8 часам утра на угол Мельниковой и Доктеривской улиц (возле кладбища).**

**Взять с собой документы, деньги и ценные вещи, а также теплую одежду, белье и пр.**

**Кто из жидов не выполнит этого распоряжения и будет найден в другом месте, будет расстрелян.**

**Кто из граждан проникнет в оставленные жидами квартиры и присвоит себе вещи, будет расстрелян.**

**Наказується всім жидам міста Кіева і околиць зібратися в понеділок дня 29 вересня 1941 року до год. 8 ранку при вул. Мельника — Доктерівській (коло кладовища).**

**Всі повинні забрати з собою документи, гроші, білизну та інше.**

**Хто не підпорядкується цьому розпорядженню буде розстріляний.**

**Хто займе жидівське мешкання або розграбує предмети з тих мешкань, буде розстріляний.**

Samtliche Juden der Stadt Kiew und Umgebung haben sich am Montag, dem 29. September 1941 bis 8 Uhr i Ecke der Melnik- und Dokteriwski-Straße (an dem Friedhofen) einzufinden.

Mitzunehmen sind Dokumente, Geld- und Wertsachen, sowie warme Bekleidung, Wäsche usw.

Wer dieser Aufforderung nicht nachkommt und anderweitig angetroffen wird, wird erschossen.

Wer in verlassene Wohnungen von Juden eindringt oder sich Geringfügiges daraus aneignet, wird erschossen.

*Announcement of the German occupation authorities about the collection of all Jews of Kiev. 1941.*

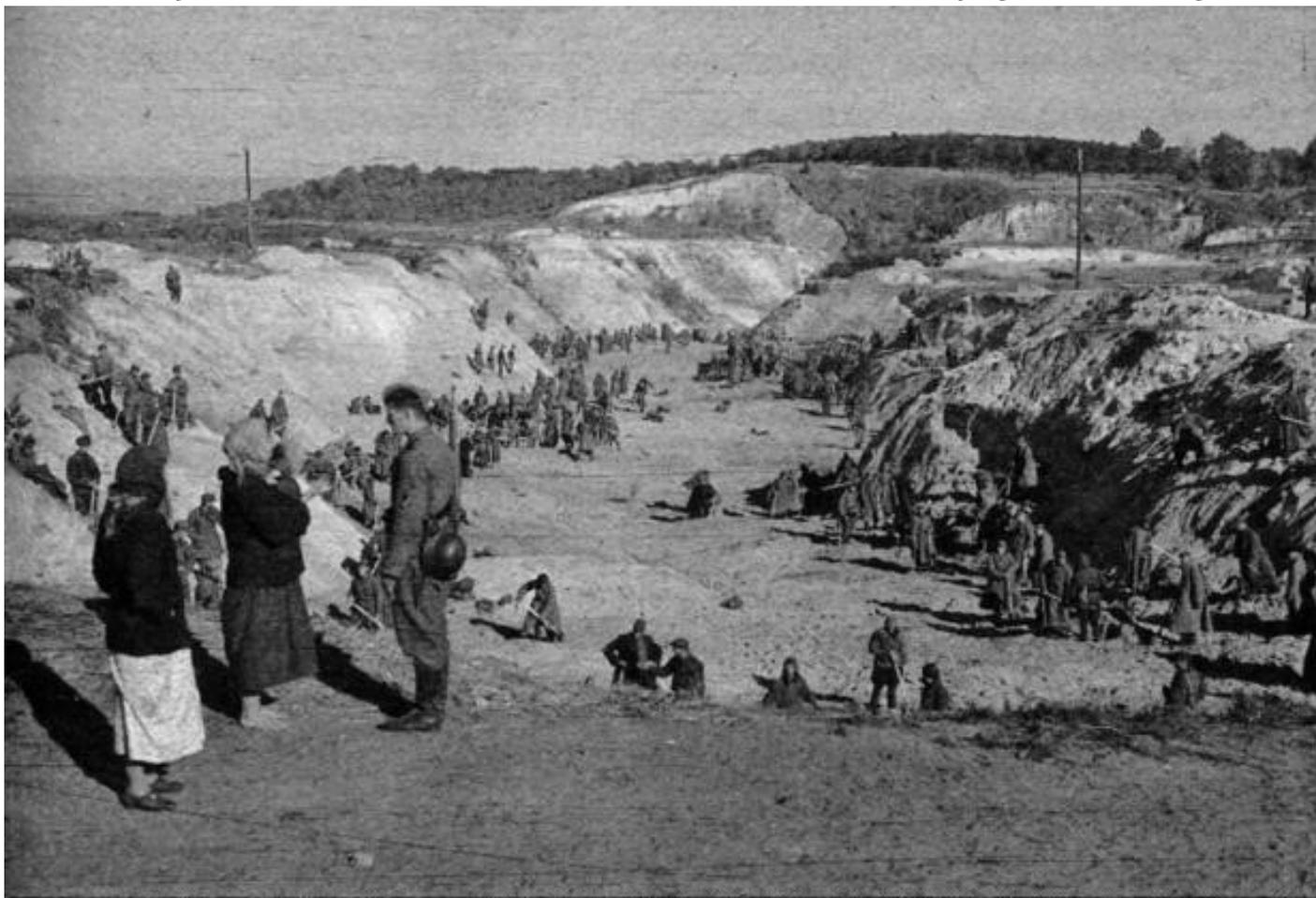
world can bring us closer to the understanding of what happened then, to genuine emotional reflections, empathy for people who found themselves in the face of death, unspeakably terrible death... We must worry today and feel sorry while reading these texts, learn to sympathize, otherwise we will be doomed to another ... The degradation of a human, as happened in autumn 1941 in Babii Yar, can happen just tomorrow or even today...

Therefore, I want to quote two large excerpts from the earliest texts on the tragedy of Babii Yar and the Holocaust victims in general in the Ukraine. This is an essay by the well-known Soviet Jewish writer Vasily Grossman from Berdichev, «Ukraine without Jews», which appeared on November 25, 1943 in the newspaper «Eynicite» in Yiddish. And the stunning essay of the Kiever, the Jewish writer Itzik Kipnis, «Babii Yar, To the Third Anniversary,» which appeared in 1944 also in Yiddish. They were translated to Russian, and

were soon banned. The opportunity to read them appeared only after the collapse of the Soviet Union, during the years of independent Ukraine...

