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## **Introduction:**

### **Forced Migration in 20<sup>th</sup> Century Europe**

### **Remembrance Culture on the Road to Europeanization**

#### **1. Why study the subject of "forced migrations"?**

Forced migrations constitute a part and parcel of 20<sup>th</sup> century politics. While they are present in their respective national narrative and research is also conducted on that level, a broader perspective concerning the history of expulsions is only slowly developing.

However, historiography on the research of forced migrations has made great strides in the past few years. Caused by the growing trend to delve into transnational interrelations and an increased interest in "Europeanization" as a new field of research both seen from a historical and from a topical social perspective, new questions are being posed concerning the history of forced migrations in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In that context, the subject is dealt with in ways that move away from the characteristic style of a national focus and national "master narratives".<sup>1</sup>

These subjects of historical research are not part of the 'cold material' of history, but instead often are highly relevant for a nation's social conception of itself. Depending on the different circumstances, events that happened within a nation either have become part and parcel of the "national narrative" or they have been repressed.

On the one hand, events are thus undoubtedly part of an individual's or a family's memory. On the other hand, however, communal memory, in the shape of the social practice of public remembrance, and its place in a country's remembrance culture is often controversial.<sup>2</sup>

These two aspects of forced migrations form the backdrop of a conference called "History as a Political Issue. A European Network against Expulsions", the contributions of which constitute the basis for the anthology. The conference was held in Bonn on 11 and 12 March 2004 with an international guest list of experts from eight countries. There were three main items on the agenda – firstly, to shed light on the latest state of research concerning the subject of expulsions on an international level, and secondly, to deal with the issue of a didactic treatment of the subject from a European point of view, focussing on the expulsions that took place in Eastern Europe during the Second World War. These two perspectives were to be complemented by a stocktaking process, as it were, of the initiatives on reappraisal and reconciliation which exist in the different regions and which in many cases are marked by transnational, binational or trinational co-operation. The volume on hand reflects these different viewpoints on the subject of expulsions, while at the same time the fact that the Declaration of Bonn was signed clearly demonstrates that reaching a consensus on how to treat and portray the subject of forced migrations is perfectly possible within the scientific community of historians.

This "Declaration of Bonn: European Network against Forced Migrations and Expulsions in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century" is printed here.<sup>3</sup> The declaration is associated with the will to reach a European agreement from the bottom up, rejecting one-sided national or even revisionist "narratives".<sup>4</sup> The declaration's objectives are to support locally existing reconciliation projects, to document the expulsions and to promote scientific projects on the subject from a European perspective, both

with the intention to create a network and to act in the interest of the scientists. Aside from the publication of this volume, the discussion of the subject at the 31<sup>st</sup> annual convention of the Joint German-Polish Textbook Commission<sup>5</sup> in 2005 and the efforts to create an "Encyclopedia of Forced Migrations of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century"<sup>6</sup> may be regarded as first results of this cooperation.<sup>7</sup>

From 2004 onward, the Declaration of Bonn constituted the basis for negotiations on the foundation of a European network by European governments.<sup>8</sup> On 2 February 2005, these negotiations resulted in a declaration published by the ministers for education and cultural affairs of Poland, the Slovak Republic, Hungary, and Germany in which the basis was laid for the foundation of the "European Network for Remembrance and Solidarity", which is a foundation under Polish law and which is located in Warsaw.<sup>9</sup>

## **2. "History as a Political Issue" – a conference and its background**

Over the past few years, different factors caused the subject of "expulsions" to re-enter the European remembrance discourse, in particular the German one. Remembrance culture is changing, not least because the number of contemporary witnesses who lived through the expulsions during and after the end of World War II is slowly dwindling. Besides the impression left by the events in former Yugoslavia at the end of the 1990s, one main driver for this change was a new German discourse focussing on Germans as victims which influenced the international perception of these changes. We currently find ourselves in a transformation phase moving away from a communicative towards a cultural memory and in which the focus of attention is shifting. In recent times, the living, i.e. those who experienced the expulsions as children, have come to the fore, as can be seen by the increased consideration of the topic from a psychological point of view as well as the public interest in the subject.<sup>10</sup> This moment of transition shows how important it is to create some sort of a permanent anchor for the remembrance of the expulsions for those affected by them. This shift is a central aspect of the entire debate. However, German historians voice the concern that this new "victims' narrative" might cause quite a lot of harm internationally.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, one of the objectives of the Bonn conference was to pursue the question of how remembrance work might do justice to the victims while at the same time furthering the cause of European reconciliation. The majority of experts present at the conference declared themselves in favour of a decidedly European perspective to create historical "narratives" which openly tell the truth but do not end there, instead reaching beyond the perception of one single group. That was the core point around which the idea of a European network intended to promote regional/transnational initiatives developed and which clearly distanced itself from the idea of a "Center against Expulsions" focussed focussing on Germany alone.

When Erika Steinbach, who had been elected chairwoman of the *Bund der Vertriebenen* (BdV; German Federation of Expellees) in 1998, announced the creation of a new, BdV-owned foundation called "Center against Expulsions" and stated that the objective of the foundation was to establish its own museum housing a permanent exhibition, a political issue ensued. Ever since, public debates dealing with the development of this plan have been cropping up in waves in Germany, Poland, and the Czech Republic.<sup>12</sup> The discussion held in Germany led to a parliamentary resolution announced on 4 July 2002 which calls for a European dialogue on the topic.<sup>13</sup> In addition, the entire complex of themes dealing with expulsion has met with increased interest as a European issue and has been taken in connection with the question of remembrance and remembrance policy, as can be seen by various conferences.<sup>14</sup> It should be noted as a matter of particular interest, that the Czech Republic, which does not demonstrate much of an interest in

the topic of expulsion on a political level, is also making an effort to reappraise the subject in a scientific context. Thus, an institute dedicated to the research of the Germans in the Bohemian lands (Collegium Bohemicum) was established at the University of Ústí nad Labem and opened with the support of Czech President Vaclav Klaus.<sup>15</sup>

In 2002, the conference "A European Center against Expulsions. Historical Experiences – Remembrance Policy – Future Conceptions" led to demands for a European center.<sup>16</sup> The idea was taken up by German Markus Meckel, a social democratic politician who, in his much-noticed appeal of July 2003 titled "Joint Remembrance as a Step towards the Future" suggested a Wrocław-based European center as an alternative to the purely German center planned by the Federation of Expellees. This notion of his is supported by Polish politicians and publicists such as Władysław Bartoszewski, Adam Krzemiński, and Adam Michnik but also by German politicians such as former foreign minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.<sup>17</sup> Besides that suggestion, there were other proposals and ideas for dealing with the memory of forced migrations and researching the subject.<sup>18</sup>

