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Memorials to the Holocaust victims. History, design, impact. Cases of Belarus and Sweden.

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the Future of Places

**Memorials to the Holocaust Victims
in Minsk, Belarus and Stockholm, Sweden.
History, Design, Impact**

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Keywords: memorial, Holocaust, Minsk, memory, public realm

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Photo on a cover: the Pit memorial in Minsk, 1992, by V. Miaževič

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Introduction. Why Holocaust memorials matter?

During the recent lecture at KTH Open Lab, an Israeli researcher Rachel Kallus described her local context as an intersection of different cultures and interests (Kallus, 2018). While working with the community based-projects she interacts with Jewish, Palestinian, Ethiopian, and Russian groups that are looking for their place both in the society and in physical urban space. The fact that her work takes place in Israel, though, leads to a discussion broader than just a city scale. As a country Israel basically appeared for hosting the entire nation which used to seek the place to establish its national state. However various groups still struggle for their place in the cities, this phenomenon has left the city limits and nowadays happens globally. Thousands of people are looking for a new place to live due to wars, discrimination, persecution, and climate change escaping from the places of their origin.

Although international organizations declare everyone's right to have a place to live and a freedom to choose it (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948) the numerous groups, obviously, do not have these opportunities, hence, the basic rights turn into rare privileges. Someone's location in physical space still affects his or her access to goods, mobility, education or even safety (Young, 1999) in a city, national or international scale. Therefore, limitations linked to a place of origin are related not only to a quality of life but sometimes to a chance to stay alive by finding a shelter. So, an origin begins determining a life's value. This statement transforms a theme of exclusion and displacement from an exclusively socio-spatial problem to an ethical issue.

Coming back to a dramatic example of Israel, in addition to millions of Jews who died in the concentration camps and shooting operations of the Holocaust, thousands of them perished on their way to a new home being displaced from their countries even after the war (Wyman, 1989). Though the example of the Holocaust was unprecedented it can serve as a lens for looking at the current global issues of socio-spatial segregation, displacement, and massive migration. Such an approach seems to be particularly important at the moment when communicative and personal memory about this event is disappearing and transforming a great humanity's drama into an abstract history lesson.

Therefore, the inclusion of a certain group to physical or social space is linked to its status in a society. The status, in turn, represents the access to the resources. Additionally to physical and social space, Henri Lefebvre distinguished another dimension, which could be called discursive space. According to Lefebvre, these three spheres produce the space by mutually affecting and supplementing each other (Lefebvre, 1991). This allows concluding that socially and spatially excluded groups, most probably, are pushed out from discursive space as well. Thus, a lack of representation of a certain group in media, art or politicians' speeches potentially leads to its stigmatization and further discrimination. In this report, all of these three spheres are taken into account in examining memorials to the Holocaust victims in Minsk, Belarus and Stockholm, Sweden.

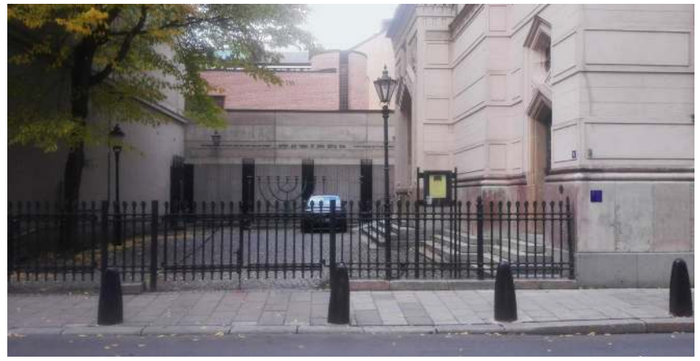
Using the abovementioned research lens, this report examines the chosen memorials and identified how these spaces were formed. Both of the Belarusian memorials are located on a territory that used to be a part of the Minsk ghetto during the Second World War. While Belarusian experience of the war and the Holocaust was dramatic, Sweden was remaining officially neutral. Such different backgrounds require a brief introduction into Belarusian and Swedish socio-historical contexts. Due to an attention that this study pays to discursive space, this report also briefly describes the politics of memory that were formed in Soviet and contemporary Belarus and modern Sweden. Literature and media review as well as a work with archival documents allowed to discover how the design of the studied memorials was formed and what actors were involved in their creation. In turn, media review in combination with direct observations and interviews shed light on social practices that have taken place around the chosen memorials. Therefore, this research comprehensively analyzes physical, social and discursive spaces and their relations that together formed three memorial sites in Minsk and Stockholm.

As it was mentioned, Sweden had a totally different experience of the Holocaust. This fact determined a research perspective, according to which, this report does not attempt to compare two contexts. This survey analyzes them both for presenting a variety of conditions and approaches to the Holocaust commemoration in Europe. This is particularly important due to a fact that the chosen cases are not that well known and, hence, studied as, for instance, the memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe in Berlin. Although the conclusions and implications made by this report are specific to the context of each case such a critique, as well as a suggested research method, can be applied to other contexts. Including such dissimilar cases enriched the understanding of the subject and demonstrated a range of issues of the contemporary memorialization in public space.

Figure 1. The Pit memorial in Minsk

Figure 2. The memorial in the former Jewish cemetery in Minsk

Figure 3. The memorial by the Great Synagogue in Stockholm



I

How to analyze memorials?

Map I. Minsk

How to analyze memorials?

Due to a fact that memorials are not a new subject for researches the existing studies are focused on a wide range of questions. While some of these works study exclusively spatial properties of the memorials, others examine memory about certain events and consider the memorials only as its physical representation. Despite such diversity in approaches and optics, literature review allowed finding similarities between them and, hence, drawing some principal conclusions regarding memorials' analysis. The crucial aspects of the memorials that I distinguished as common for the used sources formed a base for the research method, which is applied in this study and described in the next chapter.

One of the papers that were used for forming a research method for this report suggests its own definition of a memorial and a method to evaluate its properties. In this work, such an analysis was made by examination of three post-1990s-war memorial sites in Croatia. According to this paper, in addition to a function of remembrance, memorials also play a therapeutic role by providing the ways to deal with the traumatic past and construct the future. The paper highlights the importance of both memorial's ability to preserve a memory and its ability to heal. In the authors' idea, this combination can be achieved by designing contemporary memorials as an integral part of public space and providing with conditions for reflection, debates, and exchange (Bojanić, 2017).

For evaluating several case studies authors use the parameters of accessibility, scale, and a so-called *"concept of manipulation"*. The latest is based on three criteria and their interconnections: *"elements of focus"*, *"vista"*, and *"walking choreography"*. Researchers divide the accessibility into such subcategories as a location of a memorial site, distance from the center, and usage. In the criterion of scale, they specify the number of inhabitants in a settlement, a function of a place and a fact whether it is public or not. Regarding the *"concept of manipulation"*, they consider a compositional dominant of each memorial as an *"elements of focus"*. A *"vista"* they apply to a type of a prospect that is available for the user while exploring a memorial. *"Walking choreography"*, in turn, describes the user's movement in a relation to the focus, for instance, through or towards it (table I).

Therefore, though memorials are evaluated here from an exclusively architectural perspective this approach looks beyond their volumetric properties. The chosen places of commemoration are considered as a part of urban space and, hence, as a variety of dynamic spatial experiences. According to the authors, these experiences are supposed to increase users' awareness of the past and reflection on the future. This connection, though, is not obvious from the paper. While the work intends to find a correlation between described properties of the memorials and their *"healing"* effect it rather managed to make a comparative analysis of three places. Nevertheless, this paper articulates the importance of memorial analysis in a mandatory connection with the urban context and spatial practices of visitors though, without suggesting universal solutions.

The second paper that contributed to the research method is quite remarkable due to a fact that it is based on a famous memorizing technique. A so-called *"art of memory"* appeared in the Classical period as a part of rhetoric (Yilmaz, 2010). For memorizing the speeches those who were practicing the art of memory had to pick an *"image"* that represented the memorized and a *"locus"* – imagined or real space where the chosen images were placed in a certain order. Mental walks through these

places allowed memorizing and remembering the speeches precisely. According to the suggested approach, a memorial serves for remembrance of a certain event by being such an image situated in a certain location. Additionally to these two elements – image and locus – the author adds to her analysis method a factor of their relations to each other.

Although the paper suggests a solid method of memorial evaluation its conclusions seem debatable; besides, its practical implementation to actual cases with all their complexity causes numerous difficulties. The first of them is a proposed definition of a memorial itself. This approach takes into account only one aspect of the memorials – remembrance – while more often authors pay attention to other of their functions including, paradoxically, oblivion (Степанова, 2018; Yurchuk, 2014). While preservation of the memory is often considered as a political mission a right to forget or, at least, not to recall traumatic memories is an individual's need. Additionally, such a method seems to conflict a contemporary vision of the memory in general by assuming that we remember the "true" past but not construct our own version of it (Хлебников, Ассман, 2013). Therefore, a memorial is not mandatorily supposed to simply provoke the remembrance of an event, especially not only one particular way to remember it.

Another weakness of the suggested tool is in its subjectivity and again, as it was mentioned above, its narrow perspective of the memorial purpose. According to the paper, a strong connection between an image and an event creates a clearer message to the public. By contrast, the weaker their relations are the bigger amount of individual connotations is possible. While this correlation itself does not cause any doubts the conclusions based on it, for sure, do. So, a diversity of potential connotations is seeing here as rather a negative characteristic that can prevent "right" understanding of a memorial. Does this mean that there is a "right" version of memory and history? Must a memorial serve for its translation instead of encouraging or at least allowing the plurality of individual interpretations?

