

FINAL REPORT
ON THE
CULTURE 2000 PROGRAM

***HISTORY AFTER THE FALL:
THE INDETERMINACY OF THE SHORT
TWENTIETH CENTURY
PROJECT***

Agreement 2004 – 1486 / 001 – 001 CLT CA22

Budapest, April 2007

Final Report on the Culture 2000 program
History After the Fall:
The Indeterminacy of the Short Twentieth Century project
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I. Summary

Interpretations of the twentieth century fall into two distinct categories: moral and structural narratives. Both approaches try to endow an artificial temporal frame with historical meaning: in the case of the structural narrative, with clear causal connections, while the moral narratives struggle to find ethical meaning in the specific events of the past.

It is understandable that after the long decades of fascism and communism, moral narratives of the twentieth century dominate the history books, school materials and the overpoliticized public debates. Depending on specific ideological needs, the narratives privilege certain categories of victims, concentrate on well-chosen groups of perpetrators, overemphasize the crimes committed against specific groups, and or downplay the atrocities suffered by other categories of the population. “History After the Fall” aimed at opening up new approaches to the sensitive issues of the twentieth century, while emphasizing features of the recent past that allow new perceptions of the common history of the region. Our aim was not to downplay the ethical and moral issues, however to try to find a frame in which moral concerns could be presented in a structural narrative.

The project approached the twentieth century as the terrain of specific social, economic, ideological and cultural utopias that aimed at continuous, deep intervention on the macro sphere. Both Fascism and communism could be perceived as radical attempts to change the world, based on the technological optimism derived from the developments of the 19th century. The two utopian projects had unique specificities, nevertheless, it is an academically justifiable aim to treat them parallel to each other, to understand one in the mirror of the other.

Our complex program in the framework of the “Culture 2000” looked at these radical utopian endeavors after the Fall, from the perspective of their afterlife. Our common goal was not only to try to understand the historical events, aspects of Fascism and Communism, but to understand ourselves while trying to make sense of our common recent past. Reflection and self-reflection became intertwined in order to highlight the fact that making whatever sense of the past is our common obligation and responsibility.

In 2004 the project started with six active participant organizations from five countries, but when it closed, it only had four active members from four countries. The Institute for the Research in Recent History in Bucharest lost its financial and legal independence when it was incorporated into a newly formed, government controlled institution, so it withdrew after having completed all of the tasks it had undertaken. The Hannah Arendt Institute in Dresden received support for a new Culture 2000 program, of which it was the main organizer. In order to be able to start with the new, “Overcoming Dictatorship” project, where the Open Society Archives is one of the cooperating partners, the Hannah Arendt Institute had to stop being an active partner in the “History After the Fall” project three and a half months before it

was closed. Both partners, however, remained in contact with the others and helped them in every possible way to conclude a task undertaken together.

Communication throughout the project was flawless and the network built up this way seems to be alive after the close of the project. This contributed to the success and ease of management jobs throughout the three years of the project, which, from the management perspective as well as from the professional side was considered by all partners a most valuable learning and working experience, which, as they unanimously declared at the end, they are ready to go through again in a new joint application.

The budget comfortably covered all the activities. The underspending is in proportion with the decrease of the number of participants and time they spent actively in the project, and the structure of expenditures clearly reflects what the coordinators found worthy to note for consideration. Overcoming linguistic difficulties was a major challenge in most cases, and this effected all items related to texts and meetings. The economic and political changes related to global trends as well as regional ones mostly connected the entrance of the EU also reshaped the budget to a certain extent.

The parallel seminars, workshops and exhibitions centered around the new presentation of the two World Wars; the new interpretation of the traditional and radical right wing of the inter-war years; the anti-Communist resistance movement; the theme of collaboration; nationalism and the national questions; foreign occupation; poverty and welfare measures; and the historical record left behind by over-centralized, authoritarian, totalitarian and anti-democratic regimes. These are topics rarely researched for several reasons, one among them being the fear of evoking heated professional debate and serious disagreement. The project attempted to deal with these delicate questions in a decent, scholarly way, setting facts against facts, arranging and presenting them from a scholarly point of view and taking care to avoid arriving at hasty conclusions or creating sensation where it was not appropriate. The project, however, never aimed to arrive at a uniform approach to the way different themes and aspects of the history of the twentieth century became rewritten, reinterpreted and re-presented by a variety of means in different media or to ways of dealing with the events of the recent past, so at the close of its active, working period it is proud and pleased to say that its main goal, to foster significant, interesting, and serious professional debates, and certainly, serious disagreement as well, among the co-operating institutions was achieved, and the emerging polyphonic work could serve as an example in the deeply divided, intolerant, politically overcharged atmosphere of the countries formerly under Communist rule.

The results of the three year collaborative project can be measured by the number of permanently accessible publications, both virtual and paper based. It produced an extensive on-line collection of research materials and seminar papers, two paper based readers, a virtual photo gallery, a virtual exhibition, three paper based exhibitions and two hard bound volumes on sensitive issues of recent history testify to the work done in the course of this project.

The exhibitions, seminars, conferences attracted interest far beyond the institutions that carried the burden of the common project. Events of the program continued to be discussed in the media; several conference contributions were published in cultural and political magazines; the electronic media organized public debates on issues covered by the project; the exhibitions were visited by dozens and dozens of classes; we organized teachers' training courses; provided space and programs for subsequent "Holocaust Memorial Days" and "Memorial Days dedicated to the Victims of Communism".

It is never easy to assess the public impact of a several-year-long collaborative program, running in different countries for varied audiences on very sensitive, complicated public issues. Let me mention just the very last incident of the "History after the Fall" program that symbolically shows the wide-spread impact of the joint efforts. On the very last day of the three-year-long program, the Prime Minister of the Czech Republic visited OSA. The Prime Minister paid a one day visit to Hungary, and it was he personally, who insisted on visiting OSA. He had heard about the joint program and he wanted to see personally the institution that had initiated the program. After his visit at OSA, he held a press conference in the Archive, where he announced to the Czech media that based on his impressions at OSA, he would initiate once more the passing of law in the Parliament to the effect of setting up an appropriate organization in charge of dealing with the most sensitive issues of the recent past.

Budapest, April 27, 2007

István Rév, Director
OSA Archivum

II. Project History

1. Calendar

- November 14, 2003 – application submitted.
- May 12, 2004 – information about the project proposed to receive EU financial support on condition a bank guarantee is provided.
- July 9, 2004 – bank guarantee issued.
- July 15, 2005 – request to shift the start of the eligibility period from July 1, 2004 to September 1, 2004, the end date from December 31, 2006 to February 28, 2007.
- September 24, 2004 – the Agreement signed by both parties.
- October 26, 2004 – first grant installment received by OSA/CEU.
- December 2, 2004 – project officially launched by announcing it in the Hungarian media and by opening the Representation of Jews exhibition, to which representatives of the EU in Hungary were invited.
- December 15, 2004 – web page for the Culture 2000 History After the Fall created, where the development of the project can be followed and results checked and to ensure that the development of the project, its contents and achievements are transparent (<http://www.osa.ceu.hu/2004/projects/culture2000/index.html>).
- January 2005 – the first action (Exhibition on the Representation of Jews) completed.
- February 14, 2005 – request to shift actions due to the shift of eligibility period from the first half to the second half of the period accepted (Ref No: 2716).
- June 2005 – the second action (Parallel Seminars on the Representation of Jews) completed.
- August 31, 2005 – request for change of calendar concerning two actions accepted (Ref No 15271).
- November 30, 2005 – the third action (Parallel Seminars on Fascism and Communism) completed in three institutions; still ongoing in two institutions. Interim Narrative and Financial Report mailed to Brussels.
- December 9–10, 2005 – the fourth action (Workshop on Fascism and Communism organized by IRIR in Bucharest) completed.
- December 15, 2005 – parallel seminars in IRIR and OSA finished, third action completed in all . institutions. Best papers collected and posted on the web-site.
- January 15, 2005 – March 12, 2006 – the fifth action (Exhibition on Fascism and Communism organized and installed by IRIR in Bucharest) started.