Even though the "Center against Expulsions" foundation tried to increase social acceptance of the project by means of a broad supporter base and an internationally made-up scientific advisory committee, reservations about the project remained. This is mainly due to the fact that the endeavour is principally pursued by the *Bund der Vertriebenen*, but also and not least directly connected with the person of Ms Steinbach, the foundation's chairwoman. As far as the BdV is concerned, the way it has dealt with the "expulsor nations" until now has left its mark, since the Federation of Expellees has hardly ever been prepared to engage in unconditional reconciliation. Instead it has demanded apologies and compensation from Poland and the Czech Republic or rejected the apologies expressed by the two nations as not sufficient, has always balked at accepting the Oder-Neisse line as a border between Germany and Poland, and when the issue of EU enlargement was under discussion, it attached the condition of the Czech Republic's rescinding the Beneš Decrees to its EU accession – demands which were impossible to realize not least because of the way in which they were expressed. All the verbose declarations of non-aggression and European unity nonetheless were grounded in a basis of a solid interest in and demand for the right to return or an actual return, the right of domicile as well as ethnic minority rights for the expellees. With this aggressive rhetoric, the BdV's representatives excluded themselves from the European rapprochement and reconciliation, which could not work but on a basis of accepting facts and refraining from explicit or implicit revisionist demands. In addition, various statements made by Erika Steinbach, especially during several trips the BdV chairwoman made to Poland, contributed to her organization's lack of credibility. The high point of this double-edged remembrance policy were the foundation of and the actions by the "Prussian Trust", which is run by leading BdV functionaries and individual associations for refugees and expellees from certain regions in order to push through reparation demands by legal means.<sup>19</sup> This, in turn, caused violent reactions in Poland, where reparation demands were now also made.<sup>20</sup> The agitated political debate that ensued culminated in a tasteless caricature published in *Wprost*, a Polish magazine, where Steinbach was depicted as a dominatrix in an SS uniform riding on the back of then Chancellor Gerhard Schröder, titled "The German Trojan Horse".<sup>21</sup>

It cannot be denied that a certain exploitation takes place in the respective national debates where domestic policy is concerned<sup>22</sup>, but pointing out this fact does not further the factual discussion by one single step. Instead, even the most vicious tones of this debate point to a core of reality –

on the one hand the emotionalism which underlies German – East European relations and which was caused by painful experiences, and different legal-political ideas on the other hand.<sup>23</sup>

Still, the debate on the "Center against Expulsions" has led to a more offensive examination of the subject and thus doubtlessly has achieved one of the foundation's objectives, namely to discuss the expulsion of the Germans as part of German self-conception. Finally, the foundation published its concept of a permanent exhibition. At first, it was criticised in public, while criticism by the scientific community followed with a certain delay.<sup>24</sup> The criticism was aimed, first and foremost, at the design planned for such a center, because it was to be a combination of a place of research, museum, memorial and ritualized site of remembrance. Whereas the first sketches intended to place a rotunda at the center of the memorial site, where the fate of the refugees and expellees from the different regions was to be recalled around the circle, this concept was not abandoned in reaction to the public criticism at first, but it was slightly modified, and the idea of a rotunda was put aside for the moment.<sup>25</sup> The Germano-centric concept did not give rise to understanding for the fact that the expulsion events of the 20<sup>th</sup> century went far beyond the purely German dimension, which would be hardly possible to show in the Rotunda of German *Landsmannschaften* (i.e. *welfare and cultural association for Germans born in the eastern areas of the former Reich*). Therefore, those responsible at the center now are planning a first exhibition which is not to focus on German expellees, but on the genocide of the Armenians in 1915. Even under the old concept, the representation of non-German expellee groups was planned in the form of small temporary exhibitions. The adherence to the Germano-centric rotunda design indicates that the much-asserted European conception is but a side aspect, a linguistic-political adjunct. Scientific observers interpret the foundation's strict adherence to its concept as an attempt to carry through their idea without any substantial participation by foreign experts - with the exception of individual researchers who usually do not work in this particular field.<sup>26</sup> On the occasion of several conferences taking place between December 2002 and the summer of 2003 representatives of the Federation of Expellees (BdV) repeatedly declared their willingness to broaden their concept in order to include a European perspective; however they strictly rejected any qualitatively relevant collaboration with the historians present at these conferences.<sup>27</sup> Renowned experts, e.g. from the German-Polish Historians' Commission, the joint German-Polish Textbook Commission or similar institutions of German-Czech co-operation, are therefore not present in the advisory committee of the "Center against Expulsions". At a conference held in early summer at Viadrina University of Frankfurt (Oder), Center representatives roughly stated that the Federation of Expellees did not wish to cede its "interpretative sovereignty" concerning the expulsions. This can also be seen by the reprint of the seven-volume "Documentation of the Expulsion of the Germans from Eastern Central Europe", the problematic aspects of which were well researched in the past few years but which have not entered the pages of the new edition.<sup>28</sup> If the BdV were serious about the expellees' entitlement to integration into German society and recognition as victims, a holistic project leading to an exhibition at Berlin's German History Museum would be the logical conclusion, as is suggested by Karl Schlögel in his contribution printed in this volume.

The field of tension between national identities and a not very clearly defined European identity is and remains the central challenge when it comes to developing a European perspective on the forced migrations of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. By now, many analyses show that the differing views and the contested points which crop up in the field of remembrance policy do not only stem from different dictatorship-related experiences in Eastern and Western Europe, but also from developments after the end of the Cold War. Whereas national identities had been mostly

suppressed in the Eastern European countries after 1945 or only were accepted in a specific shape and form which fitted in with the Soviet interpretation, a (re-)nationalizing type of self-reflection developed very quickly after November 1989 which was only to a very limited degree shaped by historians and other experts. During the 1990s, this view was complemented by a policy focussed on Europe as a political project, which once more challenged the newly-won national self-conception and demonstrated just how much politics which deals with the past constitutes an open battlefield. This challenge was met by the attempt to redefine the center of Europe, as well as different ways to deal with problematic periods of history emerged in various countries in the east of Europe.<sup>29</sup> While in Germany and, afterwards, in the remainder of Western Europe as well over the past three decades, the memory of the Holocaust was established as a negative 'founding myth' of modern civil society and found universal acceptance as the core of a civil, peaceful society, the Eastern European countries mainly focussed on the communist dictatorship experience in this respect.<sup>30</sup> In Germany and other countries of Western Europe, the "Center against Expulsions" is seen as a challenge to the role of the Shoah, whether this was the Center's intention or not - perception is what counts. Therefore, even a sincere offer of "empathy" may be misunderstood and perceived as the exact opposite of that which was intended.<sup>31</sup> Both the physical proximity of the planned center to the Holocaust Memorial and the imagery chosen for remembrance are interpreted in this context of a "contested past"<sup>32.33</sup> Public remembrance is both social practice and "ceremonialized communication concerning the past"<sup>34</sup>, a performance which constitutes a "medium of collective self-reflection" and which is aimed at the transformation of memory into current action premisses, while at the same time allowing for the possibility that different groups might draw different conclusions. Thus the co-existence of differing initiatives is a matter of course in democratic remembrance cultures.<sup>35</sup> However, this idea is at cross purposes with the BdV-owned foundation's attempts to receive government support for a project which expresses a particular self-conception. Since the experience of the expulsion of the Germans from Eastern Europe is one of the most central experiences in the history of the Federal Republic and the GDR, which has occupied an important place within the memory of German society and will continue to do so for the foreseeable future, this topic should not be left to this one group but instead be comprehensively dealt with in an approach that truly is committed to integration.

