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Deportation, Genocide, and Memorial Politics: Remembrance and Memory in Postwar France, 1943-2015

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DEPORTATION, GENOCIDE, AND MEMORIAL POLITICS: REMEMBRANCE AND MEMORY IN POSTWAR FRANCE, 1943-2015

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines how the remembrance of deportation from France during the Second World War impacted the creation of two memorials in Paris in the postwar years. The two memorials, located just over 500 meters apart in the center of Paris and inaugurated within seven years of one another, physically embody each of these narratives. The Tomb of the Unknown Jewish Martyr, created by the Contemporary Jewish Documentation Center (CDJC) in 1956, represents the narrative of Jewish persecution and genocide throughout Europe during the Second World War. Expanded in 2005, the Tomb is now known as the Shoah Memorial and is an internationally recognized research center. The Memorial of Deportation, created by the Réseau du Souvenir in 1962, exemplifies the narrative of French deportees; typically made up of resisters and political enemies of the Vichy regime, and represents French universalism – downplaying the difference in victim identity. This thesis observes how the deportee narratives aligns with the postwar Resistance myth – which sought to unify the nations after war, defeat, occupation, and near civil war by papering over French culpability – influenced the memorialization of the deportee experience as well as how memorialization changed over time. It argues that the Memorial of Deportation maintained a national narrative, focusing on French victims regardless of the political or religious beliefs, wanting to highlight universal French victimhood, while the other, the Tomb of the Unknown Jewish Martyr, sought to commemorate the millions of Jews persecuted and targeted for destruction despite the canonization of the myth as history in France and fought to hold France responsible for its role in the genocide.

To my mental health
Girl, you tried.

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INTRODUCTION

In the center of Paris, France, on the eastern tip of the Île-de-la-Cité, directly behind the famous Notre-Dame cathedral, there is a memorial to the 200,000 French citizens deported to concentration camps during the Second World War.[1] While in the heart of the city, the memorial, however, is missed by most passing by, as the site is designed to be a crypt, only accessible by two narrow staircases that descend into the earth at the very edge of the island. Inaugurated in 1962, the memorial crypt, called the Mémorial des Martyrs de la Déportation (the Memorial of Deportation), creates an atmosphere of somber meditation for visitors through its secluded setting. Once inside, the memorial surrounds the visitor, leaving nothing visible aside from high concrete walls, the sky, and a glimpse of the Seine River through a small, barred window. Paris disappears. Turning away from the river, the visitor can enter the crypt, to find a rotunda surrounded by walls covered in inscriptions: the names of concentration camps and poetry penned by deportees, with an eternal flame in the center of the room.[2] Past the entry room, there is a long gallery surrounded by 200,000 backlit crystals to represent each of those lost. In the center are the remains of a French deportee from the Struthof camp, which had been in Nazi annexed Alsace during the war.[3]

However, just over 500 meters north of the Memorial of Deportation, on the right bank of the Seine, in the historic Jewish neighborhood of the Marais, there is another memorial, inaugurated six years prior to the memorial on the Île-de-la-Cité. Inaugurated in 1956 and dedicated to the six million Jews killed during the Second World War at the hands of the German

[1] Located at 7 Quai de l'Archevêché, 75004 Paris, at the Square de l' Île-de-France.
[2] Antoine Brochard, *Mémorial des Martyrs de la Déportation*, (Paris: Éditions du Linteau, 2015), 82-83.
[3] Brochard, *Mémorial des Martyrs de la Déportation*, 63-64.

National Socialists, the memorial was originally known as the Tomb of the Unknown Jewish Martyr.[4] Similar to the Memorial of Deportation, the Tomb of the Unknown Jewish Martyr is also styled as a crypt, complete with an eternal flame, inscriptions – in both Hebrew and French – on the walls, and ashes from death camps in Eastern Europe and the Warsaw ghetto.[5] Unlike the Memorial of Deportation, however, the Tomb includes significant Jewish symbolism, such as a large Star of David in the center of the crypt.

Who created these memorials and why? What made it possible for not one, but two memorials to appear so near one another and so soon after the end of the war? Why did they commemorate different victims? Some clues lie in the dedications of the memorials, and the elements I have described above. Building on Jay Winter's argument in *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*, they seem to fit two different models of commemoration in the twentieth century: traditional and modernist approaches to memorialization. Winter relates traditional approaches to many memorials erected in the wake of the First World War. He states, "traditional modes of seeing the war, while at times less profound, provided a way of remembering which enabled the bereaved to live with their losses, and perhaps to leave them behind."[6] Alternatively, he describes modern modes of memorialization as, "a new language of truth-telling about war in poetry, prose, and visual arts."[7] Although both memorials utilize many design elements found in traditional models of World War I memorials, the dedication of the Tomb of the Unknown Jewish Martyrs, the overall

[4] The memorial is known today as the Shoah Memorial after a significant expansion project in 2015. Located at 17 Rue Geoffroy l'Asnier, 75004 Paris.
[5] Johannes Heuman, *The Holocaust and French Historical Culture, 1945-65* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 102.
[6] Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 115.
[7] Ibid, 2.

concept of the memorial, and the mission of the group which created the site aligns more with the modern model of memorialization.

The Deportation Memorial takes a nationalist approach, which Winter associates with World War I. It commemorates the French deportee, but does not acknowledge or deal with France's role in the deportation of non-citizens. The other is an example of the modernist approach, which became the most common approach to public memorialization in the decades following the Second World War. The Tomb of the Unknown Jewish Martyr is self-consciously international, in its remembrance of the Shoah – the genocide of Europe's Jews. My thesis traces the history of these two memorials to better understand why they came into existence and took the forms of these traditional and modern models. So why does one represent Jews within an international scope, while the other represents French deportees, papering over French complicity in the war and the deportations, and in particular, using the rhetoric of universalism to avoid any difficult discussions about anti-Semitism and France's role in the National Socialists' genocidal policies? By observing the history of the organizations which created these memorials, we can begin to find answers to this question. In addition, I am interested in tracing how these memorials changed over time and shifted as both France changed and as international scholarship on World War II forced France to reconnect with its role in the war.

Jay Winter also discusses the difference between remembrance and memory, which are important distinctions within this thesis. In *Remembering War: The Great War Between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century*, Winter argues that memory is inherently personal; no two people share the exact same memory. Remembrance, on the other hand, "is to insist on

specifying agency, on answering the question who remembers, when, where, and how?"[8] Remembrance is memory put into action. Winter also discusses the concept of collective remembrance – "the process through which different collectives, from groups of two to groups in the thousands, engage in acts of remembrance together."[9] Collective remembrance plays an important role in this thesis, as it examines the organizations which created the Memorial of Deportation and the Tomb of the Unknown Jewish Martyr and how each group collectively remembers different aspects of the same event – deportation.

In this thesis, I argue that the changing national narrative in France since the end of the Second World War directly reflects the politics of the creation and expansion of these memorials over time, but in different ways. Both sought to publicly memorialize victims of the Nazi regime during the war. They have similar elements, yet, they are fundamentally different. They commemorate different victims: French deportees and European Jews. By studying the documentation of both the La Centre de documentation juive contemporaine (Contemporary Jewish Documentation Center, better known as the CDJC) and the Réseau du Souvenir, we begin to understand that the people who spearheaded these memorials intended to share specific messages. The Tomb of the Unknown Jewish Martyr, created by the CDJC, emphasized the unique experience of the Jews of Europe during their persecution, deportation, and subsequent execution. On the other hand, the Memorial of Deportation, created by the Réseau du Souvenir, highlighted France's loss, feeding into a narrative that highlighted a unified, national resistance against a common enemy, and remembering those who fought for France and sacrificed their lives defending the patrie.

[8] Jay Winter, *Remembering War: The Great War Between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 3.
[9] Ibid, 4.

Conceived during and in the immediate aftermath of the war, neither memorial had the benefit of distance. Dedicated in 1956 and 1962, before and around the time of the Eichmann trial and Hannah Arendt's essays that launched several decades of scholarly debates in Holocaust historiography, neither memorial addressed France's culpability in the war. My analysis will also analyze how and why neither group, nor the French government which partially funded both sites, was ready to confront Vichy's legacy.

Historical Background

Understanding the Vichy government, its National Revolution, its role in the Holocaust, and France's decades' long denial of culpability are important to understanding the larger postwar context into which these memorials came to be. After Germany defeated France in June of 1940, the French Third Republic collapsed when parliament granted the World War I hero, Marshal Philippe Pétain, full governmental powers. Greatly dissatisfied with the Third Republic, the conservative leaders of the new regime worked to restructure the nation and its values with the National Revolution.[10] Already concerned, in an era of eugenic sciences, that France had been weakened by decadence – anxieties took many forms from low birth rates to the love of jazz music – Vichy focused on rebuilding the nation, the family.[11] The national motto of France changed from the historic "liberté, égalité, fraternité" (liberty, equality, fraternity) to "travail, famille, patrie" (work, family, homeland), which correlated with the reforms carried out by the Vichy government. Like other fascist and fascist-leaning states during this period, the

[10] Andrew Sobanet, "A Return to the Soil: René Barjavel's Pétainist Utopia," *French Forum* vol. 32, no. 1 (2007): 171; Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy France: Old Guard and New Order, 1940-1944* (1972; reis., New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 136-137.

[11] See Francine Muel-Dreyfus, *Vichy and the Eternal Feminine: A Contribution to a Political Sociology of Gender*, trans. Kathleen A. Johnson (Durhan: Duke University Press, 2001, originally published in French in 1996); Miranda Pollard, *Reign of Virtue: Mobilizing Gender in Vichy France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Paxton, *Vichy France*, 146-148.

government emphasized a return to the land, praising the hard work of peasants and artisans, and stressing the importance of family unity and national (and regional) pride. It focused on a return to a mythical past and stressed the father as the head of the household and Pétain as the father of the nation.[12]

The regime pointed fingers at outsiders, blaming them for making France week and effeminate. The reforms of the National Revolution inherently excluded those considered non-French from the new ideal of national community; France was meant to be for the French.[13] These 'undesirables' included foreigners and Jews – especially those who entered France after August 1927 – as well as Communists.[14] Long before the National Socialists made any demands, Vichy officials voluntarily implemented exclusionary laws that fit with their vision of the National Revolution. Anti-Semitism played a key role in this process. In October 1940, without pressure from the occupying Germans, the government passed a law which forbade French Jews from working in public service or in professions with public influence.[15] In the same month, a law authorized the interning of foreign Jews in camps in France.[16] In 1942, the Vichy regime agreed with the Germans to deport stateless Jews from France, many of whom were refugees from Germany. A year later, facing German pressure, Vichy also included French Jews in deportations, as the regime stripped all naturalized Jews of their citizenship. By 1944 when the

[12] Julian Jackson, *France: The Dark Years, 1940-1944* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 149; Paxton, *Vichy France*, 153-168. For more on French children and the National Revolution, see Lindsey Dodd, "Children's citizenly participation in the National Revolution: in instrumentalization of children in Vichy France," *European Review of History: Revue européenne d'histoire* vol. 24, no. 5 (2017): 759-780; Muel-Dreyfus, *Vichy and the Eternal Feminine*; Pollard, *Reign of Virtue*.
[13] Paxton, *Vichy France*, 168.
[14] The French government passed a law in August 1927 which granted citizenship to a large number of foreigners. Opposers to this law referred to these new citizens as "paper Frenchmen." For more on citizenship in France, see Patrick Weil, *How to be French: Nationality in the Making since 1789* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 67-69.
[15] Paxton, *Vichy France*, 170-171; Julian Jackson, *France: The Dark Years*, 151.
[16] Michael R. Marrus and Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy France and the Jews* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1981), 138-139; Paxton, *Vichy France*, 174-175.

Allies liberated France, the Vichy regime deported nearly 75,000 Jews from France to extermination camps, of which nearly one third were French citizens. Only about three percent of the total number survived.[17]

Historiography

This thesis comes together at the intersection of the history of Vichy and memory studies to understand how France tried to grapple with the horrors and massive losses of World War II through public memorials in the decades after the war. I use the two memorials to try and understand the changes in public discussion surrounding the Vichy regime during the postwar years. Additionally, in the study of memorials, examining the Tomb of the Unknown Jewish Martyr (today known as the Shoah Memorial) and the Memorial of Deportation allows us to see a physical representation of change – or lack thereof – over time in French national memory.

Scholarly reflection of the fall of France and the Vichy era effectively began with Marc Bloch's unfinished work *L'Étrange Défaite* (*Strange Defeat*).[18] The work, written in 1940 and published posthumously after the war in 1946, focused on France's defeat. In it, the World War I veteran and founder of the Annales school examines what he thought contributed to the defeat. A historian of Sorbonne and captain in the French army, Bloch examined the High Command and identified what he characterized as a refusal to modernize among France's military leadership. He criticized the refusal to move swiftly to meet the enemy and defend France, instead choosing to stay within the walls of the Château de Vincennes. He also blamed the Third Republic for

[17] Richard Vinen, *The Unfree French: Life under the Occupation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 143-145; Marrus and Paxton, *Vichy France and the Jews*, 231-234, 343.
[18] Marc Bloch, *Strange Defeat: A Statement of Evidence written in 1940*, trans. Gerard Hopkins (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1968, first published in French 1946).

being stuck as a society without progress, far from the momentum of the French Revolution. Bloch's work, which remains influential, set the tone for scholarship for many decades.

Then in 1954, historian Robert Aron, a Gaullist, published *The Vichy Regime, 1940-1944* which became the first comprehensive study of the Vichy regime.[19] The work chronologically traced the policies of Vichy and claimed the regime acted as more than a German puppet. Aron also argues that Vichy officials played a double game with the Allies to play at all possible outcomes. A main argument in Aron's work claimed Philippe Pétain acted as a shield for the French people against Germany, with Charles de Gaulle as a sword that fought for France's freedom. Aron's argument has since been torn apart by Robert Paxton, discussed below, but the work remains pivotal in the historiography as it represents the Gaullist viewpoint and the canonization of the myth in historical scholarship in the years after the war.

With almost no critical scholarship on the Holocaust in the decades after the war, Alain Renais' 1955 film *Nuit et brouillard* (*Night and Fog*) framed a generation of people's understanding of the war. It does not call what it depicts the Holocaust, a uniquely American name, but rather refers to it with the term that remains most commonly used in France – genocide. Inspired by the horrible, racist state-led violence taking place in Algeria, Renais created the first, and arguably the most well-known documentary to show the horrors of deportation.[20] The film switches between Nazi footage, the liberators, and the filmmaker's scenes during the postwar era. The unique tactics in narration of the film included the audience

[19] Robert Aron, *The Vichy Regime, 1940-44*, trans. Humphrey Hare (New York: Putnam, 1958, originally published in French in 1954).
[20] *Nuit et Brouillard*, directed by Alan Renais, (1955; New York, NY: Criterion Collection, 2003), DVD; Debarati Sanyal, "Auschwitz as Allegory in *Night and Fog*," in Griselda Pollock and Max Silverman, eds., *Concentrationary Cinema: Aesthetics as Political Resistance in Alain Resnais'* "Night and Fog" *(1955)* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011), 165-170.

in a way unfamiliar in documentary film at the time. The narrator, French actor Michel Bouquet, engages the audience by asking questions and placing them in the scene, thus striking home in a powerful way. Released ten years after the end of World War II, the documentary was one of the first to showcase the horrific realities of the deportation and the camp experience. Created in association with the Réseau du Souvenir, the film partially follows the narrative of Olga Wormser and Henri Michel's work from the year prior, *Tragédie de la Déportation*, making clear that the film focused primarily on the concentration camps and less on the unique Jewish experience, typical in French interpretations.[21] Ultimately, the documentary film put the concentration camps back into focus during a time when many tried to forget the horrors of the war, while reminding the public that the tragedies could occur once again with the events in Algeria.

The 1960s marked a beginning of shifts in the way the French – and the world – thought about the war years. Following Renais' film, in 1963, Hannah Arendt published *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*, a collection of reports written for *The New Yorker* when covering the landmark Adolf Eichmann trial in 1961.[22] Arendt argued that Eichmann was not inspired by ideology, but instead motivated by potential promotions. Arendt points out that Eichmann was not alone in this position; many people were, and are, just like Eichmann in their normalcy of following orders. Although this argument did not receive positive feedback in the years after publication, it eventually became an accepted narrative within the scholarship.[23] Arendt's work effectively sparked what became known as Holocaust studies.

[21] Henri Michel and Olga Wormser, *Tragédie de la Déportation, 1940-1945. Témoignages de survivants des camps de concentration allemands* (Paris: Hachette, 1954).
[22] Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (New York: Viking Press, 1963).
[23] For example, see Christopher R. Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992).

While Arendt's book influenced the field internationally, in France in particular, after the tensions of May 1968, *The Sorrow and the Pity* (*Le chagrin et la pitié*), a Marchel Ophuls' documentary started a tidal wave in the study of Vichy France in 1969.[24] The film included interviews of high-ranking political officials from both France and Germany, as well as interviews with everyday Frenchmen, such as farmers, who endured the war. According to the documentary, the general feeling among the French population was that they did not necessarily pick sides between Vichy and the Resistance; for the most part they just tried to survive, which had been part of the myth Gaullists had worked to construct. During this time, Charles de Gaulle and his officials began perpetuating the idea that France liberated itself from German occupation through constant resistance by the French people with de Gaulle at the forefront – further perpetuating the sword myth, that de Gaulle was the sword that fought and beat the Germans, saving France.[25] Ophuls' documentary challenged this myth. The film caused so much controversy within France at the time, at least among officials, television networks banned the film from French television until 1981.