- February 9, 2006 – the Chairman of the Board of IRIR announced to the Director of IRIR that IRIR would be incorporated into the newly formed Institute for the Investigation of the Crimes of Communism (IICC), directly subordinated to the Romanian Government and coordinated by the Romanian Prime Minister.
- February 14, 2006 – the Director of IRIR received a letter from the Board of IRIR informing him that his presence as Director of IRIR was no longer needed as of March 15, 2006 and he was offered the position of project coordinator.
- March 12, 2006 – a report on the events leading to IRIR ceasing to be an independent entity was sent to OSA.
- March 15 – the Director of IRIR resigned, and IRIR, having completed all activities it had undertaken, ceased to be a partner in the EU Culture 2000 History after the Fall project. The financial and narrative report was sent to OSA.
- March 31, 2006 – confirmation of acceptance of the Interim Report received. The Project Manager at the Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency requested additional documentation to assist with their decision on the steps to be taken.
- April 9, 2006 – second grant installment received by OSA/CEU.
- May 29 – June 28, 2006 – exhibition on Fascism and Communism hosted by ICH in Prague.
- June 8 – 11, 2006 – the sixth action, Visions After the Fall – Workshop on Post Communist Anti-Communism held in OSA, Budapest.
- June 21, 2006 – Ms Ellen Schraudolph, Project Coordinator visited OSA in Budapest.
- July 13 – Aug 20, 2006 – the seventh action, Cold War Chronology Exhibition opened by the Civic Academy. On the same day ...
- July 13–16, 2006 – the eighth action, the Workshop on a Living Museum was organized by the Civic Academy.
- July 27 – Aug 27, 2006 – exhibition on Fascism and Communism hosted by HAIT in Dresden.
- September 12, 2006 – confirmation of approval of the withdrawal of the Recent History Research Institution (IRIR) was received, the modified Agreement was signed by the remaining parties.
- October 2006 – the ninth action, the parallel seminars on Social Policies and Public Health, organized by HAIT in Dresden and ICH in Prague.
- October 13 – November 5, 2006 – exhibition on Fascism and Communism hosted by KARTA in Warsaw.
- October 19–20, 2006 – the tenth action, the workshop on Revisionism, was organized by ICH in Prague.

- October 20 – November 1, 2006 – exhibition on Cold War Chronology hosted by HAIT in Dresden.
- November 6 – December 4, 2006 – exhibition on Cold War Chronology hosted by ICH in Prague.
- November 15 – having completed all its actions HAIT withdrew from the project in order to start its own Culture 2000 “Overcoming Dictatorships” project (with OSA as one of the partners).
- December 14, 2006 – January 15, 2007 – exhibition on Cold War Chronology hosted by OSA in Budapest.
- January 23 – February 25, 2007 – exhibition on Cold War Chronology hosted by KARTA in Warsaw.
- January 23 – February 26, 2007 – exhibition on Fascism and Communism hosted by OSA in Budapest.
- February 1, 2007 – the eleventh action: editorial work on the publication of two volumes of workshop materials (Post Communist Anti-Communism and Revisionism) completed, manuscripts submitted.
- February 12, 2007 – decision by the Editorial Board of CEU Press to include the volume on Revisionism in its fall catalogue for the Frankfurt Book Fair.
- February 28, 2007 – the active period of the grant closed.

2. Participants

All the six original participating institutions remained in place and cooperated actively until the interim report was submitted. Soon after that one of the participants, the Recent History Research Institute (IRIR), was incorporated into the newly-formed Institute for the Investigation of the Crimes of Communism (IICC), directly subordinated to the Romanian Government and coordinated by the Romanian Prime Minister. IRIR lost its legal and financial independence, and IRIR's Director, Professor Petrescu, was offered the position of project coordinator; he declined and resigned from the Institute. By this time, March 15, 2006 IRIR had completed all the activities it had undertaken, and its absence from the further development of the project, though a painful loss, caused no substantial setback. Professor Petrescu remained in contact with the project through his professional activities and helped the partners in every way possible. Later in the year the Hannah Arendt Institute (HAIT) received support from the European Union for a new Culture 2000 project, "Overcoming Dictatorships" starting on November 15, 2006. For this new project to commence HAIT undertook to complete all the actions and close its books relating to the "History After the Fall" project by that date. On February 28, 2007 the active period of the "History After the Fall" project closed with four active participants: the Institute of Recent History of the Czech Academy of Science (ICH), the Civic Academy of Romania, the KARTA Foundation of Poland and the Open Society Archives (OSA) in Hungary.

3. Project Management

Throughout the project the persons of the Project Managers and Coordinators did not change. Two coordinators were away from work on maternity leave for a short period of time but even then they kept in touch from home and helped the colleagues who stepped in for them. All participants were in continuous contact with each other via e-mail and telephone. Communication was kept alive all through the project even among coordinators of institutions which had by then withdrawn from the project. E-mails were answered, calls returned, requests met on time. When the actions offered good opportunities for personal meetings, these were heavily utilized by the coordinators to sort out management issues, too.

To help the project run smoothly both financially and from the management side, two events which had not been scheduled had to be added – and at least one more, about the time the interim report was due, would have been imperative. At the start of the project OSA organized a coordinators' kick-off meeting in Budapest at the expense of the individual institutions, where a strategy for cooperation was worked out, issues of importance were considered and lessons learnt from previous activities were shared. Since the Polish and the German partner could not attend, the main coordinator visited them in their institutions. A closing meeting for the coordinators was organized, also in Budapest, and this was connected to the last public event of the project: a history class for secondary school students connected to the exhibition on Fascism and Communism on display at OSA at the time. At this meeting the coordinators

discussed outstanding financial problems, agreed on the general outline of the final report, shared their respective “lessons learnt” and expressed their wish to cooperate and apply together in the future.

4. Joining with programs and institutions outside the project

The project partners found it beneficial to involve more institutions than only the partners in the Culture 2000 project, and to link their activities to other programs. This enabled them not only to broaden the geographical coverage of the actions, but also to gain experience in a variety of new aspects and approaches.

One way of doing this was to share the venue of an event with another event organized by a different institution. For example HAIT organized its parallel seminar in the Deutschen Hygienemuseum Dresden, where the participants could visit the ongoing exhibition, the Nazi “Deadly Medicine” there. OSA organized the launch of its online “Auschwitz” exhibition and the opening of its on-site Synagogues and Memorials exhibition sharing exhibition time and venue with the Verzio International Human Rights Documentary Film Festival, which in turn dedicated a section to remembering the Holocaust. Visitors to the exhibition could then stay on and watch films, while the audience of the documentaries had the chance to visit the exhibition in the adjoining exhibition rooms. While the exhibition was professionally supported by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the film festival was sponsored and supported by several embassies and cultural centers. Throughout the action these institutions were also brought together in the joint events and shared location, paving the way for intercultural dialogues and rapid exchange of views and ideas. KARTA organized its Fascism and Communism parallel seminar at the same time when one of its large-scale special exhibitions, 20th Century Europe: Faces of Totalitarianism, was running. The Civic Academy shared time and location with the Sighet Summer School, an annual event organized for secondary school students from all over the country.

The traveling exhibitions presented excellent opportunities to involve secondary school students and teachers in the discussion of issues raised by the collections. IRIR's exhibition on Fascism and Communism attracted teachers and students in Bucharest, then at all its further stations in Prague, Warsaw and Budapest under different schemes: in Bucharest it took the form of a roundtable discussion for educators on teaching recent history in alternative ways, in Warsaw it was a competition in history for students, while in Budapest out-of-school history classes were organized for eleventh and twelfth graders. The texts of the Cold War Chronology exhibition found their way to teachers of history in secondary schools via the internet. This exhibition proved to be an excellent opportunity for networking in a more formal context: the opening events in Warsaw, Prague and Budapest were turned into meetings of the ambassadors of the participating countries and the directors of the respective cultural centers, where the diplomats and cultural representatives gained insight into the

project and were engaged in professional as well as informal conversations covering a wide range of areas.

The lists of workshop participants show that, for mainly professional reasons, the country coverage of the project had to be extended to include France, Italy, Georgia, Russia, Spain and the US, all involving also their respective educational or research institutions from home.

Sometimes it was life itself that brought about a new event that could be organically linked to the ongoing project action. This was the case with the political unrest on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the events of 1956 in Hungary, which called for a short meeting, a so-called "Blitzconference" supported by the Mayor's Office in Budapest, at which outstanding political figures and well known historians took the opportunity to share their views on the reinterpretation of recent history, thus contributing copiously to the research material and data of the project.

The local national institutions in certain countries supported the project also financially. This was the case with the Hungarian Cultural Fund and the Bucharest International Centre for the Study of Communism.

The involvement of the respective local municipalities (for example the Mayor's Office in Budapest, and the Municipality of Warsaw) together with embassies, cultural centers, colleges, universities and secondary schools in the participating countries resulted in more and different publicity than the Culture 2000 project would have been able to provide if it had been left to its own means. In certain instances the impact of such involvement made itself felt after the project was closed. For example the visit by the Ambassador of the Czech Republic to the Cold War Chronology exhibition resulted in a subsequent visit to OSA by the Prime Minister of the Czech Republic on the recommendation of the Ambassador, which attracted due attention from the written and the electronic media in both countries.