### **3. A Network**

At the aforementioned Bonn conference it turned out that the subject of expulsions has been historically reappraised in many places and that the blank areas of research are gradually disappearing. Many projects by the German-Polish and German-Czech historians' commissions have proved that transnational research on the topic of expulsions is indeed possible and even extraordinarily fruitful. Particularly in the historians' fraternity it is a widely held opinion that this historically burdened past can also be worked on across borders and that it actually should be reappraised in this manner. Of course, different views will remain especially in the historico-political field. Various lectures held at the Bonn conference demonstrated the wide variety of well-working, local, cross-border initiatives there are even now. Often these approaches, which stem from private initiatives, know nothing of each other. Therefore, it would be useful to create a network – as the name implies – in which these initiatives may establish contacts, have an exchange of ideas and generally enable them to learn more about the other projects. In addition, it seems to be sensible and necessary to bring together all existing initiatives (groups of civil society, town twinnings, museums, research institutions etc.), to engage them in conversation with each other and to create a network between them. The development of such a network can not be predicted, far less controlled, but exactly that is the plan. A bottom-up approach doing

without national "master narratives" and government commissions would allow for an independent development which, in the best of cases, would cause a Europe-wide exchange and, thanks to that communication, would build up or even live a European identity from the bottom up. The scientific network that was created in Bonn wishes to make a symbolic first step and to set a good example with its Declaration of Bonn.

That national and European views of the past compete with each other and are contested could also be seen during the discussions held at the conference. In these discussions, one could also feel the "uncalled memory" (Ulrich Raulff) that, where the subjects of escape and expulsion, bomb war and rape were concerned, has intensified over the past few years into a new German discourse focussing on Germans as victims, which in turn was partly met with astonishment and a lack of understanding in other European countries.<sup>38</sup> Thus, the socio-political debate on the topic was reflected at least in places. It turned out that comprehensive and complex research is still required to represent all the issues associated with the subject of forced migrations and expulsions in its preconditions, forms, and consequences reasonably correctly. Above all, however, it seems necessary to disseminate knowledge by means of popular scientific literature and, especially, in (school) teaching aids, since many prejudices and ignorance of events and context are still evident here. At the conference, Mathias Beer put a teaching aid he had created, "'Resettlement, Escape and Expulsion of the Germans as an International Problem. On the History of a European Tortuous Path'", up for discussion in order to find out whether it was valid on a European scale and whether it correctly reflected the latest findings in research.<sup>39</sup> The teaching aid proved to be a fairly suitable representation, even though the text itself did meet with some criticism.<sup>40</sup>

#### **4. On the contents of the anthology**

The volume on hand brings together a variety of contributions – research results, theoretical essays and commentaries – representing quite diverging points of view. Those contributions focussing on a general, all-encompassing point of view are presented first, followed by three sections which are dedicated to one region each. The result produced by the conference, the "Declaration of Bonn", is printed at the very beginning of the book together with a list of signers. The two texts that come next are contributions by Stefan Troebst and Bernd Faulenbach which were in part written during the conference and which constitute the basis for the closing statement.<sup>41</sup> This documentary part is followed by texts taking an all-encompassing point of view concerning forced migrations in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This portion is focussed on questions concerning the European dimension of remembrance and the treatment of the topic in education and museums.

First of all, Karl Schlögel demonstrates what a "European remembrance of resettlement and expulsion might look like". For him, the main task is the reconstruction of that which happened – he maintains that the "narratives" had to be gotten under way. Only by dealing openly and frankly with the differing pasts of the various places and by adopting a calm way of looking at things which is uncoupled from day-to-day politics can events be truly reappraised.

That achieving this objective can be quite a difficult undertaking in the public arena is demonstrated by Heidemarie Uhl in her contribution on the iconography of expulsion. Due to the massive utilization of specific imagery in public, a shift in the remembrance discourse towards the victims of World War II and of National Socialism can be witnessed; the expulsions are

visually placed in the vicinity of the Holocaust, which calls into question the dominating position held in remembrance culture by the extermination of the Jews.<sup>42</sup>

Peter Haslinger, on the other hand, deals with the question of how to treat the topics of resettlement and expulsion in a didactic context. In particular, he points to an issue which is also problematic for scientific reappraisal: the difficult question of classification and labeling. When examining the history of the forcefully resettled, one has to pose the question of how to deal with the fact that the definition of these groups was carried out by the perpetrators and thus becomes generally accepted once more? Actually, Haslinger says, the important step would be to decipher these categories as constructs of political instrumentalization. According to the author, the second sensitive issue of didactic treatment is to be found when looking at the comparative aspect. Which aspects can and should be compared in a meaningful way; what are the comparative axes?

Thomas Serrier does not have the perfect answer either, but referring to the "forgotten" expulsion of the Germans from Alsace and France's relationship with North Africa, he does present some comparable examples from French history which might serve as a point of reference when dealing with the subject from a socio-historical perspective.

In his contribution Hermann Schäfer, President of the Bonn-based House of History, talks about preparations for the exhibition titled "Escape, Expulsion and Intergration", which opens in December 2005. This exhibition will be the republic's first comprehensive exhibition in which the expulsion itself, but also the expellees' integration into West and East German society is dealt with in a museum.<sup>43</sup>

The first portion of the volume is rounded off by Wolfgang Höpken's text on the way that the subject of forced migration is dealt with in German textbooks. In his contribution, he links the issue with general questions on contextualization, didactic treatment and its reception by various groups of pupils.

The three parts that follow are structured by regions. The texts in the first portion deal with forced migration in the Eastern and North Eastern regions of Europe. In her treatise, Claudia Kraft describes the "regional institutions and initiatives of reappraisal and remembrance in Poland". She identifies a large number of local and regional approaches, some (yet) few of which also are developing in an international context. The reconstruction of life stories and their structural expression often are at the center of the initiatives, which frequently are explicitly committed to the objective of reconciliation. To that end, they facilitate and expand contact between German expellees and Poles – reconciliation happens on the ground and between people. These initiatives should be strengthened and exchange be promoted.

Pawel Machcewicz, Deputy Director of the Polish Institute of National Remembrance (IPN), also agrees on this point. He describes his idea of a network which, in his opinion, should not only deal with the subject of forced migration, but first-and-foremost with the conditions under which these events took place, i.e. with the two totalitarian regimes of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. He believes that an appropriate contextualization of the subject is only possible if one includes both the National Socialist and the Soviet dictatorships in the portrayal.

Krzysztof Ruchniewicz devotes himself to the development of textbook revisions since the 1970s and points out the inadequate representation of the expulsions in Polish textbooks.

Gert von Pistohlkors describes the conditions under which the Baltic Germans were resettled. He stresses how much the situation in the Baltic lands differed from the one in the former East German territories.