Table I. The table is taken from the paper Design of memorials – the art of remembering. Method of place regeneration, Prostor, vol. 25, №2 (54)

TABLE III DESIGN ANALYSIS AND COMPARISON OF CASE STUDIES OF POST-1990S-WAR MEMORIALS IN CROATIA
TABL. III. ANALIZA I USPOREDBA PRIMJERA POSLIJERATNIH MEMORIJALA DOMOVINSKOG RATA U HRVATSKOJ

Analysis	Memorial Bridge, Rijeka	Water Tower Memorial, Vukovar	Gordan Lederer Memorial, Hrvatska Kostajnica
Regeneration	Recovery-urban-designed landmark	Rehabilitation-urban-integrated landmark	Recovery-landscape-designed sign
Conclusion on Regeneration: Healing model	HEALING CULTURE	HEALING HISTORY	HEALING NATURE
A. ACCESSIBILITY			
Location	In the center	in the center proximity	on the periphery
Distance from center	200 m from main pedestrian street	1 km from center	3.22 km from the center
Usage	Urban public place and infrastructure	Urban park	Park in natural landscape
CONCLUSION	PUBLIC	PUBLIC	VISITING
B. SCALE			
City (inhabitants)	128.500	27.500	2.700
Intervention	Pedestrian bridge	Park and museum	Sculpture in landscape
CONCLUSION	PUBLIC: EXPOSED	PUBLIC AND VISITING: EXPOSED AND INTIMATE	EXPLORATORY AND VISITING: INTIMATE
C. CONCEPT OF MANIPULATION			
C.1. focus	Vertical extension of bridge	Water tower	Sculpture
C.2. vista	Canalscape and Urbanscape	Townscape, Riverscape and Landscape	Townscape and Riverscape
Conclusion on walkscape: Vista vs. focus	Vista through whole memorial	Vista views from the focus and panoramic on the top of the focus	Townscape from the memorial area and Riverscape from the focus
C.3. walking choreography	Horizontal, directed and circumventing around the focus with possibility to pass through.	Wandering in park around the focus, vertical and zig-zag through focus and circular on the top vista point of focus.	Directed on the meandering path and wandering around focus, with possibility to look through the focus.
Conclusion on walkspace: movement vs. focus	Towards, through and around focus	Around the focus, through the focus and on the focus	Towards the focus and around focus

In addition, there is no persuasive and universal way to evaluate a degree to which an image represents the essence of the memorized event. Furthermore, even the most precise and expressive images tend to stale. As a successful example of an accurate image the author provides a *"railway, which disappears in the darkness of the gate of the Auschwitz Concentration Camp"* that, according to her, has similar associations for the most of the people. A railway and a wagon appeared in two recent Belarusian memorials and while in the latest one (fig.5) this image is artistically and spatially interpreted by the authors' collective the earlier one (fig.4) simply claims that people were transferred to the Belarusian camp this way. Doubtlessly, originally these used to be strong symbols, on the one hand, of a fateful road without a way back and, on the other hand, of debugged machinery in this production of death. Today, though, a use of an old powerful metaphor risks to make a newly designed memorial something what visitors expect to see in regard to the Holocaust and, hence, a part of a cliché about it.

Regarding the second aspect of the art of memory, locus, the author makes several significant conclusions that can be controversial but definitely useful for the memorials analysis. So, the author claims that *"detachment"* of the memorial site from the regular conditions in which it exists forms unique space for the visitor's perception. As Yilmaz states, this makes memorization more *"effective and long-lasting"*. Although "effectiveness" is a debatable category in regard to memory and a memorial it is hard to not agree that a sharp contrast between the memorial site and its surroundings can become an impressive spatial tool. This, indeed, can enhance a visitor's experience, highlight a role of a memorial, and create a special atmosphere suitable for dealing with specific emotions. Another aspect of a locus, *"guidance"*, has similarities with what was called *"walking choreography"* in the previous study. As much as detachment, guidance can intensify the user's experience by constructing a certain narrative of routes, landmarks, and viewpoints.

Though the location of a memorial is identified as extremely important by this paper as well as by other researchers (Young, 1994; Yurchuk, 2014) this does not mandatory mean that a memorized event should be physically represented in a site where it actually took place. So, a Russian writer Maria Stepanova in a biographical novel, or, according to the author, romance *"In remembrance of remembrance"* describes a moment of her visit to a house where her Jewish ancestors used to live. Being highly impressed by this experience she imagined the whole lifestyle of her family in this courtyard, tried to memorize every minor detail and smell, touched every surface and remembered its texture. After a couple of days she found out that, in fact, her family was occupying a different building nearby. This incident she comments with a phrase: *"This is, basically, everything I know about memory"* (Степанова, 2017). Thereby, in this case not a place or its historically accurate location but the images constructed by her contributed to her perception the most. Not a place but rather an existing discourse affects a visitor.

What is essential for this research about both papers is their attention to the spatial properties of the memorials and spatial experiences that their design provokes. Despite differences in the approaches both works articulate that in studying memorials a research should be focused not on a memorial exclusively but its complex relations with a context and a user. James E. Young goes further by claiming that the art of memory *"consists in the ongoing activity of memory, in the debates surrounding these memorials, in our own participation in the memorial's performance"* (Young, 1994), which adds to the memorial analysis discursive and social dimensions.

In addition to works that study memorials, some researches on memory studies were analyzed. So, the survey performed by Elena Ivanova in 2004 was focused not on the memorials to the Holocaust but on memory about it. Despite this fact, a method of discourse analysis that she used can be valuable in application to memorials as well. The main source of information for her research became a number of essays written by high school pupils from Eastern Ukraine. Being asked to share their knowledge about the Holocaust, teenagers demonstrated dramatically different levels of awareness and attitudes towards the phenomenon. Through analyzing the written narratives and their emotional tones the author managed to construct a coherent understanding of what students knew and thought about the Holocaust. Instead of gaining knowledge about separated facts via questioners this research dealt with whole narratives that varied depending on pupils' educational or ethnical backgrounds and even gender (Ivanova, 2004).

Such an approach demonstrated that a careful consideration of discourse in which memory (memorials) exists can significantly contribute to a comprehensive understanding of the subject. The way users, designers, and politicians talk about the memorials signals about a focus of public attention as well as lacunas in public knowledge about the Holocaust and places of its commemoration. Additionally, this instrument can be especially substantial for studying Soviet and Belarusian contexts where a language on the memorials followed a very specific canon. As it will be mentioned below, such a word as "Jews" was simply excluded from it.

Figure 4. The memorial in the former Jewish cemetery in Minsk

Figure 5. A memorial complex in Blahaŭščyna

II

About the research

Map II. Minsk city center with an approximate outline of the former ghetto

About the research

Studied cases and criteria for their choice

For this report, two memorials to the Holocaust victims in Minsk, Belarus and one memorial in Stockholm, Sweden were chosen. The first of them is Yama, which means a Pit in translation from Russian. The second memorial is located in a former Jewish cemetery and, by contrast to the Pit, does not have such an informal title. Both of the memorials are situated in the central part of the city that belonged to the Minsk ghetto. During World War II, they were major extermination and burial sites. Finally, the last place of memory is a name memorial by the Great Synagogue in Stockholm. Due to a fact that Sweden was neutral during the war, this site, obviously, does not have such a direct relation to the Holocaust events as Minsk examples.

Today's Pit memorial consists of several parts installed in different time periods by different actors. The first of them is a so-called *"black obelisk"* that was a result of a grassroots initiative run by the Jewish community in the early after-war years. Another one is represented by a bronze sculptural composition and a menorah-shaped stela that were installed in 2000 with a participation of the Belarusian government. Additionally, an alley to the Belarusian Righteous among the Nations was established nearby this place in the middle of the 90s. In my research, I aimed to provide a history of these "layers" that have so many differences but today compose one significant place of commemoration by overlapping one another. Also, my aspiration was to analyze how the design of the memorial and social practices that happen there have changed through the time, and how they have determined each other.

While the Pit had been started as a typical Soviet after-war commemorative practice, a memorial on a former Jewish cemetery has begun its history much later, in the 90s. This memorial also consists of several parts that, by contrast to Yama, do not create a whole ensemble but, in fact, look quite disintegrated. The first part is represented by a so-called Pantheon of Memory, a compact circular square with stone stelas around that have been funded mostly by foreign actors starting from the beginning of the 90s. Tombstones from the former Jewish cemetery lay on the grass nearby creating an irregular pattern on the surface. Another part of the memorial is a Broken Hearth, a sculpture that appeared here in 2008 with a full financing from Minsk Municipality. As in a case of the Pit, I aimed to follow the history of this place, which, though, turned out to be quite problematic due to a lack of available sources. In addition, I performed an analysis of social practices that take place there and attempted to identify a correlation between them and the memorial's design.

Due to the intention to study social practices around the memorial sites, the key criteria for my choice were their location and availability to the public. Numerous memorials to the Holocaust victims in Belarus were erected on the places of extermination sites. Therefore, many of them are located outside of the cities or in their peripheries, which does not guarantee a permanent presence of people. Finally, Minsk is my home city, hence, I knew its context well and I had an opportunity for conducting field observations and organizing necessary meetings.

As for Stockholm, small-scale monuments and memorials to the Holocaust victims were installed in the city cemeteries in peripheral areas, which, though, did not meet my requirements. In this respect, the only potential research option was the name memorial in the Synagogue's courtyard surrounded by a fence. Although it is hypothetically available for public a degree of its "publicness" requires some clarification. In addition to a fence that obviously serves as a physiological barrier, visiting the memorial is possible only within the working hours of the Jewish Community. This is announced on the Community's website though not obvious for a random visitor from the street. Such limitations, for sure, affect the use of the memorial and users' behavior, which is reflected in details below. Nevertheless, I included this place of memory to this report and took its "semi-public" character into consideration.

Therefore, in respect to the interest in users' interaction with the memorials and my factual opportunities, I formed the following requirements for the cases' choice:

- location in the urban environment;
- location in the city center or good connection with it;
- opportunity to conduct direct observations in a chosen city;
- free access for the public.

Research questions and sources of information

The preliminary literature and media review allowed forming a set of empirical research questions relevant to the chosen cases. The questions were formulated in a respect to the political, social and urban context in which the memorials have existed. The questions are divided into four categories that include such aspect as decision-making, design, message, and public reaction. For answering each of the questions multiple sources were used: literature and media review, work with archival materials, results of the direct observations and interviews. A detailed list of the questions and corresponded sources is presented in the table below.