First Itzik Kipnis: "... *Let's go all this way, let's go through those streets that were full with our brothers and sisters, still alive. They walked from Podol and Demievka, walked from Kurenevka and Shulyavka, Bolshaya and Malaya Vasilyevskie treacherously released from their yards whole families and singles, young and old, small children and old people. In Lvovskaya, they all flocked to one river, a river of massacre and destruction, they were going deceived and devastated, tightly knotted, they terrified those who watched them go, although some of them were dressed in all the best clothes they had. They drove so many people in the street, a lot of people, one could say, all the people!*

*Where were your hearts at this hour, my sisters and thousands of my children? May I be the*



*Babi Jar, 29./30. 9. 1941 – Erschießung von  
33 771 jüdischen Menschen.*

*Soviet prisoners of war clear Babii Yar, October 1941.*

*the redeeming sacrifice for you!*

*...That's why I want that now, three years later, we go there on foot...*

*Almost four years have passed since we were out of home. And now we met all together on this day of mourning in this sad procession. They came from all parts of the country to the liberated Home. And hometown, like our mother, must embrace us, cheer up and get back to life. The path was hard and thorny, and the time of separation is saturated with bitterness and pain of loss.*

*So clear are the skies, so pleasant are the warmth and richness of the autumn colors, the golden leaves on the trees and on the earth, like sad farewell greetings to the departing summer! Did the city shine so bright under the Germans? It cannot be so! And the road to Babii Yar three autumns ago? Did not the sun dim at the sight of all that horror?.."*

It is hard for me to comment on this text, it is really very hard, my heart aches, and I am just going crazy... Today the sun is also shining over Kiev, we need to go on living, but reread it as often as possible...

**Vasily Grossman:** "...Deep stillness. Silence. The people were murdered maliciously. Old craftsmen, experienced master hands were killed: tailors, cappers, shoemakers, copper workers, jewelers, painters, furriers, bookbinders; workers were killed: porters, mechanics, electricians, carpenters, bricklayers, locksmiths, tractor drivers, truck drivers, woodworkers, water carriers, millers, bakers, cooks; doctors were killed: therapists, dental technicians, surgeons, gynecologists; scientists were killed: bacteriologists and biochemists, university clinic directors, teachers of history, algebra and trigonometry, privat-docents, chair assistants, candidates and doctors of all kinds of sciences; engineers were killed: metallurgists, bridge builders, architects, locomotive makers; accountants, bookkeepers, tradesmen, supply agents, secretaries, night watchmen were killed; teachers and seamstresses were killed; grandmothers who could knit stockings and bake delicious cookies, boil broth and make a strudel with nuts and apples, were killed, and grandmothers who could not do many things, were killed: they only knew how to love their children and their children's children; women who were loyal to their husbands, and frivolous women were killed; beautiful girls, scholarly students and

jovial schoolgirls were killed; ugly and stupid were killed; crook-backed, singers, blind, deaf were killed; they killed violinists and pianists, two-year-olds and three-year-olds, they killed eighty-year-olds with cataracts in dull eyes, with cold transparent fingers and soft voices, like rustling paper; and they killed screaming babies eagerly sucking mother's breast until the last minute. All were killed, many hundreds of thousands - a million Jews in the Ukraine. This is not death in a war with weapon in hand, not the death of people who left the house, family, field, songs, books, traditions, history somewhere. This is the killing of the people, the murder of the home, family, books, faith. This is the killing of the tree of life, it is the death of roots, not just of branches and leaves. This is the murder of the soul and body of the people, the killing of a great work experience accumulated by thousands of intelligent, talented artists and intellectuals for generations. It is the murder of people's morals, traditions, funny folk legends passing from grandfathers to grandchildren. It is the murder of memories and sad songs, folk poetry about a merry and a bitter life. It is the destruction of domestic nests and cemeteries. This is a destruction of the people, who for centuries lived next door to the Ukrainian people, worked along with them, sharing joy and sorrow in the same land..."

Kievan Jews, Jews of the Ukraine were part of the Ukrainian society. Not only they were. Those who live in the Ukraine today, the modern Jewish community is also a part of our society and shares its Sud'ba. Thus, the history of Babii Yar is also part of Ukrainian national history. Probably, it should be only so, and then rendering honors to the memory of Jews and other victims of Babii Yar should be the task of the State, the society. Because it is our own history.

It is clear that the Memorial Reserve in the territory where the executions took place is possibly the future Museum of the History of the Babii Yar and should first of all be protected by the State. However, in my opinion, if the Ukrainian society has taken serious steps in the field of perpetuating memory, in the study and teaching of the history of Babii Yar for 25 years, the State still has to prove its honest readiness to take responsibility for the memory of the past. And the preservation and dissemination of true memory of Babii Yar should

become a litmus test for Ukrainian state institutions of their ability to do something for the Ukraine.

The history of the Babii Yar requires our shared responsibility. The State today does not prohibit scientific, educational or public activities in the field of memory of the Holocaust, but it does not initiate such events and does not really support them, although at the same time it almost always declares this support. That expressly demonstrates the lack of a state policy of memory about the victims of the Second World War in the Ukraine. This is a challenge to the historical community of the Ukraine, to our society. We should promote awareness of the tragedy of the Babii Yar as a universal symbol, the memory of which should be preserved for the sake of a better understanding of the nature of totalitarian regimes and human society.

Finally, Babii Yar is a place in Kiev, which to this day remains a sad symbol of the policy of genocide of Nazi Germany. An example of manipulation of historical memory inherent in the Soviet Union. A vivid evidence of the current state of memory of the Second World War in the modern Ukrainian society.