Skeptical tones are adopted from the Czech point of view. Tomáš Kafka, managing director of the German-Czech Future Fund, describes the reconciliation efforts as a tough "wrestling match" in which reappraisal is turned into a "competitive sport". Still, he also emphasizes some positive aspects when he describes, in the appendix, some of the local, regional and scientific approaches concerning reappraisal.

Detlef Brandes and Jiří Pešek, on the other hand, examine the conditions and circumstances under which the Germans were expelled from the Czech territories. Thus, their paper contributes to elucidating the mysticized Beneš Decrees.

The English-language treatise by Slovak sociologist Miroslav Kusý is also committed to elucidation. He describes the fate of Hungarians in Slovakia after the end of World War II and the way that Slovak society dealt with that fate.

In her essay "Expulsion and Resettlement in Slovak Society and Historiography after 1989", Edita Ivaničková comes to the conclusion that in Slovakia the "Hungarian Question" has pushed the issue of reappraising the expulsion of the Germans to the background until now. On the whole, she sees a somewhat split way of dealing with forced migration after November 1989 in Slovak society in general, which may be attributed to Slovak relations with the Czech part of the previously joint republic and the (re-)nationalization of the Slovak's own history, and which, Ivaničková says, has not led to a satisfactory examination of the subject so far.

Hungary holds pride of place where the South East European region is concerned. Ágnes Tóth, Krisztián Ungváry, and Éva Kovács deal with the question of how the issue of expulsion was dealt with in Hungary. While Ágnes Tóth takes a look at how the remembrance discourse has developed since the 1950s and states that, at least from a scientific point of view, reappraisal of the expulsions began quite early on but has been a rather double-edged effort up until now even though encouraging examples do exist, Krisztián Ungváry detects a clear deficit. However, Ungváry is mostly focussed on remembrance at the national level, which he sees as a national remembrance culture. In his analysis, he follows the approach that Germany principally holds the position of being a role model where reappraisal is concerned, a task which the country has to accept and implement in the form of a central exhibition at the "Center against Expulsions", which he supports. Ungváry's arguing in favour of a purely state-driven remembrance culture means that the pluralistic, societal character of a democratic remembrance culture is not taken account of. This approach opens up the possibility of discussing the topics of reappraisal and reconciliation at a purely national level, even though precisely this approach might cause international problems where the "Center against Expulsions" is concerned should it receive national support. Ungváry dismisses these concerns, however, with reference to national self-determination and the necessity for the ingegration of a self-confident Germany.

In the contribution that follows, Éva Kovács deals with the question of in how far a new national self-reflection is caused due to a specific historical reappraisal of the two sets of totalitarianism in Hungary. Starting from the thesis of the universalization of the Holocaust as an Americanization of remembrance, she attempts to translate the thesis to Hungarian remembrance culture.

That this question is also relevant for other regions and countries is shown by Marina Cattaruzza in the closing essay. She points out that scientists in the West are currently in the process of pursuing a new "master narrative" which has not taken full shape yet. Cattaruzza regards the search process going on in all countries across Europe as a continuing transformation phase whose outcome is still uncertain.



In the meantime, she writes, remembrance culture is embedded in highly topical remembrance politics which constitute a battlefield of societal self-reflection and, in many cases, of national self-verification.

This way, all facets of dealing with the subject of expulsion are treated in the present volume. All aspects are covered from observation and the authors' own experiences working as historians in the field of remembrance politics to scientific examination and treatment of the topic in schools and museums to practical efforts in accompanying local initiatives.

## **5. Europeanization and Remembrance Culture**

In this context, the question arises what the term "Europeanization" may actually mean in connection with remembrance culture in Europe. Often, the term "Europeanization" is understood as a type of standardization, which in turn is accompanied by a mis-interpretation as homogenization or unification.<sup>44</sup> The various humanities as well as the general debate held in the arts sections of Europe's dailies offer several possibilities of how to interpret the term "Europeanization". Whereas it constitutes a form of reference in political sciences, an inflow and anchoring of European politics in national and regional politics accompanied by a lasting presence and influence<sup>45</sup>, in historical research this reference may also be understood as intensified and condensed communication, as discursive contexts which cross borders. In contemporary history, the catchword in this context is "Westernization". This means a shift in mental dispositions by means of a lasting (and mutual) cultural, social, and economic exchange which in West Germany mostly expresses itself through the acceptance and "appropriation" of the Western ideal of parliamentary democracy; a less differentiating variant is discussed under the label of "Americanization".<sup>46</sup> However, methodological and theoretical precision is still lacking in the field of contemporary history. This fact has long been lamented as a desideratum; now, however, it is dealt with under the umbrella of "Europeanization of contemporary history."<sup>47</sup>

In the "everyday historical" dimension, a similar line of argumentation might apply. Everyday history is the field which sees human beings' experiences as the decisive factor for perceiving "the other". In this context, the Europeanization of everyday life means nothing more than that it is completely natural to have Europe and other countries present in everyday life through travel, encounters with people from these countries, awareness caused by town twinnings, the international public etc. - which in turn creates a link to the first definition.

One thing this entire spectrum of definitions has in common is that, despite all the societal changes that are happening, 'idiosyncrasies' of national history are neither ignored nor eliminated. Thus, it is "not about homogenization or even harmonization of European history but about the creation of coherence and the setting into relation of the histories made by Europeans".<sup>48</sup> Or, to put things in a different way: it is a change in viewpoint away from a one-dimensional, harmonizing image of Europe towards a continent full of stress patterns. "Not only progress, but also genocide [as well as the forced migrations in Europe in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, author's note] is the product of European modernization, and it is this contradiction in particular which causes the necessity for peaceful co-existence through an attempt at integration."<sup>49</sup>

Similar to the complementary gain caused in the case of new types of communication by new media, new dimensions or identification offers of the "narrative" do not replace the older identities and dimensions. They might, however, eclipse and modify them. Since the end of the Cold War, it could be observed that while an increased European awakening took place in

Western Europe, the east of the continent saw a re-nationalization of the historical "narratives". Post-1990, their newly-won sovereignty was something entirely novel for the Eastern European states, therefore it is not an easy endeavour for them to move away from purely national ideas and towards the broader concepts of identity within the European Union. Against this backdrop of different experiences in the western and eastern regions of Europe it becomes clear that - and how - the various identities are in sometimes harsh conflict with each other. However, this does not mean that they are mutually exclusive from the outset.<sup>50</sup> Europeanization is a process that is embedded in the framework of the larger and more comprehensive globalization, which means that analytical differentiation sometimes is hard due to the fact that both trends undergo similar processes of condensation. All these rather vague and confused viewpoints taken together sometimes yield a concept of Europeanization whose description is more like an ideal than like any real processes taking place in Europe. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify some aspects and factors which allow us to put the term "Europeanization" into concrete terms and, in particular, to conceptionally improve its analysis.