Three years after Marcel Ophels' film, in 1972 Robert Paxton released *Vichy France: Old Guard, New Order*, which has since become the foundational work in studying Vichy France.[26] Paxton argued that the Vichy government created a National Revolution during the Second World War in which officials sought to eliminate what they perceived as the decadence of republican France – a decadence that had weakened France, eugenically, and been responsible for the defeat of 1940. Rather than arguing that Vichy elites protected the French until they could

[24] *Le chagrin et la pitié*, directed by Marcel Ophuls, (1969; Harrington Park, NJ: Milestone Film and Video, 2001), DVD.
[25] Henry Rousso, *The Vichy Syndrome: History and Memory in France since 1944*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, first published in French 1987, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), 71.
[26] Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy France: Old Guard and New Order* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001, originally published 1972).

be liberated – the old shield idea – Paxton, using Vichy documents in open German archives, proposed that Vichy approached the German occupiers asking to work together during the war, so Vichy could achieve its transformation, via the National Revolution without German interference. Translated into French in 1973, Paxton's work received criticism from the French. Some French critics proclaimed that Paxton set out to portray all French people as collaborators.[27] The work continues to be the leading work in Vichy studies today as it holds its place as one of the most seminal works on the subject.

In the 1980s and 1990s, several trials again brought the difficult World War II past into public awareness in France. These trials convicted a number of previous Vichy officials such as Paul Trouvier and Maurice Papon. During and after these trials, several scholars published works relating to the study of Vichy and how the French remember the period. Pierre Nora's three-volume collection, *Realms of Memory* (1984-1991), is a seminal work inspired by memory studies and focuses on French memory in particular.[28] Nora explained that the realms of memory are any objects or concepts which reflect collective memory. Two chapters in the first volume, "Conflicts and Divisions" examine Vichy France. Phillipe Burrin's chapter, "Vichy" described how France remembers the Vichy years and how those years help shape French identity, even if many would rather forget the Vichy past. Pierre Nora's chapter, "Gaullists and Communists," explored the dichotomy between the Gaullists and Communists during the postwar era.

Building on Paxton and Nora, Henry Rousso's *The Vichy Syndrome: History and Memory in France since 1944* (1986) led the way in merging the study of Vichy with the study

[27] Ibid, xxix.
[28] Pierre Nora, ed., *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, first published in French in1992, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

of memory, tracing the phases of national memory in France from 1944 to the 1980s.[29] He uses Paxton's work as a foundation and builds upon it using memory studies to understand French identity through the Vichy era. Rousso explains how the French had difficulty in coping with the Vichy era and the civil war which was raging in France. Rousso notes the phases in which the people of France struggled with these memories, which had been perpetuated by the myths that France had been resisting the Germans from the start and that only a small number of people in power in the Vichy government were collaborationists.[30] He argues that de Gaulle and his officials had perpetuated this idea from the start of the liberation in 1944.[31] Rousso effectively uses the study of memory (and forgetting) within the history of France's past.

Another work which promotes the study of memory through the observation of memorials is Jay Winter's *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (1995).[32] In this work, Winter observes the idea of nationalism through memorial sites and notes that memorials of the First World War represent the communities in which they were created as they search for a language of remembrance. This act of erecting memorials acted as an attempt to cope with the profound feelings of loss felt during and after the war. The memorials often promote ideals of duty, honor, and sacrifice for the nation, which leans into a nationalist language of remembrance. Winter also writes on the topic of war memorials in his later work, *Remembering War: The Great War and Historical Memory in the Twentieth Century* (2006). Through observing the First and Second World Wars, he analyzes the concept of collective memory, and argues that because a collective cannot share the same singular memory,

[29] Henry Rousso, *The Vichy Syndrome*.
[30] Ibid, 71-74.
[31] Ibid, 16-18.
[32] Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

the act should be referred to as collective remembrance in that the act of remembering an event or period as a collective is more appropriate.[33] These arguments contribute to memory studies in a psychological understanding of remembrance which help distinguish the importance of history and memory as overlapping concepts. Since Winter writes on both world wars – largely the First World War – he does not focus solely on one particular country, therefore his work and concepts are widely utilized by historians studying the world wars and memory.

It is important to note that during the editing phases of this thesis, in late 2020, Philip Nord published his new book, *After the Deportation: Memory Battles in Postwar France*.[34] This work analyzes the gradual change over time that occurs in memories and stories of the Deportation in France from two categories of postwar discourse: life within the concentration camps – referred to as the concentrationary universe – and the Holocaust.[35] In other words, these categories represent the narratives of those deported from France for reasons other than being Jewish – mostly as political enemies or resisters – and the Jewish experience. To elucidate the disparities in these different yet related narratives, Nord utilizes literature, film, and memorials. As examples of memorials to explain this phenomenon, Nord discusses both the Memorial of Deportation and the Tomb of the Unknown Jewish Martyr. While the analysis of film and literature is not within the range of this thesis, the use of these memorials as examples of postwar narratives between deportees and Jews is the main point of this work. However, the scope of Nord's work is slightly dissimilar; Nord's discussion of the examination of both memorials end

[33] Jay Winter, *Remembering War: The Great War Between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).
[34] Philip Nord, *After the Deportation: Memory Battles in Postwar France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).
[35] The concentrationary universe refers to the Nazi camp system. David Rousset, deported from France for his political activism, coined first coined the phrase in his 1946 work, *L'univers concentrationnaire*. David Rousset, *L'univers concentrationnaire* (Paris: Éditions du Pavois, 1946). Nord chose to use the term Holocaust in his work to represent the Nazi genocide of Europe's Jews, so I am using his verbiage here.

at their respective inaugurations, although there is a brief mention of the Tomb of the Unknown Jewish Martyr's 2005 expansion into the Shoah Memorial.[36] In this thesis, I study the life of the memorials beyond the early 1960s, to see how the organizations which founded them shift with the changes public narrative and national memory.

This thesis fits into the historiography at a cross-section between Winter's work of memorial sites and Nord's observation of postwar politics in France through the lens of the Memorial of Deportation and the Shoah Memorial. By plugging in these memorials to Winter's model of war memorials and furthering Nord's scope of the remembrance organizations beyond the inauguration of their respective memorials, this work offers a new observation of the relation between French postwar myths and the politics of French remembrance organizations.

Terminology

Giving the various ways of naming of the event, I want to clarify both my use, and my subjects' use of terminology, particularly when referring to the murder of six million Jews, and for many eleven million people, in Europe under the German National Socialists. The term "Holocaust," first commonly employed in the 1960s, is widely used in the United States to refer to the genocide of Jews in the Second World War. It has become increasingly controversial, with organizations like Yad Vashem advocating for the preferred term, "Shoah." "Holocaust," small h, refers to a burnt offering, with religious implications. The word derives from the Greek *holokauston*, with 'holos' meaning 'whole' and 'kaustos' meaning 'burn' together meaning, to burn whole. Similarly, the Hebrew word *'olah* describes a burnt sacrifice.

[36] Nord, *After the Deportation*, 355.

In recent years, the term Shoah has become the preferred term to refer to the Nazi persecution of Jews in countries throughout the world. In Hebrew, Shoah translates to 'catastrophe,' but has since come to represent the genocide of Jews. While the term Shoah does not include any religious or sacrificial meaning, the etymological definition seems to lack the colossal weight the event holds in history. While the phrase "Final Solution" is specific to the event, it is Nazi terminology and therefore problematic within itself.

Throughout the scholarship, historians typically choose to use either Holocaust or Shoah in their work to refer to the event, sometimes addressing their choice in verbiage and sometimes not. However, one historian in particular, Peter Carrier, makes the choice to use neither. In *Holocaust Monuments and National History: France and Germany since 1989*, Carrier addresses the issues with the term Holocaust, and instead chooses to "refer to the 'persecution and genocide' of the Second World War in order to refer to the event itself, to 'Holocaust remembrance' with reference to the retrospective public memories of the event inclusive of errors and ambiguities as a fact of contemporary memory cultures, and to the Holocaust in cases where this term has gained common acceptance in proper names such as the 'Holocaust Monument' in Berlin."[37] I have chosen to follow this same verbiage in this thesis, as I believe it is the most neutral and succinctly descriptive way to refer to the event.

Methodology

Designed to weave postwar French history and memory studies, this thesis studies the development of the Memorial of Deportation and Shoah Memorial and their respective remembrance organizations as examples of how two small groups in France fit into larger

[37] Assuming the use of 'Holocaust' in the title of the book is using his third case. Peter Carrier, *Holocaust Monuments and National History: France and Germany since 1989* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005), 2.

narratives about how to talk about, remember, and commemorate the war – and if those narratives changed over time. My goal is to show how remembrance organizations represented both national and international perspectives and how politics influenced the ways these perspectives evolved, or remained stagnant, or were in dialogue with other national narratives.

The scope of this analysis begins with the creation of the CDJC in 1943, before the end of the war, and goes into 2012 to cover the expansion of the Shoah Memorial and its acquisition of the Drancy Memorial, an annex east of Paris. The timeframe of the Memorial of Deportation does not expand this far, as the site has not changed since the mid-1970s. The evolution of the Shoah Memorial, foreseen by the founders during the war, shows how it has been an active participant in Holocaust historiography and played a role in changing national narratives and memory. In order to show the changes in national narrative, I build upon a number of secondary sources that observe the events which caused shifts in national memory from the end of the war into the late 1990s. Additionally, I utilize primary sources gathered in the French National Archives and the CDJC publication archives to help tell the history of the development of each remembrance organization.

This thesis focuses on the difference in the narratives between the Jewish experience and that of the French deportees. It does not focus on the experiences of other persecuted peoples, such as Romani people, homosexuals, and disabled people and their respective unique experiences. These narratives of remembrance are important and worthy of research and commemoration; however, the scope of this work only observes the memorials in Paris which commemorate the specific narratives of the deportation of French citizens and the persecution and genocide of the European Jewry.

Organization

This thesis begins with the formation of each remembrance organization, and building into either the stagnation of the memorial – as is the case with the Memorial of Deportation – or its evolution and continuous influence – the Shoah Memorial. The first chapter places the project in context before exploring each organization's creation, the second examines the memorials' development and inauguration in the late 1950s and early 1960s, and finally, I examine the CDJC's expansion into a museum and research center, and the Réseau's donation of the Memorial of Deportation to the Ministry of Veterans' Affairs.

After providing the historical context, chapter one analyzes the creation of the CDJC in 1943 and the Réseau du Souvenir in 1952. The chapter follows the formation of both organizations, important figures and the roles they played within the groups, and the work each organization conducted up to the planning for their respective memorials. The second chapter opens with the development of the postwar Resistance myth, the role Charles de Gaulle played in perpetuating this myth, and the generalization of the French population within this narrative. The Réseau du Souvenir, the network that participated in the perpetuation of the Deportation myth, reflects the overall goal of the postwar myths – to allow all French people to image they resisted in some way, and to unite behind the idea that Vichy had protected France from the worst of Nazi persecution until the resistance could liberate the nation. For de Gaulle and others, the main goal of these myths was to move past the war and promote the idea of unity within France. De Gaulle, who wrote about how much he detested the deep left-right divide in France – something he remembered from the aftermath of the Dreyfus affair as a child – wanted to move past the scares of the war and the near civil war. This included downplaying both religious and political differences and replacing them with a universal narrative of a people who resisted. The chapter

also explains the development of each remembrance organization's memorials, using archival sources to understand their funding, planning, architecture, and interactions with the state.

The final chapter discusses the post-inauguration life of the memorials. The chapter uses relevant events in and around France which influenced the growth or stagnation of the organizations and their memorials. The Réseau du Souvenir faced issues in finding adequate security for the memorial after inauguration. Ultimately the Réseau decided to donate the memorial to the Ministry of Veterans' Affairs in 1965. Alternatively, the CDJC and the Tomb of the Unknown Jewish Martyr continued to evolve and carry international influence. After providing documentary evidence in the 1961 trial of Adolf Eichmann and the 1987 trial of Klaus Barbie, as well as serving as an international research center, the CDJC's Tomb of the Unknown Jewish Martyr expanded into the Shoah Memorial in 2005. The expansion and renovation of the site included a permanent exhibition on the experience of Jews in France during the Second World War, a Wall of Names, and additional space for reading rooms. In 2012, the CDJC expanded again by acquiring the Drancy Memorial – the main internment and transit camp for Jews in France.

CHAPTER 1: THE VICHY REGIME AND POSTWAR ORGANIZATIONS, 1940-1955

In April 1943, at the height of the war, before anyone knew Nazi Germany would be defeated, a small group of Jews in the city of Grenoble, part of the Italian-occupied zone of southeastern France, began to envision a memorial and educational center that eventually became the Center of Contemporary Jewish Documentation (CDJC). [38] By 1945, after the war ended, the CDJC had gathered a collection of documents from the SS administration in France. The CDJC made these documents available to French delegates to use in the Nuremberg trials (1945-1946). Then, in 1952, French deportees began to organize into the Réseau du Souvenir (Network of Remembrance).[39] While these organizations emerged to commemorate victims of the war, each sought to represent different demographics of victims. The CDJC worked to represent all Jewish victims of the war throughout Europe and created a memorial to commemorate the six million Jews killed in the war. The Réseau du Souvenir focused exclusively on commemorating the experience of French deportees. Although they represented different victim demographics, both groups created crypt memorials early in the postwar years – 1956 and 1962 – that are located 500 meters from one another.

Why did each organization develop differently? Clearly both groups saw the need to commemorate the victims of the war in similar ways, but each followed a different path. Tracing the formation and inner workings of these two organizations helps us understand a great deal about postwar politics, both in France and internationally. It is important to understand the complexities of each of these memorial groups to gain contextual insight which necessitated their

[38] Laura Jockusch, *Collect and Record!: Jewish Holocaust Documentation in Early Postwar Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 50-51.
[39] Antione Brochard, *Mémorial des Martyrs de la Déportation*, 5.

creation. The following chapter provides this contextual information. First, the chapter examines who and why certain groups of French citizens were deported – by Vichy and by the Nazis. This includes Communists, resisters, and foreigners, often those who came to France fleeing the Nazis. Jews fell into each of these categories. I also examine the people the Vichy regime sent to Germany as "volunteers" under the *Service du travail obligatoire* (STO). While not technically deportees, the STO workers suffered a great deal and their experience played a key role in postwar politics. Subsequently, this chapter introduces the CDJC and the Réseau du Souvenir from their inception by placing both into the historical context of the war and the immediate postwar years. This will provide a better understanding of why the founders of these two French remembrance organizations sought to create two separate memorials that are physically close to one another but otherwise so far apart.

Targeted Peoples under Vichy

The Vichy government, which technically led the unoccupied southern part of France from the start, sought to impress the German occupiers, hoping to retain national autonomy. After three wars with Germany in less than one hundred years, and decades of crises, the leaders of the new government saw the defeat as an opportunity to remake France following conservative principles through the National Revolution. Part of the National Revolution included the idea that France was for the French – a strong nationalist ideology that opposed the ideas of the French Revolution and the Third Republic.[40] To push forward this ideology, the Vichy government implemented laws against distinct peoples deemed undesirable within France: Jews, foreigners, and Communists.[41] While prejudice against these groups existed within France

[40] Paxton, *Vichy France*, 168-185.
[41] Jackson, *France: The Dark Years*, 150.

before the outbreak of war, Vichy implemented legal discrimination that allowed an open opportunity to take measures against those deemed undesirable through actions such as banning the Communist party and strictly limiting Jewish livelihood. Between 1943 and 1944, Vichy frequently painted resisters as anti-French, building on earlier propaganda that named Communists, Jews, colonial subjects, and immigrants as enemies of the state – as black-marketeers and violent criminals. The *milice*, the Vichy special police forces, treated targeted groups brutally and sentenced these undesirable peoples to the concentration camps.[42]

On October 3, 1940, France established the *Statut des Juifs* (Jewish Statue), which legally defined what made a person Jewish in the eyes of the Vichy government. According to the statue, three Jewish grandparents, not practicing the faith, made someone Jewish. The statue furthermore barred Jews from holding certain careers such as public service, law, education, and healthcare. While the tightening of nationalization laws began at the end of the Third Republic, the policies enacted under Vichy targeted foreigners and especially Jews.[43] In other words, French leadership started the legal prosecution of Jews and foreigners within France long before the Nazis demanded they do so.[44]

While Vichy targeted foreign Jews, it simultaneously sought to target and prevent French Jews from being deported. In part, Vichy argued that Germany could not deport citizens, worried that it might become a slippery slope. Moreover, many French Jews were assimilated, including

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[42] Burrin, Philippe, "Writing the History of Military Occupations," in *France at War: Vichy and the Historians*, ed. Sarah Fishman, Laura Lee Downs, Ioannis Inanoglou, et al. (Oxford: Berg, 2000), 85; Michael R. Marrus and Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy France and the Jews* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1981), 335.
[43] On issues relating to immigration and anti-immigrant policies before Vichy, see Patrick Weil, *How To Be French: Nationality in the Making since 1789* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008); Cliff Rosenberg, *Policing Paris: The Origins of Modern Immigration Control Between the Wars* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006); Mary Dewhurst Lewis, *The Boundaries of the Republic: Migrant Rights and the Limits of Universalism in France, 1918-1940* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007).
[44] Paxton, *Vichy France*, 173-176; Patrick Weil, *How To Be French: Nationality in the Making since 1789* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 107-113.

significant numbers of World War I veterans. Vichy, which built on persistent anti-Semitic and xenophobic ideas, targeted immigrants and naturalized citizens. Vichy pushed back against Nazi quotas, even though Vichy laws had made it easy to single out French Jews. Instead, Vichy officials rounded up foreign Jews and handed them over to the Germans.[45]

In March 1941, Vichy officials – namely, Admiral François Darlan – created the Commissariat-General for Jewish Affairs (CGQJ) after negotiations with German official, Theodor Dannecker, an SS officer in charge of coordinating anti-Jewish policy leading to the persecution and genocide of the European Jewry. This Jewish office, headed by Xavier Vallet, acted to administer French law on policies regarding Jews – with German supervision – in both zones of France.[46] Dannecker sought to create a single organization of Jews in France to further consolidate Jews, which he had set up in other occupied countries across Europe. In the east, this malicious tactic used the Jews to administer policies that forced them to participate in the destruction of other fellow Jews. Vallet and other Vichy officials pushed back, not wanting to group all French and foreign Jews together. Therefore, Vallet stalled as long as possible, until Dannecker announced in September 1941 that he planned to create a Jewish council in the Occupied Zone. This meant France lost even more control in the Occupied Zone. Vallet countered by creating the General Union of French Jews (UGIF) on November 29, 1941, which he hoped would allow Vichy, rather than the Germans, to continue to have control over which Jews would be deported from both zones.[47]

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[45] Marrus and Paxton, *Vichy France and the* Jews, 82-83; Renée Poznanski, *Jews in France During the Second World War*, trans. Nathan Bracher (Hanover: Brandeis University Press, 2001), 1-11; Weil, *How to be French*, 90-91.
[46] Marrus and Paxton, *Vichy France and the Jews*, 84-85; Jackson, *France: The Dark* Years, 356-357; Paxton, *Vichy France*, 177-178.
[47] Marrus and Paxton, *Vichy France*, 108-109; Jackson, *France: The Dark Years*, 356-357.