*Monument to the children's victims murdered in Babii Yar was installed on September 30, 2001.*

*Photo: Vasili Artyushenko, ZN.UA*



## NATIONAL SOCIALIST FORCED LABOR AT THE LIEBENAU GUNPOWDER FACTORY – BRIEF OVERVIEW



# MARTIN GUSE, POLINA ANOSHKO

## Gunpowder Factory in Liebenau Documentation Center, Germany

### *The history and significance of the historical site*

The Liebenau Gunpowder Factory in 1941-1945 was one of the largest weapons production facilities in the Nazi State. Its construction began in 1939 in the settlements of Liebenau and Steyerberg district of Nienburg/Weser (near Hanover). 70 firms were involved in its creation, the total area of the factory was 12 sq km. The construction took place on behalf of the Wehrmacht High Command and Wolff & Co from Walsrode. There were more than 400 separate production buildings, 21 of them underground, under the secret name «Installation of Karl». Of course, camouflage played an important role. All buildings were built with roofs in the form of baths, which were planted with trees. Thus, from above the territory looked like an ordinary forest. All the buildings were connected by a road network 84 km long and by railways 42 km long. The territory was divided into 9 sections, different in their purpose. High Command was the customer, the owner and the construction manager. The planner and developer was Wolff & Co., and the contractor was Eibia GmbH (a subsidiary of Wolff & Co., created specifically for this purpose), which leased production facilities from the Supreme Command upon their readiness and provided labor, so that the High Command was not officially a manufacturer of weapons. In 1941, the production of gunpowder began. Eibia GmbH company was one of the largest gunpowder manufactures in the Third Reich. Until 1945, 41,000 tons of gunpowder were produced in Libenau only, while handling of

chemical materials was very dangerous to health and was accompanied by a permanent threat of explosions.

A whole separate “microcosm” appeared on the territories adjacent to the production complex, which was a closely interlinked system of 8 camps (3 stone and 5 wooden barracks) to accommodate the labor force in Liebenau and Steyerberg. The production of gunpowder was carried out with the total involvement of more than 20,000 forced laborers from the countries occupied by the Wehrmacht.

The workforce accommodation was organized in the system of newly-built camps: two stone camps in Liebenau and Steyerberg for Western Europeans and Germans, the so-called “Shelter house for single people” for German workers in Liebenau, as well as five different barracks in the two settlements.

The wooden buildings served as a place of residence for foreign and forced laborers, prisoners of war were stationed in one camp in Libenau for Spaniards and Italians, in two others in Liebenau for Poles, French, Danes and Dutchmen, and in the camp for Eastern workers and prisoners of war in Steyerberg for women and men from the Soviet Union.

In Liebenau there was also a camp built originally for the Polish workers. In 1940, it was transformed into a workers’ educational camp, where prisoners from other camps were sent for various faults. The prisoners of this camp were subjected to a particularly inhuman and racist treatment. Everyone received his tenure in this camp: 14, 22, 26, 45 or 55 days. For those who received the highest

penalty — 55 days, this meant death, no one could survive such a term. 250 deaths were officially registered, mainly among prisoners from the Soviet Union and Poland.

The remaining registration cards of the communities of Liebenau and Steyerberg certify more than 11,000 names of foreign workers who were at the plant in Liebenau. They were from the following countries: Poland, the Soviet Union (from today's Belarus and the Ukraine), Belgium, Holland, France, Italy, Czech Republic, Bulgaria, Serbia, Croatia, Slovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Denmark and Greece. This factory also received thousands of Soviet prisoners of war and prisoners of the "Workers' Educational Camp" in Liebenau. Work, treatment and nutrition met the criteria of the National Socialist racist ideology: at the top of the hierarchy were civilian foreign workers and forced workers and prisoners of war from Western and northern European states, at the very bottom of the hierarchy were Soviet prisoners of war and eastern forced laborers, "Ostarbeiters". For the East European workers, this was associated with cruel treatment, starvation and often death.

More than 2,000 forced laborers died from digestive system diseases, hunger and torture, and were shot or hanged.

Polish and Soviet victims were buried in the factory cemetery, today's "POW Cemetery in Hesterberg." Western European victims were buried in church cemeteries of communities.

### ***Memorable place and international educational work***

The size of the factory, its value for the Third Reich, the labor and death of thousands of forced workers are of importance to this day. This became the basis for intensive work to preserve the memory of these events and for the educational work. The territory of the former gunpowder factory has been used for military purposes until the mid-1990s. The entrance was forbidden to outsiders. This had a great impact on the fact that the history of this place was simply forgotten in the postwar period. However, the increased requests for evidence and documents, as well as the first visits of former forced laborers, which caused high public interest, led to the establishment in 1999 of Public Association Documentation Center of the Liebenau Gunpowder Factory with the aim of establishing a sustainable

documentation and education center. The results of the studies of National Socialist forced labor at the Liebenau gunpowder factory were presented to the public in various publications, at exhibitions, in the form of reports, and on the Internet. The main component of the educational work in Liebenau is regular excursions and information visits to the territory of the former gunpowder factory, the locations of the former camps, and the factory cemetery, which today is the cemetery of prisoners of war in Hesterberg.

Along with contacts with former forced laborers and their families from Eastern and Western Europe, several international projects are noted, implemented in partnership with school and youth groups, as well as partner organizations in Poland, the Ukraine, Belarus and the Netherlands. Workshops and project weeks are aimed at different target groups. Integrative approach allows accounting the needs and features of people with disabilities and learning difficulties. Thus, integrative international youth educational work has become one of the main priorities of the Documentation Center.

There has been a youth volunteer group since 2002, organized under the Documentation Center of the Liebenau Gunpowder Factory. These young people support the Documentation Center according to their capabilities: they help to find and process documents, make translations, which allows them to maintain contact with former forced workers of the factory and their families, participate in the preparation of various events, attend the events of partner organizations, make reports on the activities of Documentation Center, they also take care of the cemetery of prisoners of war.

As already mentioned, there was a workers' educational camp during the war in the territory of today's school in Liebenau, the prisoners of which were subjected to especially cruel treatment. In 2007, Katerina Derevyanko, a former forced laborer of the gunpowder factory, came to Liebenau. She planted a maple tree in the courtyard of the school in memory of those died in that camp. Soon the representatives of the youth group of the Documentation Center decided that this place should be perfected in some way. They organized a competition for the best designing idea among students of this school. The winner was

chosen by the majority of votes. Young people on their own laid a square around the maple in the form of a flower as a symbol of life, inside of which they laid out from colored tiles the flags of the countries, people from which died in the camp. Young people monitor the condition of this area to this day and regularly take care of it.