5. Documentation and publicity obligations

Each participant was responsible for observing the publicity obligations and preserving a copy of all documents related to its actions (invitations, posters, papers if these were submitted in hard copy, programs, photos etc.) and all financial documents. Duplicates and/or scanned versions were sent to the Main Organizer, where they are preserved. A selection was posted on-line at <http://www.archivum.ws/2004/projects/culture2000>

6. Activities

As the Project Implementation Table below shows, all the activities were completed by the end of the active period of the project. The two volumes to be published qualified for inclusion in the fall catalogue of CEU Press and will be launched at the time of the Frankfurt Book Fair. Delays (at most three to four weeks, with the exception of the dispatch of IRIR's traveling exhibition, which was delayed by the dissolution of IRIR right at that time) in the implementation of the individual actions were due to the withdrawal of two partners; otherwise the project proceeded according to schedule.

Project implementation program

Project starting date:	day	1	month	9	year	2004
Project finishing date:	day	28	month	2	year	2007

Detailed timetable for implementation of the work program

Approved Date	Action(s)	Date of Implementation
December 2004	1. Exhibition on the Representation of Jews (OSA)	December 2, 2004 – January 31, 2005
January – April 2005	2. Parallel Seminars on the Representation of Jews (OSA, IRIR)	January – May, 2005
September – December 2005	3. Parallel seminars on Fascism and Communism (OSA, HAIT, ICH, KARTA, IRIR)	HAIT, ICH, KARTA: October – November, 2005 IRIR, OSA: October – December, 2005
December 2005	4. Workshop on Fascism and Communism (IRIR)	December 9–11, 2005

January 2006 January 2006 – June 2006	5. Exhibition on Fascism and Communism IRIR (traveling) Hosting the exhibitions by partners ICH: HAIT: KARTA: OSA:	January 15 – March 12, 2006 May 29 – June 28, 2006 July 27 – Aug 27, 2006 October 13 – November 5, 2006 January 23 – February 26, 2007
May 2006	6. Workshop on Post Communist Anti-Communism, (OSA)	June 8–11, 2006
May 2006 September 2006 – February 2007	7. Exhibition: A Cold War Chronology, Civic Academy, (traveling) Hosting the exhibition by partners HAIT: ICH: OSA: KARTA:	July 13 – August 20, 2006 October 20 – November 1, 2006 November 6 – December 4, 2006 December 14, 2006 – January 15, 2007 January 23 – February 25, 2007
July 2006	8. Workshop on A Living Museum, Civic Academy	July 13–16, 2007
September – December 2006	9. Parallel Seminars on Social Policies and Public Health (HAIT, ICH)	October, 2006
October 2006	10. Workshop on Revisionism (ICH)	October 19–20, 2006
January 2007	11. Publication of materials in 2 volumes (about 250 pp each) (OSA)	Edited, proofread, copy-edited final version to publisher: February 1, 2007 Publication expected: August 2007

III. Overall Assessment

The project was steadily working towards its main objectives by conducting research, mobilizing large numbers of students and professionals, laying sensitive issues open for public discussion, and making sure that all of this happened at an inter-European level, not only through an exchange of scholars but by using the world wide web to make the research results accessible, and by connecting the Culture 2000 project to other national and international programs. Even though the final publications will be launched months after the three-year collaborative project was closed so that they can be introduced at the Frankfurt Book Fair, the project outcomes can be analyzed and assessed, progress can be evaluated even before that. Several products, including a pre-print of the volumes, are already in use: the selected documents relating to the research focus areas, the virtual exhibition and a selection of synagogue photographs posted on-line have already had received many visits, and inquiries concerning further enlargement have already reached the IT manager at OSA. One of the traveling exhibitions, having completed its circuit, arrived back at its home institution, the other one, whose creator IRIR, ceased to exist as an independent entity while the exhibition was on tour, remained in the care of OSA, ready to be installed at any time, should the need or interest arise.

1. Objectives

Transnational mobility: Six institutions from five countries, together with students and researchers from several more countries both within and outside the EU, were working together for three years in the project, focusing on the way different themes and aspects of the history of the twentieth century became rewritten, reinterpreted and re-presented by a variety of means in different media. The personal cooperation among the institutions was effective, very pleasant and to the satisfaction of all involved. Professors, students and exhibitions moved across borders in five countries according to the project schedule throughout the three years of the project. All in all 95 international and 135 local journeys were made in the course of the actions. Both traveling exhibitions covered all the planned five stations in the countries of the participants, attracting the interest of the local audiences and media. Since the project can be divided into three areas, which are closely interlinked though different in nature, different means had to be applied to assist and promote intercultural dialogue. The exhibitions were completed with materials of local relevance, or the captions were displayed both in English and in the local language. Workshops created the highest individual physical mobility by collecting in one location participants from the partner institutions, as well as from countries where the professional interest in the given topic was very strong. Parallel seminars and research made use of the advanced electronic technology of the cyber age, confining physical mobility mainly to professors while it fostered electronic communication among the student body of the project. This is where the project could not perform as well as had been

hoped, partly because the level of technological development differed widely in the participating institutions and this made direct on-line communication impossible, partly because the active teaching periods did not always overlap in the respective institutions. Direct on-line communication was replaced by the more traditional electronic e-mail communication, enlivened by short periods of person-to-person meetings and backed up by making the papers and research results accessible on-line, involving the wider professional community in the discussion and evaluation of work done.

Transnational movement of cultural products: the two traveling exhibitions focusing on the recent history of their native country, Romania, attracted a large number of visitors at home as well as abroad. For many of them it was the first occasion to become familiar with modern Romanian history without ideological interpretation. By offering some unprecedented approaches to their subject these exhibitions allowed the visitors to gain new insights into several aspects of the recent history of Central and Eastern Europe. At each of their stations the exhibitions were complemented by a panel which linked the topic of the exhibition with the country where they it was being shown. By the end of the cycle the exhibitions were complemented by local materials in a way that they covered that particular aspect of the history in the given period of time which was the focus of the exhibitions, for each participating country.

2. European Added Value

European network: at a rough estimate, the number of students, professors, researchers and members of the professional community who were directly involved in and contributed to the project, the majority of them being locals, is well above one thousand, and they come from 16 countries. This figure does not include visitors to the exhibitions, the audience of special events, secondary school students and professors at the guided tours and talks. In the three years of the project these people met either in person or only electronically in order to contribute to and help implement the actions. To achieve the goals of the project, they had to interact with each other continually and, as is evident from the individual activity descriptions, this meant that the differences at national level which surfaced in the course of the communication, had to be overcome at an international, European level. In other words, all the participating institutions with their widely differing national backgrounds had to reach a common platform in order to be able to implement the goal of each activity. This holds true for all activities at all levels, from individual communication through to organizational processes aimed at institutional cooperation, as well as for exhibition displays prepared in one country with a focus, inevitably, on the local audience but displayed in five other countries for different audiences, or for designing one complex syllabus for students of history in different countries allowing, of course, for national differences. Around this core of one thousand people closely involved in the project, the figures of those directly and indirectly benefiting from the project multiply. There can only be estimates of, for example, how many fellow students get interested, involved or just get the message of the project through friendship or

merely casual acquaintance with one student who was heavily involved in the project. However, it can safely be said that these informal networks push the number of those benefiting from the project into the realm of five digit figures.

Cooperation and objectives achieved: the implementation processes of the eleven actions, all of them starting out from different national cultures and realized through continual interaction, sometimes through heated debates and several rounds of harmonization of ideas, in themselves offer an outlook that goes beyond local, regional and national interests. The project, however, never aimed to arrive at a uniform approach to the way different themes and aspects of the history of the twentieth century became rewritten, reinterpreted and represented by a variety of means in different media or to ways of dealing with the events of the recent past, so at the close of its active, working period it is proud and pleased to say that its main goal, to foster significant, interesting, and serious professional debates, and certainly, serious disagreement as well, among the co-operating institutions was achieved, and the emerging polyphonic work could serve as an example in the deeply divided, intolerant, politically overcharged atmosphere of the countries formerly under Communist rule.

Potential of sustained cooperation: as has been mentioned earlier, two of the cooperating partners (HAIT and OSA) are already partners in another Culture 2000 project. In addition, at the closing meeting all partners expressed their intention to apply together in the future. In the course of the project a strong and steady working group of young PhD holders and PhD students formed. This group is the leading force behind the two volumes to be published. At the close of the project the members expressed their readiness to continue cooperation and research under the guidance of scholars, and already on their own, into the problems which were in the main focus of the History After the Fall project.