Also starting in March of 1941, mass internments of foreign Jews began in the Occupied Zone with the assistance of the French police. A year later, on March 27, 1942, the first systematic deportations from the internment camps to concentration camps began. On June 11, 1942, the commander of the SS and main architect of the Final Solution, Heinrich Himmler, set quotas for deportations of Jews from western countries to the extermination camps; France had to produce 100,000 Jews from both zones.[48] Pierre Laval, the head of the Vichy government, agreed to this quota on the contingency that French Jews in the Occupied Zone be sent only if foreign Jews did not meet the quota first. Moreover, if needed, French Jews naturalized after 1933 would be the first citizens to go.[49] Ultimately, the Vichy government attempted to prove that France was willing to work with Germany and maintain as much autonomy to continue the National Revolution, as well as prove that France earned a place in Hitler's new Europe during and after the war.[50]

In addition to targeting Jews, both French and foreign, the Vichy regime targeted Communists in France, focusing on them as the common enemy that France and Germany shared and fought against. Founded in 1920, the French Communist Party (PCF) jointly governed France during the Popular Front from 1936 to 1938.[51] While it remained a minority party, and many conservatives in France distrusted this internationally minded group, they had played a key role in creating some of the most popular reforms implemented in France in nearly a century. Early in the war, because of the non-aggression pact that the Soviet Union signed with Germany

[48] Joseph Billig, *Le Commissariat Général aux questions juives* (Paris: Édition du Centre, 1955), 239-40, 364-365; Paxton, *Vichy France*, 181.
[49] Report of interview between Karl Oberg and Pierre Laval, 2 September 1942 (CDJC Archives, XLIX-42); Paxton, *Vichy France*, 182.
[50] Paxton, *Vichy France*, 134, 321.
[51] The Popular Front was an alliance of parties on the left, between Communists, Socialists, and Radicals; Jackson, *France: The Dark Years*, 74-77.

in August of 1939, the French government made the French Communists a new internal threat. The French government banned the party and expelled Communist bureaucrats from the government.[52]

While the non-aggression pact meant that French Communists did not develop a formal resistance early in the war, Vichy's conservative leadership distrusted and actively repressed Communists. In September of 1940, a new law gave Vichy prefects the ability to arrest and intern anyone deemed a threat to the security and unity of the French state – which local police began taking advantage of right away.[53] As historian Robert Gildea explains, "for communists [repression] began at the outbreak of war and only intensified under Vichy."[54] By the end of 1940, between 55,000 and 60,000 French Communists sat in internment camps. These camps were not part of the German plans for France during the time, Vichy spearheaded the repression of these citizens.[55]

The Nazi-Soviet Pact put French communists in a predicament, causing confusion within the party – how do they resist when orders from Moscow barred them from doing so? On June 22, 1941, this ended when Germany invaded the Soviet Union. The German offensive, code named Operation Barbarossa, marked a shift in French communists and communism became among the first organized elements of resistance.[56] After June 22, French communists began carrying out attacks against the Germans in the Occupied Zone. On August 21, French communist resisters killed a German soldier in Paris, the first German killed in France since the

[52] Robert Gildea, *Fighters in the Shadows: A New History of the French Resistance* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015), 45-46.
[53] Jackson, *France: The Dark Years*, 151.
[54] Gildea, *Fighters in the Shadows*, 85.
[55] Jackson, *France: The Dark Years*, 151.
[56] Gildea, *Fighters in the Shadows*, 87.

armistice. The Vichy government, under Admiral Darlan, began making legislative decisions in response to the assassinations of German soldiers. The government passed laws which allowed courts and police to act with force to stop communists and anyone who did not support the Vichy regime or accept the German occupation. Officials also created laws which prohibited private and public meetings, hoping to stop the potential for more organized resistance. Despite this effort, French communists continued assassinating German soldiers, which resulted in German retaliation. The Germans arrested hundreds, killing them in October of 1941.[57]

Although French communists made up the largest of the early organized French Resistance, a variety of groups, including communist and non-communist Jews, resisted early. Other groups in French society also participated in the resistance, with many joining in the final years of the war. While France's resistance was small and grew over time as pressure from the Germans intensified, resistance began almost as soon as the occupation began, but not in an organized form. From the beginning, French soldiers attempted to continue final acts of the Battle of France by destroying German posters, cutting German communication lines, and firing shots in the direction of German soldiers.[58] While French communists believed it necessary to go against party lines after the Nazi-Soviet Pact and fight fascism, other groups and individuals had different reasons for resisting. As Robert Gildea explains, while some of the French population resisted in order to redeem or continue family honor, others sought personal honor and patriotism.[59] Intellectuals also started to organize soon after the occupation, using the Musée de l'homme as a meeting point and creating the newspaper *Résistance* in December of 1940.[60] One

[57] Paxton, *Vichy France*, 223-225; Gildea, *Fighters in the Shadows*, 89-91.
[58] Henri Michel, *Vichy: Année 40* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1966), 422.
[59] Gildea, *Fighters in the Shadows*, 38-42.
[60] Alice Conklin, *In the Museum of Man: Race, Anthropology, and Empire in France, 1850-1950* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013), 284-287.

of the earliest groups in the unoccupied zone, Libération Sud, developed in Lyon, led by Lucie and Raymond Aubrac. The Libération Sud worked to sabotage the Nazis and inform the French people about the realities of the Vichy government.[61] Eventually, the Aubracs worked closely with Jean Moulin, the man chosen by French officials in London to unify the Resistance groups under Charles de Gaulle.[62]

As the war continued and Germany pushed into the Soviet Union in the second half of 1941, the need to feed the German war machine intensified, which required more French citizens to work in Germany.[63] While Germany used French prisoners of war (POWs) as a labor force early in the war, the Germans started demanding more workers to keep up. Chief of the Vichy government, Pierre Laval, always negotiating with the Germans, came up with a plan in June 1942 known as the *reléve*, which released one French POW in return for three French volunteer workers sent to Germany.[64] Forced into a quota system, Vichy struggled to meet the required number of 250,000 French workers on voluntary measures – by August, only 40,000 French workers went to Germany.[65]

The Allied invasion of North African made these demands for French labor even more severe. On November 8, 1942, Allies forces led by the United States landed in French North Africa. Three days later, faced with the threat of a Mediterranean invasion, Germany moved into the southern zone of France, occupying the entire country – save for the Italian occupied zone

[61] Margaret Collins Weitz, "Introduction," in *Outwitting the Gestapo* by Lucie Aubrac (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993, originally published in 1984), vii.
[62] Gildea, *Fighters in the Shadows*, 123-129.
[63] Jackson, *France: The Dark Years*, 215-216.
[64] Yves Durand, "Collaboration French-style: A European Perspective," in *France at War: Vichy and the Historians*, eds. Sarah Fishman, Laura Lee Downs, Ioannis Sinanoglou, et al. (Oxford: Berg Publishing, 2000), 66; Jackson, *France: The Dark Years*, 219-220.
[65] Jackson, *France: The Dark Years*, 220.

east of the Rhône River.[66] This further increased the need for German war production, making the numbers of volunteer workers from France inadequate. In February of 1943, Laval had no choice but to start forcing young men to go to Germany for work and created the *Service du travail obligatoire* (Compulsory Work Service, STO). The STO effectively sent hundreds of thousands of French young men to Germany for forced labor within about four months.[67] Those most affected by the STO program included criminals, casual workers, and domestic servants.[68] The installment of the STO program soon became counterproductive, as Frenchmen ran away from home and joined the growing resistance. These runaways mostly joined the *maquis*, a makeshift army of the resistance – groups of French citizens living in mountainous areas of France who performed guerilla attacks on anything that aided the Germans, including Vichy.[69] These groups of French citizens served somewhat of a dual purpose for themselves, both saving themselves from forced labor while also fighting back against the Germans and the Vichy government.

Germans and the Vichy government harshly punished acts of resistance. The Vichy government gave the *milice*, Vichy's paramilitary organization, the duty of punishing resistance movements. When the *milice* arrested members of resistance groups, they would use torture tactics to extract information about other resisters. This typically resulted in the death of those arrested members, as they would not give up information.[70] Similarly, Germans harshly punished members the *maquis* and resistance groups, and in the cases these resisters could not be caught

[66] Paxton, *Vichy France*, 280-281; Jackson, *France: The Dark Years*, 221-226; Gildea, *Fighters in the Shadows*, 240-241.
[67] Jackson, *France: The Dark Years*, 228; Paxton, *Vichy France*, 292.
[68] Vinen, *The Unfree* French, 265-266.
[69] Ulrich Herbert, William Templer, *Hitler's Foreign Workers: Enforced Foreign Labor in Germany Under the Third Reich* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 274; Jackson, *France: The Dark Years*, 452.
[70] For more on the *maquis* and the *milice*, see H.R. Kedward, *In Search of the Maquis: rural resistance in southern France, 1942-1944* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

after a successful sabotage, Germans would find townspeople they believed to be accomplices and would kill them.[71]

In the chaos of liberation, France experienced what many have characterized as a Civil War. Many who participated in Vichy's bureaucracy suffered, but others used the lawlessness of the end of the war to enact revenge, or to settle old scores. About 10,000 men were executed, often by firing squad or hanging, sometimes after makeshift trials, and sometimes without trial or any legal authorization.[72] Women faced public shaming, sexual violence, and having their heads shaved as horizontal collaborators – around 20,000 women fell victim to such treatment.[73] Given all of these events – the shame of defeat, the lackluster national participation in resistance, and the intra-French violence of the end of the war – it is no wonder that postwar leaders sought to mythologize this era. Most people wanted to avoid talking about what they did during the war, and the state encouraged the French to just move on, move forward, and rebuild a unified France, absent of old political rivalries. It is in this context that the CDJC and the Rédeau du Souvenir decided to memorialize the war dead.

Postwar memorial organizations

Center of Contemporary Jewish Documentation

In April 1943, Isaac Schneersohn, a Russian-born Jew, organized a clandestine meeting with other Jews in his apartment, located in Grenoble, then part of the Italian-occupied zone of

[71] For example, see Gildea, *Fighters in the Shadows*, 346-348.
[72] Herrick Chapman, *France's Long Reconstruction: In Search of the Modern Republic* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018), 30-32; Robert Gildea, *France Since 1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 67; Henry Rousso, *The Vichy Syndrome*, 8.
[73] Anthony Beevor and Artemis Cooper, *Paris After the Liberation, 1944-1949* (New York: Penguin Books, 1994), 77-80; Fabrice Virgili, *Shorn Women: Gender and Punishment in Liberation France*, trans. John Flower (Oxford: Berg Books, 2002), 50-53; Chapman, *France's Long Reconstruction,* 30.

southeastern France, near the Alps. The group sought, despite the personal risk, to collect documents which exposed the horrors that occurred in France during the war. Further, through creating this archive, the group aimed to expose the role the French government played in the war, including the government's collaboration with Germany, and the impact this collaboration had on the Jews. Among their first objectives: gathering statistics of French and foreign Jews – those arrested and deported – and creating a list of government officials, police officers, and anti-Semites responsible for the horrors Jews experienced during the war.[74] A leaflet from the founding meeting states:

> It is necessary to gather the immense documentation on what is happening in the two zones, to study the new legislation and its implications in all aspects: to take stock of the Jewish fortune spoiled or Aryanized; to draw the picture of the sufferings of so many interns, deportees, Jewish hostages shot; to bring out the heroism of the Jewish combatants .... to record the attitude of the rulers, of the administration, of the various strata of public opinion; that it is good effect, to note the reaction of the intellectuals, the middle classes, the working classes, men representative of the old parties and the new - of the various churches.[75]

In other words, while what eventually became the CDJC built a memorial, its founders always intended for their work to be more than a static monument to the dead. They wanted to remember the dead, hold the guilty responsible, and make the French confront their role in genocide. Yet, few others shared this goal in the 1940s, or for most of the rest of the twentieth century. Originally named the *Le Centre de documentation des déportés et spoliés juifs* (Documentation Center for Jewish Deportees and Despoiled) in 1943 at its inception, the group became *Le Centre de documentation juive contemporaine*

[74] Marcel Livian, "Les premiers pas," *Le monde juif*, 34, 1963, numéro spécial d'anniversaire, 106-107; Renée Poznanski, "La création du centre de documentation juive contemporaine en France (avril 1943)," *Vingtième Siècle, revue d'histoire*, 63, July-September 1999, 56-57; Jockusch, *Collect and Record!*, 52.
[75] Simon Perego and Renée Poznanski, *Le Centre de documentation juive contemporaine* (Paris: Mémorial de la Shoah, 2013), 11.

(Center of Contemporary Jewish Documentation, more commonly referred to as the CDJC) in June 1945 less than a month after the end of the war.[76]

In its first years of organizing in secret, a feat on its own, the members of the CDJC still faced the hardships of war. When the Germans took over the southern zone of France in November 1942, Germany allowed Italy to occupy eight departments on the eastern side of the Rhône. Since the Italian Fascists did not engage in anti-Semitic ideologies like the National Socialists and the Vichy government, the Italians blocked anti-Jewish laws that Vichy officials tried to implement in late 1942.[77] This made the Italian-occupied zone of France the safest place in France for Jews at the time. But on September 8, 1943 Germany took over the Italian-occupied zone of France after the Allied invasion and the overthrow of Mussolini.[78] German control of the Italian zone forced thousands of Jews who sought refuge there to flee again, going into hiding or joining the Resistance. This also forced the initial members of the CDJC to temporarily disband. While some, including Schneersohn, continued to work collecting documents in hiding, the Germans deported and killed other members that attended the first CDJC meeting.[79]

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[76] Ibid, 17.
[77] Michael R. Marrus and Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy France and the Jews*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1981), 315-320; Johannes Heuman, *The Holocaust and French Historical Culture, 1945-65* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 33-36.
[78] Maurrus and Paxton, *Vichy France and the Jews*, 320-321. For more information regarding the Italian armistice, see Howard McGaw Smyth, "The Armistice of Cassibile," *Military Affairs* 12, no. 1 (Spring 1948), 12-35.
[79] In the introduction of Léon Poliakov's *Jews Under the Italian Occupation*, Schneersohn provides the names of those killed after the Germans took over the Italian zone of France: Raymond-Raoul Lambert, André Baur, Nahum Hermann, Léonce Bernheim, Grand Rabbi Hirschler, and Leo Glaeser. See Isaac Schneersohn, "Introduction," in *Jews Under the Italian Occupation*, Léon Poliakov and Jacques Sabille (New York: Howard Fertig, 1983, originally published 1954 by the CDJC), 11-12.

After the Liberation of France in August 1944, Schneersohn returned to Paris to begin the work of collecting documentation again. Some of the remaining members of the documentation group – such as Joseph Billig, Jacques Calmy, Leon Czertok, David Knout, and Jacques Sabille – met Schneersohn in Paris and reconvened to begin work preparing for postwar justice for Jews.[80] Many members of the CDJC were eastern European Jews who came to France at varying points of time – some long before the war and some during the war. While the group did see some non-Jewish members, the organization was made up of mostly Jewish members.[81] To fund the Center, Schneersohn organized aid from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, an American organization that started in 1914 by sending financial support to Jews in Eastern Europe and Palestine.[82] Shortly after the Liberation, Justin Godart – a non-Jewish politician of the Radical party and early supporter of the CDJC – wrote a letter of recommendation to the commissioner of National Security for Léon Poliakov – a Russian-born Jew who worked for a time as the CDJC's research director – to obtain documents from the SS administration in France. Poliakov and Schneersohn made this collection available to Edgar Faure, prosecutor of the French delegation in the Nuremberg trials (1945-1946), so his team could use them to convict perpetrators of crimes against humanity.[83]

In pursuing the goal of public education, the CDJC established its own publishing company, Éditions du Centre – later changing to reflect the name of the Centre – which published over twenty books between 1945 and 1955. The CDJC also established a

[80] Perego and Poznanski, *Le Centre de documentation juive contemporaine*, 17.
[81] Jockusch, *Collect and Record!*, 55.
[82] Perego and Poznanski, *Le Centre de documentation juive contemporaine*, 19; "About Us: Over 100 Years of Service to the Jewish People," JDC, accessed March 1, 2021, https://www.jdc.org/about.
[83] Edgar Faure went on to become a politician, serving in numerous roles within the French Fourth and Fifth Republic, including the President of the French National Assembly. Perego and Poznanski, 20.

monthly journal, first named the *Bulletin du CDJC*, then changing its name to *Le Monde Juif* in 1946.[84] The CDJC's press mission was to teach the public about the crimes the French government committed in collaborating with the Germans and identify the direct effect those crimes had on the French Jewish community. The group published books which fit into three categories: legal texts, historical monographs, and document collections.[85] Every book published used documents CDJC members acquired to provide incontrovertible evidence of the crimes committed by the French government. Given the larger postwar context, they wanted to avoid being accused of playing on emotions or making any political statements. As Schneersohn explained, "We do not pursue . . . any political goal, we do not belong to any party, we do not make any propaganda."[86] Although not outright stated, the CDJC did not want to step out with accusations against the French government regarding the responsibility of Jewish deportations during the war, fearing the group would receive backlash from citizens and government entities. The books in the documents category often did not include much commentary, as the CDJC wished to let the documents speak for themselves. Books published by the CDJC also provided survivor testimonies which would stand to show future generations the experiences of Jews in the war. The journal, on the other hand, published current events

[84] Jockusch, *Collect and Record!*, 66-67; Nord, *After the Deportation*, 164-165; Perego and Poznanski, *Le Centre de documentation juive contemporaine*, 24-26.
[85] These books include, among others, Raymond Sarraute and Jacques Rabinovitch, *Examen succinct de la situation actuelle juridique des Juifs* (Paris: Centre du Documentation des Déportés et Spoilés Juifs, 1945); Joseph Billig, *Le Commissariat general aux questions juives, 1941-1944* (Paris: Éditions du Centre, 1955); and Léon Poliakov, *La condition des Juifs en France sous l'occupation italienne* (Paris: Éditions du Centre, 1955), which includes documents found in the German, French, and Italian administrative offices.
[86] Isaac Schneersohn, "Preface," in *Les juifs sous l'occupation: Recueil des textes francais et allemands 1940-1944*, R. Sarraute and P. Tager (Paris: Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine, 1945).

of Jewish and non-Jewish happenings each month and provided information of upcoming work from the CDJC.[87]

The Center faced difficulties reaching a wide audience. The organization targeted non-Jews – specifically French elites – and Jews, both inside and outside of France.[88] In the immediate postwar years, the few Jews to return to France kept a low profile and just wanted to fit in with French society, and live their lives as best as they could, keeping their trauma private. Many believed – both Jews and newly appointed French officials – that singling out Jews would separate them from French society, as it had during the war. Due to genuine concern and out of a desire to paper over the war years and move forward without confronting French culpability, a silence fell over not just the general population, but even among many Jews in France. Only a small fraction of Jews, groups like the CDJC, and individuals sought to chronicle the traumas of the war in the postwar era.[89]

In an attempt to reach a wider audience, Schneersohn decided to attach the Center's name to a memorial dedicated to the destruction of Europe's Jews. In a meeting on November 8, 1950, he proposed the memorial as a crypt which would house a collection of ashes from the extermination camps as well as the Warsaw Ghetto.[90] Not only would this site serve as a place of mourning, but also as a permanent space to be a reminder of the Jewish experience during the war. Schneersohn not only hoped that the memorial would bring a larger audience to the forefront of the Center's publication efforts, he also hoped that the memorial would inspire more

[87] Jockusch, *Collect and Record!*, 66-68.
[88] Ibid, 67.
[89] Ibid, 66.
[89]Ibid, 191; Nord, *After the Deportation*, 160.
[90] Mémorial de la Shoah, "The history of the CDJC," accessed March 1, 2021, http://www.memorialdelashoah.org/en/archives-and-documentation/the-documentation-center/the-history-of-the-cdjc.html/; Jockusch, *Collect and Record!*, 75.