Figure 6. Diary for direct observations

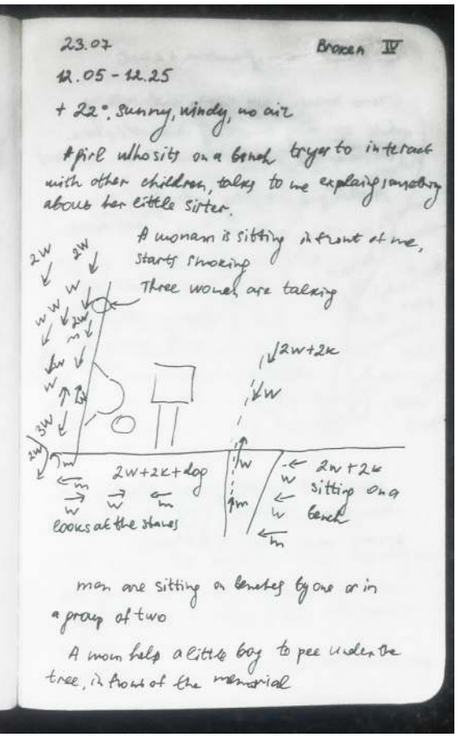


Table II. Research questions with corresponded sources of information

1. Decision	
a) Who did initiate and finance the installation of the studied memorials?	a) Literature and media review, archival materials, interviews
2. Design	
a) How did the design/appearance of the studied memorials change through time? b) What aspects of the Holocaust are presented in the studied memorials and why? c) Whom are the studied memorials commemorate? What were the reasons for choosing these particular groups?	a) Literature and media review, archival materials, interviews b) Literature and media review, direct observations c) Literature and media review, direct observations
3. Message	
a) How did the author/s define his/their message to the public? b) What were the tools for transferring this message?	a) Literature and media review, interviews b) Observations, literature and media review, interviews
4. Reaction	
a) Have the studied memorials provoked any public reaction? b) Do the citizens interact with the studied memorials and, if so, how?	a) Literature and media review, interviews b) Observations, media review, interviews

Method

This report uses exploratory research methods and a mixed-methods approach of qualitative and quantitative research performed in several stages. The first stage included a broad literature review. The second stage involved a comprehensive review of the archival documents, municipal policies, newspapers, and websites. The third stage was represented by a series of direct observations of the memorial sites. Additionally, three interviews were done as the fourth stage of this research. Finally, the last stage involved analysis of the collected data. I did not have initial assumptions or a hypothesis at the beginning of my research. Though, after the preliminary analysis of the chosen memorial sites via literature and media review I formed several empirical research questions, which are provided above. All the further research was structured and performed with a respect to these questions and the aim to answer them.

Documents review

Due to a lack of text sources related to the design of the Holocaust memorials in Belarus, visual information became an indispensable source for the research. The work in the archives of Minsk and Minsk region contributed significantly to this study, especially a search in the Belarusian State Archive of Photo Documents in Dziaržynsk. Pictures, videos and even artworks allowed to follow the evolution in the appearances of the memorial sites. Additionally, some of them captured social practices that had taken place there. Also, review of Minsk Municipality's official decisions was made. It provided with valuable information regarding certain transformations of the studied memorial sites that were poorly described in the literature.

Direct observations

Direct observations aimed to study the design of the chosen memorials and social practices that happen there these days. The main tools were photographing, counting, tracing, mapping, and keeping a diary (Gehl, Svarre, 2013). A series of seven observations in Minsk was conducted in the period from July 16 to August 16. Each session's duration was from 15 to 20 minutes. As for Stockholm, the same amount of observations was performed between October 25 and November 3. Due to the weather conditions, each observation was limited to 15 minutes. For gaining the most comprehensive understanding of the social practices, my field observations were performed at different time and days of a week. Therefore, one observation was performed in the morning before the beginning of the working day, one in lunchtime, one at the end of the working day. The rest of them were conducted in the weekend or between these key hours. Despite a fact that entrances to the Stockholm Holocaust memorial are open only during working honors, observation during the weekends turned out to be informative. During the direct observations, I was counting the passersby specifying their gender and, in some cases, approximate age, tracing their routes, and making notes in the diary. The notes usually described interaction with the memorials or any atypical activities. In both cities the first session was less formal and did not include counting, tracing and mapping, since its main aim was initial spatial analysis in terms of visibility, urban morphology, etc.

Interviews

While developing this report, I conducted two semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions in Minsk and one in Stockholm. Interviews questions were categorized into four groups. The first of them dealt with a personality of the interviewee and his/her role in the Holocaust memorialization in Belarus or Sweden. The second group of questions involved history and design of the memorials. The third one was related to the memorials' idea. The final group was asking about memorials' use and role for the city or certain social groups. Since two out of three interviews were conducted in Russian, in the appendix I provide with a full list of the questions in both languages.

The first person I interviewed was a head of the Museum of Jewish History and Culture in Minsk Vadzim Akapian. In this conversation, I focused mostly on the last group of questions related to the use of the chosen memorials and their role for the Jewish community. Thanks to this meeting, I also accessed to the books that were published in a small number of copies and spread mostly within the community. The second interview involved Halina Levina, a daughter of an architect Leanid Levin who played a key role in designing both memorials. Due to a fact that Halina is also a current leading architect in Levin's architectural bureau as well as a famous Jewish activist, she was able to answer all the questions to a certain degree. Besides, this interview took place in Levin's studio where publications, physical models and graphical materials for both memorials are collected. Finally, the third interview was conducted with an activist Roman Wroblewski who initiated an installation of the Holocaust memorial by the Great Synagogue. This conversation contributed much to the understanding of the design and approval process as well as shed some light on social practices around the memorial.

In addition to the interviews, I also had two significant informal meetings. The first one was with an Israeli researcher of the Holocaust in Belarus Leanid Smilavicki. Another one involved a head of a Belarusian-German center for the Holocaust studies in Belarus "History workshop" Kuzma Kozak. Both of these conversations were valuable for this study and made my search for the sources much easier. Additionally, I took a guided tour at the Great Synagogue in Stockholm performed by Folke Holtz.

Approach to the memorials' analysis

Literature review demonstrated that analysis of the memorials is been performed by the scholars with the use of numerous different methods. Their choice mostly depends on the research questions and studied contexts. This review, though, allowed making one principal conclusion regarding memorials studies. In addition to the physical properties of the memorials, analysis of social practices and discourse is needed.

These three dimensions perfectly represent three elements of the theory of space developed by Henri Lefebvre. While describing *"production of space"* he distinguished three interconnected spheres: representations of space, representational space, and spatial practice (Lefebvre, 1991). In this research, I attempted to apply this theory to the space of chosen memorials. By studying all of these three dimensions, I explored how the memorial spaces have been formed in the way the public sees them today. Therefore, each sphere described by Lefebvre corresponds with a particular aspect of the studied memorials. The dominant sphere, or representations of space, is the *"space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers"*, in a word those who conceived this space. In application to the memorials, this sphere is represented by their physical appearance formed by architects, sculptors, and decisions of the politicians. Representational space is lived *"through its associated images and symbols"* and constructed mostly by artists, philosophers, and writers. Within my method, this dimension of space is represented by the discourse that forms the memorials and, at the same time, is partly formed by them. Finally, a spatial practice is perceived, experienced space combined by everyday and urban realities, individual routine activities and city routes that link them to each other. This sphere includes activities that take place around the memorials.

Figure 7. The author during the direct observations

III

Socio-historical background of Belarus and Sweden within the studied subject

Map III. Fragment of the Minsk city center with studied memorial sites

Belarus and Minsk in the Second World War. Minsk ghetto

Although Belarus suffered from the most dramatic loss of population among all the countries (Rudling, 2008) the exact numbers of victims including Jews are still not known. Additionally, the boundaries of the Belarusian state changed twice in 1939 and 1945, which makes a precise calculation even more intricate. Due to this reason, recent works tend to provide separated numbers. So, Leanid Smilavicki states that a pre-war population of Belarus was 10,528,000 citizens while 9,200,000 of them lived in its contemporary boundaries. The official after-war statistics claimed that 2,200,000 Belarusian inhabitants died in the hostilities, actions of extermination, as well as due to the wounds, starvation, and diseases. Some researchers in the 90s, though, provided with a number of 3,000,000 victims (Смиловицкий, 2000).

Ascertaining an actual proportion of the Jewish population in pre-war Belarus is also quite problematic though, obviously, Jews composed a significant part of the citizens. For an approximate calculation scholars categorize Belarusian Jews into three major groups. The first one includes those who lived in Eastern Belarus. The second group refers to Jews who populated western regions annexed by the Soviet Union in 1939. Finally, the third group was a number of Jewish refugees who escaped from Poland in 1939-1941. In total, an amount of Jews who lived in Belarus by the moment of Nazi occupation can be approximately evaluated as 800,000-900,000 (Смиловицкий, 2000; Kotljarchuk, 2013). The amount of perished Jews, in turn, varies in different sources from 245 thousand to one million. In any case, numerous sources claim that around 80% of Belarusian Jews died during the war. According to the census of 1939, Jews constituted almost 30% of Minsk inhabitants while by 1959 this number decreased to approximately 8% (Смиловицкий, 2000).

World War II came to the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. A term Great Patriotic War refers to hostilities that took place in 1941-1945 on the Soviet territories and is still commonly used in post-Soviet countries including Belarus (Ластовский, 2009). On June 23 and 24 Nazi planes were already bombing Minsk causing dramatic damage to the city. In these circumstances the communist leaders of Belarus managed to organize their own evacuation to Moscow and a partial evacuation of children to the East. In the rest, by the moment of Nazi occupation, that happened several days after, Minsk did not have a formal rule or any plans of evacuation or resistance (Epstein, 2008).