First of all, Europeanization means more than a mere juxtaposition of national narratives. If one's objective is the reappraisal of forced migration in Europe, the enumeration of all acts of forced migration which took place in Europe in the 20<sup>th</sup> century holds the danger of engendering rivalry between narratives. In such an enumeration the expulsion of the Germans will always account for the largest group, which might lead to a relativization of the experiences made by smaller groups. Furthermore, a mere enumeration will hardly result in a wealth of new knowledge. Apart from pointing out that there is a broad range of forms and variants to be found when examining the subject, thus confirming that forced resettlement constituted an important tool of 20th century politics, such a portrayal hardly offers any general, meaningful insights into the topic. In this context, it also takes some effort to meaningfully impart understanding of the close link between the subject of forced migration and the development of the nation state and its ideas concerning the homogeneity of its citizenry if one only takes into consideration the respective "individual narrative". These questions of context play a role in view of the cognitive way that the issue is dealt with, not necessarily of the affirmative one. Here, comparative approaches offer a broader perspective. This ideal method of comparison allows historians to identify the similarities but also and especially the idiosyncrasies of forced resettlement in their research without having to weight their findings by quantity etc.<sup>51</sup> What remains, however, is the question of the variables for the comparison - which things are actually to be compared with each other? Certainly not the suffering, but political contexts and categories which are able to identify the constructs of group definition concerning the subject of analysis and the connections between diverging policies instituted by various governments towards different (or similar) groups. This way, the mutual observation under which national governments keep each other and their more or less implicit reactions to each other become evident, thus allowing a different view of "international relations" which would then be subject to a more socio-historical access.<sup>52</sup>

The term "reference" addresses a first central aspect of Europeanization which has to be examined more closely - what were the references made by nations or political groups in Europe in the 20<sup>th</sup> century? On the one hand, it can be understood as a new approach in international referential history. On the other hand, it underscores the importance of the communication-historical approach when looking at Europeanization in several respects. In principle, communication must be understood as a connecting as much as a separating element which decides about the inclusion or exclusion of groups and thus constitutes a central aspect of analysis for the conditions and political as well as societal enforcement of expulsion. In addition, reference, which always is to be understood in a communicative way as well, must be seen as an

element of social compression between groups and over large distances. How were opinions, ideas and socio-political modes of behaviour transferred? Here, one may refer to transnational research which links up with historical culture transfer research and connects it with approaches of international comparison.<sup>53</sup>

Transnational research does not mean that the national and regional/local dimensions of history are played off against each other but that the respective significance of the various levels for certain developments is examined and pointed out. This approach is currently being employed and expanded to include other areas of research, and it should also be applied to questions concerning the conditions and carrying out of expulsions and to the way that conceptions of history develop and transform, since it offers a possibility to connect the individual levels, thus increasing the complexity of historical explanation. It would also mean an additional gain concerning the examination of the 'transport route' used to disseminate the idea of a homogeneous nation state as well as the criteria for social inclusion or exclusion. At any rate, such research would prove that European communication connections exist which already are suspected and claimed to exist in many cases.

These aspects lead to two other central characteristics of Europeanization, namely the facets of place/space and the people's own experiences. In regional research, they can be described as "landscapes of memory", as areas with independent memories which were not purely nationally driven. Even the mere reconstruction of such landscapes of memory would mean to uncover the various dimensions or layers of identity and affiliation and make them accessible to a new narrative. In this, the elements of place and experience constitute the basis for each and every private or official conception of history. A summary of these ideas can also be found in the concept of the sites of memory which goes back to Pierre Nora's deliberations.<sup>54</sup> It offers the fundamental advantage of being able to reappraise the experiences, perceptions and behaviours of the respective communities of memory without having to subject the analysed "memory programme" to political structures or the national level.

What, to sum up, does the term Europeanization of remembrance culture mean, then? It cannot be all that clearly defined yet, but from the multitude of different approaches one aspect may be pointed out as perhaps the smallest common denominator: expanding one's knowledge by the experiences of others and, especially, acknowledging the experiences of others. In this, referring to each other is key, i.e. establishing a reference between the various events in Europe as well as establishing relationships. Only by means of communication and exchange may the dimensions and significance of the subject of forced migration for Europe and the success of today's peaceful existence be illuminated; the suffering of one's own and of others often are inextricably linked and thus equally often transcend national borders. Purely national remembrance is slowly becoming less significant given how much European communication is intensifying - but it is not becoming any less explosive. Quite the opposite is the case: many processes of acknowledgement and illumination are in fact quite painful. Nonetheless, it is exactly the perception of other experiences which causes a "productive uncertainty" which in turn sums up the ambivalence which must be understood as a constituent factor when searching for a conception of history.<sup>55</sup> The realisation in particular that forced migrations were one of the most significant and dramatic political means in 20<sup>th</sup> century Europe therefore requires a European, i.e. varied, view of the expulsions. Thus, Europeanization means a democratic, open process of exchange, of meeting and discussion. This perspective is offered and supported with the "network against forced migration and expulsion".

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1 For some first approaches cf.: Dieter Bingen/Włodzimierz Borodziej/Stefan Troebst (editors), *Vertreibungen europäisch erinnern? Historische Erfahrungen – Erinnerungspolitik – Zukunftskonzeptionen*, Wiesbaden 2003; Marina Cattaruzza, *Aussiedlungen im Europa des 20. Jahrhunderts*, in: Christof Dipper/ Andreas Gestrich/Lutz Raphael (Hrsg.), *Krieg, Frieden und Demokratie. Festschrift für Martin Vogt zum 65. Geburtstag*, Frankfurt/Main et al. 2001, pp. 193–206.

2 On the general definition of "memory" cf.: Maurice Halbwachs, *Das kollektive Gedächtnis*, Stuttgart 1967; Harald Welzer, *Das kommunikative Gedächtnis*, München 2002; Paul Ricoeur, *Das Rätsel der Vergangenheit. Erinnerung – Vergessen – Verzeihen*, Essen 1998; Hans J. Markowitsch, *Dem Gedächtnis auf der Spur. Vom Erinnern und Vergessen*, Darmstadt 2002. Cf. also Hans Günter Hockerts, *Zugänge zur Zeitgeschichte. Primärerfahrung, Erinnerungskultur, Geschichtswissenschaft*, in: Konrad H. Jarausch/Martin Sabrow (editors), *Verletztes Gedächtnis. Erinnerungskultur und Zeitgeschichte im Konflikt*, Frankfurt/Main/New York 2002, pp. 39–73.

3 The explanation can also be found on the Internet under the following address:

<<http://library.fes.de/library/netzquelle/zwangsmigration/48bonnererkl.html>>. There, it is embedded in the FES Net Source "Forced Migrations and Expulsions in Europe in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century", a source of information offered by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation Library and the Archive of Social Democracy. Here, readers may find shorter texts by expert scientists who adapt various aspects in a popular scientific manner. In addition, archival sources are made available on the net for didactic use. URL:

<<http://library.fes.de/library/netzquelle/zwangsmigration/index.html>>. 600–700 hits per month demonstrate of how much interest the subject is.

4 Cf. Hans Lemberg, *Geschichten und Geschichte. Das Gedächtnis der Vertriebenen in Deutschland nach 1945*, in: *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 44 (2004), pp. 509–523.