To date, Liebenau still does not have a memorial and an educational center with regular, lengthy exhibitions, but appropriate planning has begun to restructure one empty part of the school in Liebenau for this purpose, since this educational institution was built in the 1960s at the site of the former Liebenau Labor Educational Camp. It is planned that after the establishment of such a center they will conduct research work there, hold various events, exhibitions, as well as international youth exchanges on the subject of forced labor in a gunpowder factory.

However, despite active planning, there are certain difficulties. Since the Documentation Center is not a large memorial complex in a big city, but a small public organization in the countryside, it is extremely difficult to find support for its activities.

In the context of the theme of our conference I want to note the following important points:

- representatives of the local community initiate such work to preserve memory;
- until now the Documentation Center exists at the expense of very small membership and sponsorship contributions of interested people, and mainly through volunteer support;
- the Documentation Center is used in educational activities, including the work with intractable children;
- it has become an international integration platform, since young people from different countries are involved in the activities;
- the Documentation Center is a site for dialogue between young people and a war generation (former forced workers of the gunpowder factory);
- active participation of young people in the center's activities allows them to better orientate themselves in today's events, have their own opinion, instill a sense of rejection of discrimination, cruelty, and aggression.



*Forced laborers at the gunpowder factory in Liebenau.*



# NAZI PERSECUTION OF CIVILIANS IN BELARUS. 1941-1944. INTERPRETATION OF THE THEME IN THE EXHIBITION AND SCIENTIFIC ACTIVITIES OF THE BELARUSIAN STATE MUSEUM OF THE HISTORY OF THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR

## NATALIA A. YATSKEVICH

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The study of the Nazi persecution of civilians was not given due attention during the Soviet period. In the winning country the honor and glory were absolutely deservedly rewarded and rendered now to front-line soldiers, partisans and underground fighters, to those who won victory in battles. Regarding citizens who did not participate in the fighting, but who were most severely affected by the war, they were in the shadows, and their fates did not interest anyone for many years. We call these people victims of war or citizens who suffered from Nazi persecution. The interest in this category of people who survived the war appeared in the early 1990s, which coincided with the collapse of the USSR, and was also largely due to the decision of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany on payment of material compensation to the persons affected by Nazism in the occupied territories and in the Reich camps. The same period of time was characterized by a breakthrough in studying the history of the Great Patriotic War, primarily in the source study: archival documents classified for many years, became available to the public. Historians were given the opportunity to consider the events of the Great Patriotic War based on previously inaccessible documentary materials, stored not only in the archives of the post-Soviet space, but also in Western Europe and, primarily, in Germany. With the introduction of new documents into scientific circulation, a possibility appeared of an objective assessment of events, elimination of the «blind-spots» of history, correction of certain assessments and views.

In accordance with the development of historical science, the exposition of the Belarusian State Museum of the History of the Great Patriotic War has developed and changed. In my speech I will show how the theme of the Nazi persecution of the civilian population was revealed in the museum exposition at different time stages.

#### Occupation regime

The exposition, open to visitors on October 22, 1944, three months after the liberation of Minsk by the Red Army, represented two large collections of exhibits - the Bolshevik (in the terms of that time) clandestine printing and self-made partisan weapons. But already in the next 1945 the exposition was supplemented with a new section "Occupation regime and atrocities of German fascist invaders in Belarus". Among the materials about the destruction of cities and villages there were photographs of the forced movement of people in slavery, photographs of executions of civilians, ghettos, about bullying of prisoners of war and a set of genuine objects from the fascist camp of Trostenets. The systematic collection of documents, photographs and materials "showing the atrocities of German occupants in the territory of Belarus" for the future Museum of the History of the Great Patriotic War began with the Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of September 30, 1943. The crimes of the Nazis in the occupied territories began to be publicized by the Extraordinary State Commission, established in 1942, through their printed issues, in the years

of the Great Patriotic War (since 1943, it has started its work in the liberated areas of Belarus). Also a valuable source was the partisan press of that time, which promptly informed the population about the atrocities of the invaders. This information came to the Greater Land. During the museum's work in 1944-1945 its workers collected a unique set of genuine objects from the Trostenets camp, the SD prisons of Minsk and Borisov, and other places of Nazi crimes. Since then and up to now, in each of the four buildings that the museum has been located since its creation, the theme of the occupation regime is present and is exclusive, because no other country suffered such destruction and losses as Belarus.

A number of documents testify to the direct participation of the Wehrmacht, the armed forces of Germany, in the crimes against civilians: in particular, the organization of the first and the last camps in the occupied territory of Belarus, in Drozdy and Ozarichi, where a significant number of civilians were killed. But the main guilt was borne by the occupation authorities, in particular the security police and SD security service, which turned the territory of Belarus into a testing ground for the extermination of huge masses of people from all over Europe. 260 Nazi camps and places of mass destruction operated during the years of the occupation of Belarus. The result of this bloody activity was the death of 1,547,000 civilians and 810,000 Soviet prisoners of war, according to Belarusian sources.

### **Ghetto**

The most affected categories of the civilian population are Jews and Gypsies, who, according to Nazis' intentions, were to disappear from the face of the earth. The Minsk ghetto organized by order of the field commandant, was one of the largest in Eastern Europe. The order on creation of the ghetto, the way of life, pogroms, deportation from Western Europe — such materials are presented in the museum's exposition. Righteous men. This theme first appeared in the museum in the 1990's. First at the exhibition «The Tragedy of the Minsk Ghetto», then in the permanent exposition during its reorganization in 2006. By the way, the museum exposition and exhibitions are the most accessible and effective form of popularization of history, as well as a means of

studying the history of their homeland within the school and university curricula.