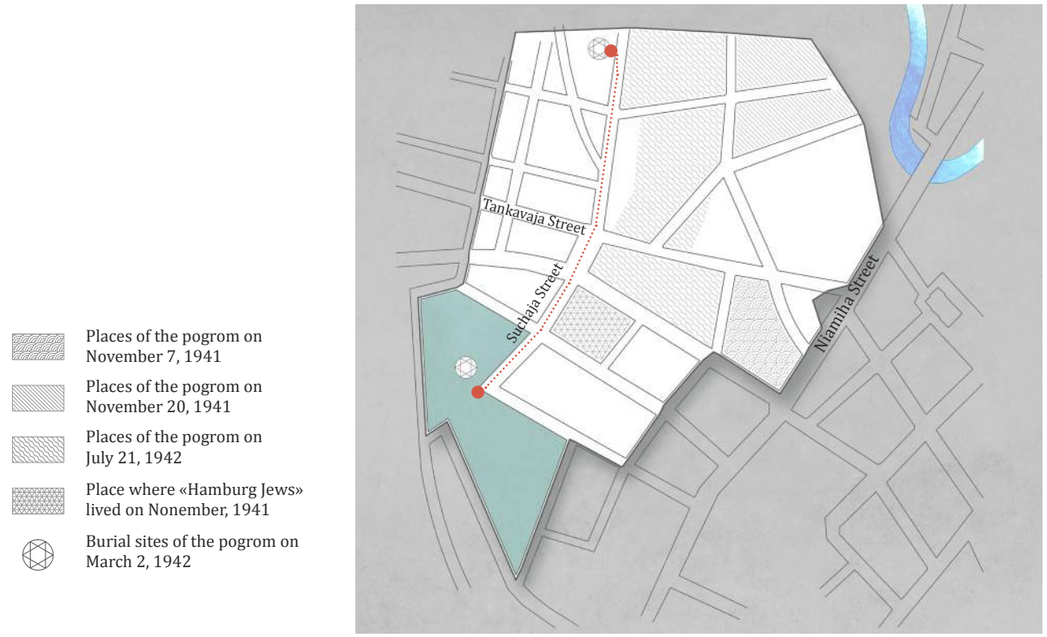
In a month after the occupation, on August 1, 1942 Nazis established a ghetto in Belarusian capital. It was located in today's city center and included 39 streets. Different sources provide with a number of the ghetto imprisoners that varies from 80,000 to 100,000 people (Ботвинник, 2000). This figures make the Minsk ghetto one of the largest in Eastern Europe and the second largest in the Soviet Union after Ukrainian Lviv (Иофе, 2014). Noticeably, almost all the inhabitants of the Minsk ghetto were killed except for those who managed to escape. This was an extremely risky but the only possible way to stay alive (Epstein, 2008). Additionally to the ghetto, Nazis created a developed infrastructure for Jews' annihilation in the city and its suburbs that comprised concentration and death camps, roads, railways, etc. (Ботвинник, 2000).

One of the reasons why so many Jews perished in Minsk was a fact that the Minsk ghetto had existed much longer than ghettos in other major cities like Warsaw or Vilnius. Due to numerous factors, it was liquidated among the latest in October 21, 1943. A partial explanation for this was Minsk's strategic location on a way to Moscow and, hence, the necessity to place here military and administrative reserves of the Nazi army. This *"enormous machine of occupation"* (Смоляр, 2002) was requiring the maintenance and, of course, labor including high-qualified professionals from the Jewish population (Epstein, 2008).

Another distinction of the Minsk ghetto was the frequency of the pogroms and extermination operations on its territory. While in other ghettos such actions took place periodically with months of a relatively safe life between them, in Minsk every week was darken by at least a local pogrom on one of the streets. Such an oppressive atmosphere affected both people's emotional state and the practices that were common at the time (Смоляр, 2002).

Additionally to a permanent danger, an economic, social, and cultural status of Jews in pre-war times also determined their lifestyle and types of the resistance in the Minsk ghetto. Due to a fact that the population of the Soviet Union was quite homogenous in economic and social terms, inhabitants of the ghetto did not have anything to exchange for food or other goods, especially by the second year of the occupation. Regarding cultural life, Jews were not allowed to institutionalize themselves in the 30s, therefore barely had their national art and community leaders before the war, which caused numerous difficulties in forming the resistance movement during the Nazi occupation. All the above-mentioned circumstances resulted in a fact that, by contrast to other ghettos, Minks did not have restaurants, shops, theaters or other places regular for a peaceful life (Смоляр, 2002).

Map IV. The Minsk ghetto, according to the memories of L. Melamed



Memory about the Holocaust in Soviet Belarus

A contemporary Belarusian memory about World War II and the Holocaust is still significantly affected by the Soviet politics of memory but, according to the researchers, has gained its own characteristics (Ластовский, 2009). For analyzing them, though, it is necessary to study their background which was formed in the Soviet era. In this respect, a researcher Andrej Katliarčuk refers to a concept of *"path dependence"* that started to be applied to historical science. While doing his evaluation of the current memory politics in Belarus he takes into account its Soviet past that to a high degree determined the present culture of remembrance (Kotljarchuk, 2013).

Whereas in Europe the Holocaust played a role of a foundation in forming memory culture as it is known today, in the USSR it was presented by the state memory politics as an ugly and inescapable consequence of capitalism. Therefore, since the Holocaust was simply explained by the "nature" of capitalism there was no necessity for its problematization in the Soviet official discourse. Moreover, while for European intellectuals an experience of Jewish genocide became a frontier between past and new ethical standards, new understanding of humanism and social responsibility, in the Soviet Union even a term Holocaust was not used due to a fact that the event was not distinguished as a separated phenomenon (Ассман, Хлебников, 2013; Huyssen, 1994).

Researchers' opinion regarding the Holocaust's status in the Soviet memory politics slightly differs but they mostly agree about the existence of significant limitations in its regard. So, according to an American scholar Zvi Gitelman, the Soviet politics of the Holocaust in general neither denied it nor focused attention on it (Gitelman, 1994). By contrast to Gitelman, a Swedish researcher Andrej Katliarčuk claims in a more radical way that the history of the Holocaust was deliberately silenced and even *"marginalized"*. Moreover, in his reflection on the Soviet politics of memory, he introduces a powerful term *"politics of forgetting"* that, according to him, were applied to the Holocaust by authorities (Kotljarchuk, 2013). What is essential, a principal distinction of the Soviet public representation of the Holocaust was its consideration as a part of the genocide against *"peaceful citizens"*.

Gitelman sees three main reasons for the appearance of such an attitude. Firstly, due to non-democratic conditions, the Jewish community had limited opportunities in spreading knowledge about the Holocaust. As he mentions, the only publication that was regularly writing about the Holocaust in the Soviet Union was a monthly magazine Sovetish Heymland which, though, was still quite ideologized. Secondly, none of the European countries lost as much of the non-Jewish population as the Soviet Union did; hence, in the European context the death of Jews was more "visible". Finally, Soviet authorities had political reasons for not shedding the light on the Holocaust as a distinct event. Gitelman claims that in the 40s-50s such reasons were Stalin's and his adherents' anti-Semitic and *"anti-cosmopolitan"* views. Later, in the 60s-70s, October Revolution as a *"legitimating myth"* of the Soviet regime had to be replaced by a newly formed myth about the triumphal victory of the Soviet people over Nazism. In this legend, obviously, there was no place for Jewish national agenda (Gitelman, 1994).

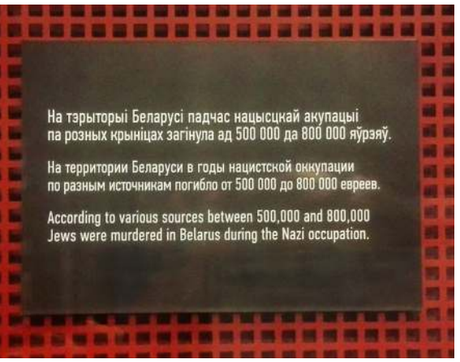
Regardless the common features in Soviet memory politics, attitude towards the Holocaust had some regional characteristics. So, whereas a history of Ukraine published in 1982 did not even mention Jews in regard to the Holocaust, a work developed in Estonia in 1973 freely explored this subject and, furthermore, Estonian collaboration with Nazis (Gitelman, 1994). Regarding Belarus, it used to represent, for example, some bottom-up practices of memorialization that were common in other Soviet republics. One of them was an installation of informal memorials built by the citizens in remembrance of their relatives in early post-war years. Nevertheless, Belarus still had local peculiarities. Some sources even claim that Belarusian authorities paid special attention to the history of the Holocaust like none of the Soviet republics did (Ойлен-бург, Керпель-Фрониус, Ной-меркер, 2016). Partly developed memory culture was possible due to a well-preserved archive of documents related to the Nazi occupation regime and life in ghettos (Gitelman, 1994) but, for sure, there were political reasons for this as well.

A politician who made, probably, the most significant contribution to the memory about Belarusian role in World War II was a leader of Soviet Belarus in 1965-1980 Piotr Mašeraŭ. His famous statement, according to which the republic lost its *"every fourth"* citizen, laid a foundation for the future memory politics and, moreover, Belarusian national identity that has been influenced by the war more than any other event (Kotljarchuk, 2013; Rudling, 2008). Even though such a math was not accurate a phrase started to be repeated and symbolize common grief, which completed a status of a *"nation-hero"* with a new title of a *"nation-martyr"* (Ластовский, 2009). Additionally, local politics of memory tended to highlight a crucial role of Belarusians in the victory, specifically, through an image of a *"Partisan Republic"* (Rudling, 2008). It is also noticeable that Mašeraŭ's politics of memory additionally blurred the distinctions between the Holocaust and the extermination of Belarusian people by ignoring a factor of ethnicity and accenting a national character of a tragedy. Although several major memorial complexes were erected during this period none of them commemorated Jews as a specific group of victims (Kotljarchuk, 2013).

What is worth mentioning is that the Holocaust was not the only taboo in the Soviet and, in particular, Belarusian memory politics. Other aspects of the war like, for example, Belarusian collaboration with the Nazis were also excluded from the official narrative because they contradicted an abovementioned myth about the heroic victory of the solid Soviet nation (Kotljarchuk, 2013). This myth still strongly affects Belarusian official and public discourse to a certain degree continuing the Soviet tradition of remembrance (Ластовский, 2009).