5 The topic was "Escape, Expulsion and Resettlement as a Problem of Research and as a Subject in School. Forced Migrations and German-Polish relations after 1945." The conference's contributions will be published by the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research, Braunschweig 2006.

6 The encyclopedia will be published by Detlef Brandes, Holm Sundhausen and Stefan Troebst and will be titled: *Das Jahrhundert der Vertreibungen. Deportation, Zwangsaussiedlung und ethnische Säuberung in Europa 1912–1999*; cf. the contribution by Troebst (*Geschichte als politisiertes Szientifikum: Ein europäisches Netzwerk zur Erforschung ethnopolitisch motivierter Zwangsmigration*) in the this volume and the project report in *HSozKult*, URL: <<http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/projekte/id=137>>.

7 Other activities are the creation of the FES Net Source "Forced Migrations and Expulsions in Europe in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century", whose Web pages were completed in 2004 (the URL can be found under 3) and the publication of an anthology under the topic of "Wir gewähren Versöhnung und bitten um Versöhnung. 40 Jahre deutsch-polnische Verständigung." On behalf of FES edited by Friedhelm Boll assisted by Thomas Roth, due to be published in summer 2006.

8 Cf. the Press and Information Office of the Federal Government: "Konferenz zum Thema Vertreibung: Kulturstaatsministerin Weiss zieht positive Bilanz", press release no. 199, 23 April 2004; contributions by Jens Bisky in *Süddeutsche Zeitung* daily and by Gerhard Gnauck in *Die Welt* daily; Gabriele Lesser: "Nicht ein – viele Aussichtspunkte", *taz* daily dated 24./25 April 2004; K. Erik Franzen: "Leitkultur als Leidkultur. Konkurrenz der Paten: Nicht nur Christina Weiss, auch Erika Steinbach begrüßt das Europäische Netzwerk der Vertreibung", *Frankfurter Rundschau* daily dated 25 May 2004.

9 Cf.: "Europäisches Netzwerk gegen Vertreibungen gegründet", *Die Welt* dated 3 February 2005; similar article in: *Süddeutsche Zeitung* dated 16 September 2005. Participants at the conference were present at the negotiations: Dr. Pawel Machcewicz, Prof. Dr. Stefan Troebst and Prof. Dr. Matthias Weber (the network's co-ordinator in Germany).

10 From 14 –16 April 2005, the conference "" which had 600 attendees took place in Frankfurt/Main. Cf. the following interview held with one of the experts participating in the conference: „Dir ist was Schreckliches passiert“. Der Altersforscher Hartmut Radebold über die psychischen Spätfolgen von Kriegsgräueln, die Macht der verdrängten Erinnerungen und seine eigene Kindheit während des Krieges, in: *Der Spiegel* magazine, no. 17/2005, pp. 172–177. The great interest in contemporary history is linked to the subject of traumatology which deals with the traumatosis of children and its consequences; however, the field is still in its infancy. Cf. the conference report by Petra Bühring, Die Generation der Kriegskinder: Kollektive Aufarbeitung notwendig, in: *Ärzteblatt*, May 2005, pp. 214.

11 Cf. Ute Frevert, Geschichtsvergessenheit und Geschichtsversessenheit revisited. Der jüngste Erinnerungsboom in der Kritik, in: *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, volume 40–41/2003, pp. 6–13; Adam Krzemiński, Die schwierige deutsch-polnische Vergangenheitspolitik, in: *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, volume 40–41/2003, pp. 3–5.

12 The latest debate took place during the 2005 Bundestag parliamentary election campaign, when the Christian Democrats (CDU) added the demand for the creation of a "Center against Expulsions" to their election campaign manifesto and a - short but violent - discussion on the use of St. Michael's Church in downtown Berlin ensued before negotiations on using the church building were ended by the Catholic Church's pointing out that using the building for this purpose might be detrimental for international reconciliation. Cf., (amongst others): Steinbach betont Idee der Versöhnung, *Frankfurter Rundschau* dated 15 August 2005; Zentrum gegen Vertreibungen in Berlin Mitte, *Die Welt* dated 15 August 2005; Einlass abgelehnt, *Süddeutsche Zeitung* dated 18 August 2005.

13 Cf. the resolution: "Für ein europäisch ausgerichtetes Zentrum gegen Vertreibungen", printed matter 14/9033/9661

14 Cf., for instance, the workshop "Gedächtnis – Erfahrung – Historiographie. Aspekte der Diskussion um den 'Komplex Vertreibung' in europäischer Perspektive", Centre Marc Bloch and Zentrum für vergleichende Geschichte Europas held on 19./20 February 2004 in Berlin, in this context cf. the report by Winkler in *HSozKult*, 19 May 2004, <<http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/tagungsberichte/id=430>>; see also the workshop „Commemorating Migrants and Migrations“ held in September 2004 in Paris and other activities by a union of sociologists and political scientists joined together in the „Netzwerk Migration in Europe e. V.“, URL: <<http://www.network-migration.org>> [20 June 2005].

15 Cf. the conference "Toleranz an Stelle von Intoleranz, 26 – 28 March 2004: Deutsche in den böhmischen Ländern – gestern, heute, morgen" which took place from in Usti nad Labem. The conference agenda can be found online, URL: <<http://www.muzeumusti.cz>> [20 June 2005].

16 Cf. Dieter Bingen/Stefan Troebst/Włodzimierz Borodziej, Denkanstöße, in: Bingen/Borodziej/Troebst, *Vertreibungen europäisch erinnern?*, pp. 316–318; cf. also the declaration on the international scientific colloquium "Ein europäisches Zentrum gegen Vertreibungen. Historische Erfahrungen – Erinnerungspolitik – Zukunftskonzeptionen", in: *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 51 (2003), pp. 102–104. The Bonn conference is a logical continuation of that discussion.

17 cf. the appeal and list of signatures presented on Markus Meckel's website, URL: <<http://www.markusmeckel.de>> and the appeal:

<[http://www.markusmeckel.de/pdf2/zentrumvertreibung/ auf-ruf-europaeisches-zentrum-gegen-vertreibungen.pdf](http://www.markusmeckel.de/pdf2/zentrumvertreibung/auf-ruf-europaeisches-zentrum-gegen-vertreibungen.pdf)> [20 June 2005].

18 Cf. the list by Troebst in this volume, for the discussion cf. the documentation (compiled by Friedhelm Boll) of the debate: *Geschichte als Politikum. Ein europäisches Netzwerk gegen Vertreibungen*, Bonn 2004 (MS).

19 The limited liability company (GmbH & Co.) is collecting documents for class-action lawsuits and is headed by leading BdV functionaries.