Jews to come forward with their stories, rather than being afraid of standing out in postwar society. In July 1951, the city of France approved a site at rue Geoffroy l'Asnier and rue Grenier sur l'Eau, in the historic Jewish neighborhood of the Marais, for the CDJC to use for the memorial which eventually became the Tomb of the Unknown Jewish Martyr.[91]

Réseau du Souvenir

In 1952, shortly after the CDJC began working on the plans for the Memorial of the Unknown Jewish Martyr, Annette Lazard and Paul Arrighi organized the Reseau du Souvenir. Annette Lazard, a devout Catholic and widow of Christian Lazard, who died at Auschwitz, wanted a way to honor her Jewish husband and memorialize the deportee experience.[92] Paul Arrighi, a lawyer and survivor of the Mauthausen camp in Austria, searched for a way to memorialize his own experience as a deportee. The Nazis arrested Paul Arrighi on October 30, 1943 as he served as the national leader of the "Those of the Resistance" network.[93] In 1945, Arrighi found out Nazis killed his son, Pierre, in the same camp, also for being a resister.[94]

Originally part of the National Federation of Deportees and Interns of the Resistance (FNDIRP), both Lazard and Arrighi sought something different to represent their idea of the "crusade of remembrance."[95] Following tension within FNDIRP regarding David Rousset's *L'univers concentrationnaire* and disagreements among Communist members over the amount of loyalty to the Soviet Union, the FNDIRP fractured into different groups, one of which being

[91] Jockusch, *Collect and Record!,* 74-75.
[92] Brochard, *Mémorial des Martyrs de la Déportation*, 5; Oliver Laulieu, "Les résistants et l'invention du 'devoir de mémoire,'" in *Cahiers du Centre d'Etudes d'Histoire de la Défense: Les Associations d'Anciens Résistants et la Fabrique de la Mémoire de la Seconde Guerre Mondiale*, Gilles Vergnon and Michèle Battesti, Ministère de la Défense Secrétariat Général pour l'Administration, no. 28, 2006, 92.
[93] "Me Paul Arrighi est mort," *Le Monde*, 15 April, 1975, https://www.lemonde.fr/archives/article/1976/04/15/me-paul-arrighi-est-mort_2968651_1819218.html.
[94] Laulieu, "Les résistants et l'invention du 'devoir de mémoire,'" 92 n14.
[95] Ibid, 93.

the National Union of Associations of Deportees, Interns, and Families of the Disappeared (UNADIF). The splintering resulted in a refusal of many non-Communists to engage in the evolution of the organization, which Arrighi and Lazard did not agree with.[96] Hoping to make more of a direct impact on French society through the remembrance of deportees, Lazard and Arrighi began organizing meetings with deportees of all types in 1950. Early members of the group include Reverend Father Michel Riquet, a Jesuit member of the resistance who spent time with Arrighi in the Mauthausen camp, as well as Henri Michel, a resister and historian working with the Committee for the History of the Second World War (CHDGM).[97] Created in 1951, the CHDGM was France's official institution for the study of the Second World War. With his connections from the CHDGM, Henri Michel helped Lazard and Arrighi create their own official remembrance organization.

Originally named the Commission du souvenir, the group became a subsidiary of UNADIF. On May 20, 1952, the group became the Réseau du Souvenir with Arrighi as president.[98] The Réseau hoped to "fulfill a duty of loyalty to the Martyrs of the Nazi Deportation Camps and a mission for teaching generations who no longer include among them actors or witnesses of the tragedy."[99] The Réseau also strategically organized to incorporate a cross-section of cleavages in French society: Communists, Socialists, Christian Democrats, Jews, and Catholics. Unlike the CDJC, French universalism mattered to the Réseau, and it, like the postwar government, sought to avoid the singling out a particular group, and wanted to be sure all groups would be represented and have a voice. While this may sound like an attempt to be more

[96] Ibid; Nord, *After the Deportation*, 45, 53-54.
[97] Ibid, 92-93; Nord, *After the Deportation*, 73.
[98] Archives Nationales (AN), 72 AJ 2141, Reseau du Souvenir, "Réunion constitutive du Réseau du Souvenir du 20 mai 1952," nd.
[99] AN, 72 AJ 2147, Reseau du Souvenir, flier, "le Réseau du Souvenir, Historia testis," nd.

inclusive, this social strategy generalized all experiences of deportation into one universally French experience, effectively devaluing the incredibly unique circumstance Jews found themselves in. Additionally, the Réseau followed a piece of the postwar myth, which Sarah Farmer explains, "permitted avoidance of uncomfortable political tensions and accentuated the idea of French innocence and victimization, blurring the distinction between resisters and bystanders by giving the message that *everyone* was at risk. […] that of France as a nation of victims, martyred regardless of political choice or wartime activity."[100] In this sense, if the organization represented many groups in French life, and everyone was a victim, then no one in France was a perpetrator; the few perpetrators had been dealt with in the purge.

Following the carefully constructed model for remembering meant that important political figures could join the group: Edmond Michelet, a Christian Democrat politician and résistant, Michel Maurice-Bokanowski, secretary general of the Gaullist party, Rally of the French People, or RPF, a member of the Free French Forces, Pastor Charles Westphal, who aided Jews escaping Nazi persecution, and Rabbi Jacob Kaplan, who actively worked in the resistance during the war. Other notable members include Musée de l'Homme anthropologist Germaine Tillion, who survived Ravensbruck, Musée National d'Art Moderne curator Jean Cassou, and historian Olga Wormser-Migot.[101] All of the members of the Réseau du Souvenir were native French citizens who either experienced deportation themselves or lost family members due to the deportations. The organization did not, however, represent the non-citizens – immigrants and refugees – that Vichy deported before they began expelling French citizens.

[100] Sarah Farmer, *Martyred Village: Commemorating the 1944 Massacre at Oradour-sur-Glane* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 58.
[101] AN 72 AJ 2147, Réseau du Souvenir, "Conseil d'Administration du 23 Février 1957"; Laulieu, "Les résistants et l'invention du 'devoir de mémoire,'" 95-96; Nord, *After the Deportation,* 73-74; Brochard, *Mémorial des Martyrs de la Déportation,* 5-6.

Although members of the Réseau represented a carefully constructed representation of French society, membership remained small, never exceeding more than a couple thousand people.[102]

After successfully organizing, the Réseau quickly set to work in accomplishing certain goals in producing various methods of remembering the deportation experience and its victims. In 1954, the group created the National Day of Remembrance of the Deportation, which still occurs on the last Sunday of April.[103] Also, in 1954, Henri Michel and Olga Wormser published *Tragédie de la Déportation* with financial support from the Réseau.[104] This book represented a work of testimonies from deportees and did so without designation of political or racial background, except that the survivors were French. In stark contrast from the CDJC, the Réseau aimed to show that the deportation experience was the same for all of those deported, regardless of why.[105] In 1956, the Réseau worked to include the French citizens of the STO under the title of deportee, "in the same way as if they had suffered and died in the camps."[106] Here again, we see that the Réseau worked to include every possible French victim; all of those peoples targeted by Vichy, without ever acknowledging any French complicity, or the hundreds of thousands of non-citizen deportees also affected by the deportations. The Réseau did not, however, include foreign victims in its remembrance efforts, as foreigners did not fit into the mold of French victimization. This nationalist component of the organization reflects the sentiments the French government was trying to promote after the war, hoping to strengthen French unity.

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[102] Laulieu, "Les résistants et l'invention du 'devoir de mémoire,'" 98n29.
[103] The French recognize the National Day of Remembrance of the Deportation through visits and speeches given at three memorials: the Mémorial de la Shoah, the Mémorial des Martyrs de la Déportation, and the Arc de Triomphe. AN 72 AJ 2160, Réseau du Souvenir, "Loi du 14 avril."
[104] Henri Michel and Olga Wormser, *Tragédie de la Déportation: témoignages de survivants des camps de concentration allemands*, (Paris: Hachette, 1954).
[105] Jockusch, *Collect and Record!*, 66-68; Nord, *After the Deportation*, 74-76.
[106] AN 72 AJ 2147, Réseau du Souvenir, Bulletin, "Quatrième Assemblée Générale," June 1957.

Although working on multiple projects which promoted the memory of the deportations of France, from the beginning the Réseau's main goal was to create a memorial dedicated to the deportees. With approval from the town hall of Paris in April of 1954, the art commission of the Réseau du Souvenir, headed by Jean Cassou, set to work to find an architect for the memorial.

Conclusion

Vichy targeted its own citizens, some for the groups in which they belonged to – Jews, Communists, resisters, and those of the STO – but also foreigners, particularly the international Jews seeking refuge in France. In the postwar era, the French government – both the Fourth and Fifth Republic – tried to paper over this past. Those who survived life in the German concentration and extermination camp system sought to memorialize their experience after the Second World War ended in 1945. Two organizations in particular – the CDJC and the Réseau du Souvenir – had similar missions in remembering those lost and promoting the everlasting memory to future generations, yet the difference between the two organizations lies in particularly who, how, and why they remember. The CDJC memorialized the European Jewry exterminated in the concentration camps, to make sure no one could forget the victims, the crimes, and the criminals. The CDJC also sought to hold France accountable for its role in the crimes; France itself a criminal. Differing from the CDJC, the Réseau du Souvenir memorialized *all* French deportees, regardless of religious or political distinction, focusing on a narrative of national victimization that avoided any French culpability.

CHAPTER 2:
POSTWAR MEMORIALS AND THE POLITICS OF MEMORIAL CREATION, 1955-1962

"Forgetting, I would even say historical error, is an essential factor in the creation of a nation and it is for this reason that the progress of historical studies often poses a threat to nationality."[107]
- Ernest Renan

While France entered an era of massive reconstruction – building over three hundred thousand new housing units between 1944 and 1953 – it also set about constructing a mythologized collective memory of the war.[108] The CDJC and the Réseau du Souvenir both moved forward with their missions in this context – the Réseau, which was part of the mythmaking, and the CDJC, which wanted to confront the French past and refused to mythologize.

The traditional modes of remembrance after the First World War effectively romanticize dying for one's country and allow survivors to mourn their losses and find closure. As Jay Winter explains, "Before 1939, before the Death Camps, and the thermonuclear cloud, most men and women were still able to reach back into their 'traditional' cultural heritage to express amazement and anger, bewilderment and compassion, in the face of war and the losses it brought in its wake."[109] However, the unprecedented modes of mass death during the Second World War made mourning in the same manner impossible, thus causing memorial planning after 1945 to become a watershed in commemoration in that there is no longer a harmonious entanglement of "noble and uplifting" sites of memory. Instead, memorials commemorating the persecution and

[107] Ernest Renan, "What is a nation?," *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?,* trans. Ethan Rundell (Paris: Presses-Pocket, 1992; originally published 1882).
[108] W. Brian Newsome, *French Urban Planning 1940-1968: The Construction and Deconstruction of an Authoritarian System* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2009), 103.
[109] Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*, 9-10.

genocide of the European Jewry evoke feelings of extreme sadness with no expression of finding closure, because finding closure eventually means forgetting. [110]

Postwar politicians understood that their political future hinged on looking forward, rebuilding, strengthening the economy, promoting the idea of a unified nation, mythologizing the war in which France resisted German influence from the beginning, and liberated itself. Accepting a narrative which promoted French victimization, unity, and strength throughout the Occupation years was better than the alternative: facing the reality of collaborating with Germany and recognizing some degree of responsibility in the hundreds of thousands of deportations, including French citizens, many of which ending in death.

Invisible Thread: The Resistance Myth

To fully understand the underlying connections between the creation of the CDJC and the Réseau du Souvenir, as well as their respective memorials, it is essential to explain what historians call the Resistance myth. It began on August 25, 1944, when de Gaulle gave a speech at the Hôtel de Ville after the Liberation in Paris:

> Paris! Paris humiliated! Paris broken! Paris martyrized! But Paris liberated! Liberated by itself, by its own people with the help of the armies of France, with the support and aid of France as a whole, of fighting France, of the only France, of the true France, of eternal France.[111]

As historian Henry Rousso states in *The Vichy Syndrome*, "With these few sentences […] Charles de Gaulle established the founding myth of the post-Vichy period."[112] Initially, the myth focused on the French liberating themselves, giving the French a feeling of

[110] Rousso, *The Vichy Syndrome*, 16-19, 26-27; Winter, *Remembering War*, 26-27.
[111] Charles de Gaulle, "Paris Liberated" (August 25, 1944), in *The Vichy Symdrome: History and Memory in France Since 1944*, Henry Rousso, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), 16.
[112] Rousso, *The Vichy Syndrome*, 16.

action, of glory, of downplaying the sense of helplessness in having the Allies liberate France. Over time, this narrative continued to expand through 1945, but did not take hold in French society until much later.

When the Liberation developed into internal violence and near civil war, the myth expanded. According to Robert Gildea, those affected by the intra-French violence sought to maximize casualty numbers and magnify the chaos of post-liberation France to vilify the new regime that came into power after the Liberation, while other groups attempted to use the Liberation as a change to revolutionize France.[113] Gaullists and the Free French, on the other hand, tried to minimize the chaos and the purge of collaborationists, working to "re-establish national reconciliation around the joy of Liberation, reconstruct French identity and French history in a way that restored French pride, and normalize political life."[114]

Just before the war ended in May 1945, the Free French organized a number of commemoration walks as a way to move beyond the violence and promote unity. For example, on March 4, 1945, de Gaulle visited the ruins of the small village of Oradour-sur-Glane, where SS soldiers massacred 642 people. After touring the ruins, de Gaulle made a short speech, in which he promotes the idea of national unity to heal the nation. In her book, *Martyred Village,* Sarah Farmer explains, "President de Gaulle made Oradour an exemplar of the national experience; Oradour was to be a symbol that would bring the French together in commemoration of the horrors of Nazi barbarism and the suffering of the nation."[115] The gradual expansion of

[113] Gildea, *France since 1945*, 67.
[114] Ibid; Rousso, *The Vichy Syndrome,* 9-10, 29.
[115] Sarah Farmer, *Martyred Village: Commemorating the 1944 Massacre at Oradour-sur-Glane* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 83-85.

this myth would, hopefully, ease internal struggles, and through national unity France could return to its former glory. For de Gaulle it was paramount to rebuild France to its former glory, 150 years prior.[116]

The Resistance myth is made out of each of these subtle tactics to bring unity to a country fresh out of war and nowhere close to a return of normalcy. As Rousso explains, "This myth did not so much glorify the Resistance (and certainly not the résistants) as it celebrated a people *in resistance*, a people symbolized exclusively by the 'man of June Eighteenth' (de Gaulle), without intermediaries such as political parties, movements, or clandestine leaders."[117] The myth replaced Pétain with de Gaulle as the nation's leader – switching from Pétain's figurative shield for de Gaulle's sword – who would lead France to a glorious future. The notion that different religions and political parties could be consolidated under the French nationality further perpetuated de Gaulle's myth.

Not limited to Gaullists, the media also generalized the deportee experience. In the early postwar years, when newspapers referred to French deportees, it was without any distinction between Jews, political deportees, or otherwise. For example, in January 1948, an article in *Le Monde* explained the return of 35,000 French deportees, but does not once mention the word 'Jew.'[118] Not limited to the non-Jewish French, many Jews in France did not discuss their experience during the war years, as they wished to keep a low profile and rebuild their lives, hoping to reassimilate into French society. As historian Laura Jockusch explains, "Even survivors who chose to document their pasts showed a notable decline in their historical activity

[116] Julian Jackson, *De Gaulle* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018), 377.
[117] Rousso, *The Vichy Syndrome*, 18.
[118] "Les survivants," *Le Monde*, January 12, 1948, https://www.lemonde.fr/archives/article/1948/01/12/les-survivants_1912280_1819218.html; *Tony* Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945* (New York: Penguin Books, 2005), 805;

by 1950, largely reflecting the surrounding societies' indifference to the survivors' experiences."[119] While the Réseau is an example of this indifference, instead looking to generalize the deportation experience among all deportees, the CDJC fought against this generalization and worked to present the unique Jewish experience.