In 2008, on the occasion of the 65th anniversary of the destruction of the Minsk ghetto, the Museum prepared an exhibition “War. The Holocaust. Memory without limitation period”, in which the Trostenets camp at a separate stand and deportation of Jews from Europe to Minsk were shown for the first time. Translated into German, the exhibition was successfully demonstrated in Germany at the Berlin-Karlshorst Museum in 2011. It is still being demonstrated in German cities. The issue of the deportation of Jews to Belarus, previously completely unknown and closed to the public, is now actively developing in scientific studies and is being presented in expositions. The problem of a wider display of this topic in Belarus, as well as the Holocaust in general, is a limited number of genuine exhibits. In the modern museum exposition there are information terminals for photo and documentary material.

### **Forced labor**

The issue of forced labor of Soviet citizens has always been considered in the context of the crimes of the Hitlerite invaders against the civilian population. But it was not an independent subject of profound scientific research, separate museum expositions, or wide public discussions.

Although photographs of the forced movement of the population to Germany were already present in the first museum expositions as evidence of Nazi crimes, but they had a depersonalized, general nature. Address to the personalities, the destinies of people began during the “Khrushchev's Thaw” in the 1960s. But the interest was, first of all, to the former prisoners of the Nazi camps, to a lesser extent to prisoners of the ghetto, while the category of eastern workers — citizens who were forcibly taken into fascist slavery, remained practically in oblivion until the early 1990s.

For the first time the topic of eastern workers was fully voiced in 2005 at the exhibition “Belarusian Ostarbeiters. The history of forced labor and reconciliation.” In fact, our museum created two options for the exhibition: one for the Belarusian national foundation “Mutual Understanding and Reconciliation”, arranged in two war time carriages, and the second for the museum. The exhibition was financed by

the Foundation “Remembrance, Responsibility, Future”, the organization of work was carried out by the Foundation “Mutual Understanding and Reconciliation”. At the exhibitions the materials of our museum, the National Archives of the Republic of Belarus, the KGB archive and archives of Germany were used. This was an example of the excellent international creative cooperation between Belarus and Germany. The work on the exhibition supplemented the funds of our museum with personal exhibits and documents: exhibits belonging to Lev Kolosov, a young oriental worker, photographs and materials of Krasnogir Nina Alexandrovna, Danilova Nadezhda Stepanovna, the Sosinovsky’s family and many other former forced laborers. The German side provided materials on the captivity of the Belarusians. A valuable collection of the museum are the letters of the Ostarbeiters to their homeland.

All this allowed us to enrich the museum exposition on this topic, to put the person in the foreground: the teenager, the woman, the family. The modern exposition on the subject “Forced labor” is represented by an installation in the form of a freight car, in which the fascists took people to the Reich for hard labor. The dominant of the exposition is the lapel badge “Ost”, which was used to mark all the eastern workers, which has become a symbol of captivity for almost 5 million Slavs moved to fascist slavery from the occupied territories of the USSR. In the exposition there is an information terminal, in which photographs of Belarusian Ostarbeiters are posted.

In scientific terms, the study of the topic “Forced Labor” resulted in a 4-volume edition of the collection of documents and a historical and analytical study “Belarusian Ostarbeiters. Movement of the Belarusian population for forced labor in Germany”, 1996-2001. By the way, the result of scientific research on this topic was the change in the number of Belarusians forced to Germany from 377,000 according to the Extraordinary State Commission, up to 399,000 people.

The topic is still up to date. The issue of repatriation, the long journey to their homeland through displaced persons camps, numerous inspections and filtration by special bodies, the post-war life of former ostarbeiters, the taboo policy of the Soviet leadership have not been sufficiently studied.

### **Punitive operations**

140 punitive operations were carried out by the Nazis against the partisans and the population within three years. They were held from the first days of the occupation. In July 1941, police regiment «Center» organized a punitive action in Belovezhskaya Pushcha and adjacent areas, in the course of which many settlements were destroyed. In the broadest sense of the word, punitive operations are also qualified as harassment and destruction of the civilian population. The purpose of these operations was purely military (the destruction of partisans, and along with them of the civilian population, as potential opponents of the Nazis) and economic (the seizure of labor, destruction of villages with the entire economy as an economic base of partisan resistance).

### **Burning down the villages**

More than 9,000 Belarusian villages suffered during the war. 628 were burned down completely with the population during punitive expeditions, 186 villages shared the fate of Khatyn, not being reborn after the war. The database on the burnt villages was created in the National Archives of the Republic of Belarus, as well as in the museum in the thematic information terminal. This theme is represented in the museum by a large installation. In its central part is a video wall showing the fragment of the feature film «Go and Watch» directed by Elem Klimov.

The cruelest crime of fascism on the Belarusian land was the use of civilians as hostages for the combat actions of partisans and underground fighters, for sabotage, for family members leaving for partisans, etc. A large number of families and closest relatives of partisan commanders, ordinary partisans and undergrounders were shot as hostages. So died mother of P.M. Masherov, 4 children of M.F.Shmyrev, a partisan commander of Bat’ka Minai. The invaders issued an order that the families of those who joined the partisans, and even those from whom they had rented the apartment, would be shot. One can cite as an example the fact of the public execution of the hostages in retaliation for the destruction by the partisans of the railway station Slavnoe in Kruglyansky District of Mogilev Region in August 1942. The punishment order came personally from Hitler who demanded the shooting of 100 people and burning down all villag-

es on either side of the Orsha-Borisov railway.

The Nazis placed all responsibility for safety on roads, in settlements, for any actions of partisans on the local population.

Thus, practically the entire population of Belarus turned into real hostages of the war between the two armies, the two political systems, in conditions when the Hitlerites tried to cope with armed resistance in their rear by mass repressions against the civilian population.

### **Extermination of children**

Children shared a heavy military burden with the adults. Both children and their parents were defenseless before gross armed violence. To say nothing about orphans. On September 23, 1942 at seven o'clock in the evening a 5-ton truck with armed Nazis entered the courtyard of the Domachevo children's home. The children were taken out of the premises, ranked them by one and counted. A senior German officer explained that the children would be taken to Brest orphanage. 56 children and teacher Polina Grokholskaya were taken to the forest 1.5 km from the village of Leplevka and shot.