20 In a resolution of 10 September 2004, Polish parliament, the Sejm, called upon the government to make further reparation claims towards Germany. Cf. the wording of the resolution, translated into German (dpa) in *Die Welt* on 13 September 2004 (Der polnische Beschluss zur Kriegsentschädigung im Wortlaut) and the article by Gerhard Gnauck, Polens Parlament verlangt deutsche Reparationen, *Die Welt* dated 11 September 2004; see also Gabriele Lesser, Neue Fronten an der Oder, *taz* dated 13 September 2004; Trübung des deutsch-polnischen Klimas, *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* dated 13 September 2004; Severin Weiland, Warum Frau Brodacka Deutschland verklagt, *Spiegel Online* dated 10 September 2004, URL:

<<http://www.spiegel.de/politik/ausland/0,1518,317371,00.html>>.

21 Wrpst, September 2003. Concerning the debate in Poland, cf. Pawel Lutomski, The Debate About a Center Against Expulsion: An Unexpected Crisis in German-Polish Relations?, in: *German Studies Review* 27 (2004), pp. 449–468, here pp. 449–457.

22 Lutomski says that Polish politicians and the Polish media preferred to use old prejudices rather than dealing seriously with the change of political culture in Germany. Cf. Lutomski, The Debate About a Center Against Expulsions, pp. 457–468.

23 For Poland, cf. the study by former Polish Ambassador to Germany, Jerzy Kranz, "Polen und Deutschland: getrennte oder gemeinsame Wege der Geschichtsbewältigung? Juristisch-politische Bemerkungen aus polnischer Sicht", Bonn 2005, also available online, URL:

<http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/historiker/02971.pdf>.

24 As a selection on public perception in arts sections and specialist literature, cf. Jörg Lau, Blühende Museumslandschaften. Der Bund fördert die Kultur der Vertriebenen mit Millionen – zum Hintergrund des Denkmalstreits, *Die Zeit* 40/2003; Philipp Ther, Erinnern und aufklären. Zur Konzeption eines Zentrums gegen Vertreibungen, in: *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 51 (2003), pp. 36–41. The entire issue of the periodical is dedicated to the topic of expulsions and can be downloaded at the publisher's website, URL: [http://www.metropol-verlag.de/ftp/zfg\\_01\\_2003.pdf](http://www.metropol-verlag.de/ftp/zfg_01_2003.pdf) [3 July 2005].

25 Cf. the foundation's Internet presence, URL: <<http://www.z-g-v.de>>, and the concept shown there <<http://www.z-g-v.de/aktuelles/?id=49>> [16 June 2005].

The following foreign experts are part of the scientific advisory committee: Rudolf Kucera, political scientist, Charles University Prague, Czech Republic; Christoph Pan, social scientist, Director of the South Tyrolean Institute of Ethnic Groups, Italy; Krisztián Ungváry, historian, Institute for the History of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, Budapest, Hungary; Alfred-Maurice de Zayas, human rights lawyer and secretary general of PEN Club Geneva, Switzerland; Zoran Ziletic, historian and German specialist, Serbia and Montenegro; Moshe Zimmermann, Director of Richard Koebner Center for German History; Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Israel.

27 Cf. the documentation on the corresponding conference held in Darmstadt: :

Bingen/Borodziej/Troebst (Hrsg.), *Vertreibungen europäisch erinnern?* Some supporters of E. Steinbach's concept did not want to be mentioned in the list of participants for the Darmstadt conference printed in the book.

28 On the problem of this documentation cf. Mathias Beer, *Im Spannungsfeld von Politik und Zeitgeschichte. Das Großforschungsprojekt "Dokumentation der Vertreibung der Deutschen aus*

Ost-Mittleuropa", in: *Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 46 (1998), pp. 345–389; Dokumentation der Vertreibung der Deutschen aus Ost-Mittleuropa, edited by Theodor Schieder, volume I/1-V, Bonn 1953–1961, reprinted 1984 and 2004.

29 Here, different ways and speeds of dealing with the topic in the different countries have to be mentioned which cannot be described in detail due to the fact that the introduction must be kept brief. For history policy in various countries of (South and Central) Eastern Europe, cf.: Christoph Cornelißen/Roman Holec/Jiří Pešek (editors), *Diktatur – Krieg – Vertreibungen. Erinnerungskulturen in Tschechien, der Slowakei und Deutschland*, Essen 2005; Stefan Troebst, "Was für ein Teppich?" Postkommunistische Erinnerungskulturen in Ost(Mittel)Europa, in: Volkhard Knigge/Ulrich Mähler (editors), *Der Kommunismus im Museum. Formen der Auseinandersetzung in Deutschland und Ostmitteleuropa*, Köln/Weimar/Wien 2005 (not finished); Ulf Brunnbauer (editor), *(Re)Writing History. Historiography in Southeast Europe after Socialism*, Münster 2004; Alojz Ivanišević et al. (editors), *Klio ohne Fesseln? Historiographie im östlichen Europa nach den Zusammenbruch des Kommunismus*, Frankfurt/Main 2003; Andrea Corbea-Hoisie/Rudolf Jaworski/Monika Sommer (editors), *Umbruch in Osteuropa. Die nationale Wende und das kollektive Gedächtnis*, Innsbruck et al. 2004. For individual nations and the role of forced migration for remembrance cultures in Europe, cf. the report on the conference "Transformation der Erinnerungskulturen?" held by the Arbeit Bildung Partizipation e. V. research institute, an institute an der Ruhr University Bochum, in co-operation with the foundation Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur, on 21 –24 February 2005 in Recklinghausen by Christoph Thonfeld in *HSozKult*, 23 March 2005, URL: <<http://hsozkult.geschichte.huberlin.de/tagungsberichte/id=741>>; see also the contribution made by Rüdiger Ritter at the conference "Die europäische Dimension von Geschichtspolitik" held by the "Politik und Geschichte" Study Group of the Deutsche Vereinigung für politische Wissenschaft in co-operation with the Forschungsstelle für Zeitgeschichte on 17/18 June 2005 – in this context, see also the conference report by Werner Tschacher in *HSozKult*, 4 August 2005, URL: <<http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/tagungsberichte/id=840>>.

30 Concerning the universalization of remembrance cf. Daniel Levy/Natan Sznaider, *Erinnerung im globalen Zeitalter. Der Holocaust*, Frankfurt/Main 2001; concerning the referencing of European identity on the Holocaust cf. Dan Diner, *Gedächtniszeiten. Über jüdische und andere Geschichten*, Munich 2003.

31 In the summer of 2004, a series of events titled "Empathie – der Weg zum Miteinander" was launched in Berlin on the anniversary of the Warsaw uprising of all days, which once more fuelled the debate. Cf. Polen entsetzt über Vertriebenengedenkfeier, *taz* dated 21 July 2004; Text und Subtext, *Frankfurter Rundschau* dated 21 July 2004.

32 Petra Bock/Edgar Wolfrum (editors), *Umkämpfte Vergangenheit*, Göttingen 1999.

33 Cf. the article by Heidmarie Uhl in this volume. Concerning the question of a canonized imagery of European identity cf. Susanne Popp, Auf dem Weg zu einem europäischen „Geschichtsbild“, in: *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* volume 7–8/2004, pp. 23–31.

34 This is the definition by Harald Welzer, *Das soziale Gedächtnis*, in: same, *Geschichte, Erinnerung, Tradierung*, Hamburg, pp. 9–24.