The myth, which the Gaullists propagated at the end of the war and during the provisional government, continued to take hold during the early Fourth Republic. Then, in 1954, Gaullist historian Robert Aron made it history. After the publication of the first comprehensive work on the Vichy years, *Histoire de Vichy*, the myth had won.[120] Aron's main argument in the work was that Philip Pétain acted as a shield for the French people, defending the country from the German enemy, and that de Gaulle was a sword, bringing the country out of occupation. This idea of unity throughout the entirety of the Occupation made it easier for the French to forget the embarrassing, shameful fragments of the war and commemorate the pieces they deemed worthy.

Tomb of the Unknown Jewish Martyr (CDJC)

The triumph of the postwar myth left little room for the CDJC's mission to "write the history of the Jewish tragedy in France under the occupation" and to educate the majority of France about French culpability.[121] The group found it important to distinguish themselves from other documentation efforts in France at the time, such as the Committee for the History of the Second World War (Comité d'Histoire de la Deuxième Guerre Mondiale) which de Gaulle and the provisional government created in October 1944 to study the occupation and resistance in France. Led by distinguished French historians, Lucien Febvre and Henri Michel headed the

[119] Jockusch, *Collect and Record!*, 191.
[120] Robert Aron, *Histoire de Vichy* (Paris: Fayard, 1954).
[121] CDJC Archives, "Proces-verbal de la Réunion de la Comission des Camps," February 22, 1945, box 10.

Comité and focused on the history of the Resistance, sidestepping the Jewish experience during the war. The Comité believed the purpose of its work was to transmit the national heritage of the French Resistance to future generations, and accepted the mythology.[122]

As the myth took hold, most in France, as in other parts of Europe and the world, tried to avoid talking about the war and focused on moving forward, restarting their normal lives. Having lived through a national shame, most people in France wanted to forget, and installing a narrative of national resistance and unity appealed to many. Others felt silenced. Jews feared a reemergence of anti-Semitism would occur if they tried to isolate their experience during the war, and instead found it easier to remain silent.[123] In 1946, Jean-Paul Sartre recognized this in his work, *Anti-Semite and Jew: An Exploration of the Etiology of Hate*, explaining that, while aware of the silence surrounding their experience, some Jews believed it to be for the better.[124] Assimilating back into French life, as Frenchmen first, not Jews, many reasoned, would be easier than standing out among the rest of French society, 'othering' themselves.

Members of the CDJC struggled with the silence; while some believed the silence to be a good practice to keep a possible resurgence of anti-Semitism away, others believed that speaking out against French anti-Semitism would create accountability in French society and keep resurgence at bay. This tension became an apparent issue within the Éditions du Centre, the CDJC's publishing company. Many within the CDJC worried that criticizing France for its role in the deportations and genocide would classify the organization as unpatriotic, hindering the

[122] Jockusch, *Collect and Record*, 55-56; Jackson, *France: The Dark Years, 1940-1944*, 6-8; Henri Michel was also part of the Réseau du Souvenir.
[123] Maud S. Mandel, *In the Aftermath of Genocide: Armenians and Jews in Twentieth-Century France* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 52-53; Jockusch, *Collect and Record!*, 57-58.
[124] Jean-Paul Sartre, *Anti-Semite and Jew: An Exploration of the Etiology of Hate*, trans. George J. Becker (New York: Schocken Books Inc., 1948, originally published 1946), 71.

Jews' reintegration into French society, as well as the possibility for funding and location approval from the government.[125] Cautious of being too accusatory towards the French government, Schneersohn believed that highlighting the responsibility of the Vichy government in its anti-Semitic policies would cause non-Jewish Frenchmen to think Jews refused to assimilate to French culture.[126] Other members, such as Joseph Milner and Jacques Ratner, were of the opposite camp, believing that if the silence continued and Jews did not speak of their experience, anti-Semitism in France could rear its head once again.[127]

Ultimately, members of the CDJC reached a compromise. The CDJC published works, both testimonies and historical monographs, which highlighted the Jewish experience as unique in the deportations of the war, while insisting on pointing out Vichy's role in the persecution of Jews and in deportations, but they avoided the history of anti-Semitism in France before the Second World War.[128] As Schneersohn explained, "we do not want to accuse the French people…our mission is to settle a score with Vichy and the Germans."[129] To this effect, the CDJC did not aim to dig up the roots of anti-Semitism, and risk alienating the public, but instead focus on the Germans and the few French collaborators in the Vichy government. Moreover, the CDJC often praised the everyday Frenchmen who opposed the anti-Semitism coming from the government, especially surrounding the roundups of Jews.[130] The separation of the sentiment of the French public from that of the Vichy government became the CDJC's way of living with the

[125] Jockusch, *Collect and Record!*, 57.
[126] CDJC Archives, "Procés-verbnal de la Réunion de la Commission de Presse," February 26, 1945, box 10.
[127] CDJC Archives, "Procés-verbnal de la Réunion de la Commission de Presse," February 26, 1945, box 10. Those with this belief referenced France's history of anti-Semitism spanning before the First World War, see Micheal R. Marrus and Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy France and the Jews* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1981), 28-34.
[128] For examples, see Georges Wellers, *De Drancy à Auschwitz* (Paris: Éditions du Centre, 1946); Jean Cassou, *Le Pillage par les Allemands des oeuvres d'art et des bibliothèques appurtenant à des Juifs de France* (Paris: Éditions du Centre, 1947); Léon Poliakov, *L'Etoile jaune* (Paris: Éditions du Centre, 1949); Joseph Billig, *Le Commissariat general aux Questions juives, 1941-1944* (Paris: Éditions du Centre, 1955).
[129] CDJC Archives, "Procès-verbal de la Réunion de la 5e Commission," March 22, 1945, box 10.
[130] Poliakov, *L'Étoile jaune*, 83, 93; Wellers, *De Drancy à Auschwitz*, 262, 268.

power of the mythologies about the war. It avoided confronting the most intractable parts of the myth – that the nation resisted quietly until open resistance was possible – and focused blame on the Vichy leadership condemned at the end of the war, instead of making accusations about the general public, which would have further marginalized the CDJC and its mission. The group sought to chip away at the parts of the myth it could through education and academic scholarship, while it continued to grow its archival collections. But at the same time, the CDJC had to conform to the myth to ensure the French government would support the organization in its growth. This compromise was a political tactic which prioritized highlighting how integral Jews were to the French Republic, and win support from the general public rather than alienate the nation that refused to confront its role in the war.

In November 1950, the CDJC turned toward creating a memorial. Leading the campaign, Schneersohn proposed to the rest of the organization to attach a Holocaust memorial to the document archive.[131] Envisioning a crypt with ashes from the concentration camps, Schneersohn suggested the memorial dedication not just be to the French Jews, but the six million Jews killed from across Europe. Some members of the Centre expressed concerns. Jacques Szeftel countered that a memorial with international dedication should be located in Israel, not France.[132] Others supported Schneersohn's proposal, arguing that the memorial belonged in Paris. At a press conference for held by the CDJC, publicly proposing the memorial, Pierre Paraf argues that France remained "faithful to the humanitarian and democratic ideal" and therefore created a home for the Jewish community.[133] This in turn would allow the CDJC to fit the memorial within the rhetoric of universalism promoted by the postwar myth. Schneersohn, Paraf, and other CDJC

[131] Jockusch, *Collect and Record!,* 74.
[132] CDJC Archives, "Procés-verbal de la Réunion du Comité Directeur," November 8, 1950, box 10.
[133] "Le Mémorial du martyr juif. Une conférence de presse au CDJC," *Le Monde Juif* vol. 40, no. 2, 1951, 15; Jockusch, *Collect and Record!,* 76; Nord, *After the Deportation,* 179.

members who wanted the memorial in Paris intertwined traditional French ideals with their mission to make the location of the memorial more palatable.

Similarly, the CDJC emphasized that the memorial would be non-sectarian. Although dedicated to the Jews of Europe, the Centre claimed the memorial would primarily represent the horrific outcome of anti-Semitism, fascism, and racism.[134] Rather than creating a site that only represented Jews as victims of the genocide, the CDJC sought to establish a memorial that showed France as a home to Jewish immigrants that assimilated into French society.[135] The Centre planned for the memorial to be a crypt with an eternal flame. The leaders traveled to camps in eastern Europe and returned with ashes from extermination camps to make the site a burial place that is similar to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier under the Arc de Triumph.[136] Dedicated after World War I, and expanded after subsequent wars, the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier represented French universalism, heroism, and national loyalty. Like the unknown soldier, the ashes in the crypt have no political associations or religious beliefs; they are victims of an external enemy, not France. Since traditional burial was impossible for victims of the Nazis, the crypt would allow anyone, family, or stranger, to mourn.[137] In case visitors missed the goal, the CDJC took the name of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and reinterpreted it for their memorial, the Tomb of the Unknown Jewish Martyr.

Official planning for the memorial began in 1951. With the help of Paul Haag, the prefect of the Seine, the Centre secured a 400-square-meter location for the memorial: on the corner of

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[134] "Tomb of the Unknown Jewish Martyr," *Le Monde Juif* vol. 40, no. 2, 1951, 13-14; Jockusch, *Collect and Record!*, 76.
[135] A. Alperine, "Les martyrs juifs ont leur monument à Paris," *Le Monde Juif* vol. 5, no. 8, 1956, 27-28; Carrier, *Holocaust Monuments and National Memory*, 58.
[136] "Tomb of the Unknown Jewish Martyr," *Le Monde Juif* vol. 40, no. 2, 1951, 13-14.
[137] For analysis on traditional memorials, see Jay Winter *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambrdige: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

Rue Geoffroy-l'Asnier and Rue Grenier sur l'Eau, located in the historic fourth arrondissement, also known as the Marais, a historically Jewish neighborhood on the left bank of the Seine.[138] The Marais, which translates in English as marsh or swamp, is among the oldest neighborhoods in Paris, and one of the first populated beyond the islands that are the city's historic core. Known for its opulence, it is home to Paris' first paved street, and dozens of seventeenth century mansions. One of the only areas not to see massive changes under Hausmannian urbanization in the mid-nineteenth century, it became less attractive to the wealthy, and, according to the secretary-general of the prefecture of the Seine in the 1940s, Guy Périer de Féral, had become "sordid." During the war, de Féral planned to redevelop the area, which included evicting the inhabitants of the area, which coincided with the racist anti-Jewish policy of the Vichy government.[139] In fact, the memorial faces the College François Couperin, from which Vichy police arrested and deported Jewish students.[140] So when the CDJC needed a location for its memorial, Haag offered the corner of Rue Geoffroy-l'Asnier and Rue Grenier sur l'Eau not only due its Jewish history, but also hoping that the site would help to refurbish the dilapidated area.[141]

With a location secured, the CDJC began fundraising to pay for the construction of the memorial. In January, the Centre created the World Committee to Erect a Tomb for the Unknown Jewish Martyr, which promoted and raised funds for the project internationally. While

[138] "Le Conseil Municipal de Paris a octroyé un terrain pour l'érection du Tombeau du Martyr Juif Inconnu," *Le Monde Juif* vol. 54, no. 4, 1952, 3.
[139] Isabelle Backouche and Sarah Gensburger, "Anti-Semitism and Urban Development in France in the Second World War: The Case of Îlot 16 in Paris," *Contemporary European History* vol. 23, no. 3, (August 2014): 381-403.
[140] A plaque on the school building reads, "Arrêtés par la police du gouvernement de Vichy, complice de l'occupant Nazi, plus de 11000 enfants furent déportés de France de 1942 à 1944 et assassinés a Auschwitz parce qu'ils étaient nés juifs. Plus de 500 enfants vivement dans le 4éme arrondissement, parmi eux les élèves de cette école. Ne les oublions jamais."
[141] Nord, *After the Deportation*, 176.

still in the process of raising funds for the memorial, the CDJC held a cornerstone laying ceremony to start the building of the tomb. The ceremony took place on May 17, 1953, ten years after the end of the Warsaw Uprising. The ceremony included a mixture of republican and Jewish traditions, including a massive iron Star of David draped with a black veil – symbolizing Jewish mourning – next to the French tricolor – showing patriotism to France.[142] Approximately 7,000 people attended the ceremony; prominent French figures, like President Vincent Auriol, delegates of the Interior Ministry, of the Navy, of Justice, and Veterans Affairs. The President of the Islamic Institute of Paris, located across the river but not far from the site, was also present. Representatives of prominent Jewish organizations, including the Rabbinate, the Central Consistory, the Alliance Israélite Universelle, the World Jewish Congress, and the American Jewish Committee also attended.[143] The turnout clearly demonstrated – which the CDJC likely intended – that it had significant support, both nationally and internationally, for its mission and its memorial project.

Dignitaries and press coverage did not translate into significant financial contributions. In the Fall of 1953, Schneersohn visited the United States to raise funds for the project. His first stop in New York City proved to be extremely successful, garnering support from the American branch of international Jewish organization B'nai B'rith, as well as Eleanor Roosevelt.[144] Schneersohn then traveled to Cleveland, where he received a $1,000 donation from Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver to start the subscription for the memorial.[145] While in Cleveland, Nahum Goldmann, a friend of Schneersohn's and president of the World Jewish Congress, sent Schneersohn a

[142] Jockusch, *Collect and Record!*, 80.
[143] "La première pièrre du Tombeau du Martyr Juif Inconnu a été posée à Paris," *Le Monde Juif* vol. 65, no. 4, 1953, 11-12.
[144] "La campagne en faveur du Tombeau du Martyr Juif Inconnu bat son plein," *Le Monde Juif* vol. 66, no. 5, 1953, 15-17.
[145] Ibid.

telegram informing him that the Israeli government wanted to discuss the memorial formally. Israel had been planning its own memorial – Yad Vashem – and some believed that such a memorial belonged in Israel instead of France. The Israeli government wanted to meet, not to fund the project but to let the CDJC leadership know that its project encroached on potential funding for Yad Vashem.[146]

The negotiations, ultimately, allowed the CDJC's memorial to continue to fundraise without upsetting Israeli plans. Near the end of 1953, Schneersohn and Vidal Modiano, a member of the CDJC and close friend of Schneeroshn's, met with Nahum Goldmann and Ben-Zion Dinour, Israel's Minister of Education, to discuss the Tomb of the Unknown Jewish Martyr and Yad Vashem. The meeting ended with an agreement that the CDJC memorial funding would come primarily from the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany and that the Centre could no longer fundraise internationally. Once in place, the Israeli government, officially supported the memorial.[147]

The memorial's primary source of funding, the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany (better known as the Claims Conference), founded in 1951, consisted of members of Jewish organizations from around the world that negotiated with the German government about material damages to the Jewish people as a result of Germany's Final Solution.[148] Nahum Goldmann served as an original member of the Claims Conference. With Goldmann's help, the Claims Conference allocated $300,000 for the CDJC to build the Tomb of

[146] Annette Wieviorka, "Du Centre de documentation juive contemporaine au Mémorial de la Shoah," *Revue d'Histoire de la Shoah* no. 181, no. 2, (2004): 11-36; Nord, *After the Deportation*, 174.
[147] Wieviorka, "Du Centre de documentation juive contemporaine au Mémorial de la Shoah," 11-36.
[148] "History," Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, accessed February 19, 2021, http://www.claimscon.org/about/history/.

Figure 1: Crypt of the Tomb of the Unknown Jewish Martyr, with an eternal flame at the center of the Star of David. Image courtesy of BrnGrby, Wikimedia Creative Commons, February 19, 2020.

the Unknown Jewish Martyr.[149] Ultimately, the memorial received most of its funding internationally.

Just three years later, the CDJC inaugurated the Tomb of the Unknown Jewish Martyr on October 30, 1956. The site contained a four-story building, which held the substantial CDJC archives as well as space to expand the collection.[150] The main ground floor space held the crypt – the tomb itself. Dimly lit, with a black marble Star of David and an eternal flame, the crypt is a sacred place (See Figure 1). Four months after the inauguration, on February 24, 1957, chief

[149] "Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany," *Twenty Years Later: Activities of the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, 1952-1972* (New York: Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, 1972), 64; Wieviorka, "Du Centre de documentation juive contemporaine au Mémorial de la Shoah," 11-36.

[150] Heuman, *The Holocaust and French Historical Culture, 1945-65*, 102-103; Perego and Poznanski, *Le Centre de documentation juive contemporaine 1943-2013*, 33.

rabbi of France, Jacob Kaplan, placed ashes from the extermination camps in the crypt.[151] On the walls of the crypt are Hebrew inscriptions from Lamentations (1:12 and 2:21): "Behold, and see if there be any pain like unto my pain/My virgins and my young men are fallen by the sword."[152] In keeping with the CDJC's mission to not only remember the six million dead, but also continue to educate future generations on the dangers of antisemitism, the CDJC made its archives available to the public. The site not only acted as a place of reflection, but also as a research site.[153]

Memorial of Deportation (Réseau du Souvenir)

While the CDJC represented all Jews affected by the tragedy of the genocide during the Second World War, the Réseau du Souvenir represented specific groups of French deportees. Annette Lazard and Paul Arrighi created the Réseau du Souvenir in 1952. The group incorporated a cross-section of all parts of French life: Communists, Christian Democrats, Gaullists, Catholics, and Jews. The political makeup of the group reflects the *tripartisme* of the provisional government in France instated immediately after the liberation to 1946. In the provisional government, three political parties shared control: Communists, Sociaists, and Christian Democrats. By the end of 1954, the Réseau membership grew to almost 800 members.[154]

In July of 1954, historians and members of the Network, Olga Wormser and Henri Michel published *The Tragedy of the Deportation*, which presents the testimonies of 153

[151] "Cérémonies et manifestations au Mémorial," *Le Monde Juif* vol. 77, no. 10, 1957, 21-25.
[152] Nord, *After the Deportation*, 184-185.
[153] Simon Perego, "Du CDJC au Centre de documentation du Mémorial de la Shoah, 1943-2013: documenter le genocide des Juifs d'Europe," *Histoire@Politique*, vol. 22, no. 1 (2014): 277.
[154] Brochard, *Mémorial des Martyrs de la Déportation*, 5-6; Laulieu, "Les résistants et l'invention du 'devoir de mémoire,'" 98n29.

deportees.[155] The book, although meant to be a universal telling of the deportation experience, had underlying Christian tones. In highlighting the deportees use of faith to get through the horrors of the camps, the book primarily focused on the Christian faith as stories of survival. The book did include Jewish stories, with excerpts from Georges Wellers and Leon Poliakov, but their selected excerpts did not promote the use of their Jewish faith to persevere.[156] The Jewish experience did not fit this narrative portrayed in the book – relying on faith to live through the concentration camp system did not make a difference when the outcome reserved for Jews was death.