Many children were prisoners of the largest camps in Belarus, Trostenets and Ozarichi. Children aged between 2 and 10 were imprisoned in a camp at Shirokaya Street in Minsk, the victims of which were 20,000 people.

Nikifor Timovich Tozik, a resident of Ozarichi village, counted, on the second day after the liberation of the Ozarichi camp in March 1944, more than 600 bodies of children aged from infancy to 10-15 years, who had frozen, died of hunger and diseases. In total, 33,480 people were released by the Red Army from the three Ozarichi camps, of which were 15,960 children under the age of 13.

The use of child labor was a gross violation of all international norms, a crime against the future. Simultaneously with the use of physical labor of children and teenagers, moral and ideological indoctrination of young Belarusians was conducted in a national chauvinistic spirit, especially in special camps for youth in Germany. The Nuremberg trial featured one of the secret documents of A. Rosenberg's department about children, dated June 14, 1944. It said: "The Army Group Center intends to seize 40,000 to 50,000 adolescents aged 10-14 years in the areas of their location and deliver them

to Germany." This action, which had the code name "Operation 'Hay'", was conducted on the initiative of the 9th Army. Further, the document stated that in no case should we allow adolescents to fall into the hands of the Bolsheviks in case of retreat, since this could lead to an increase in the enemy's military potential; "It is not just about strengthening the military potential of the enemy, but also about preventing the development of its biological strength in the future," and that this "exercise should be made strictly classified for propagandistic purposes and conducted under the motto: Reich's concern for Belarusian children."

According to the Republican Commission for Assistance in the work of the Extraordinary State Commission of the USSR fascists have taken to Germany 24,180 Belarusian children.

By the data of the same commission, 166,885 Belarusian children were killed during the Great Patriotic War. Of these, 155,237 were shot, 59 were hanged, 11,589 were burned. This information was collected hot on the trail by June 1945.

Thus, the destruction of children was part of the genocide policy pursued by fascist Germany against the people of Belarus.

### **Death camp Trostenets**

Finally, I would like to dwell on the topic "Trostenets Death Camp", which for many years has not got proper scientific research. Although the material evidence from this camp, as I have already mentioned, has been in the permanent exposition of our museum since 1945.

Only in our time, when the wall of hatred and misunderstanding that divided Europe and the whole world to the "West" and "East" collapsed, it became possible to use a serious scientific approach and, most importantly, broad public coverage of this issue, perhaps one of the central issues of the Nazi persecution. It was difficult for one museum to cope with the study of this topic and its popularization. Uniting the efforts of museum workers, scientists from Belarus and Germany, former prisoners of camps and ghettos, public funds and organizations, we shall be able to talk about great progress in studying this issue. I should mention two large joint publications on Trostenets, which were released in 2003 and 2016.

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On June 22, 2015 with the participation of the President of the Republic of Belarus, the first stage of the Trostenets memorial complex was opened in Minsk. The mobile exhibition “Death Camp Trostenets. History and Memory” is close to completion. This is a large Belarusian-German project, which has been prepared since autumn 2014. In November 2016 the exhibition will open in Hamburg, and in March next year — in Minsk at our museum. The joint work of the two countries in studying the difficult period of history is a bridge of peace and mutual understanding between the peoples of Belarus and Germany.



## THE FORGOTTEN LESSONS OF THE HOLOCAUST IN BURYATIA: A LOOK AT THE PROBLEM

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More than 70 years have passed since the end of the Second World War and the Great Patriotic War. It would seem that this impressive temporary distance reliably protects our contemporaries from the revival of that misanthropic ideology and practice of the genocide of entire nations, personified by Nazism. It would seem that humanity is insured at the genetic level against the revival of the preaching of racial and ethnic exclusivity, religious discord and intolerance.

However, the events taking place in the modern world, from nurturing of Nazism in the Ukraine to the misanthropic ideology and practice of religious extremists of the DAISH, and so on, show that fascism, Nazism, racism, religious extremism and fanaticism, other misanthropic ideologies are not at all obsolete. They are able to reborn. Their carriers today are very young people, and ethnic and religious blood purges, torchlight processions with Nazi symbols take place even in a «civilized» Europe.

My peaceful and prosperous in this respect Republic, the Republic of Buryatia was shocked recently by the news that one of its metropolitan residents, Alexander Tikhomirov, had become a member of terrorist gangs close to Al-Qaeda, banned in the Russian Federation, one of the largest ultra-radical international terrorist organizations of the Wahhabi trend of Islam. He also became an Islamic preacher and one of the ideologists of the North Caucasus armed underground of the so-called Caucasus Emirate under the name of Said Buryatsky.

Today there is no guarantee that misanthropic ideas will not find a fertile ground in the teenage and youth environment in any region of our country, since a «demand» for these savage ideas and no less savage practices has again appeared in the world. A purposeful struggle is being waged for young and fragile minds and souls that are psychologically vulnerable and unprotected from the technologies of manipulating the mass consciousness.

There are several ways to resist the spread of misanthropic ideas. On the one hand, through the widest possible socialization of youth, its involvement in various types of positive activities for the benefit of people. On the other hand, by familiarizing them with the true motives of the actions of those people who are their authorities, revealing the beastly nature of their claims to domination. And thirdly, it is necessary to keep sacredly the grains of historical memory, to acquaint teenagers with concrete examples of the lives of people who were victims of genocide or suffered from the hands of the executioners, and also to tell them about those who, at the risk of their lives, saved millions from the deaths in fascist captivity and death camps, who took very risky path of the righteous people of the world.

The history of the Holocaust is a terrible reminder for millions of our contemporaries of what the monsters of the human race are capable of, how humanity delivered a fair verdict upon the Nazis and leaders of the Reich, and that the inevitable payoff is waiting for the misanthropic ideas and actions of these new barbarians.