3. Quality factors

Cultural and educational impact: although the following consideration might belong to management issues, it has such important cultural and educational relevance that it had to be given priority position in the assessment of quality factors, namely that the participating institutions unanimously classed cooperation with each other and their invited guests as the most important, most successful, most enjoyable and most effective factor. A careful analysis in this respect should examine the three constituents of the project, the seminars, the workshops and the exhibitions, separately. The educational novelty of running seminars on the same topic in parallel in different countries, with shorter or longer periods, when students stay in place but professors are exchanged, could not be realized to its full potential mainly because of technical and organizational setbacks. However, when it was realized, albeit not quite as originally planned, it proved that the idea was well worth developing further. Designing syllabi for different student bodies and then contrasting different approaches across countries throughout the teaching process, then, in the end, evaluating the results from one common viewpoint, was an experience all partners found novel, well ahead of current

practices and applicable under proper technical and institutional conditions. Even though only the select papers and evaluation essays posted on-line testify to the work done in the seminars, the need to directly exchange and compare views was recognized by both students and professors, who expressed the hope that it would be possible to fully implement the idea in the very near future. The exhibitions, which inherently pose a number of technical and organizational problems, were implemented as expected, but were received warmly by a much narrower professional body than originally hoped for. However, they engaged an audience which originally had not been given much consideration. Secondary school students and professors were involved directly with activities surrounding the exhibitions. The impact these activities made on the students will only be felt in the long run, while secondary school teachers of history were immediately considering introducing novel approaches to teaching recent history in their syllabi. All three exhibitions (including OSA's non-traveling ones) were declared by professional circles to be of high standard and very genuine. The quality and impact of the workshops and the related research work was visibly and favorably assessed by CEU Press, when it decided to include the two volumes based on workshop contributions in its fall catalogue for the Frankfurt Book Fair.

Methodology of management, level of commitment of partners: at the start of the project the management was envisioned as a set of partners working individually after an initial agreement on the basic management guidelines, responsibilities and ways of communication. All partners were supposed to report back to the main organizer after the close of each action, evaluate the success and draw lessons in that particular phase. The reports were then discussed, evaluated and shared with the other organizers. Throughout the three years of the project all the coordinators kept to this agreement and management operated along these lines. Consequent with this policy each partner received its share of the grant after it had reached the account of OSA from Brussels. The partners were expected to send a financial report after the close of each action, which they duly did, but unspent amounts were only returned after the final financial settlement. There were two meetings organized for the coordinators - one at the start and one at the end of the project. These were not scheduled originally, but the need to meet personally and work together face to face was so pressing that these meetings had to be organized. The coordinators agreed that ideally two more such meetings, but at least one more at the time of the interim report, would have been useful and very welcome, had they been originally included in the schedule.

Communications among the participating institutions were flawless throughout the entire duration of the project: to such an extent that even the final financial settlement was completed. However, at the final meeting all participants agreed that outsourcing finances to this extent could have jeopardized the project through difficulties caused either by the participants themselves or by the economic or political circumstances. Fortunately this did not happen to the History After the Fall project, but the risks were clearly seen by all involved and more safety guarantees were recommended, for example that payments should be made by the main organizer alone, but this would rely heavily on a unified EU financial market. The partners agreed that in the given period, under the given circumstances, financial

transactions in a former socialist country could not be managed from an other country. The partners were deeply committed to the overall goal of the project as well as to their individual responsibilities, and were fully dedicated to the successful implementation of each action. This dedication resulted, on the organizational side as well as on the professional side, in steady, smooth and timely communication for three full years among project partners, researchers and students integrated in the project. This created a “pan-European communication network”, which seems to be alive after the active period of the project is closed.

Expertise and experience gained in management and implementation: none of the project partners had had previous experience with projects supported by the European Union and involving multilateral European cooperation on such a grand financial scale. For the administrators this was the first experience of following a European Union-supported project through from the start to the very end. It can be concluded that for all of them it was a most educational, and very useful period, especially because unceasing communication among coordinators disseminated information, circulated questions, raised possible solutions and helped new experiences and lessons to sink in, even if, as has been mentioned earlier, regular evaluation and discussion meetings were lacking. In order to enhance future management planning the coordinators suggested that closer involvement, personal meetings and on-site visits in the preparatory phase of the exhibitions should be incorporated in the plan, because only this can help, and ensure enough preparatory time, to link the material more closely to the needs of the local audience.

On the professional side it is worth mentioning the way an inherent problem sorted itself out. The majority of the academics were historians and sociologists who had gained their degrees and their expertise in the years before the change of the socialist system. They were joined by groups of young PhD holders or PhD students, the products of a different age. For the representatives of the professional leadership the vision of a new, united Europe was not unfamiliar but working methods involving cross-border cooperation were new. On several occasions cooperation meant overcoming conceptual as well as linguistic difficulties and, especially among representatives of the older generation, the intervention of the younger ones was necessary for the dialogue to be continued. Even if at times this hindered quick and effective communication, it turned out to be very useful from the perspective of the overall success of the project, because it organically involved the younger generation of scholars in the intercultural communication of the generation of scholars preceding them.

Budget: By the end of the project only 85.31 per cent of the originally budgeted amount had been spent. One of the main reasons for underspending was IRIR's withdrawal from the project at half term, the other is that all the coordinators kept to the original agreement of working on the lowest possible costs basis – as is customary with educational and research institutions in the area. This is best seen in the budget category covering the travel of the administrators, where spendings stayed around 20 per cent only. Another reason is that in the planning phase it was hard to predict how EU membership would restructure the economies

of the new member states, so the figures were based on the market prices of a system which later changed substantially. In spite of all this, the structure of amounts allocated to the different activities was preserved, with the exception of a few cases, mostly due to the change in the number of participants and general trends in the national and global economies, for example cheap flight agencies gaining ground over the traditional – and more expensive – ones, the steady rise of railway fares etc, but also to errors in planning. In conclusion it can safely be said that the original budget catered for all the needs of the project and except for one request to include the coordinator-researcher of HAIT in the remuneration of the administrative personnel of the project, no other requests concerning budget items had to be submitted.

4. Dissemination and promotion of activities

Target audience/beneficiaries: from the start the project was aimed at a very wide range of audience, from university students through young PhD holders to established academics and the general public. In this respect, too, the three constituents of the project followed different directions. Parallel seminars focused on groups of university students in the first place, workshops were intended for young PhD holders and students, researchers, scholars and academics, but also for politicians and intellectuals, meanwhile exhibitions were geared towards the general public. One of the priorities of the project was to meet the needs and interests of these groups which widely differed in age, social standing and intellectual background. The audience reached by the individual actions is described in more detail under the respective activity descriptions. However, mention must be made of a new element which arose, perhaps not surprisingly, but certainly more emphatically than originally expected. The exhibitions attracted a segment of the public which the project had not considered earlier: secondary school students and teachers. This audience is very flexible, open to new, exciting, even disturbing ideas and approaches, but the impact of any new input cannot be felt or assessed instantly.

Methodology to ensure the visibility of the activities: the project was duly promoted by the respective Cultural Contact Points in the participating countries. This meant inclusion in the annual program brochure as well as appearances in the written and electronic media. Promoting the individual actions was the responsibility of the participating institutions. This was done using traditional promotional tools like advertisements in the written media, mass mailing invitations and brochures, inviting media for the opening events, offering to organize special events (e.g. screenings related to the topic) for select audiences, creating a website for the project and continually updating it. Joining in with other events resulted in an increase of visitors and a decrease in promotional expenses. What the project coordinators found beyond their means, however, was paying for advertising on television, since this would have been disproportionately expensive. Instead, they used their professional, personal and institutional contacts to engage the interest of the media in the given action. This approach resulted in a number of exclusive interviews with the directors of the participating institutions on television

and in the written media. The appearance of teenagers among the audience called for different methodology: to get the message of the project through to them special events, out-of-school classes, field trips, competitions were organized. News of these were sent by word of mouth, by mass e-mailing, by placing posters and sending information brochures to schools and individual educators and to societies and assemblies of secondary school teachers. The project was pleased to note that the success of one event, resonating positively within the informal information networks of educational institutions, automatically aroused interest and brought in more audiences.

5. Outcomes, results

Research focus: parallel seminars, workshops and exhibitions centered around the new presentation of the two World Wars; the new interpretation of the traditional and radical right wing of the inter-war years; the anti-Communist resistance movement; the theme of collaboration; nationalism and the national questions; foreign occupation; poverty and welfare measures; and the historical record left behind by over-centralized, authoritarian, totalitarian and anti-democratic regimes. These are topics rarely researched for several reasons, one among them being the fear of evoking heated professional debate and serious disagreement. The project attempted to deal with these delicate questions in a decent, scholarly way, setting facts against facts, arranging and presenting them from a scholarly point of view and taking care to avoid arriving at hasty conclusions or creating sensation where it was not appropriate. It is our hope that this research and evaluation methodology, and the sensitive topics brought into the focus of scholarly research and preserved in a variety of forms and formats, will be integrated into college and university syllabi and serve as a model for the future.