35 Insa Eschebach, *Öffentliches Gedenken. Deutsche Erinnerungskulturen seit der Weimarer Republik*, Frankfurt/Main/New York 2005, p. 9 ff., quote p. 9.

36 For instance, cf. Benjamin Frommer, *National Cleansing. Retribution Against Nazi Collaborators in Postwar Czechoslovakia*, New York 2005.

37 Cf. the multi-volume documentation by Włodzimierz Borodziej/Hans Lemberg (Hrsg.), „Unsere Heimat ist uns ein fremdes Land geworden ...“ Die Deutschen östlich von Oder und Neiße 1945–1950. Dokumente aus polnischen Archiven, Marburg 2000–2004. Since 2004, a

similar documentation is being elaborated in German-Czech co-operation: cf. the list in Tomáš Kafka's article.

38 The subject has been treated in various publications. The first 2005 issue of Central European History, for instance, was dedicated to the subject "Germans as Victims during the Second World War".

39 Cf. [Mathias Beer], Umsiedlung, Flucht und Vertreibung der Deutschen als internationales Problem. Zur Geschichte eines europäischen Irrwegs, published by: Haus der Heimat des Landes Württemberg, 2002

40 These comments are partially reflected in the articles published in this volume. Cf. the contribution by Gert von Pistohlkors.

41 The article by Stefan was available as a "paper martyr" at the conference, whereas Bernd Faulenbach wrote his article during the conference as a summary of the discussions held there.

42 Concerning the imagery of the Holocaust, cf.: Cornelia Brink, Ikonen der Vernichtung. Öffentlicher Gebrauch von Fotografien aus nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslagern nach 1945, Berlin 1998.

43 Cf. also the Haus der Geschichte homepage, URL: <<http://www.hdg.de>>.

44 Concerning this mis-interpretation cf. Michael Jeismann, Völkermord und Vertreibung. Medien der Europäisierung?, in: *Historische Anthropologie* 13 (2005), pp. 111–120, here p. 118.

45 As examples for the booming field of "Europeanization" in political sciences, cf. Hermann K. Richard/Thomas Risse/Marylinn B. Brewer (editors), *Transnational Identities: Becoming European in the EU*, Lanham 2004; Kevin Featherstone/Claudio M. Radaelli (editors), *The Politics of Europeanization*, Oxford 2003; Maria Green Cowles/Tanja A. Börzel (editors), *Transforming Europe. Europeanization and Domestic Change*, Ithaca et al. 2001.

46 Cf. Anselm Doering-Manteuffel, *Wie westlich sind die Deutschen?*, Göttingen 2001; Julia Angster, *Konsenskapitalismus und Sozialdemokratie. Die Westernisierung von SPD und DGB*, München 2003. Parallely, a "Sovietization" trend is postulated for East Germany: Konrad H. Jarausch/Hannes Siegrist (editors), *Amerikanisierung und Sowjetisierung in Deutschland 1945–1970*, Frankfurt/Main 1997.

47 Concerning this subject, cf. the articles which have recently been published: Konrad H. Jarausch, *Zeitgeschichte zwischen Nation und Europa. Eine transnationale Herausforderung*, in: *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, volume 39/2004, pp. 3–10 (revised introduction to the conference "Thinking Europe. Towards a Europeanization of Contemporary Histories" in Berlin/Potsdam, held 6 – 8 May 2004); Ute Frevert, *Europeanizing German History*, in: *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* [Washington], 36/Spring 2005, pp. 9–24; same, *Europeanizing Germany's Twentieth Century*, in: *History and Memory* 6 (2004), pp. 87–116. That the topic meets with great interest and that a future is ascribed to it can also be seen in the fact that in the past few years no less than two specialist journals have entered the market which have set themselves the aim to deal with European contemporary history: *Zeithistorische Forschungen/Studies in Contemporary History* (2004) and the *Journal of Modern European History/Journal de l'histoire européenne moderne* (2003).

48 Hannes Siegrist/Rolf Petri, *Geschichten Europas. Probleme, Methoden und Perspektiven*, in: *Comparativ* 14 (2004), pp. 7–14.

49 Jarausch, *Zeitgeschichte zwischen Nation und Europa*, p. 10.

50 Concerning the presentation of how different levels may interact, cf.: Michael Gehler, *Zeitgeschichte im dynamischen Mehrebenensystem. Zwischen Regionalisierung, Nationalstaat, Europäisierung, internationaler Arena und Globalisierung*, Bochum 2001.

51 As a statement in favour of such a socio-statistical approach regarding the expansion of cultural studies by discourse-historical and ideas-related comparative aspects, cf. Heinz-Gerhard



Haupt, Die Geschichte Europas als vergleichende Geschichtsschreibung, in: *Comparativ* 14 (2004), pp. 83–97.

52 Such a claim is formulated by: Eckart Conze/Ulrich Lappenküper/Guido Müller (editors), *Geschichte der internationalen Beziehungen. Erneuerung und Erweiterung einer historischen Disziplin*, Cologne 2004.

53 Cf. Michael Werner/Bénédicte Zimmermann (editors), *De la comparaison à l'histoire croisée*, Paris 2004; Philipp Ther, Beyond the Nation: The Relational Basis of a Comparative History of Germany and Europe, in: *Central European History* 36 (2003), pp. 45–73; Jürgen Osterhammel, Transnationale Gesellschaftsgeschichte: Erweiterung oder Alternative?, in: *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 27 (2001), pp. 464–479; Klaus Kiran Patel, Überlegungen zu einer transnationalen Geschichte, in: *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 52 (2004), pp. 645–675; see also the series of articles on "Transnationale Geschichte", in: *HSozKult*, appearing since 12 January 2005, URL: <<http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/index.asp?id=584&pn=texte>>; see also the interdisciplinary specialist forum *geschichte.transnational*, URL: <<http://geschichte-transnational.clio-online.net/>>; concerning the approach cf. Peter Jackson/Philip Crang/Claire Dwyer (editors), *Transnational Spaces*, London 2004; concerning the cultural transfer approach, cf. in particular Sabrina P. Ramet/ Gordana P. Crnkovic (editors), *Kazaaam! Splat! Ploof! The American Impact on European Popular Culture since 1945*, Lanham/New York 2003; Jörg Requate/Martin Schulze-Wessel (editors), *Europäische Öffentlichkeit. Transnationale Kommunikation seit dem 18. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt/Main/New York 2002; Michel Espagne/Matthias Middel (editors), *Von der Elbe bis an die Seine. Kulturtransfer zwischen Sachsen und Frankreich im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig 1999.

54 Pierre Nora, *Zwischen Geschichte und Gedächtnis*, Berlin 1990 and same (editor), *Erinnerungsorte Frankreichs*, München 2005 (French: *Les lieux des mémoires*, Paris 1984).

55 Klaus Naumann, Institutionalisierte Ambivalenz. Deutsche Erinnerungspolitik und Gedenkkultur nach 1945, in: *Mittelweg* 36 13 (2004), volume 2, pp. 64–75, quote: p. 75.