Buryatia, whose land the Nazis did not trample on, from where no peaceful population was forced to slavery, where there never were Jewish ghettos and mass executions of people of Jewish nationality, nevertheless, it has interesting examples of links with the Holocaust theme. Thus, thanks to a scientific and practical student conference, we learned that our fellow countryman Sahyanov, Vladimir Afanasievich, the deputy commander (political work) of the 406th regiment of the 100th division, liberated the Nazi death camp of Auschwitz. The Republic has become the guardian of the most unique and impressive archive of historical memory in Russia: testimonies against Nazi atrocities and political repression, to which the victims of fascism were subjected in the post-war Soviet Union.

Stories of eyewitnesses, recollections of prisoners of fascist concentration camps, their relatives and friends, were collected and carefully preserved by Leonid Sinegribov, editor of the newspaper of the international union of

former juvenile prisoners of fascism «Sud'ba», published in Ulan-Ude for 14 years. He himself, as a child, knew the horrors of the Nazi camps, but was saved by the Lithuanian family ... Leonid Sinegribov gave all his precious letters to the National Archives of the Republic of Buryatia.

Today Leonid Sinegribov is known as the chairman of the Russian Union of Former Juvenile Prisoners of Fascist Concentration Camps, as the founder and editor of the world's only printed publication dedicated to the victims of Nazism.

But this invaluable archive will be in demand if among the citizens of Buryatia, first of all among the youth of the republic, there will be a genuine interest in the problem of the Holocaust and a wider interest to the problem of the revival of misanthropic ideas in the modern world.

To find out to what extent the interest in this issue is expressed in the republic and what is in general the attitude of our compatriots



towards the Holocaust, we conducted a sociological survey of residents of Ulan-Ude and visitors on this topic, and then decided to single out the age group of respondents aged 13 to 25 years, namely the young students of Ulan-Ude.

Why did we conduct this survey? First of all, to reflect problems and to view the opinions of society. It is also promotion of the history of the whole people. Those respondents who could not answer a single question of the questionnaire, had to reflect willy-nilly on their knowledge related to the Holocaust.

The answers were often controversial. The interviews showed that the percentage of Ulan-Ude residents' awareness of the Holocaust is 43%, but 67% of all respondents answered positively whether they should remember those events.

The results of the survey among the young students also seemed quite contradictory to us. Thus, when asked how you had got to know about the Holocaust, 23% of respondents answered that this had taken place at school; of these, 70% of the respondents answered that the topic of Holocaust had not been included in the school curriculum. It can be concluded that, quite likely, the respondents had other sources of information, such as movies and TV shows, which revealed this problem deeply enough.

It should be noted that the respondents were of different sex and age, of different nationalities and religions, and also had different social status. There also were both urban and rural residents among the respondents.

the following conclusions can be made on the basis of the conducted pilot survey.

1. The history of the Holocaust, the events and the names of people who are somehow connected with it, are known in more detail to the residents of Ulan-Ude in the age group of 45-65 years. Surprisingly, this age group was educated in the USSR when the Holocaust theme was not openly publicized. It is likely that they acquired knowledge of the Holocaust from the historical subjects of TV programs or from movies on this subject, which successfully passed through various TV channels. This age group is more sensitive to historical plots, historical publications, talk-shows on historical topics on television.

2. Residents of Ulan-Ude at the age of 30 to 40 have more superficial knowledge about the Holocaust itself, its manifestations, although

Holocaust itself, its manifestations, although they were formed as individuals in the conditions of the Russian Federation, where the theme of the Holocaust has already been developed.

3. Young people aged 16 to 25 have a very poor understanding of the events being interviewed, many hear about it for the first time, although it was this age group that was able to obtain information about the Holocaust from school programs on the world and national history.

We believe that this is due to the fact that at school and in the mass media the problems of the genocide of the Jewish people are considered extremely rare, not systematically, not always in the right context. In addition, the last two age groups receive information mainly from the Internet, and in its resources the Holocaust theme is more peripheral than on TV.

We believe that in our city it is necessary to put a monument or a memorial plaque about the Holocaust, despite the fact that the city of Ulan-Ude was far from the main ghettos in the territory of the USSR. This will arouse the interest of residents, as well as the youth of our city.

The lessons of the Holocaust show that if they are not sufficiently understood in our republic, then in our multicultural society with open borders, both virtual and real, the problems may arise in the formation of tolerant personalities, which can lead to aggravation of interethnic relations and a possible repetition of the past history.

Based on our research, we can conclude that the younger generation of our city is very poorly aware of such terrible pages in history as the Holocaust. The study of this topic will allow the young generation to realize the fragility of humanistic values in the modern world, to preserve the memory of the victims of the genocide and to understand how important it is to resist hatred, aggression, cruelty, that it is necessary to store the memory of people killed in the course of genocides on some basis: ethnic and national, religious, racial, etc. Otherwise, it can happen in our republic. And this means that my further work on studying the topic of the Holocaust is just beginning!



## OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE “CULTURE OF MEMORY IN THE DIALOGUE OF GENERATIONS”

The organizers of the conference are International Public Association “Vzaimoponi-manie” (“Mutual Understanding”), the International Union of Former Juvenile Prisoners of Fascism, the Belarusian Association of Former Juvenile Prisoners of Fascism (BAFJPF) and the Brest Regional Organization of the BAFJPF Public Association, the Committee for Labor, Employment and Social Protection of the Brest Regional Executive Committee, International Public Organization «International Foundation ‘Mutual Understanding and Tolerance’», as well as Documentation Center «Gunpowder Factory in Liebenau» and the Fund «Polish-German reconciliation» express their gratitude to all the experts and participants in the conference for their informative reports, speeches and discussions on the urgent problems of preserving the memory of the Second World War, to the Federal Fund of the Federal Republic of Germany «Remembrance, Responsibility and Future» for financial support of the event.

The international conference «Memory of Memory in the Dialogue of Generations» has completed its work. The goal of the conference:

Social and psychological support of the victims of Nazism through the development of intergenerational dialogue about the Second World War, based on consideration and analysis of historical facts.