On-line representation: by posting on its EU web page the select syllabi, seminar papers, workshop calls, workshop programs, exhibition photos, captions, texts, and papers read at events accompanying the actions, (for example the contributions read at the “Blitzconference” on events surrounding the 50th anniversary of the 1956 Hungarian revolution, a selection of a unique and so-far unknown collection of photographs of synagogues in Hungary in the 1980s, and a virtual exhibition on the Communist presentation of the Holocaust in the official Auschwitz memorial exhibitions,) the project not only created an illustrated on-line diary of events of its three years of history but through proper keywording and indexing it hopes to integrate these into the information network of the world wide web. An impressive number of visits was recorded at this page up to the close of the project, in addition to inquiries for contacts to the authors of seminar papers, requests for an extension of synagogue photo gallery, and inquiries about CDs of the online exhibition that could be used in secondary education.

Exhibition, seminar and workshop materials: the materials of the first “double” exhibition organized by OSA met different destinies: the Auschwitz exhibition and a selection of the synagogue photos are accessible in virtual form for all interested online visitors, while the

complete photo collection, which was unearthed in the course of the research work for the project, found its way to the Ministry of National Cultural Heritage as one of their prospective publications. The materials of the Fascism-Communism exhibition were deposited at OSA and will be processed as material for CDs prepared for secondary school syllabi. The Chronology of Cold War exhibition was returned to the Civic Academy, where it will first be circulated in local educational institutions accompanied by a reader prepared for this age group, and then it will be incorporated in a permanent exhibition at the Sighet Memorial

Select seminar papers are accessible on-line, but the best ones have already been compiled into university readers . The materials of the parallel seminar on Fascism and Communism run by HAIT were published in *Gerhard Besier/Francesca Piombo/Katarzyna Stokłosa (eds.), Communism, Fascism and the Consolidation of Democracy. A Comparison of European Dictatorships (Mittel- und Ostmitteleuropastudien, 3), Muenster: Lit, 2006.*

Materials of the workshops were compiled into two hard-bound volumes, of 300 pages each, entitled *Past in the Making* and *Past for the Eyes*. These will be launched in August 2007 by the CEU Press for the Frankfurt Book Fair to give the volumes the representation and publicity that the Press found them worthy of.

In total an extensive on-line collection of research materials and seminar papers, two paper based readers, a virtual photo gallery, a virtual exhibition, three paper based exhibitions and two hard bound volumes on sensitive issues of recent history testify to the work done in the course of this project.

IV. Implementation of the Actions

The 11 activities and the underlying research work of this complex program present and analyze major representational shifts of twentieth century history. According to the plan, the program was designed in a way that allowed the participation of the public in the slowly emerging debate, mostly, but not exclusively, in the former Communist part of the world, on critical, and in most cases, tragic issues of recent history. The program focused on a serious re-examination of the role that the Central European political elite and different groups within the societies at large played at tragic turning points of recent European history.

Implementation of Actions

1.	Implemented in OSA
Activity Type	Exhibition
Activity Name	The Fate of the Jews Under Communist Eyes
Description	<p>On December 2, 2004 two exhibitions were opened. One was OSA's on-line exhibition, <i>Reconstruction - Auschwitz 1945-1989</i>, (www.osa.ceu.hu/exhibitions) which reconstructs the first two official Hungarian Auschwitz exhibitions, which opened on site during the period of Communist rule in 1965 and 1980, respectively. The two exhibitions, in line with the official historiography of the time, retroactively replaced the Jewish inmates with communist anti-fascist resisters in the camps; the Jews had been killed in Auschwitz, and their traces were subsequently lost. The exhibition was intended to reveal the secret that the Communist presentations wanted to hide: the mutual fear, suspicion and paranoia, the inability of the East-Central European societies to face their tragedy following World War II. The other one was an on-site exhibition, <i>Rebuilding – Hungarian synagogues, prayer houses, prayer rooms 1980–87</i>, an exhibition of selected photographs by Dr. Anikó Gazda, followed by a roundtable discussion. The long-forgotten 1,000 photos of Hungarian synagogues, prayer houses, prayer rooms and other locations memorialize the state of synagogues in socialist Hungary: most of them were ruined, some used as storage rooms, apartments, surgeries, bakeries or fire stations.</p>
Objectives achieved	Both exhibitions initiated lively public debate, a post-Communist, Central European version of the German "Historikerstreit". The exhibition was accompanied by a visible media campaign, not only addressing the moral responsibility of the Central European societies under right- and left-wing totalitarian regimes but also calling attention to the importance of real actions in this respect.
Responsible Co-organizer	CEU/OSA. The exhibition was closely linked to the VERZIO International Human Rights Documentary Film Festival, co-organized by OSA.
Other Co-organizers involved	KARTA.
Target Group	General public.
Timetable	December 2, 2004 – January 31, 2005.
Results	<p>A collection of unique photographs of synagogues was located and a selection exhibited.</p> <p>The Hungarian Ministry of Cultural Heritage offered a scholarship to edit and publish the photos.</p> <p>About 3,000 visitors saw the exhibitions on-site and there have been more than 500 visits to the on-line exhibition in the past year.</p> <p>At the request of visitors to the on-line synagogue photo gallery OSA decided to start an on-line collection campaign of synagogues.</p> <p>Both events received extensive media coverage, both in the printed and the electronic media – copies and recordings were filed.</p>

2.	Implemented in OSA and in IRIR
Activity Type	Parallel Seminar
Activity Name	The Representation of Jews under Communism
Description	<p>The seminars were part of the normal academic program at the History Department of the Central European University and at the Romanian Institute of Recent History. The two similar but not identical syllabi (on-line, at www.osa.ceu.hu/projects) are the results of collaborative work. During the semester, Professor Rév of CEU visited IRIR, and Professor Petrescu and Professor Chiovanou of IRIR visited CEU for three and four days respectively, otherwise students and professors of the respective institutions communicated electronically.</p> <p>In OSA's seminar Fascism was analyzed in the mirror of the demise of Communism. Members of the class were asked to read and interpret important classic and recent texts, to watch and analyze classic and recent films and to visit both real and virtual exhibitions. At IRIR the course aimed at familiarizing the students with the traumatic, as well as intricate, issue of remembering the Holocaust. It concentrated on the relationship between the Nazi regime, totalitarianism on one hand, and modernity on the other, while treating the Romanian chapter of the Holocaust in a combined European-national context. IRIR invited secondary school teachers to the seminar section dealing with the Romanian chapter of the Holocaust in the hope of initiating a gradual change of syllabus, teaching methodology and general approach in secondary school history teaching.</p>
Objectives Achieved	Not only was the historical understanding of the issue of Fascism under the former Communist regimes clarified but a new, complex methodology of teaching recent history by confronting students with a variety of sources and diversity of media was put to the test and proved most effective.
Responsible Co-organizer	CEU/OSA, IRIR (Budapest, Bucharest). Faculty was exchanged among participating institutions.
Other Co-organizers involved	All.
Target Group	European academic community, secondary school educators.
Timetable	2005, spring semester.
Results	<p>A selection of best papers reflecting the multi-ethnic nature of the class at the CEU, located in Budapest, and the specificity of the Romanian case study at http://www.osa.ceu.hu/2004/projects/culture2000/02/index.html.</p> <p>The foundations of a new teaching methodology were tested and laid down, and will be further developed for both higher and public education.</p> <p>40 students directly involved in the week-to-week seminar work, about 100 students involved for shorter periods.</p> <p>3 professors were directly involved in the week-to-week teaching activities, but their experiences were shared with their respective departments.</p>

3/a	Implemented in ICH
Activity Type	Parallel Seminar
Activity Name	Fascism and Communism
	<p>The seminar was arranged around three main themes:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Totalitarian Paradigms after 1989 – Reloaded and Revisited</i> to discuss the meaning of the terms as they are used in current academic discourse, 2. <i>Coming to Terms with Fascism and Communism in the Czech and Slovak Cases: Comparing the incomparable?:</i> locally oriented research into the situation in ex-Czechoslovakia, 3. <i>Dealing with the Totalitarian Past in Historiography:</i> an exploration of the role of historians in coming to terms with the past, which is not an easy task especially as historians used to be among the regime's most devoted servants.
Objectives	To revise and disclose new interpretations of the terms totalitarian, totality and totalitarianism used in academic discourse in the regions of Central Europe after 1989.
Responsible Co-organizer	CEU/OSA, KARTA, HAIT, IRIR (Budapest, Warsaw, Bucharest,) Faculty was exchanged among participating institutions.
Other Co-organizers involved	All.
Target Group	Advanced graduate students and professors (56 people).
Timetable	October, 2005.
Results	12 papers on the historiographical assessment of the interrelationships between Fascism and Communism in history writing, with a special focus on the ex-Czechoslovakian situation.