Memory about the Holocaust in modern Belarus

Figure 8



Though for a long time the Holocaust memorialization in Belarus had been controlled by the Soviet state and isolated from the global context a process of the massive commemoration of its victims has started approximately at the same time as in other European countries. Even in Germany with its reputation of a pioneer in the Holocaust memorialization, this process reached its peak after the fall of the Berlin Wall (Ассман, Хлебников, 2013). Thus, a new stage in the Holocaust commemoration in Belarus was chronologically quite synchronized with a similar European tendency of the 90s. This turn, though, was caused by the local conditions, specifically, a much higher level of freedom in comparison to a Soviet period.

After the collapse of the USSR, Belarus acquired its independence and, hence, an opportunity to form new politics of memory. The Jewish organizations finally were able to institutionalize themselves. Regardless the radical changes numerous features of the Soviet politics of memory migrated to the contemporary discourse. One of the key transfers from the Soviet politics of memory was an application of the term *"genocide"* to the entire nation. The only difference constitutes the fact that today by nation politicians mean not Soviet people but Belarusians. It is worth mentioning that recently installed memorials commemorate Jewish victims, which is a perceptible progress in comparison with the previous period. However, Katliarčuk points out that the official rhetoric of the president still does not separate the Holocaust and an extermination of other citizens. This, according to Katliarčuk, is a major terminological mistake due to a fact that genocide has a very precise meaning. Essentially, it is classified as an act done with a special intent. By contrast to Jews, Belarusians were never pursued because of their ethnicity. Numerous extermination operations against Belarusian people were caused by the temporary circumstances of the war but not special politics of the nation's annihilation (Kotljarchuk, 2013).

Despite undeniable connections between the Soviet and Belarusian memory politics, researchers distinguish significant changes. They have started in the 90s or even in the late Soviet era. This period is characterized by two major tendencies in the memory politics common for the Post-Soviet countries (Kotljarchuk, 2013). The first of them is a *"nationalization"* of the memory. So, an appropriated myth about a key role of Belarusian partisan movement nowadays contributes to forming and enhancing Belarusian national identity (Ластовский, 2009). The second factor that characterizes contemporary Belarusian memory politics is a shift of focus from heroic actions to the civilians' struggles. After publishing new statistics, a Soviet formula about *"every fourth"* has been replaced by a statement that *"every third"* Belarusian died in the Great Patriotic War (Kotljarchuk, 2013).

Regarding contemporary Holocaust memorialization, Kotljarchuk portrays its state mostly in positive terms though a factual situation seems to be more contradictory. His main argument in this debate is a fact that the government and the president personally have been actively involved in the memorialization of the Holocaust victims. Additionally, he argues that dozens of the Holocaust monuments have been installed in Minsk and smaller cities since the 90s, and 45 of them were erected *"with the support of the state"* (Kotljarchuk, 2013). However, it is important or sometimes even essential not who financed a

memorial but who initiated its installation. Moreover, the actors that managed the process of its implementation, maintain it, and visit it in the present are also symptomatic and worth consideration.

In this regard, authors of a digest published by International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance in 2015 mention that activities related to the Holocaust commemoration in Belarus are usually supported by the local authorities while the initiative usually comes from other institutions. A positive role of Belarusian officials was also appreciated by Simon Mark Lazarus Foundation which aims to indicate all the Holocaust extermination sites in Belarus by installing stone stelas (Lazarus, 2015). By the date of August 2018, the organization has managed to erect 114 Holocaust memorials out of approximately 500 of the planned (each for a known site). Being started by a British couple nowadays it is a collaboration between the original activists and two American family foundations.

Such a mission was called *"noble"* by an Israeli researcher Leanid Smilavicki who, though, criticized the way it had been implemented in a Jewish cemetery of Belarusian town Turov. According to his investigation, one of these same-looking memorials appeared in 2014 on a place of a former memorial installed in 1946 by the local community. Money for an original simple stone with the inscriptions in Russian and Yiddish were given by the relatives of the local Holocaust victims and collected by a head of a provincial store. For avoiding an official approval it was decided to make the generic title *"To the victims of fascism. 1941-1945"*. Besides, the Yiddish language and the memorial's location in the Jewish cemetery referred to a memorized group clearly enough. In the latest decades of the Soviet era former citizens of Turov who lived in Israel, the USA and Germany were supporting financially the maintenance of the cemetery. Therefore, for years the memorial had been a meaningful place of commemoration formed by a grassroots initiative. Regardless, this fact was ignored during the erection of the new stone that was installed directly on the old one instead of organically including it to the new memorial (Smilovitsky, 2017). Even though Belarusian memory culture can be called quite homogeneous (Ластовский, 2009) it still experiences certain tension.

Among other positive factors that signal about achievements in the Holocaust memorialization Katliarčuk mentions recently opened museums, for instance, the Museum of Jewish History and Culture in Minsk (Kotljarchuk, 2013). This doubtlessly positive fact, though, requires some explanation. Firstly, the museum was organized with the efforts of the Belarusian Jewish community and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and is still maintained by them (Akapian, 2015). Secondly, despite its significant contribution to archiving and studying the Holocaust, unfortunately, this small museum can be barely called public. Probably, due to limited resources, a visitor should previously give a call for making an appointment. After arriving and coming through a security post in a separated building one should cross an inner courtyard of Minsk Jewish Community House and seek an entrance to the museum itself. Thus, in current conditions with a lack of governmental support, it can make just a modest impact in the memory landscape.

The State Museum of the Great Patriotic War, by contrast, occupies a huge newly designed building and attracts dozens of tourists and locals being a significant part of a dialog about the war. However, its exposition sheds the light only on the period of Nazi occupation and a homogeneous idea of genocide against Soviet people but not Jews in particular. According to the Soviet tradition, a term Holocaust is not used there at all. During my visit in August 2018, in two large halls, I found only one plate which mentioned Jews by stating *"During the Nazi occupation on Belarusian territory, according to different sources, from 500,000 to 800,000 Jews perished"* (fig.8). Additionally, copies of the historical document were exposed on a column, and an installation shaped like a silhouette of grouped people demonstrated an amount of the ghetto victims in different Belarusian settlements. While in the books devoted to the Holocaust in Belarus description of the Nazi occupation regime usually serves as just an introduction to its history, the main state museum of World War II factually uses the introduction instead of the story.

Sweden and the Second World War

While most of the European countries strongly suffered from the Second World War both in humanitarian and economic terms, Sweden had even increased its welfare. Staying formally neutral, it kept trade relations with Nazi Germany by transferring there iron ore, ball bearings, and other goods. This, though, was not the only controversy in the role of Sweden in World War II. In 1942, the country changed its restrictive migration policy and, moreover, started a so-called *"bureaucratic resistance"*, a massive campaign for rescuing foreign Jews. Due to this fact, some researches question the relevance of term "neutrality" in regard to Sweden, since it was performing a number of actions that directly contradicted the Nazis' aims (Levine, 1998). On the other hand, preserving economic ties with Germany is often considered as an indirect contribution to the war and, therefore, the Holocaust (Rudberg, 2017). Thus, Swedish position in the war had been changing through time as well as a perception of this position by the politicians, citizens, and scholars.

By contrast to numerous European countries, Sweden had never had a large Jewish population, and by the beginning of the twentieth century, it reached 6,112 people, or little more than 0.1%. In 1774, Isaac Aaron became the first Jew who received permission for a permanent stay in Sweden as well as a right to practice his religion. During this period, Swedish Jews had experienced significant limitations; so, for instance, they had a right to settle exclusively in Stockholm, Gothenburg, and Norrkoping. However, they were also granted some privileges one of which was the Congregation's duty to tax local Jews. Nevertheless, Swedish Jews had been treated as a separated group for a long time and started actively gaining equal rights only in the middle of the nineteenth century (Rudberg, 2017). Though even after that, despite formally equal opportunities, a negative image of Jews still existed in the Swedish society; additionally, the locals felt threatened by the economic competition with the newcomers (Bruchfeld, Levine, 2012).

In the 20-30s, Sweden was strongly influenced by the ideas of racial purity that at that moment were popular in Europe. In fact, Sweden partly contributed to developing these ideas by founding the State Institute for Racial biology in 1922. Additionally, several laws passed during this period discriminated numerous groups of people by allowing sterilization of homeless, alcoholics, intellectually disabled, etc. (Bruchfeld, Levine, 2012). Regarding the migration law, it was rather selective. A so-called *Aliens Act* adopted in 1927 distinguished Jews as *"unwanted immigrants"* as well as criminals, migrant workers or Roma. It is important, though, that such rhetoric was balanced by other opinions both in academic and public discourses, and Nazis' support on the political scene was relatively low (Rudberg, 2017).

When the war had started in 1939, Prime Minister of that time Per Albin Hansson predictably declared Swedish neutrality. This decision was expected by public and international community due to a fact that Sweden had not participated in military conflicts for 125 years. Partly its geographical isolation allowed not being involved in the major European wars for a long time. Additionally, the main aim of the Swedish policy was the preservation of the national independence (Levine, 1998). Nonetheless, traditional cultural and business ties with Germany were crucially important for both sides, and Sweden stopped delivering goods to Germany only at the end of the war due to the pressure from the US and other countries. In 1941, after Nazis' attack on the Soviet Union Swedish government faced another dilemma. Swedes traditionally considered Russia as a potential threat; besides, Germany positioned *"Operation Barbarossa"* as a strike against Bolshevism, which was commonly supported in Europe. However Swedish government officially did not abandon an idea of Swedish neutrality it allowed the Nazi division to pass from Norway to Finland through Swedish territory (Bruchfeld, Levine, 2012).