The Réseau du Souvenir also collaborated with Alain Renais on *Nuit et Brouillard*.[157] Jean Cayrol – a Resistance member deported to Mauthausen – wrote the film and used Michel and Wormer's book as inspiration. Originally titled *Résistance et Déportation*, the film highlights deportation without mention of the Nazis radicalized agenda.[158] Instead, in keeping with the French approach during this era, even arguably the most well-known early documentary on the Final Solution used language like political prisoner and deportees, universalizing the victim experience. In one case, the narrator says, "Members of the resistance at Compiègne…All those caught in the act, wrongly arrested, simply unlucky make their way towards the camps. Anonymous trains, their doors locked well…a hundred deportees to every wagon."[159] Even with all the attention Renais paid to framing the film with the mainstream French views of the war, it nevertheless faced criticism. The official French censorship office objected to the film showing

[155] Henri Michel and Olga Wormser, *Tragédie de la Déportation: témoignages de survivants des camps de concentration allemands*, (Paris: Hachette, 1954).
[156] Michel and Wormser, *Tragédie de la Déportation*, 10, 30, 293-294, 508-509.
[157] Alain Renais, *Nuit et Brouillard* (Paris: Argos Films, 1956).
[158] Richard Raskin, *Nuit et Brouillard by Alain Resnais: On the Making, Reception and Functions of a Major Documentary Film* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1987), 29.
[159] Alain Renais, *Nuit et Brouillard* (Paris: Argos Films, 1956), 4:42-6:58.

footage of a French officer wearing a kepi – a hat historically worn by the French army – at the Pithiviers camp, thus showing the French military presence at a concentration camp. Although controlled by Germans, the French were in charge of administration at the Pithiviers camp. Renais had to edit the clip, blacking out the kepi, in order to appease the French censorship office.[160] Despite concerns, the Réseau du Souvenir worked to promote *Nuit et Brouillard* in the deportee community in France, so it was well-received among deportees.[161]

Although the Réseau accomplished many projects early on, a memorial to the deportees of France became a major objective.[162] Inspired by the Natzweiler-Struthof National Deportation Memorial[163] in Alsace, members of the Réseau believed that Paris should have a memorial to the deportees of France. To create a distinction, members – namely Reverend Father Michel Riquet – explained that Struthof memorial was in Alsace, and therefore acclaimed that it was a local memorial. Also, since the Struthof memorial was located and tied to the internment camp upon which it rests, the Réseau reasoned it did not represent the universal deportee experience.[164] The Réseau pushed for another national memorial in Paris, which would make the site more accessible and central for the public, rather than located at former camps.[165] While no one would

[160] Rousso, *The Vichy Syndrome*, 229-230.
[161] Nord, *After the Deportation*, 99-100.
[162] Brochard, *Mémorial des Martyrs de la Déportation*, 7-8; Réseau du Souvenir, Association Brochure, "Réseau du Souvenir: Historia Testis," 1953, 72AJ 2147, Guerre de 1939-1945, Archives du Réseau du Souvenir, Archives Nationales.
[163] Proposed in 1953, inaugurated in 1960.
[164] Brochard, *Mémorial des Martyrs de la Déportation*, 14-15; Réseau du Souvenir, Bulletin d'Information, "Le Réseau du Souvenir: Notre Assemblée Générale," March 1955, 72AJ 2147, Guerre de 1939-1945, Archives du Réseau du Souvenir, Archives Nationales.
[165] Réseau du Souvenir, Bulletin d'Information, "Le Réseau du Souvenir: Notre Assemblée Générale," March 1954, 72AJ 2147, Guerre de 1939-1945, Archives du Réseau du Souvenir, Archives Nationales; Réseau du Souvenir, Municipal Bulletin, "Bulletin Municipal Officiel de le Ville de Paris: Erection d'un Monument aux Victimes de la Deportation," July 24, 1954, 72AJ 2149, Guerre de 1939-1945, Archives du Réseau du Souvenir, Archives Nationales.

say it, the Réseau leadership also clearly wanted to avoid having a national memorial remind visitors that France had played a role in the Nazi's Final Solution.

In 1953, the association began searching for a location for the memorial. Jean Cassou, the president of the Réseau's Artistic Commission, had a location in mind: the eastern tip of the Île de la Cité behind the Notre Dame cathedral. Many members of the Réseau seconded this location, including Father Michel Riquet, president of the Réseau's Spiritual Commission. For the Réseau, this location was prime because it was, "not far from the Hotel de Ville, near so many places where some of the biggest events in the history of Paris have taken place," and "always present at the thought of passers-by, walkers, could also be a central place of meeting, a place of meditation, of meditation, and also of demonstration."[166] Also, Riquet preached at Notre Dame, so the location would also serve a spiritual purpose being "in the shadow" of the cathedral.[167]

In order to secure this location on the Île de la Cité, the association had to reach out to the City of Paris, which owned the site.[168] In June of 1954, Arrighi, Lazard, and Cassou began discussions with members of the Municipal Council, C. Fruh and Pierre Giraud, and the Prefect of the Seine, Richard Pouzet. During discussions, councilors brought up concerns about the visibility of the memorial. The councilors wanted to be sure that the memorial would not be visible from above ground, worried it would obscure the landscape of the Notre Dame. Additionally, they did not want the memorial to include any specific racial or political

[166] Réseau du Souvenir, Bulletin d'Information, "Le Réseau du Souvenir: Notre Assemblée Générale," February 1954, 72AJ 2147, Guerre de 1939-1945, Archives du Réseau du Souvenir, Archives Nationales; Brochard, *Mémorial des Martyrs de la Déportation*, 19-21.
[167] Nord, *After the Deportation*, 138.
[168] The tip of the Île de la Cité behind Notre Dame was, interestingly, the site of the Paris morgue until 1907, where people would visit as a tourist attraction, a precursor to what today is known as "dark tourism".

references, highlighting universal victimhood.[169] Since these concerns fit into the plans and values of the Réseau, the organization had no issue accepting these terms.

While trying to secure the tip of the Île de la Cité as the site of the memorial, the Réseau held a design competition to find the architect. In December 1953, the association chose Georges-Henri Pingusson, along with sculptor, Raymond Veysset, to design the memorial. Pingusson, a Catholic, designed a number of churches in a modernist style.[170] Cassou and the Réseau had certain elements they wanted included, such as a crypt and an eternal flame; Pingusson was in charge of designing the rest. Pingusson's plans included two narrow staircases leading down into a small, concrete space just above the Seine. Since the outdoor space sat just above the river's edge, high concrete walls completely surround the visitor – only the sky and, via a small opening, the water, not buildings, not the city, are visible. In the original plans, the tip of the space would have held a large sculpture made by Veysset of a crucified skeletal figure carved from a stele, but Arrighi and Cassou scrapped these plans in 1958. Instead, a large pointed sculpture sits between the visitor and the river, which is only visible via an opening with a grate (Figure 2). Opposite the sculpture, is a narrow opening between two large cement blocks leading into the crypt (Figure 3).[171] Inside is a rotunda with an eternal flame centered on the floor, with two rooms on either side which house ashes of deportees. Also in the rotunda, between the two funerary rooms, is long gallery room in the front of which is a tomb containing

[169] Réseau du Souvenir, "Commission du Vieux Paris," June 7, 1956, 72AJ 2149, Guerre de 1939-1945, Archives du Réseau du Souvenir, Archives Nationales.
[170] For more on Pingusson, see Simon Texier, *Georges-Henri Pingusson. Architecte, 1894-1978. La Poétique pour doctrine* (Paris, 2006); Brochard, *Mémorial des Martyrs de la Déportation,* 25-26.
[171] Nord, *After the Deportation,* 143.

the corporal remains of a deportee. Along the walls of the gallery are 200,000 backlit crystals, symbolizing the 200,000 French deportees to which the memorial is dedicated (Figure 4).[172]

With designs in place, the Réseau's next hurtle was funding the project. Originally, the Réseau turned to its own members for contributions, but this ultimately proved insufficient. So, in 1959, Arrighi turned to the state for assistance, reaching out to the Minister of Veterans' Affairs, Raymond Triboulet.[173] Arrighi and Triboulet agreed to launch a national subscription to raise the funds for the memorial project, giving the Réseau official state support. The subscription opened for public donations with an administrative decree on December 13, 1960.[174] To publicize the subscription, magazines, and seven national, and twenty-one regional newspapers promoted the memorial and the subscription.[175] In total, the subscription campaign raised more than half a million francs, or about $980,000, to build the memorial.[176] On the whole, the memorial was nationally funded. On April 12, 1962, Charles de Gaulle, who returned

[172] Réseau du Souvenir, Georges-Henri Pingusson, "Monument aux Déportés, disposition générale du monument," March 1954, 72AJ 2165, Guerre de 1939-1945, Archives du Réseau du Souvenir, Archives Nationales; Brochard, *Mémorial des Martyrs de la Déportation*, 22-24.
[173] Like Arrighi, Triboulet was a member of the Ceux de la Résistance group during the war.
[174] Réseau du Souvenir, "Souscription Nationale pour un Mémorial de la Déportation a Paris," n.d., 72AJ 2162, Guerre de 1939-1945, Archives du Réseau du Souvenir, Archives Nationales; Réseau du Souvenir, "Bureau du 13 Mai 1960, à 9 H.15," May 13, 1960, 72AJ 2162, Guerre de 1939-1945, Archives du Réseau du Souvenir, Archives Nationales.
[175] Brochard, *Mémorial des Martyrs de la Déportation*, 75-89.
[176] Réseau du Souvenir, "Frais de Construction," January 15, 1964, 72AJ 2166, Guerre de 1939-1945, Archives du Réseau du Souvenir, Archives Nationales.

to politics in 1958 as the president of the new Fifth Republic, inaugurated the memorial with other members of government and high civil and religious authorities in attendance.[177]

Figure 2: View opposite of the pointed sculpture of the Memorial of Deportation, facing the entrance to the underground crypt. Image courtesy of James Stoddard, July 2018.

[177] Réseau du Souvenir, Letter to Jean Sainteny from Paul Arrighi, April 8, 1964, 72AJ 2166, Guerre de 1939-1945, Archives du Réseau du Souvenir, Archives Nationales.

Figure 3: Pointed sculpture in the open space of the Memorial of Deportation, with a small, grated window overlooking the Seine River. Image courtesy of James Stoddard, July 2018.

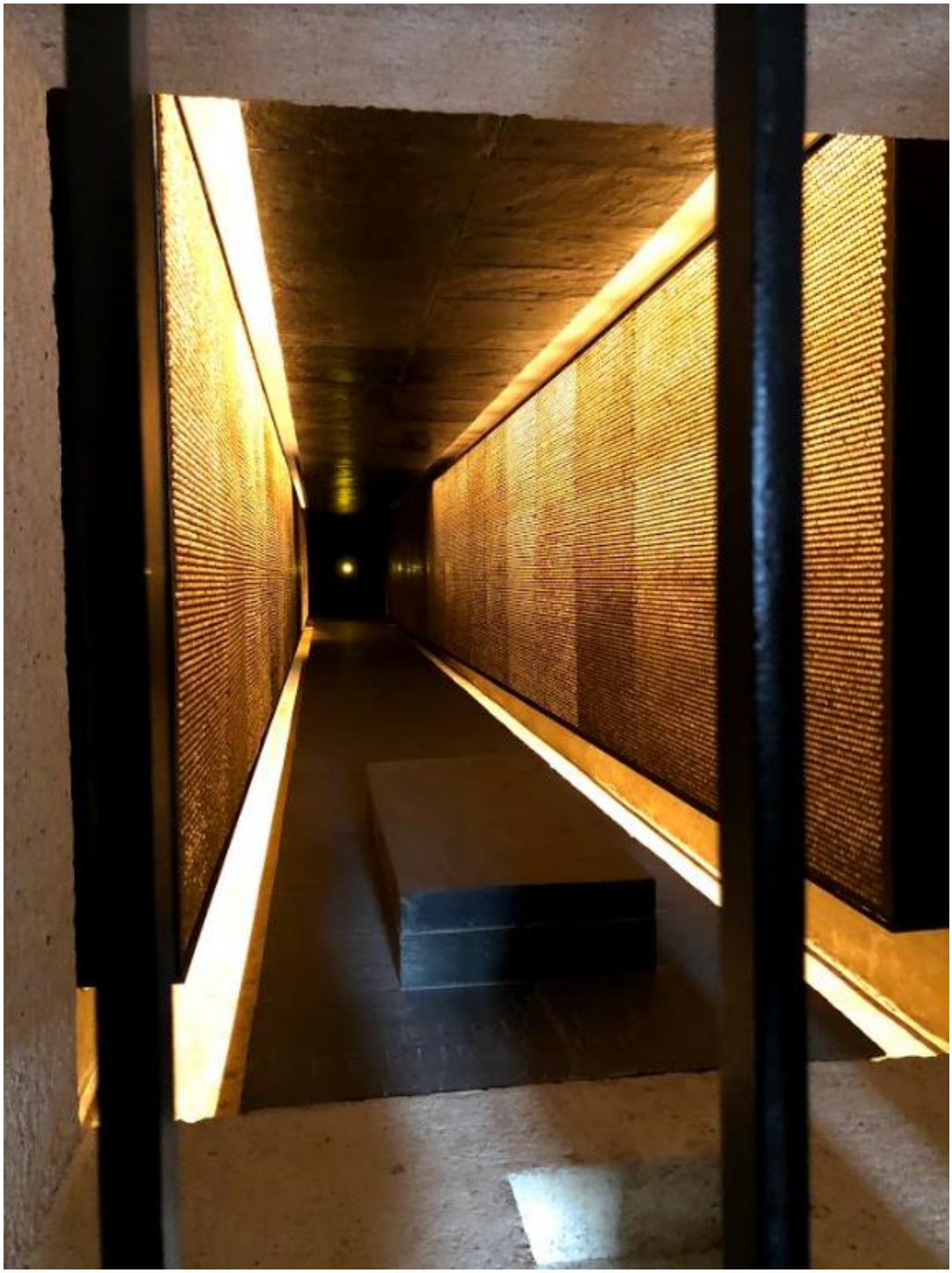

Figure 4: Gallery room containing remains of a French deportee, surrounded by 200,000 backlit crystals. Image taken by author, November 2019.

Conclusion

These two memorials, although similar in design and timeline, represent different models of remembrance. Using Jay Winter's model of traditional and modern remembrance, the Réseau's memorial is more traditional, but not necessarily in the same manner as Winter describes. According to Winter, traditional memorials promote the values of duty, honor, and sacrifice, which are typically associated with memorials dedicated to soldiers. While the Memorial of Deportation is not traditional in this sense, it is nationalistic in nature, made clear by the dedication to the deportees from France. The 200,000 deportees which the memorial is dedicated to did not include the hundreds of thousands of foreigners and refugees who arrived in France after Nazi persecution in other parts of Europe, only to be subsequently deported from France. The employment of postwar French universalism was not just about including everyone, but a way to exclude others based on Frenchness. As Winter states, "commemoration was an act of citizenship. To remember was to affirm community, to assert its moral character, and to exclude from it those values, groups, or individuals that placed it under threat."[178] In this case, the community is the French, and the Réseau made sure to include a cross-section of religions and political parties that represented the united future of France and those that could claim victim status, although in some elements of the Memorial of Deportation, there are a few hints of Christian favor. The Memorial of the Unknown Jewish Memorial, however, aligns more with the modern model. The memorial not only serves as a space of reflection and mourning, but also educates visitors on the unique experience of Jews during the war. Also, the act of collecting

[178] Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*, 80.

documentation as proof of Jewish persecution in France that existed in the CDJC from the very beginning shows a form of anger which is inherent in modern memorials.[179]

[179] Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*, 115.

CHAPTER 3: MEMORIALS AFTER INAGURATION, 1962-2012

"We live in growing fear that we shall forget the past, that it will somehow get misplaced among the bric-a-brac of the present. We commemorate a world we have lost, sometimes even before we have lost it."[180]

- Tony Judt

While both the CDJC and the Réseau du Souvenir were among the first organizations to memorialize the victims of the Second World War, the Réseau did not remain a central player in French memorial politics the decades following the 1960s. Shortly after the 1962 inauguration, the Réseau donated the Memorial of Deportation to the State; without continuous fundraising it could no longer maintain the site. The organization did not expand; its membership did not grow with new generations. The CDJC on the other hand had a different mission – one that had been from its first breaths about the future. It continued to grow and expand after the 1956 inauguration of the Tomb of the Unknown Jewish Martyr.