3/b	Implemented in HAIT
Activity Type	Parallel Seminar
Activity Name	Fascism and Communism
Description	<p>The seminar focused on three main topics:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Fascism, National Socialism and Communism</i> – comparing approaches to Fascism and Communism in the totalitarian regimes of Italy, Germany, Hungary and the USSR, 2. <i>Fascism and Socialism in Western Europe</i> – a comparative analysis of the anti-totalitarian competences in France, Spain, Romania and Germany, and 3. <i>Real Existing Socialism Before and After the System Transformation</i> – structural and textual parallels in the cultural, social and political systems in Germany, Poland, the Czech Republic.
Objectives	To identify and disclose parallels in governance, architecture, church and political ideology, political extremism and media representations.
Responsible Co-organizer	CEU/OSA, KARTA, ICH, IRIR, (Budapest, Warsaw, Bucharest, Prague,) Faculty was exchanged among participating institutions.
Venue	HAIT Dresden and Ksiaz, Poland.
Target Group	Advanced graduate students and professors from the participating institutions, additionally from five German research institutions and from Italy, the UK and France.
Timetable	November, 2005.
Results	<p>17 papers on the topic.</p> <p>Lively and fruitful professional debates between the seventeen participating students and the six invited professors.</p> <p>A lively learning environment created by the multi-ethnic nature of both the student body and the faculty.</p>

3/c	Implemented in KARTA
Activity Type	Parallel Seminar
Activity Name	Fascism and Communism
Description	The seminar was organized as a meeting of international scientists and young scholars, advanced graduate students from Poland, to discuss the problems of the two totalitarian systems which emerged in 20th century Europe. The seminar was closely connected to a special exhibition of KARTA Center entitled <i>20th Century Europa: Faces of Totalitarianism</i> , which describes the history of both Communism and Nazism in Poland. The seminar was built around six countries (Austria, Czech Republic, Germany, Poland, Romania and Russia) each country having an “investigator” to represent the national perspectives in the methodology of how to speak about this historical experience.
Objectives	To examine in depth the clash of existence of both types of totalitarianism in one country and to answer questions about common perspectives in presenting this very complex issue.
Responsible Co-organizer	CEU/OSA, HAIT, ICH, IRIR, (Budapest, Dresden, Bucharest, Prague,) Faculty was exchanged among participating institutions.
Other Co-organizers involved	All.
Target Group	Advanced graduate students (also from Warsaw University, University of Warmia and Mazury and the Jagellonian University) and professors from the participating institutions, additionally from Russia, the Netherlands and Austria.
Timetable	November, 2005.
Results	<p>Increased interest from both governmental and non-governmental Polish institutions dealing with the academic issue of current history.</p> <p>The Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and five other foreign governmental institutions expressed their interest in the further development of the project.</p> <p>Lively and fruitful professional debates between the 60 participants and the five professors.</p> <p>Wide media coverage of the seminar and the exhibition in the Polish papers and magazines (copies filed with KARTA).</p>

3/d	Implemented in IRIR
Activity Type	Parallel Seminar
Activity Name	Fascism and Communism
Description	Advanced graduate students analyzed new interpretations of totalitarian regimes. The main focus was on recent historiographical schools in East and West, on new archival documents and new ideologically motivated conclusions of recent research, as well as on contemporary cinematic reconstructions of the respective periods.
Objectives	Analyze and discuss the interrelationships between these two defining regimes of the tragic twentieth century history. Help the new generations understand and internalize the main lessons of a traumatic recent past (1938–1989) and of a painful and tortuous transition to democracy (1989 to the present).
Responsible Co-organizer	CEU/OSA (Budapest).
Other Co-organizers involved	All.
Target Group	Advanced graduate students.
Timetable	2005, duration 1 semester.
Results	A comprehensive assessment, from the viewpoint of political science and recent history, of new developments on the interrelationships between Fascism and Communism in history writing. Students were familiarized with the current debates on the establishment and fall, as well as the legacies, of fascist and communist regimes in East-Central Europe.

3/e	Implemented in OSA
Activity Type	Parallel Seminar
Activity Name	Approximations to Fascism and Communism
Description	The syllabi and the readings of the seminars had been discussed and harmonized before the beginning of the courses at the different institutions. Advanced graduate students at the CEU, the IRIR and scholars at the other institutions attended the lectures and seminars. The most interesting term papers remained available on-line for all the participants.
Objectives	To see and to show the interrelationships between these two defining regimes of the tragic twentieth century history. To present, analyze and differentiate diverse approaches to recent history: to distinguish between “historical memory” that perceives the past as if it were present from historical reconstruction, which treats the past as if it were already over.
Responsible Co-organizer	CEU/OSA, KARTA, HAIT, ICH, IRIR (Budapest, Warsaw, Dresden, Prague, Bucharest) Faculty were exchanged among participating institutions.
Other Co-organizers involved	All.
Target Group	Advanced graduate students, scholars and visiting students from western universities.
Timetable	2005, duration 1 semester.
Results	A comprehensive historiographical assessment of new developments on the interrelationships between Fascism and Communism in history writing. Participants were sensitized to the differences between the so-called descriptive and prescriptive approaches.

4.	Implemented in IRIR
Activity Type	Workshop
Activity Name	Comparing Fascism and Communism
Description	The workshop concentrated on the key methodological and theoretical issues of the comparative method. Traditional and “new history” concepts, theories and methods were reassessed in the light of the historical fascist-communist comparison. The professional, political and moral pitfalls of comparison: assessing the most appropriate ways of teaching the Holocaust and the Gulag without engaging in “trivialization” through comparison.
Objectives	Raise historic awareness by the analysis of the iconic moments under fascist and communist regimes, supported by primary materials, essential documents, and multi-media presentation of the times. Stress the importance of recent history teaching, with a special emphasis on Fascism and Communism, in developing a democratic political culture among the new generations in East-Central Europe.
Responsible Co-organizer	IRIR.
Other Co-organizers involved	All.
Target Group	High-school history teachers, advanced graduate students and the academic community.
Timetable	December 9–11, 2005.
Results	Stimulated and contributed to professional debates, initiated relevant dialogue among historians from opposing ideological camps. Set an example for civilized social dialogue. Created a framework of interaction between scholars and experts in the field and high school history teachers able to promote democratization through recent history teaching, with an emphasis on the history of the post-1938 period in Romania (that is, from 1938 to the present).

5/a	Implemented in IRIR
Activity Type	Exhibition
Activity Name	Historical Comparison of Fascism and Communism
Description	The focus of the exhibition was on the common 19 th century roots of radical utopian ideologies and social movements, the urge towards deep continuous social intervention on the macro-sphere and the problematic nature of historical comparison; the secret agendas behind comparing totalitarian regimes; the use of history as <i>ultima ratio</i> in contemporary political debates. It portrayed anti-fascist descriptions of 20 th century history, and the resurrection of neo-fascism after the fall of the Communist regimes, postures of compliance with, and opposition to, the communist regime and the post-communist anticommunism of the 1990s, and dealt with the uses of myths and distant history themes and symbols for legitimizing fascist and communist regimes. It also offered visual aspects of the cult of the <i>conducător</i> (supreme leader) in totalitarian regimes.
Objectives	Provoke professional historical and public debate over these contested and until now repressed historical and ideological issues. Familiarize high-school students, as well as the general public, with the contradictory and controversial aspects of the historical comparison between Fascism and Communism.
Responsible Co-organizer	IRIR (Bucharest).
Other Co-organizers involved	CEU/OSA.
Target Group	General public.
Timetable	January 15 – March 12, 2006.
Results	It raised general public awareness, and stimulated and contributed to important public debate on these sensitive issues. It also contributed to the development of a democratic political culture among the younger generations, with a special emphasis on high-school students.

5/b	Implemented in ICH
Activity Type	Hosting Exhibition
Activity Name	Historical Comparison of Fascism and Communism
Description	As # 4 above, with additional materials relevant to the Czech public.
Responsible	IRIR (Bucharest).
Other Co-organizers involved	ICH.
Target Group	General public, with special emphasis on the students of the Faculty of Social Sciences, where the exhibition took place.
Timetable	May 29 – June 28, 2006.
Results	The preparation phase offered a chance to deepen cooperation with Romanian colleagues, with whom ICH colleagues were not yet acquainted. The Czech radio Vltava covered the event. The Czech public had the chance for the first time to grow more familiar with modern Romanian history without any ideological interpretation.

5/c	Implemented in HAIT
Activity Type	Hosting Exhibition
Activity Name	Historical Comparison of Fascism and Communism
Description	As # 4 above, complemented with a German panel.
Objectives	Provoke professional historical and public debate over these contested and until now repressed historical and ideological issues.
Responsible Co-organizer	IRIR (Bucharest).
Other Co-organizers involved	HAIT.
Target Group	General public, especially senior pupils and university students.
Timetable	July 27 – August 27, 2006.
Results	The exhibition attracted a large number of university students, who found it useful as a set of “visual aids” displaying a range of photographic documentation from the totalitarian era. Especially the East European documents were not always familiar to the Western public (the students of the University of Dresden come from all parts of Germany).