Although details of the Holocaust crimes had been known in Sweden for a while a certain trigger caused the change in Swedish policy. In 1942, 532 Norwegian Jews were deported from occupied Oslo with a further plan to do so to the rest of the Jewish population. This provoked not only an active reaction of Swedish media and public but also the government that offered help to Jews who were still in Norway. However, an idea to transfer Polish children did not meet such a support due to the public's concern regarding their integration to the Swedish society. Regardless, the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs came up with a plan for saving and bringing European Jews by providing them with protective passports (Gilmour, 2011; Bruchfeld, Levine, 2012). This method demonstrated outstanding effectiveness in Hungary where Swedish diplomat Raoul Wallenberg managed to save, according to some sources, more than 100,000 Jews. Although this number can be a part of mythology about this heroic personality and Wallenberg's exact contribution is not known, Swedish Legation that he represented as well as Jewish Council, international Red Cross and other neutral states saved at least around 30,000 lives (Schult, 2009).

In addition, so-called White Busses of the Swedish Red Cross rescued thousands of people from the concentration camps at the end of the war. Although originally the expedition aimed to transport people with Scandinavian background White Busses transferred to Sweden former prisoners from France, Poland, and the Soviet Union as well as people of dozens other origins (Bruchfeld, Levine, 2012).

These are the words of the Holocaust survivor Rosie Glacér who was deported from the Netherlands and ended up her life in Sweden: "The people in Sweden were kind to me. They, not the Dutch, were the ones who liberated me. The Dutch Red Cross did nothing for me. The Swedish Red Cross took care of me. They saved my life. My choice was clear" (Glasser, 2015).

Memory about the Holocaust in Sweden

Despite a controversial status of Sweden in the Second World War, numerous scholars agree in one principal point. Swedish politics of memory about the Holocaust have evolved by shifting their focus from a positive role of Sweden to its partnership with Nazi Germany and, hence, partial responsibility for the Holocaust (Rothe, 2015; Rudberg, 2017).

The massive critical reflection on the Holocaust and Sweden has started in the 90s (Rudberg, 2017). Such an increase of attention towards the subject may be explained by a fact that in 1995 Sweden became a member of the European Union. According to a researcher Anne Rothe, the Holocaust at the moment was not only a topical subject but also a fundament for creating a common European identity. At this moment, taking the lead in the Holocaust commemoration and education was an opportunity to demonstrate Swedish loyalty to European values such as human rights and dignity (Rothe, 2015). Simultaneously, this process overlapped with a global tendency in a commemorative culture. For the first time in the history instead of erecting the monuments to heroes or victims nations began to reflect on their own crimes and mistakes through the memorials (Хлебников, Ассман, 2013).

In the middle 90s, the Holocaust started to be represented as a subject of a national importance. In 1997, Prime Minister of that time Göran Persson initiated a project The Living History that resulted in a publication *"Tell ye your children"*. The latest edition of the book contained a chapter *"Sweden and the Holocaust"* that questioned the role of Sweden in the Nazi crimes and their outcomes for the country (Rothe, 2015). In 2000, the Swedish government ran a major international conference called Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust that involved about 50 countries as participants. An outcome of this event became the Stockholm Declaration, a document that articulated a commitment to preserve memory about the Holocaust, spread the knowledge about it, and fight against anti-Semitism, racism, and xenophobia. For ensuring that Sweden would follow the statements of Stockholm Declaration, in 2003 Swedish Parliament transformed The Living History project into a public authority with its focus on promoting ideas of tolerance and democracy (The Living History Forum, 2011). Therefore, in this period the Holocaust had been a part of political and public discourse on a level of the Swedish government and personally Göran Persson.

Simultaneously, an interest towards to subject had been increasing within the academics (The Living History Forum, 2011). One of the first publications that examined Swedish relation to the Holocaust became a book of an American author Steven Koblik *"The Stones cry out. Sweden's response to the persecution of the Jews, 1933-1945"* in 1988. While other researchers like Hammar and Lindberg claim that anti-Semitism was one of the reasons for restrictive Swedish migration policies at the beginning of the war, Koblik states that this was the major reason. Another topic that had been significant to the scholars is a role of the Swedish Jewish Community, in particular, a so-called Relief Committee in rescuing Jews. Koblik's contributed to this discussion by claiming that Swedish Jewry did not do enough for aiding Jews around Europe and, moreover, used its power for not accepting poor Jews or refugees from Eastern Europe. Later, an investigation initiated by the Jewish Community in 2000 concluded that the Committee's position regarding the refugees was not more restrictive than the governmental one. However, individual members preferred helping the Jews in Europe rather than providing them with an asylum in Sweden (Rudberg, 2017).

Nowadays the Holocaust still remains a significant theme in Swedish policy both in terms of memory and education. In official rhetoric and media, the activities related to its commemoration are usually mentioned as a reaction on contemporary challenges such as a rise of neo-Nazi movement and xenophobia. In 2018, the Swedish government decided to provide with 15 million kronor for increasing awareness about the Holocaust. Partly this is planned to achieve through organizing trips to the Holocaust memorial sites for Swedish youth (thelocal.se, 2018). In addition Jewish Museum in Stockholm, the Holocaust museum will be built in Malmo. It will include a center of Raoul Wallenberg, which reflects an ongoing tendency in the Holocaust commemoration in Sweden with its focus on Wallenberg's personality and Swedish role in rescuing Jews (dailyscandinavian.com, 2018).

IV

Case studies

Map V. Stockholm city center with the memorial site

History of the black obelisk

The memorial with an informal but well-known name Yama, which means a Pit in Russian, was established on the territory of a former Minsk ghetto on a place of a deep sand career (Ботвинник, Шамрук, 2004). For explaining this location, a story of the memorial should be started not with a moment of its installation but with a brief prehistory. On March 2, 1942, on the Jewish holiday Purim, during one of the major Minsk pogroms, Nazis and their local collaborators murdered several thousand people. That day, according to the administrative decision, Judenrat had to gather 5 thousand people under the pretense of construction works. For ghetto imprisoners, though, it was obvious that a large extermination operation had been preparing (Смоляр, 2002). When people did not show up in the morning Nazis started to reach them at homes in the surrounded ghetto. Those who could not leave were shot immediately; the rest were forced to go to the main square. According to the witnesses, during this operation Nazis were killing the inhabitants of the ghetto right on its streets and the main square, by the entrance to the ghetto, and by the legendary Pit (Ботвинник, 2000; Маломед, 2008). After the massacre several hundreds of murdered Jews were buried in the career; the rest of the victims on a Jewish cemetery nearby (Ботвинник, 2000).

Regardless a fact that the *"Purim massacre"* (Смоляр, 2002) became one of the biggest in Minsk ghetto, the information about its history is fragmented and controversial. For instance, some sources refer to the Pit as a place where Nazis killed all the victims of that pogrom (Cohen, 2017), while, in fact, people were killed all over the ghetto; even those who were shot next to the career were staying on its edge but not in the bottom. The number of the dead also differs. So, according to the occupation documents, a number of victims reached 3,412 people whereas documents from the Belarusian National archive provide with a number of 6,000 (Ботвинник, 2000).

Starting from the end of the war in 1945, activists in Minsk were trying to formalize the Jewish Community at the synagogue; one of their aims was an installation of a monument in the Pit. When after almost two years in 1946 the Jewish community was legalized, city authorities rejected an official application for a memorial's construction. Due to significance and even a sacral meaning of this mission, a group of activists had started the process without a formal approval. For manufacturing the obelisk they hired a Jewish stone master Marduch Spryšen who could create it out of an old gravestone from the cemetery in the former ghetto. This, though, was problematic since the Jewish cemetery was in a jurisdiction of several state institutions. Luckily, heads of those organizations were Jews who supported the initiative and secured it with the necessary permissions (Герасимова, 2008).

The entire community was to a certain degree involved to the project since everyone lost someone in the Pit (Спришен, 2008). For example, a famous Jewish writer Hajm Malcinski wrote a text for an inscription first in Yiddish and then in Russian; additionally, he personally obtained its official approval. According to the memoirs, as an influential figure of the Jewish community, he was repeatedly asked to represent the project. For getting a formal permission he had to go up to the sixth floor, despite a fact that he lost his leg in the war. While talking to an authority from the censorship committee Malcinski mentioned his mother, wife, and a little son who were buried in the Pit. He managed to approve not only the text in two languages but an erection of the monument as well. As a result, the black obelisk (fig.9) was installed in 1946 with the help of numerous Minsk Jews who donated their money or were involved in its design or approval (Герасимова, 2008).

In fact, this inscription carved on a black stone in two languages makes the Pit truly unique. It says *"In bright remembrance for all eternity of the 5,000 Jews who perished at the hands of the cruel enemies of humanity – fascist German fiends"*. Due to this fact, Gitelman called the black obelisk the only memorial in major Soviet cities that mentioned Jews as a specific group of victims (Gitelman, 1994). Kotljarchuk, in turn, also claims that it became the *"first urban monumant in the Soviet Union"* that directly pointed out at the ethnicity of a memorized group (Kotljarchuk, 2013).

In another way, though, the black obelisk was a typical example of the post-war unofficial memorialization initiated by victims' relatives or local communities. Fortunately, by contrast to some other places of commemoration, the obelisk in the Pit was not demolished or replaced by its *"sterile"* Soviet copy in 1948-1952 during Stalin's anti-Semitic campaign (Gitelman, 1994).

This campaign, though, dramatically affected those who took a part in the obelisk's erection. Starting from 1949, several members of the Jewish community who were engaged in its creation were arrested for the *"Anti-Soviet activity"*. In fact, the Soviet state wanted to prevent them from creating a strong community inside the homogenous Soviet society; besides, they supported the national state of Israel, which was not acceptable within the Soviet ideology (Герасимова, 2008) Formal reasons for the arrests, though, were quite absurd. So, Marduch Spryšen was arrested for possessing 20 records with Jewish music, which was enough for incriminating *"cosmopolitism"* and *"bourgeois nationalism"*. Today it is hard to believe but a stone master Marduch Spryšen got 10 years of working camps (Спришен, 2008) for preserving the memory about the Holocaust. Thus, in addition to its previous status, the Pit acquired a new meaning. For decades it had become a symbol of Jew's struggle for their identity and memory.

Figure 9. Black obelisk, 1967. Photo by V.