This chapter observes both organizations and their memorials in relation to the changes in French politics and society from the 1960s to the 2000s. How did the remembrance organizations respond to these changes, and how did events in France change the historical landscape of the memorials? In the 1950s, as economies improved and people became interested in new refrigerators and cars, and political topics including the Cold War and the Algerian Revolution drove headlines, the plight of the victims of World War II disappeared from public discussion.[181] Although many survivors wrote testimonies on their experience during the war, a silence fell over the general public regarding this part of the war.[182] The 1961 Eichmann trial brought these

[180] Tony Judt, *Reappraisals: Reflections on the Forgotten Twentieth Century* (London: Penguin Books, 2008), 197.
[181] Kristen Ross, "Starting Afresh: Hygiene and Modernization in Postwar France," *The MIT Press* vol. 67 (October 1994): 24-25, 40-44, 47-55; David S. Wyman, "Introduction," in *The World Reacts to the Holocaust*, ed. David S. Wyman (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1996), xix.
[182] Annette Wieviorka, *L'ère du temoin* (Paris: Plon, 1998), 1-5; Jockusch, *Collect and Record!*, 10, 191-193; Nord, *After the Deportation*, 191-193.

questions back into the international spotlight. And eventually inspired, largely because of Hannah Arendt's work, the first waves of scholarship on the genocide of the European Jewry and played a key role in shifting the global perceptions. [183] The CDJC played a vital role in this process as it served as one of the most important repositories of testimonies and documentation – so much so that the Israeli government relied on the CDJC's collection during the trial.

Memorial of Deportation After 1962

After the inauguration of the Memorial of Deportation in 1962, the Réseau du Souvenir began to separate from the memorial. Their work done, the memorial in place, in August 1962 the president of the Réseau, Paul Arrighi, wrote to the Prefect of the Seine, Jean Benedetti, proposing to hand the site over to the City of Paris. In these letters, Arrighi explained that the Réseau had experienced hardships in, "ensuring the guarding of the Monument," and that the Réseau "received complaints on this subject which our concerns are perfectly founded."[184] While the letters from Arrighi never explicitly stated why the memorial needed security, he made clear that the organization could not pay to keep it open and the operation times became limited to three to five hours in the afternoon. These extremely limited hours of operation resulted in the public complaining about not being able to visit the site.[185] By April 1963, the Municipal Council explained to Arrighi that the city of Paris was not able to fund the costs of security and maintenance necessary for the memorial.

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[183] Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (New York: Viking Press, 1963); Michael R. Marrus, *The Holocaust in History* (Hanover: University of New England Press, 1987), 5.
[184] Réseau du Souvenir, "Note sur le Mémorial aux Martyrs de la Déportation – Square Ile-de-France", n.d., 72AJ 2166, Guerre de 1939-1945, Archives du Réseau du Souvenir, Archives Nationales.
[185] Réseau du Souvenir, letter from Paul Arrighi to Jean Sainteny, November 12, 1963, 72AJ 2166, Guerre de 1939-1945, Archives du Réseau du Souvenir, Archives Nationales.

Since the City of Paris had no interest in providing security for the memorial, the Réseau looked elsewhere. In April 1963, Arrighi turned to Jean Sainteny, the Minister of Veterans' Affairs and War Victims – a ministry of the French government – and proposed that the Réseau donate the memorial to the Ministry of Veteran Affairs.[186] Although the Réseau needed to donate the memorial due to lack of funds, the organization still wanted to participate in what happened to the memorial, including a proposal to complete the first-floor rooms within the memorial that had not yet been finished, nor assigned a purpose. In the correspondence between Arrighi and Sainteny, Arrighi requested that the Ministry of Veterans' Affairs recognize the Réseau as the "Executive Board" of the memorial so its leaders could still play an active role in the life of the memorial. Arrighi also specifically noted that he did not want the memorial to turn into a museum, fearing the addition of exhibitions would take away from the meditative state of the space.[187]

By 1965, the Réseau officially transferred ownership of the Memorial of Deportation to the Ministry of Veterans' Affairs, and in the 1970s Pingusson finally completed the interior rooms of the site. In 1970, Paul Arrighi stepped down as president of the organization and Father Michel Riquet took over his duties. With this change in leadership, Georges-Henri Pingusson, the architect of the memorial, took the initiative to turn the interior rooms into exhibition spaces. In the years since inauguration, Pinugsson appealed to Arrighi and Jean Cassou, the chair of the Réseau's Artistic Committee, to use the rooms for an educational element, stating in a letter to Arrighi in 1965, "It isn't normal to call this a 'success' when our project remains at the halfway

[186] Réseau du Souvenir, Letter from Arrighi to Sainteny, April 5, 1963, 72AJ 2166, Guerre de 1939-1945, Archives du Réseau du Souvenir, Archives Nationales.
[187] Réseau du Souvenir, Letter from Arrighi to Sainteny, April 5, 1963, 72AJ 2166, Guerre de 1939-1945, Archives du Réseau du Souvenir, Archives Nationales.

point and that the whole first floor is nothing but an empty space, promised to the rats and forgotten!"[188] Pingusson thought that using the rooms of the memorial to provide information about the camp experience in the overall narrative of the deportation would give the visitor a more informative experience. With Riquet's approval, Pingusson could finally begin designing the plans for the exhibition rooms.[189] Pingusson's plans for the memorial's interior rooms followed the same chronology used in Olga Wormser and Henri Michel's work, *La Tragédie de la deportation*.[190] The rooms would contain fourteen recesses along the perimeter of the gallery's wall providing photographs and information about the deportee experience, which the visitors would follow via a one-way circulation with the option of audio guides.[191] The information provided in these gallery rooms allowed the memorial to shift away from being strictly related to the deportation of French civilians and towards a more all-encompassing narrative of the people of Europe who experienced the concentration camps. The panels in the gallery rooms cover the journey to the camps, entrance and processing in the camp, the work force within the camps, science experiments, death marches, and more.

On April 27, 1975, the interior exhibition rooms of the memorial opened, with an inauguration ceremony led by President Valery Giscard d'Estaing.[192] With the completion of the rooms, Pingusson and the members of the Réseau felt that their work was finally done, but the Ministry of Veterans' Affairs did not allow the rooms to be accessible to the general public; the

[188] Brochard, *Mémorial des Martyrs de la Déportation*, 85.
[189] Patrick Amsellem, "Remembering the Past, Constructing the Future: The Memorial to the Deportation in Paris and Experimental Commemoration after the Second World War" (Doctoral thesis, New York University, 2007), 264-265.
[190] Réseau du Souvenir, "Réunion de l'Assemblée Générale," May 15, 1971, 72AJ 2148, Guerre de 1939-1945, Archives du Réseau du Souvenir, Archives Nationales.
[191] Réseau du Souvenir, Meeting protocol, November 4, 1970, 72AJ 2165, Guerre de 1939-1945, Archives du Réseau du Souvenir, Archives Nationales.
[192] Brochard, *Mémorial des Martyrs de la Déportation*, 89.

rooms could only be visited by an appointment. Officially, the Ministry did not want to fund an additional security guard for the interior rooms and a lack of a security exit.[193] Nevertheless, the Secretary of State for the Ministry of Veterans' Affairs, André Board, a Gaullist originally from Alsace, also worried whether the images depicted in the exhibitions would be too terrifying for young visitors.[194] This hesitation from the Ministry of Veterans' Affairs represents how, although many proponents of Gaullism and the Resistance myth faded by the mid-1970s, the myth remained strong among the general public. Moreover, government officials perpetuated it by drawing a veil over any form of collective remembrance that inspired the visitor to ask questions about the war and French society.

From the late 1960s into the 1970s, changes began in the French national remembrance of the Occupation years. The student protests of May 1968 – which challenged the artificial feeling behind the collective sentiment surrounding the Occupation years – acted as the catalyst of "breaking the mirror."[195] The following year, de Gaulle resigned as president of the Republic, with Georges Pompidou – de Gaulle's long-time top-ranking aide – taking his place. The following year, in 1970, de Gaulle died, and France lost its embodiment of the Resistance myth. Additionally, in 1971, Marcel Ophuls' *The Sorrow and the Pity* (*Le Chagrin et le pitie*) premiered, which showcased the collaboration between the Vichy government and Germany during the war using eye-witness testimony and interviews.[196] Rousso calls this film a

[193] Amsellem, "Remembering the Past, Constructing the Future," 268.
[194] Brochard, *Mémorial des Martyrs de la Déportation*, 89.
[195] Rousso, *The Vichy Syndrome*, 99-100.
[196] The film originally premiered in other countries like Germany, Switzerland, and the Netherlands in 1969. It did now show in France until 1971 due to censorship negotiations between French television and Ophuls. Rousso, *The Vichy Syndrome*, 100-103; Richard J. Golsan, "The Legacy of World War II in France: Mapping the Discussions of Memory," in *The Politics of Memory in Postwar Europe*, eds. Richard Ned Lebow, Wulf Kansteiner, and Claudio Fogu (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 87.

"countermyth" to the narrative Gaullists had spun in the years since the end of the war.[197] Then, in 1973, Robert Paxton's seminal work, *Vichy France: Old Guard and New Order, 1940-1944* released in France, which stripped away the past debates of Vichy's double game and Aron's sword and shield.[198] The book made shockwaves at its release with many critics in France, but today is a pivotal work in the historiography of Vichy.

In the mid-1970s, it is no coincidence that André Bord made the Memorial of Deportation's newly opened interior rooms only accessible by appointment. While the exhibitions Pingusson and the Reseau created did not blame the French government for the deportations, they did not help in the Gaullists' goal in papering over what happened in the past, and would engender questions. Even if government officials – the Gaullists, at least – no longer touted the Resistance myth, it had become the historical canon, and any picking at its surface might expose its problems. They still wanted to forget and move on from the Vichy past. The change in the Memorial of Deportation, which had previously aligned with elements of the Resistance myth, reflected the change in French national remembrance, furthering the threat of tearing away the veil of forgetting and misremembering.

Tomb of the Unknown Jewish Martyr to the Shoah Memorial

In the years since the initial opening of the Tomb of the Unknown Jewish Martyr in 1956, it continued to expand, fitting with the original goals of founder Isaac Schneersohn, who wanted it to commemorate those lost, hold the responsible accountable, and teach future generations. The CDJC helped to spread awareness of the Jewish experience during the Second World War

[197] Rousso, *The Vichy Syndrome*, 101.
[198] Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy France: Old Guard and New Order, 1940-1944* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001, originally published 1972).

through publications and exhibitions. Even after erecting its memorial, the CDJC continued its work in in collecting photos, documents, and testimonies from the Jews of Europe.[199] The Centre made these documents and testimonies public, available for researchers and scholars from all over the world.[200] The CDJC and its archives served a double purpose: on one hand, historians of the organization conducted research for the Centre's publication house and museum, and on the other, served as a source of research for the public.

By 1960, the CDJC had become an important association within France and around the world, offering its archives to international researchers. Its early efforts to collect and preserve documents from the Second World War made an impressive archive, which became useful in the 1961 Eichmann trial. Adolf Eichmann, a major player in the planning of the murder of Europe's Jews, stood trial in Jerusalem after a group of Israeli agents captured him in Argentina. Broadcast all over the world, the trial caused a shift in public awareness from the heroic narrative of World War II by way of resistance and instead focused on the suffering of Jewish victims.[201] The CDJC's vast archive of documents contributed to the evidence the Israeli prosecution team used to convict Eichmann. The prosecution used approximately one hundred documents from the CDJC archive to prove their case against Eichmann and expose to the world the extent of Nazi crimes against the Jews of Europe.[202] Additionally, members of the CDJC acted as media correspondents representing the organization, namely Joseph Billig who spoke on French television, and Michel Mazor who spoke on a Swiss radio program regarding the trial.[203] The

[199] Heuman, *The Holocaust and French Historical Culture, 1945-65*, 164-165.
[200] Perego, "Du CDJC au Centre de documentation du Mémorial de la Shoah, 1943-2013," 6.
[201] Wieviorka, *L'ère du temoin*, 56-57.
[202] "La contribution du C.D.J.C. à la constitution du dossier Eichmann," *Le Monde Juif* vol. 24-25, no. 1-2 (1961): 4.
[203] "Les activités du C.D.J.C. pendant l'année 1961," *Le Monde Juif*, vol. 26-27, no. 3-4 (1961): 68.

role the CDJC played in the historic Eichmann trial continued to make the organization an important international institution in Holocaust remembrance.

After coming into international prominence during the Eichmann trial, the CDJC continued its work in spreading awareness of the Jewish experience and dangers of anti-Semitism while, at the same time, engaging with the Jewish community in France. Starting in 1966, the CJDC organized an annual gala, sponsored by Edouard and Alain Rothschild. These galas showcased pianists and violinists from around the world.[204] Not only did these galas act as a social event within the Jewish community, but became a primary fundraising opportunity for the Centre. The CDJC's library and archives continued to grow with donations and acquisitions. For example, in 1971, the Centre received 5,102 additional documents, bringing the archives general files to include over 115,000 documents. Additionally, in 1971 the library catalog grew by 2,000 works from the collection of Maurice Vanikoff, an activist against anti-Semitism, bringing the total number of works in the CDJC library to 20,000. [205]

Continuing in its assistance in justice for the Jews of Europe, the CDJC once again provided documentary evidence for a major trial against a Nazi Gestapo chief, Klaus Barbie. This trial became a major controversy in France that pushed the nation to scratch the surface of the myths surrounding the war. Known as the "Butcher of Lyon," Barbie tortured numerous prisoners, including that of a leading figure in the French Resistance, Jean Moulin.[206] In 1952 and 1954, a military tribunal in Lyon found Barbie guilty of war crimes, but according to French

[204] The CDJC did not choose exclusively Jewish musicians to perform at these galas. "Assemblées générales du Mémorial du Martyr Juif Inconnu et du Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine," *Le Monde Juif* vol. 70, no. 2 (1973): 34.
[205] Michel Mazor, "Compe rendu des activités du C.D.J.C. pour l'année 1971," *Le Monde Juif* vol. 65, no.1 (1972): 41-42.
[206] Nord, *After the Deportation*, 329.

law, these rulings had a twenty-year statute of limitations. Barbie had been a fugitive since the end of the war, and thus the courts conducted the 1952 and 1954 trials *in absentia*.[207] While spending some time in the United States – protected by the American government for his skills in flushing out Communists – Barbie eventually fled to Bolivia.[208] In 1971, Nazi hunter Beate Klarsfeld located Barbie and assembled a file using documents from the CDJC archive to construct a new case against him. This time the case specifically described his role in the forced removal of Jewish children from a home in Izieu, a commune northeast of Lyon.[209] While the 1952 and 1954 trials convicted Barbie on war crimes, Klarsfeld's case would charge Barbie with crimes against humanity, which did not have a statute of limitations in France.[210] After years of political opposition from the Bolivian government, the French government, with the help of Klarsfeld and her husband Serge, successfully had Barbie extradited to France in early 1983.[211] The trial itself did not take place until 1987, and lasted nearly two months. Ultimately, the courts found Barbie guilty and sentenced him to life in prison.[212]

While the Eichmann trial brought awareness of the Nazi genocide of European Jews to the world, the Barbie trial brought up new questions within France. Since Barbie's crimes occurred in France, the issue hit close to home for the French public, forcing them to reevaluate the narrative pushed by the postwar myth. Published before the end of the trial, Henry Rousso's

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[207] Jean-Oliver Viout, "The Klaus Barbie Trial and Crimes Against Humanity," *Hofstra Law and Policy Symposium* vol. 3, article 14 (1997): 156.
[208] "Chronique," *Le Monde Juif* vol. 63-64, no. 3-4 (1971): 65-66; Michel Mazor, "Compte rendu des activités du C.D.J.C. pour l'année 1971," *Le Monde Juif* vol. 65, no. 1 (1972): 41; Rousso, *The Vichy Syndrome,* 200.
[209] Rousso, *The Vichy Syndrome*, 200-201; Nord, *After the Deportation*, 329-330.
[210] Leila Sadat Wexler and Mark Zaid, "Prosecutions for Crimes against Humanity in French Municipal Law: International Implications," *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting (American Society of International Law)* vol. 91 (1997): 271.
[211] Richard J. Goldsan, "The Legacy of World War II in France: Mapping the Discourses of Memory," in *The Politics of Memory in Postwar Europe*, eds. Richard Ned Lebow, Wulf Kansteiner, and Claudio Fogu (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 94.
[212] Barbie died in prison in 1991. Christian Delage, "The Klaus Barbie Trial: Traces and Temporalities," *Comparative Literature Studies* vol. 48, no. 3 (2011): 321.

book *The Vichy Syndrome*, discussed how this trial raised questions about collective remembrance and representation within France. He pointed out that the trial tried to distinguish between war crimes and crimes against humanity, whereas the latter is exclusively linked to the Final Solution, rather than crimes against the Resistance. The appeals court for the Barbie trial focused on this distinction: that the perpetrators characterize the crimes, not the identities of the victims. Rousso states, "Instead of focusing on any one aspect of Nazism, even one as crucial as antisemitism, this approach emphasized the universal need to struggle against oppressive systems everywhere, no matter who their victims might be."[213] This point of distinction is directly mirrored in the representations of the Réseau du Souvenir and the CDJC, as well as their memorials. The Réseau represents the idea that the courts should convict Barbie for his role within the entire Nazi political system and all of its ideals, not just the antisemitic ones. The CDJC, on the other hand, represents the view that the Nazi regime directly targeted the identity of Jewish victims as a whole, with the primary goal of extinction; the main premise of the Final Solution is unique to Jews and Jews alone.