5/d	Implemented in KARTA
Activity Type	Hosting Exhibition
Activity Name	Historical Comparison of Fascism and Communism
Description	As # 4 above, complemented with Polish panel.
Responsible Co-organizer	IRIR (Bucharest)
Other Co-organizers involved	KARTA in cooperation with the History Meeting House (HMH) established as the brainchild of the KARTA Center
Target Group	General public, with a special emphasis on secondary school students
Timetable	October 13 – November 5, 2006
Results	<p>An increase in the social awareness of Romania's 20th century history. The arousing of the interest of the Polish public in these issues (the exhibition was seen by nearly 2000 visitors), including secondary school students, who came to see the exhibition in organized groups. The Education Section of the History Meeting House, where the exhibition was on display, prepared special classes based on exhibition materials.</p> <p>A very important outcome of the exhibition displayed at the HMH was the cooperation established by KARTA and HMH with the newly opened Romanian Culture Institute in Warsaw. Owing to this the opening of the exhibition was accompanied by a show of the documentary "<i>Children of the Decree</i>" (directed by Florin Iepan, Germany-Romania 2004), followed by a panel discussion on "Dictatorship over the Body". The discussion focused on the consequences of Decree No. 770 issued by Ceaușescu in 1966 which banned abortion and all forms of contraception. The repressive impact of the regime on social life (including sexual life) was discussed by Alin Gavreliuc, a Romanian historian preparing a publication on Ceaușescu's anti-abortion decree and Bogumił Luft, a journalist and former Poland's Ambassador to Romania.</p>

5.e	Implemented in OSA
Activity Type	Hosting Exhibition
Activity Name	Historical Comparison of Fascism and Communism
Description	As # 4 above, complemented with a Hungarian panel.
Responsible Co-organizer	IRIR (Bucharest).
Other Co-organizers involved	CEU/OSA.
Target Group	General public, with a special emphasis on secondary school students, for whom a special history class with screening was held in OSA.
Timetable	January 23 – February 26, 2006
Results	Raised general public awareness, stimulated and contributed to important public debate on these sensitive issues. Aroused genuine interest of students in participating in debates, led to requests from history teachers in secondary schools for visual teaching materials compiled from the exhibition and the holdings of the Archives on the subject.

6.	Implemented in OSA
Activity Type	Workshop in OSA
Activity Name	Visions After the Fall: Museums, Archives and Cinema in Reshaping Popular Perceptions of the Socialist Past
Description	<p>The workshop analyzed the use of audio-visual material – including archival footage, feature-, documentary- and propaganda films, exhibition catalogues, memorials, traces of historical remembrance in the process of “reshaping” the memory of the socialist past in East and Central Europe. The workshop was intended to contribute to the understanding of the ways in which both familiar and recently discovered audio-visual material – from popular cinematographic imagery to previously classified information – contributes to shaping the image of the recent past. The workshop consisted of three sections:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> I. Museums: Between Terror and “Normalization” II. Archives: the source of the unique and unknown III. Cinema: shaping the public.
Objectives	The aim of the workshop was to contribute to public understanding of the nature of the material and the part it plays in shaping/changing the image of the past.
Responsible Co-organizer	CEU/OSA.
Other Co-organizers involved	All.
Target Group	The workshop was open to the public, representatives of the media and faculty members of different universities. The select presentations will be published in a volume.
Timetable	June 9–12, 2006.
Results	Public discussion on these issues will hopefully contribute to an understanding of a constructive role that the former Communist countries might play in the community of European nations.

7/a	Implemented in the Civic Academy
Activity Type	Exhibition
Activity Name	A Cold War Chronology: 1945–1989
Description	After a detailed chronology of the 45 years of the "classical" Cold War, the exhibition (which contains explanatory texts and a few hundred photos) presents a number of case studies: The Civil War in Greece, The Anticomunist Resistance in the Mountains of Romania, the Wars in Korea, Vietnam, the Middle East, Afghanistan, the Islamic Revolution in Teheran, The Iraq-Iran War, international terrorism, the Uprising in Berlin (1953) and the Berlin Wall (1961), The Hungarian Revolution (1956), The Prague Spring (1968), the riots in Poland that culminated in the creation of Solidarity (1980), the revolutions in 1989 and, finally, the confiscated Romanian Revolution. The exhibition also featured 33 portraits of the main protagonists of the Cold War. Using and analyzing the local and international contexts of these key events; and the European reactions consequences. Historical documents, documentary films, home-movies, and photographic collections.
Objectives	Raise historic awareness through the analysis of the iconic moments under the Communist regimes, supported by primary materials, essential documents, and multi-media presentation of the times. Only by knowing how the world was divided and what dangers peoples had to endure during the Cold war, can we act in the future to fight for democratic values and to avoid and prevent crises that can lead to similar conflicts.
Responsible Co-organizer	Civic Academy – Sighet Memorial.
Other Co-organizers involved	All.
Target Group	General public, secondary school students and teachers, university students and professors.
Timetable	July 13 – August 20, 2006.
Results	Raise the historical consciousness of the general public, stimulate and contribute to public debate. The opening of the exhibition was attended by participants in the Sighet Summer School, students and teachers, and the participants in the workshop <i>The Living Museum</i> . This proved to be an excellent opportunity for the students from the Sighet Summer School to improve their knowledge of the Cold War and to obtain new information about this historical period. The traveling Romanian version of the exhibition will be shown in major Romanian university centers and in secondary schools throughout the country, according to a program already established, due to the interest manifested by the visitors, especially the young ones who visited this exhibition at the Sighet Memorial.

7/b	Implemented in HAIT
Activity Type	Hosting Exhibition
Activity Name	A Cold War Chronology: 1949–1989
Description	As above, with a German panel at the entrance, giving an overview of the main events of the Cold War.
Responsible Co-organizer	Civic Academy – Sighet Memorial.
Other Co-organizers involved	HAIT.
Target Group	General public, especially the younger, English-speaking audience (senior pupils and University students) since the subject was covered entirely in English.
Timetable	October 20 – November 1, 2006.
Results	The exhibition, which was covered by a large local newspaper (Saechische Zeitung), added some unprecedented approaches to its subject, allowing the visitors to gain new insights into several aspects of recent history.

7/c	Implemented in ICH
Activity Type	Hosting Exhibition
Activity Name	A Cold War Chronology: 1945–1989
Description	As above, with a Czech panel
Responsible Co-organizer	Civic Academy Foundation – The Sighet Memorial
Other Co-organizers involved	ICH
Target Group	The exhibition took place at the attractive location of Pisecka brana near the Prague Castle, thus the general public could easily access it.
Timetable	November 6 – December 4, 2006
Results	Again, it was one of the rare opportunities when the Romanian history was presented to the Czech public, without any ideological interpretation. The exhibition was covered by the Czech radio Vltava.

7/d	Implemented in OSA
Activity Type	Hosting Exhibition in OSA
Activity Name	A Cold War Chronology: 1945–1989
Description	As above, with a Hungarian panel and captions.
Responsible Co-organizer	Civic Academy Foundation – The Sighet Memorial.
Other Co-organizers involved	OSA.
Target Group	General public, secondary school students and teachers, university students and professors, politicians, diplomats.
Timetable	December 14, 2006 – January 2007.
Results	The exhibition proved to be an excellent opportunity for the diplomats and cultural representatives of the respective countries of the cooperating parties to meet, talk, strengthen cooperation and exchange ideas. The opening event was attended by the Ambassadors of Poland and the Czech Republic, high ranking officers from the Embassy of Germany and Romania and the Directors of the Romanian, German and Polish Cultural Centers.

7/e	Implemented in KARTA
Activity Type	Hosting Exhibition
Activity Name	A Cold War Chronology: 1945–1989
Description	As above, with a Polish panel.
Responsible Co-organizer	Civic Academy Foundation – The Sighet Memorial.
Other Co-organizers involved	KARTA in cooperation with the History Meeting Mouse (HMH) established as the brainchild of the KARTA Center
Target Group	General public, visitors to the KARTA History Meeting House.
Timetable	January 23 – February 25, 2007.
Results	Broad educational activity around the subject of the exhibition. The exhibition, also displayed at the History Meeting House, was visited by a dozen or so school groups, for whom classes on cold war were prepared. The exhibition created another opportunity for KARTA's and HMH's cooperation with the Romanian Culture Institute (RCI). This time the closing of the exhibition was accompanied by a meeting on "Vetting the Romanian Style" attended by guests invited by the RCI: Constantin Ticu Dumitrescu, a many-year prisoner of the Communist dictatorship who co-authored the Romanian vetting law, and Romulus Rusan, an activist of the anti-Communist opposition under Nicolae Ceausescu's rule, a co-founder of Academia Civica and author of the exhibition. The meeting was opened by Gabriel Constantin Bârtaș, the Romanian Ambassador to Poland, and the discussion was chaired by Bogumił Luft, a former Polish Ambassador to Bucharest and expert in Romania's recent history. The discussion was preceded by a show of the film "Romanian Letter" (directed by Jacek Raginis, Poland, 2006) about the fate of a Romanian worker, Filip Iulius, and his struggle against the Communist regime. The meeting also included a show of a documentary on the Sighet Museum.