Figure 10. Opening of the black obelisk, 1946

History of the walking shadows

Figure 11

After the decades of the hidden Soviet anti-Semitism, at the end of the 80s a public debate around the Holocaust memorialization finally became possible. An idea of the Pit's reconstruction appeared in this period though it faced both a lack of support and financing. So, for instance, religious Jews were against any sculptural representation of people in the Pit due to a fact that it was prohibited by the religious canon in the interiors of synagogues (Левин, 2011). Nevertheless, the process of reflection and discussion had started.

A personality that played a key role in the Pit's reconstruction was a famous Soviet architect Leanid Levin who also had been actively involved in the life of the Belarusian Jewish community. Probably, a combination of his professional authority and reputation among the Jewish population allowed implementing this project as well as many others. Being in his thirties, in 1970 Leanid Levin and his colleagues won the most prestigious Soviet award, Lenin Prize, for a project of a major memorial complex Chatyn dedicated to the civil victims of the Great Patriotic War in Belarus (Левін, 2011). Additionally, from 1991 till his death in 2014 he had led a Union of Belarusian Jewish Public Associations and Communities. As a part of a generation of so-called *"children of the war"*, he saw the Holocaust commemoration as a significant mission for modern Belarus (Левин, 2012). Therefore, since the 80s Levin had developed the idea of the Pit's transformations.

The beginning of the 90s turned out to be a crucial moment in the Holocaust memorialization in Belarus. So, numerous events were happening during the celebration of the 50th anniversary of Minsk ghetto's liquidation. Among them were exhibitions, meetings, and a procession through the former ghetto with the participation of the government members, foreign representatives, and survived imprisoners. In 1992 for the first time, Levin exhibited his project proposal for the Pit (Левин, 2005). A big event in a so-called Russian theater in Minsk became not only an honorable celebration of Belarusian Righteous among the Nations but also a stage for the first public discussion of his work.

It took almost ten years and much effort for implementing new design in 2000. A new dominant of the memorial became a bronze sculpture Walking to Death designed as a row of the schematic people's figures walking down to the bottom of the Pit. For designing this sculpture Levin involved famous Elza Polak who at that moment lived in Israel being already aged and weak. Polak created the sculpture on a base of Levin's sketches in her expressive and recognizable manner. A physical model for the future memorial made by her was taken to Minsk and further developed by a Belarusian sculptor Aliaksandr Finski. While in original Levin's idea these figures were conceived as more detailed, the final sculpture represented them in quite a stylized way. Levin himself called them the *"shadows"* claiming that these twisted human silhouettes were supposed to represent that anyone could be on their place on the way to death (Левин, 2011, 2012; Рубинштейн, 2014). Today the shadows are walking down the hill along the stone stairs that lead to a large round paved area in the Pit's bottom (fig.11).

According to an interview with Levin's daughter Halina, a small paved area in front of the Pit was originally covered with cobblestones that recently were replaced with simple concrete tiles. On the right side of this area, there is a granite menorah-shaped stela with a number of metal plaques (fig.12). They inform what individuals and institutions sponsored the construction of the memorial mentioning among others a fund of Belarusian president. On the left side from the sculpture, there is a narrow path with the old trees along it. Next to each tree, a metal plate with a name stays. This path serves as an alley to the Righteous among the Nations memorizing Belarusians who were saving Jews during the war (fig.13). It was built in the middle of the 90s, and considering general tendencies in Belarusian politics of memory of this time, this part of the memorial can be interpreted as a state's effort to integrate Holocaust history to Belarusian national narrative (Портнов, 2011). In fact, the creation of the alley was not authorities' but Levin's idea, and most probably represented his actual deep gratitude to those who risked their lives for saving Jews (Левин, 2012).

Thanks to a meeting with a daughter of Leonid Levin and a current leader of his architectural bureau Halina, I got a general impression of the original design for the Pit memorial. Its physical model, which was exposed in the Russian theater in 1992, demonstrates that initially the surrounding of the black obelisk was conceived as more picturesque and irregular. The stairs leading to the bottom of the Pit were supposed to have different widths for becoming organic continuations of the slope. Additionally, the shape of the paved area in front of the obelisk, by contrast to today's symmetrical outline, was also designed irregular in a respect to the complicated landscape. Another part of the original project, the boulders chaotically lying on the slope, was not realized at all. Regarding a monument's message, as Halina Levina said, an original design also suggested an installation of the memorial stones symbolizing five major pogroms that happened in Minsk ghetto. These stones would have complemented the character of the landscape and played an informational role; besides, a stone is a symbol that represents the Jewish commemorative tradition. In addition, Levin conceived memorial signs with the names of Belarusian ghettos and numbers of victims for each of them. The last element that was not implemented in reality was a wall with autographs of the few survived ghetto imprisoners.

Figure 12

Figure 13

Informal memorial, formal practices

In the early after-war years, right after the black obelisk's installation the Pit was visited and maintained by people whose relatives were shot or buried in the career. However, arrests of Jewish activists and overall anti-Semitic atmosphere in Soviet Belarus in the 50s caused that just a few people were coming there for commemorating the Holocaust victims. Being threatened by the potential consequences some of Jews preferred to avoid this place (Нордштейн, 2000). Archival photos of this time reflect that at that moment the Pit was surrounded by the wild grass and bushes, and the closest to the career structure was a small country-look-like house with a rickety fence (fig.14).

Though, political regime and a situation around the Pit had been changing through the time, which at a certain point transformed Yama from a peripheral forgotten wasteland to a significant place of collective remembrance. Numerous memoirs claim that this happened in the 70s though one source points out at a particular event that changed the Pit's status. According to Michail Nordštejn, in 1975 on May 9 a group of Jewish activists organized in the Pit a major meeting dedicated to the twentieth anniversary of the victory. That day one of the event's initiators, an officer and a veteran of the Great Patriotic War Davidovič made an inspiring speech despite the presence of authorities, KGB agents and the police. His call to remember the Jews who perished in the Pit affected the community strongly, and next year several thousand people came to the meeting (Нордштейн, 2000). Such annual events, though, were still highly controlled by the police that in the early 80s started to use loudspeakers with Soviet songs nearby the Pit for blocking an opportunity for public speeches. Nevertheless, thousands of Jews were coming to meet each other, articulate their problems and even sign petitions, which, though, were mostly ignored by the state (Спришен, 1997).

During this period the Pit could have experienced major changes, which, fortunately, did not happen. So, according to the authorities' plan, the black obelisk was supposed to be replaced with a new Soviet memorial with a reference to anonymous *"peaceful citizens"* (Нордштейн, 2000). Moreover, the rumors were saying that the officials had a radical idea of leveling the Pit with the ground (Левин, 2005). While the latest was an assumption, a project for a new memorial was actually designed. For protesting against this decision the same activists wrote a letter addressed personally to Belarusian leader Mašeraŭ and collected more than a thousand signatures. Although they never got an official response the project was canceled (Нордштейн, 2000).

Figure 14. 1967. Photo by V. Marcyonka

Figure 15. June, 1963. Photo by T. Ananjina

Figure 16. 21 October, 1993. Photo by Minkovič

Nonetheless, Yama went through some transformations since a newly constructed nine-story residential building cut off a part of the Pit's site.

As it was mentioned, the 90s became a crucial point in the memory politics in Belarus, which, of course, affected the social practices that were happening by the memorial. Archival pictures from the 90s and the beginning of the 2000s demonstrate a rise of attention towards the Pit from the local and international authorities. For instance, in 1992 Yama was visited by Israeli Minister for Foreign Affairs Shimon Peres. The events were becoming more and more formal starting to include public speeches, laying the flowers, and bringing white-blue Israeli flags, which was unimaginable in the earlier decades (Нордштейн, 2000). During this period thousands of people were staying by the Pit's edge, stairs, and on its bottom not only on the Victory Day but also on the anniversaries of the ghetto's liquidation in October and a legendary March pogrom. The neat cobblestones replaced thick grass; candlesticks and metal plaques with the names of Belarusian ghettos were installed by the black obelisk (fig.16). The opening of the sculpture Walking to Death became the most pompous event accompanied with the guard of honor and a speech of the president Lukašenka (fig.17).

Today, in addition to three major dates, the Pit celebrates International Holocaust Remembrance Day on 27 January though representatives of the Jewish community admit that fewer people come to these meetings nowadays. This, probably, happens due to a massive migration of Jews that became possible after the collapse of the Soviet Union (Akapian, 2015). Official visits, obviously, still happen here: during my observation of the Pit, I found by the obelisk two large flower wreaths from a Jewish charity organization and the state of Israel (fig.18). Even though this makes the memorial site look visited and it is well maintained the everyday life of the Pit can be barely called eventful.

Figure 17. Opening of the reconstructed Pit on July 10, 2000. Photo E. Kazjulia

Figure 18

***342** passersby*
***29** of them interacted with the memorial*
***14** went down to the obelisk*

The field observations that were conducted this year in the period from 16 July to 16 August aimed to discover what practices are common nearby the Pit these days. Though, unfortunately, none of the observations happened during the public events the collected results shed a light on everyday practices by the Holocaust memorials in Minsk, which is a poorly studied area. Thus, according to my calculation, out of 342 people who were passing by the Pit and, hence, had an opportunity to see it 29 interacted with the memorial in some way. By interaction, I mean any kind of contact including a detailed exploration of the whole memorial as well as just reading an inscription on the menorah-shaped stela, taking a look at the Pit, and even discussing it with a companion from the distance. Among those 29 only 14 went down the stairs and took a look at a whole memorial. For some of the visitors, obviously, a lack of a physical access played a role. For instance, a young mother with a stroller had to stay on the top of the Pit while her friend and their kids were exploring the black obelisk in the bottom. The same happened to two other groups of visitors: while some of their members went down others decided to wait for them on the paved area by the stairs.