By the end of the twentieth century the CDJC could fully pursue its mission to hold France accountable, openly, and publicly. While the myth remains a force in France, academic work and events like the Barbie trial have forced a public discussion about French culpability. By the start of the twenty-first century, the French government began taking steps toward recognizing the role the French government played in the deportations and genocide of the war.[214] In 2005 the Memorial of the Unknown Jewish Martyr became the Shoah Memorial (Mémorial de la Shoah). Funding for the expansion came from the Foundation for the Memory

[213] Rousso, *The Vichy Syndrome*, 210.
[214] For example, President Jacques Chirac's speech at the Vel d'Hiv Memorial inauguration.

of the Shoah.[215] This foundation grew out of a 1997 study initiated by Prime Minister Alain Juppé, who put Jean Mattéoli in charge. Mattéoli, the president of the Economic and Social Council and a former resistance fighter, constructed a commission comprised of historians to study the scale of restitution and spoliation measures taken in France after the war.[216] The Mattéoli Commission found that the restitution of Jewish property in France since the end of the war remained incomplete, and ultimately led to the creation of the Commission for the Compensation of Victims of Spoliation (CIVS) in 2000. This commission funds the Foundation for the Memory of the Shoah through the Secretary General of the Government.[217] After the creation of the Foundation in 2000, the Memorial of the Unknown Jewish Martyr became its first partner.[218]

The 2005 expansion and renovation of the Memorial added much needed room to house the growing archives of the CDJC. With more interest in the research of Holocaust studies, the organization needed more space to accommodate more researchers and visitors to the memorial. The updated site added another floor and basement levels that house reading rooms, a permanent exhibition chronicling the Jewish experience in the Holocaust, a conference room, a bookstore, and a "Wall of Names," which bears the names of the 75,568 Jews deported from France during the Second World War.[219] The permanent exhibit, titled, "The History of Jews in France during

[215] Construction on the project finished at the end of 2004 and the newly updated space opened officially at the beginning of 2005. "Rapport moral 2004," Mémorial de la Shoah, Centre de documentation juive contemporaine, January 1, 2004, 7.
[216] "1997-2000: la création de la Fondation pour la Mémoire de la Shoah," Notre histoire, Fondation pour la Mémoire de la Shoah, accessed April 29, 2021, https://www.fondationshoah.org/la-fondation/notre-histoire.
[217] Ibid.; "Ses compétences," Commission pour l'indemnisation des victimes de spoliations, accessed April 29. 2021, http://www.civs.gouv.fr/fr/la-civs/ses-competences.
[218] "Mémorial de la Shoah," Fondation pour la Mémoire de la Shoah, accessed April 29, 2021, https://www.fondationshoah.org/la-fondation/notre-histoire.
[219] "Le nouveau Mémorial," Histoire du Mémorial de la Shoah, Mémorial de la Shoah, accessed April 29, 2021, http://www.memorialdelashoah.org/le-memorial/qui-sommes-nous/histoire-du-memorial-de-la-shoah.html; "Les espaces du musée-mémorial," Mémorial de la Shoah, accessed April 29, 2021,

World War II," consists of twelve parts which guides the visitor though a chronological experience which details Jewish life in France from the rise of Nazism to the Liberation.[220] This exhibit contains many digital and interactive elements and is continuously updated to keep up with the current modes of learning transmission in museum studies.[221]

The CDJC did not stop with the expansion of the memorial research center; in 2012 the Shoah Memorial expanded its influence even more by taking over the Drancy Memorial. The Cité de la Muette apartment complex in Drancy, a small town east of Paris, served as a main internment and transit camp for Jews from 1941 until just a week before the liberation in 1944. Originally built as affordable housing in the early 1930s, construction on La Muette was not complete by the time the war started. After the Fall of France in 1940, the Germans converted the barely finished apartments into a transit camp, as the site was located near a major rail line.[222] Under the command of the Prefect of Police of Paris, French authority had direct control and influence over the operations of the Drancy camp; French police searched all Jews entering and leaving the camp.[223] Of the 76,000 Jews deported from France during the Second World War, approximately 63,000 passed through the Drancy camp.[224] Because of its location and the

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http://www.memorialdelashoah.org/le-memorial/les-espaces-du-musee-memorial/le-parvis.html#contenu; "Rapport moral 2004," Mémorial de la Shoah, Centre de documentation juive contemporaine, January 1, 2004, 7.

[220] "Exposition permanente," Mémorial de la Shoah, accessed November 1, 2020, http://www.memorialdelashoah.org/evenements-et-expositions/expositions/exposition-permanente.html.

[221] Annaïg Lefeuvre, "The Shoah Memorial: A history retraced from the Drancy site," *International Review of the Red Cross* 910, no. 101 (April 2019): 313.

[222] Christine Lelévrier and Talia Melic, "Impoverishment and Social Fragmentation in Housing Estates of the Paris Region, France," in *Housing Estates in Europe: Poverty, Ethnic Segregation and Policy Challenges*, eds. Daniel Baldwin Hess, Tiit Tammaru, and Maarten van Ham (Cham: Springer Open, 2018), 314; Robert Weddle, "Housing and Technological Reform in Interwar France: The Case of the Cité de la Muette," *Journal of Architectural Education* vol. 54, no. 3, (2001): 167-168.

[223] Theodor Dannecker, SS member of the Gestapo, put the Prefect of Police in charge of the camp, but other than this German influence, Paris Police carried out the operations of the camp. Caroline Wiedmer, *The Claims of Memory: Representations of the Holocaust in Contemporary Germany and France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 62.

[224] Annaïg Lefeuvre, "The Shoah Memorial: A history retraced from the Drancy site," *International Review of the Red Cross* 910, no. 101 (April 2019): 286.

number of Jews that passed through the camp, Drancy was known as the "hub" for deported Jews of France.[225]

Immediately after Liberation, as soon as September 1944, when most surviving Jews had not even returned home yet, mass pilgrimages of Jews who had passed through the transit camp returned to the site to pay respects to the dead and remember.[226] These pilgrimages gradually faded from existence due to the dire need for housing in the immediate postwar years. The war left thousands of French citizens without homes and raw materials were scarce, so the local government wanted to turn the nearly complete La Muette complex back to its original purpose as quickly as possible.[227] Not until the early 1970s would the site become a memorial for the thousands of Jews deported from France. With the help of Communist mayor of Drancy, Maurice Nilès and the French Association of Jewish Deportees, a national subscription raised 620,000 francs for the memorial.[228] In May 1976, the Minister of Veterans' Affairs, André Bord, inaugurated the memorial – a stone sculpture made by Shelomo Selinger. Bord's inauguration speech reflected a similar sentiment as his reasoning behind making the Memorial of Deportation's exhibition rooms inaccessible to the public just the year before. In the speech, he emphasized the significance of French unity, did not mention Vichy complicity with Germany in the pursuit of Jews during the war, and did not acknowledge the difference between the Jewish victims being honored at the Drancy Memorial and those of the rest of the country.[229] While

[225] Lefeuvre, "The Shoah Memorial," 301; "Histoire de la cite de La Muette," Mémorial de la Shoah, accessed November 1, 2020, http://drancy.memorialdelashoah.org/le-memorial-de-drancy/qui-sommes-nous/histoire-de-la-cite-de-la-muette.html.
[226] Wiedmer, *The Claims of Memory*, 62.
[227] Newsome, *French Urban Planning*, 64; Minayo Nasiali, "Citizens, Squatters, and Asocials: The Right to Housing and the Politics of Difference in Post-Liberation France," *The American Historical Review* vol. 119, no. 2 (2014): 434-436.
[228] Ibid, 63.
[229] Ibid.

appearing at an important, new memorial to the Jewish victims of the war, Bord continued to obfuscate. Whether regarding a memorial that commemorated the universal idea of all French victims of the deportation, or a memorial that focused only on the Jewish victims, the French government in the 1970s still did not want to face the reality of French responsibility and would rather paper over the past completely.

After the Barbie trial, Mayor Nilès and the president of the French Association of Jewish Deportees, Henry Bulawko, added another element to the Drancy Memorial, this time in the form of a train car and train tracks to symbolize the constant transport of Jews in and out of the camp. The train car has a small exhibition to provide the history of the site to visitors.[230] This addition correlates to what Jay Winter explains as the "second memory boom" in the memorialization trend in the late 1980s and 1990s.[231] While the first memory boom relates to the surge in collective remembrance after in the wars leading up to and following the First World War, the second memory boom relates to that of the Second World War, but occurred decades after. This delay, according to Winter, was due to the mythical properties surrounding the postwar year. He states, "In the 1940s and 1950s, collective stories about the war focused on heroic narratives of resistance to the Nazis and their allies. Even when such stories were true, they took on mythical proportions."[232] In the years following the Eichmann trial, the student protest of May 1968 and the Barbie trial, this mythological narrative was deconstructed, and a more authentic form of collective remembrance emerged.

[230] Ibid, 70.
[231] Jay Winter, *Remembering War: The Great War Between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven: Yale University, 2006), 26-27.
[232] Ibid, 26.

The 2012 opening of the Drancy Memorial as part of the Shoah Memorial was an initiative of the Foundation for the Memory of the Shoah, the same organization which funded the expansion of the Shoah Memorial in 2005. The new memorial building stands across from the original camp site and the central train car, giving a panoramic view of the apartment buildings of La Muette. The memorial building contains five floors which include a conference room, teaching rooms, a permanent exhibition on the history of the site, and a documentation center.[233] The initial expansion of the Shoah Memorial in 2005, continued by the 2012 expansion that included the addition of the Drancy site shows how events such as the Eichmann and Barbie trials forced France to confront its past, bringing about a second memory boom, that highlighted the unique Jewish experience in France during the Second World War after the 1990s and into the 2000s.

Conclusion

In the years since the inauguration of both the Tomb of the Unknown Jewish Martyr and the Memorial of Deportation, French national memory shifted from mythologized national unity and pushing the past under the rug, to self-awareness and coming to terms with history. The changes over time – or lack thereof – in the memorials reflected the historic events that caused a shift in French national identity. The Memorial of Deportation – classically nationalist in its dedication and echoing the universal narrative of the Resistance myth – remained stagnant after its 1962 inauguration. The interior rooms of the memorial remained empty until more than a decade after the memorial opened to the public, and once given a purpose, the memorial's exhibition rooms were not accessible to the public due to the lingering impression of the postwar

[233] "Mémorial de la Shoah de Drancy," Foundation pour la Mémoire de la Shoah, accessed April 29, 2021, https://www.fondationshoah.org/memoire/memorial-de-la-shoah-de-drancy.

myth. The public perception of information of the Occupation years caused worry among those who just wanted to paper over France's dark years. The CDJC, however, never stepped back from educating the public on the Vichy past and the Jewish experience of deportation and genocide. Although the organization could not directly confront the role of the French government during the war, the Centre presented documents which proved to be incriminating enough. From the beginning, the CDJC and its memorial has evolved with the times, adapting to changes in societal shifts, public discourse, and technology to not only stay relevant, but also remain an important international research institute. Its 2012 expansion to include the Drancy Memorial site magnifies its mission's reach in promoting the education of the Jewish genocide to future generations through a site which is directly linked to French responsibility.

CONCLUSION

Through observing the creation of the Réseau du Souvenir and the CDJC and their respective memorials, this thesis has argued that two narratives emerged in France in the immediate postwar years: the deportee narrative which aligns with the postwar myth, grouping all experiences together under the universal idea of Frenchness, and the Jewish experience of persecution and genocide. Established before the end of the war in 1943, the CDJC sought to share the Jewish experience, hold the Vichy government responsible for the deportation of Jews and French citizens by collecting French documents, and teach future generations of what Jews endured during the war. Made up of political groups at the center of postwar France and groups that claim victim status, the Réseau du Souvenir organized around the same ideal as the postwar myth – that all French people resisted from the start, and all French citizens were united in their French identity, all other identifying traits coming second to being French. These narratives showed through in the creation of their memorials, although both sites utilize many of the same design elements and memorial references. The dedications of the memorials also indicate these differing narratives: the Réseau's Memorial of Deportation is dedicated to the 200,000 French citizens deported during the war – not including the hundreds of thousands of immigrants and refugees deported from France – while the CDJC's Tomb of the Unknown Jewish Martyr is dedicated to the six million European Jews killed at the hands of the Nazis.

This thesis has built on Jay Winter's model of understanding postwar memorials. Winter discusses traditional and modern memorials, given that memorials from World War I (and even earlier) are typically more traditional, depicting patriotic imagery and the idea of communal mourning, typically in the sense of providing a commemorative site for those without a grave. An example of one of these memorials would be the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier beneath the

Arc du Triomphe in Paris. The Unknown Soldier under the Arc represents a French soldier fallen in battle for France. Both the Tomb of the Unknown Jewish Martyr (as represented in the name) and the Memorial of Deportation take on this element of memorialization by housing ashes from main camps and the Warsaw Ghetto, and the body of a deportee within the respective memorial tombs. Modern memorials and remembrance, on the other hand, represent an "aesthetic of direct experience."[234] These memorials promote and evoke the strong emotions in visitors when contemplating the great loss which occurred in the Second World War. I have argued that although both memorials are primarily traditional in design, likely because their creation occurred too soon after the war to evolve into being considered 'modern,' the CDJC's intention behind the Tomb of the Unknown Jewish Martyr has always been modern. The promotion of international remembrance of a unique experience in extreme horror and despair fits into the modern model Winter explains.

The life of the memorials after their inaugurations reflects the gradual change over time in the French understanding and national narrative of what happened during the Vichy years. Events such as the May 1968 protests and the Klaus Barbie trial in 1987 helped to gradually bring the truth of the Vichy years to the surface of understanding and acceptance. The continuous work and influence of the CDJC and the Memorial of the Unknown Jewish Martyr into the Shoah Memorial shows the persistence of the Jewish people in explaining their unique experience during the war. The Réseau du Souvenir, however, did not carry influence into the present day; as its members of surviving deportees aged and eventually died, new members did

[234] Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*, 2.

not join the organization to continue its work in remembrance work. Like the postwar myth, the Réseau faded with time and dissolved completely.

Vél d'Hiv' Memorial

The Vél d'Hiv' memorial inauguration in 1994 is an example of how France has begun to come to terms with its role in the Second World War and accept national responsibility and reconciliation. The memorial commemorates the 13,152 Jews rounded up throughout Paris by the Vichy police on July 16 and 17, 1942 – of which were more than 4,000 children – and held them in the Vélodrome d'Hiver – a winter sporting arena in the fifteenth arrondissement of Paris – for five days before deporting them to camps.[235] The police made no preparations to hold this amount of people, and the detainees went without food, water, sanitary arrangements, or adequate medical attention. German officials had little to do in the operation, making the Vichy police responsible for the act.[236]

Since the end of the war, small crowds gathered at the Vél d'Hiv' every July 16 to commemorate the roundup. In the late 1950s, the site caught on fire and was torn down to build office buildings in its place. In the 1970s, the release of two movies about the roundup renewed interest in the story and remembrance. In 1986, the Representative Council of French Jewish Institutions (CRIF) organized the placement of a remembrance plaque at the previous site of the Vél d'Hiv' and planned for the mayor of Paris, Jacques Chriac, to inaugurate the site. The plaque did not state any responsibility of the perpetrators, the Vichy police, and instead insinuated that the police acted on orders from the German occupiers.[237]

[235] Carrier, *Holocaust Monuments and National Memory Cultures in France and Germany since 1989*, 49.
[236] Marrus and Paxton, *Vichy France and the Jews*, 250-251.
[237] Ibid, 251.

Not until the early 1990s did things begin to change. In 1992, many citizens, including the Comité Vél d'Hiv', became angry with President François Mitterand after he refused to speak on the responsibility of the Vichy government in the Vél d'Hiv' roundup at the fiftieth anniversary ceremony.[238] In 1993, a parliamentary bill passed to create a National Day of Commemoration of the Racist and Anti-Semitic Persecutions. This began a change in the interpretation of the role of the French in collaborations with Germany during the war. The newly elected president, Jacques Chirac, made up for Mitterand's failings in 1995 at the fifty-third anniversary ceremony of the Vél d'Hiv' round up at a newly installed memorial. The memorial, created in 1994, portrays a bronze sculpture of a group of people, sitting among suitcases, and includes a dedication inscription which reconciles the plaque placed in 1986. The inscription reads, "In tribute to the victims of racist and anti-Semitic persecutions and crimes against humanity committed under the de facto authority known as the French state government, 1940-1944. Never forget." This language in the dedication finally puts responsibility on France through the Vichy regime. At the fifty-third anniversary ceremony, Chirac made a speech, further driving this idea forward. In the speech, Chirac states, "It is hard to speak of these times also because these dark hours have forever fouled our history, and are an insult to our past and our traditions. Yes, it is true that the criminal insanity of the occupying forces was backed up by French people and by the French State" and continues, "France, land of the Enlightenment and of Human Rights, land of hospitality and asylum, France, on that day, committed an irreparable act. It failed to keep its word and delivered those it was protecting to their executioners."[239] Chirac's speech is the first time that any member of the Fifth Republic officially recognized French

[238] Mitterand worked as a journalist during the war for pro-Vichy media. Carrier, *Holocaust Monuments*, 49-51.
[239] The full speech can be found in Eric Conan and Henry Rousso, *Vichy: An Ever-Present* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1998), 39-42.

responsibility in the deportation of Jews, including French Jewish citizens, during the war. Finally, the narrative of the Vichy regime had come full circle, back to the reality of history from the postwar narrative of disregard and avoidance. The syndrome ended.

Next Steps

The scope of this thesis could expand into a larger project in the future. This thesis stops at the state of the memorials in the early 2000s but does not touch on the impact of tourism or visitor interpretation. I am interested in moving past the history of the organizations and thinking about how visitors interact with the sites in the present. How is each memorial promoted in official Paris tourism material and websites, if at all? How has the promotion of the sites changed over time since inauguration? Does the language used to promote these sites to visitors promote the harsh reality of the Vichy years? Does the language change over time? To answer these questions, one would need to procure archives of previous decades tourism brochures and advertisements. This information would show how the French Ministry of Culture valued each site at certain points in history.[240] These questions also apply through the examination of walking tours in Paris, both government sponsored and private. Is each site represented on walking tours? If so, what language do tour guides use to explain the history to visitors?

Additionally, the perception of visitors is an important perspective when observing memorials. How do visitors understand the information provided by the memorials? Do visitors perceive the memorials in the way the founding organizations intended? Do visitors confuse the Memorial of Deportation for what they understand as the 'Holocaust'? What do travel blogs say about these sites? While visiting the sites myself in Paris, I asked those I was with what they

[240] For more on the establishment and influence of the Ministry of Culture, see Herman Lebovics, *Mona Lisa's Escort: André Malraux and the Reinvention of French Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999).

thought of the memorials, and I found that they thought of both memorials within the same idea of their understanding of the genocide of Jews, as opposed to the difference between deportation and the persecution of Jews. In a larger project, as part of a PhD dissertation in historic preservation, I could better explore these situations.

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