8.	Implemented in the Civic Academy
Activity Type	Workshop
Activity Name	A Living Museum: How does memory pass on from one generation to another?
Description	The workshop addressed the important theoretical issues of collective memories, representation of martyrs, victims, victors and protagonists of different regimes, the death and rebirth of memorials, the function of memorials in public awareness, the role of memorials in creating, maintaining and changing historical identities. A deontological debate that took place in a museum of communist totalitarianism, a museum created exclusively by the civil society as a school of memory (which is inherently a form of civic culture). A discussion regarding the ways of saving the memory of a generation that had suffered from totalitarianism, indoctrination, “brainwashing”, the forgery of history. Passing this lucid analysis to the younger generation, through discussions with teenagers at the Summer School. All these with the help of nineteen participants from seven countries who discussed the channels for transmitting memory in the post-communist period.
Objectives	Reassessing important public aesthetic, ideological and historical issues. Raising awareness of the need for supported efforts to rebuild and compare recent history by specialists from the former communist countries.
Responsible Co-organizer	Civic Academy Foundation – the Sighet Memorial.
Other Co-organizers involved	All.
Target Group	The workshop was open to the public, representatives of the media were invited, and the 100 students at the Sighet Summer School were encouraged to participate actively in the debates.
Timetable	July 13–16, 2006.
Results	Region-wide reevaluation of the function and role of memorials in Central Europe. A more active attitude of our contemporaries and especially of youth towards critical assumptions about the experience of recent history.

9/a	Implemented in HAIT
Activity Type	Parallel Seminar
Activity Name	Social Policies and Public Health of Totalitarian Regimes
Description	A comparative analysis of the public health policy of Fascist Italy, the Third Reich and the Communist regimes (cancer research, public hygiene, psychiatric treatment, etc.), and an effort to understand the peculiar nature of the “centralized totalitarian welfare state,” also with a final view to the modern, democratic approach to the area of health.
Objectives	To initiate the study of this neglected field, open to comparison.
Responsible Co-organizer	ICH, HAIT (Dresden, Prague).
Other Co-organizers involved	All.
Target Group	Advanced graduate students, with a special focus on students of medicine and history.
Timetable	October, 2006.
Results	This seminar offered a good overview and comparison of both fascist and, later, communist health systems. Students were offered a chance to visit to the exhibition on Nazi “Deadly Medicine” (“Toedliche Medizin), opened at that moment and hosted at the Hygienemuseum in Dresden.

9/b	Implemented in ICH
Activity Type	Parallel Seminar
Activity Name	Social Policies and Public Health of Totalitarian Regimes
Description	As above, with special focus on the Czechoslovak Health System
Responsible Co-organizer	ICH, HAIT (Dresden, Prague). Young faculty was exchanged among participating institutions.
Other Co-organizers involved	ICH.
Target Group	Advanced graduate students.
Timetable	October, 2006.
Results	This was an interesting opportunity to discuss a not very well-researched theme: issues of public health during the communist period, especially in comparison with the DDR..

10.	Implemented in ICH
Activity Type	Workshop
Activity Name	Historical Revisionism
Description	15 international lecturers were invited to spend two days discussing the theoretical approaches of historical revisionism, concerning Fascism and Communism.
Responsible Co-organizer	ICH (Prague).
Other Co-organizers involved	All.
Target Group	The workshop was intended for postgraduate students and academics, however, the general public largely participated in it.
Timetable	October 19-20, 2006.
Results	A most successful action regarding the number of participants, interesting discussions, meeting new researchers and deepening collaboration not only with the other participants, but also with other EU countries. The materials of this workshop were collected and edited by the academic organizer of the workshop and will be published by CEU Press.

11.	Implemented in CEU Press
Activity Type	Publication
Activity Name	Workshop materials
Description	Collection of essays and papers read at workshops of Visions After the Fall and Historical Revisionism (see above) with contributions from established academics in the field.
Responsible Co-organizer	CEU Press.
Other Co-organizers involved	All.
Target Group	Academic community, students and the general public interested in recent history.
Timetable	Submission for publication: February 2007, book launch: August 2007
Results	This serious, unusual scholarly work was judged worthy by the Editorial Board of CEU Press to be included in its fall catalogue, prepared for the Frankfurt Book Fair.

12.	
Activity Type	Research
Activity Name	Ongoing Research in Support of all other Activities
Description	Gathering documents and related materials, including the “Blitzconference” organized as an ad hoc response to newly emerging problems.
Objectives	Support the other activities of the program, provide an integrated historical record available to scholars and the public in general.
Responsible Co-organizer	CEU/OSA.
Other Co-organizers involved	ALL.
Target Group	International academic community and general public.
Timetable	Duration of project.
Results	Depositing, cataloguing and on-line availability of research materials through the Open Society Archives at Central European University at www.osa.ceu.hu/projects

Appendix

Notes for Consideration

Following an agreement made after the close of the project, the participants decided that their experiences, both negative and positive, which they considered to be useful for the current report as well as for similar projects in the future, should be collected under the separate heading of “Notes for Consideration”.

1. Parallel seminars

Parallel seminars cannot be timed conveniently if the participating institutions are not all teaching bodies. Research centers, even if they have or they can rent teaching facilities, do not operate according to the established academic schedule. Exchange of faculty is also a very sensitive problem: the teaching and research schedule of established academics is usually very tight and does not easily allow them to spend longer periods away from their main base. Short, one- to three-day visits are an alternative but this solution prevents visiting professors from getting into closer contact with the students and allows for teaching only on a lecturing level. However, regular exchange of ideas among professors and attempts to harmonize and synchronize syllabi can substantially contribute to reaching the goals. Feedback on the seminars and a meeting to analyze the academic value of the papers should be included in the original schedule, with a budget appropriate to their realization.

In this particular project creating the adequate technological background for students to be directly connected on an electronic hot-line was still beyond the possibilities of most of the participating institutions. This shortcoming was to a certain extent balanced by posting the seminar papers on-line. Still, the suggestion remains that instead of face-to-face physical contacts, which are difficult and costly to arrange, it is more feasible to rely on the opportunities made available by new technologies and to organize parallel seminars online in real time.

2. Workshops

These help participants and organizers to realize the importance of a multi-disciplinary perspective in analyzing audio-visual material; the importance of collective projects, and the vital role of such forums which provide opportunities for networking and creating research groups for scholars from the region working on similar problems in different national contexts. Established scholars and advanced graduate students are interested in sophisticated debates for the comparative analysis of Fascism and Communism. This became clear during the international conference organized within the project framework in December 2005,

which was attended by prominent scholars in Romania and from abroad, as well as by MA and PhD students in political science and history, but the following three workshops shared the same experience.

3. Traveling exhibitions

It soon became not only evident but imperative that from the very start all hosts should be in constant contact with the institution creating the exhibition on all major and minor issues of installation, invitation, press releases and also that enough time should be provided for the translation of the texts.

A shared experience is that the topics were popular with certain target groups, such as secondary school teachers, students, university faculty and student body, historians, politicians and diplomats, but less with the general public. However, both the parallel seminars and the exhibitions proved that there is a significant desire for a deeper understanding of the controversial issues related to Fascism, Communism and their legacies among high-school students and their teachers, as well as among students in social sciences. This is important since they represent the “generation next” of policy- and decision-makers.

4. Management

All partners agreed that this project was an excellent and very educational learning experience of how to develop and organize international workshops and seminars, how to manage an EU grant from the first stage of the application form until the final report. However, more contact meetings and feedback seminars would have made the management work easier. The financial management went very well thanks to the network of trust which developed among the coordinators and which withstood the trials of having to harmonize the very different financial systems and billing traditions of the participating countries, but with projects on such a financial scale as this, centralized financial management may perhaps be more secure. At the end of the three-year period it can be concluded that the grant substantially changed and shaped the management culture of all the co-organizer institutions in a most favorable way.

5. General

In contrast to the professional and teenage audience, the general public was less interested in the comparative aspects of the project. The general public seemed to be more interested in the section related to Communism and the crimes committed by the communist regimes against their own populations. This can be explained by the fact that the relationship with Communism is still ambiguous, and that the way recent history was taught under Communism still makes its influence strongly felt. When making efforts to try to open up new directions

the “grassroots” approach is the most rewarding, and the younger generation is interested in finding out more about Fascism, Communism and their legacies. This segment should be targeted by similar projects in the future since the feedback received was truly encouraging.

Also a major international conference, gathering international scholars, would stir debates in professional circles and would definitely contribute to the advancement of comparative studies on Fascism and Communism which are now developing. This would also contribute to creating a democratic political culture among the advanced students of political science and history.