The conference was held from 21 to 23 September 2016 on the basis of the GPU «NP ‘Belovezhskaya Pushcha’». Experts from Belarus, Germany, Russia, the Ukraine, Poland, former juveniles from former Soviet republics, representatives of the younger generation from Germany, Belarus, Russia, the Ukraine and Syria took part in its organization and work. Prerequisites for the conference were the results of the activities of the International Union of Former Juvenile Prisoners of Fascism, international working meetings and semi-

nars organized by the Documentation Center «Gunpowder Factory in Liebenau» and partners, the Foundation «Polish-German Reconciliation» and partners at the Sobibor concentration camp site, and also the results of the implementation of the projects of the humanitarian program «Meeting Point: Dialogue» in Belarus.

In the course of the conference, over 10 reports and presentations were heard on the concept of historical memory, problems and priorities of education and training in the field of history and culture, memorialization of memorable places, teaching methods, sites, models and participants in intergenerational dialogue.

The key themes of the conference were the need to develop public discussions at various levels on the facts and events of the Second World War, the patterns of the emergence of international conflicts, the situation and the fate of the civilian population of the belligerent countries, and the priority of anti-war education. Issues were raised about the social, political and demographic consequences of wars. The conference was mainly of a debating nature, all participants were given the opportunity for free reasoning and statements in working groups and roundtables. Based on the results of work:

### **1. The Conference declares:**

The Second World War left an indelible mark in the history of mankind. 18 million people passed through the concentration camps created by German fascism and its allies during the Second World War, 11 million of them died. The crimes of the aggressor against Soviet prisoners of war, civilians, citizens of Jewish and Roma nationalities, children and childhood became an element of state policy - children were killed, burned, their blood was taken for Wehrmacht soldiers, pseudoscientific experiments were performed on them, they

were forced to slave labor, they were robbed of their names and Motherland. The child losses of the military and post-war years turned into millions of unmade families and unborn children.

Children prisoners — citizens of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Russia, the Ukraine, Transnistria and Estonia, live witnesses of Nazi crimes, the conference participants are the bearers of memory of the tragic events of the Second World War.

Aware of the responsibility before the memory of those who saved the world from fascism and before new generations, the participants in the international conference “The Culture of Memory in the Dialogue of Generations” recall:

- crimes against humanity do not have a period of limitation;
- the repetition of the tragic past, the revival of Nazism and fascism in any of their manifestations is unacceptable and disastrous.

### **2. The Conference recognizes:**

Ignoring by the Soviet ideology of the responsibility for the destinies of civilians subjected to National Socialist persecutions, indifference to the memory of the victims of the National Socialist persecutions during the war years, to the fate of the survivors, including those among the defenseless civilians, was in practice the true policy of the Soviet State and inflicted irreparable damage to the development of civil society, in which power and heroism are idealized, but person’s rights, his personal experiences and feelings are not valued.

### **3. The Conference notes:**

The existing forms of preserving the memory of the Second World War in the post-Soviet space, as well as approaches to teaching and covering the history of World War II, do not meet the needs of modern society.

More than 70 years after the end of the Second World War, the forms of demonstration of memory of it both in the former Soviet republics and in some other countries are increasingly acquiring a character that is cynical and offensive to witnesses of and participants in the events, as well as provocative and aggressive for the public.

### **4. The Conference deems it necessary:**

- to continue the work aimed at developing a culture of memory based on a critical analysis of the facts and events of the Second World War;

- to build a dialogue between generations on the basis of partnership, tolerance, directness and openness, taking into account mutual interests and values;

- to continue to involve young people in the work on social and psychological support of the persons affected by the Nazi persecution, taking into account the experience of the humanitarian program “Meeting Point: Dialogue”;

- to initiate public discussions on preserving the historical memory of the Second World War and analyzing the patterns of military conflicts of the past and the present;

- to initiate research on the impact of Nazi captivity on the health and consciousness of child victims of Nazism and subsequent generations in order to improve the quality of medical care and social support.

5. To address the leadership of the States created in the territory of the former USSR, with the following proposals:

- 1) to establish in the state youth policy the priority of anti-war education;

- 2) to take measures on suppression at all levels of any manifestations of chauvinism, racism, anti-Semitism and xenophobia, incitement to violence and opposition based on national, racial, gender, religious affiliation;

- 3) to stimulate and encourage cooperation of interested state bodies and institutions with organizations of civil society aimed at preserving the historical memory of the Second World War;

- 4) through educational work, to stimulate in society the interest and desire for the analysis of facts and events, based not only on official sources, but also on subjective testimonies of eyewitnesses of real events;

- 5) to focus educational processes in educational institutions on analytical methods of working with information, obtaining it from various sources, including live witnesses of events; to stimulate the organization by educational institutions of independent research by students of historical facts on the basis of museums, memorials, and archives;

6) to initiate the adoption of legislative acts that specify the special status of citizens who have been subjected to Nazi persecution;

7) to support, including at the expense of budgetary funds, local initiatives to preserve information on historical events at the local level;

8) to ensure, at the expense of the budget, resource support of public associations of victims of Nazism as organizations that unite the eldest and most vulnerable, by virtue of the age and health, citizens whose fates have not received the proper public recognition to date, but which are the latest witnesses to military events and the last carriers of “subjective history” of the Second World War;

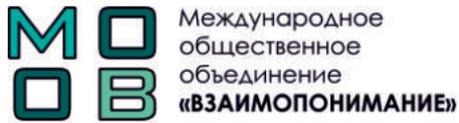
9) to ensure the participation of representatives of public associations of victims of Nazism in activities to preserve the memory culture, the history of World War II of 1939-1945;

10) to express gratitude to the Head of the Republic of Buryatia (Russian Federation) Nagovitsin V.V. for the preservation of more than 40,000 letters and memoirs of the prisoners of the fascist camps, received by the newspaper “Sud’ba”, the publication of the International Union of Former Juvenile Prisoners of Fascism. Take measures to create an electronic archive of letters and memoirs of former prisoners of Nazism, as well as translation into English and posting on the Internet of the works of a former prisoner of Nazism and the initiator of the creation of the International Union of Former Juvenile Prisoners of Fascism V.V. Litvinov.

The resolution was adopted on September 23, 2016 in Kamenyuki village of Kamenets District of Brest Region (Belarus) by the participants in the International conference “Culture of Memory in the Dialogue of Generations”.



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