Probably, the most remarkable practice noticed during the observations represents a specific kind of tourism or even a pilgrimage. During one of my sessions that took place around midday, a big group of visitors came to the Pit. It was the largest group of people I had seen there; additionally, their behavior was quite specific. Three women of different ages and two young men were walking to the memorial being followed by four children. Some of the adults were carrying the flowers and while coming closer to the stairs they started to divide them among the kids so each of them, according to a Christian Orthodox tradition, had an even number. While the main part of the group came down the stairs to the obelisk two men and a woman stayed on the paved area by the sculptural menorah and waited for the rest. Meanwhile, after laying of flowers a young woman had a chat with a couple that arrived at the memorial before them. After finishing she came back upstairs and stopped on the stairs for discussing the memorial's history with the children.

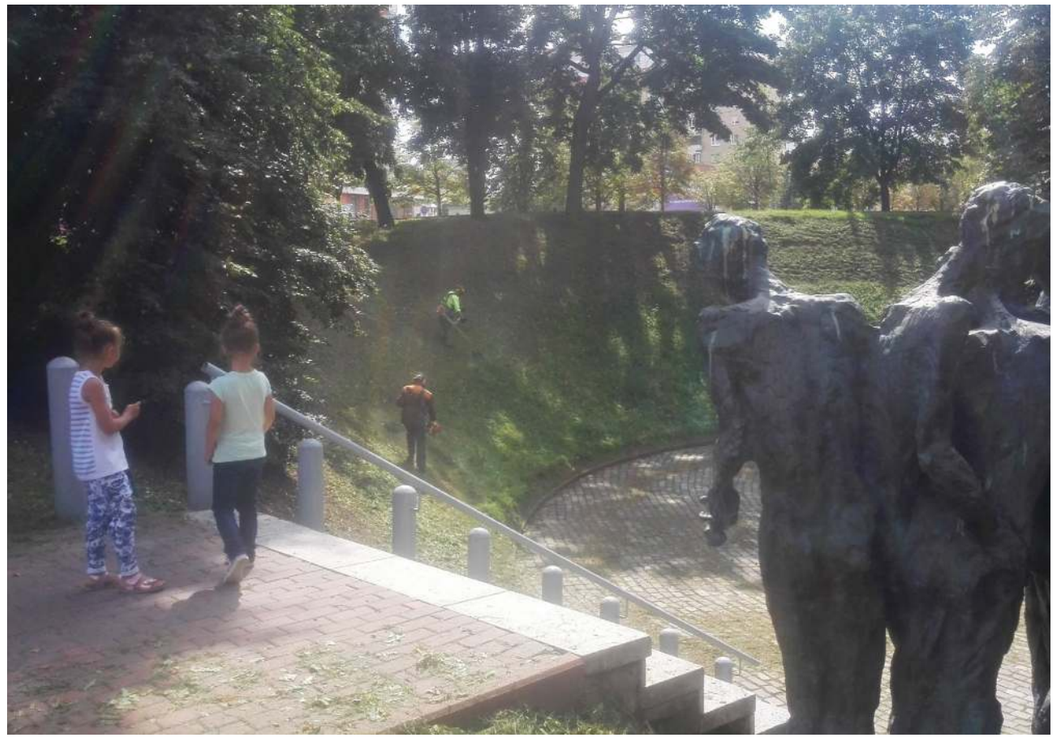
It was obvious to me that this visit was carefully planned and had a special meaning for these people, so I asked those who stayed upstairs what the purpose of their visit was. During a brief conversation, I found out that this big family arrived from a Russian city Nizhny Novgorod for spending their vacation in Belarus. Interestingly, their family trip had a very precise focus: their aim was to visit all the so-called Hero Cities and local memorials related to the Great Patriotic War. Hero City was an honorable title that was established in the Soviet Union and given to thirteen cities that expressed *"outstanding heroism"* in the war including Belarusian Minsk and Brest (Smorodinskaya, 2007). In addition, in this vacation, they went to major memorial complexes Chatyn and Red Coast in other regions of the country. The family members seemed very enthusiastic and expressed deep knowledge of the subject by operating, for instance, names of the memorials' authors. By the moment of our conversation, they managed to visit all the Hero Cities except for Murmansk, Kyiv and Odesa.

Therefore, this observation gave an impression of a very specific social practice. This large family, factually, was pilgrimaging to the places of memory about World War II. As it was clear from the behavior of adults, transferring knowledge about its events to children was one of their aims in this trip. As an older woman mentioned, they did not have any Jewish roots but they thought of the Holocaust as *"unfair"*, so decided to express their respect to its victims.

Generally, visitors' behavior by the Pit allowed assuming who of them came to the memorial for a purpose and who just noticed it while walking. By indirect signs like a photo camera, a use of a navigator, a content of conversations, body language, etc. I can suppose that besides a big group of Russian tourists only 4 visitors came to the Pit specially. The rest of those who interacted with the memorial seemed to be passersby that noticed the Pit and decided to explore it.

The rest of the activities that were happening by the Pit turned out to be quite routine. The number of people and their activities slightly differed depending on time and a day, which is shown in the table and on the schemes. So, the most of the counted people were just passing by. In after work hours, they tended to walk rather alone than in groups and some of them were carrying the grocery bags, supposedly, coming back from work. Additionally to a destination walk, I admitted such activities as walking with a dog or a baby, cycling, and rarely jogging and riding a skateboard. All of them, though, had a transit character and did not happen exactly by the memorial.

Figure 19



History of the Broken Hearth

Figure 19. An entrance to a Jewish cemetery in Minsk ghetto, 1946

Although the first memorial stones to the Holocaust victims appeared in a former Jewish cemetery in the 90s a brief introduction into its earlier history is needed. Known as the *"third"* Jewish cemetery, it was established in 1868. According to different sources, it was working as a graveyard until being closed in 1946 or 1951 under the veil of a lack of space for new burial places (Воложинский, 2015). Although these days the former Jewish cemetery serves as a city park, during Minsk's occupation it used to be a graveyard inside the ghetto. More specifically, it was situated on its southeastern periphery, next to zonderghetto – a district where Jews deported from Europe lived. Since the first group of European prisoners arrived from Hamburg, they were informally called *"Hamburg Jews"* even though later transport brought people from other German cities as well as from Austria, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, and the Netherlands (Ботвинник, 2000). This part of Minsk ghetto was surrounded by a fence and even had its own rule that barely contacted with Judenrat. In addition, *"Hamburg Jews"* were treated as high-qualified workers and, hence, had some privileges both in terms of provision and safety, at least at the beginning of the occupation period (Смоляр, 2002). It is important to remind that this cemetery was used for burying the victims of pogroms that happened in Minsk ghetto. All these circumstances to a high degree determined a current appearance of the today's memorial park.

It is not known much about this place in the period between 1944 and the 90s, which may be partly caused by anti-Semitic and atheistic politics of the Soviet Union. Mostly the cemetery is mentioned in regard to a special commission that investigated Nazis crimes after Minsk's liberation in 1944. According to the reports developed by the Extraordinary State Commission for Ascertaining and Investigating Crimes Perpetrated by German-Fascist Invaders and Their Collaborators, 5,670 people were killed here between 1941 and 1943 (Адамушко, Герасимова, Селеменев, 2010). The next stage in the history of this place had started in the 70s when the cemetery was

Figure 21. A memorial stone to the Jews deported from Bremen

completely demolished (Козак, 2012). The Soviet authorities made a decision about establishing a city park instead of the cemetery, which was quite a common practice in relation to old graveyards (Медведь, 2012). A football field and opened stage replaced tombstones that, probably, were even used for a construction of new structures (Козак, 2012).

As in a case of the Pit, the 90s opened a new page in the commemoration of those who were murdered and buried here. It has started in 1993 with an installation of a memorial stone to Hamburg Jews that were deported to Belarus. According to an inscription on this stone stela made in Belarusian and German, more than 1350 Jews were transferred to Minsk ghetto and only 8 of them survived. This stone was designed by an architect Michail Hauchfeld and became a starting point in remembrance of the foreign Jews perished in Belarus. Today nine memorial stones shape a round square forming the Pantheon of Memory (fig.22). Its round shape symbolizes a circular yellow sign that Jews in Minsk ghetto were obliged to wear on their clothes (Левин, 2011). In addition to the victims from Hamburg, the stones commemorate Jews deported from Dusseldorf (October, 1998), Bremen (February, 2002), Cologne and Bonn (October, 2008), Berlin (June, 2009), Austrian cities (September, 2009), Frankfurt am Main (March, 2012), Konigsberg and East Prussia (June, 2015), and Czech Brno (November, 2015). Noticeably, the erection of these stelas was initiated and supported by numerous actors including municipalities of the abovementioned cities, embassies of Germany and Israel, international organizations, Union of Belarusian Jewish Public Associations and Communities, Minsk Municipality, etc. Additionally, an architect Leonid Levin had been involved in the design of the Pantheon of Memory.

Figure 22

Figure 23

Another significant part of the memorial park is a number of old Jewish tombstones placed on the grass next to the Pantheon of Memory (fig.23). According to the local witnesses, they keep appearing on the ground around the neighborhood, especially after the rains, continuously changing the landscape (Бор довская, 2015; Воложинский, 2015). The first large series of the stones appeared here in 2007, after being found by workers during the construction of a new pipeline along the southeastern edge of the park (Воложинский, 2015). Nowadays builders still find the stones during the construction works, as it happened in May 2018. So, during the demolition of an old building in the city center, they discovered that its foundation was made of Jewish tombstones with inscriptions in Hebrew. According to the agreement with the Jewish Museum in Minsk, all the findings were transferred to the area by the memorial where the museum staff had to examine them and make a decision regarding their preservation. In the idea of the museum's head Vadzim Akapian, founded stones in the future should be arranged in a lapidarium, a special wall with installed and exposed tombstones. For the realization of this idea, though, today there is no funding (Кохно, 2018).

Finally, the last part of the memorial on a former Jewish cemetery became a sculpture Broken Hearth installed in 2008 (fig.24). Like the newest part of the Pit, it was designed by Leanid Levin, this time in collaboration with a sculptor Maksim Piatrul (Левин, 2011). As the main metaphor Levin used an image of a destroyed family house represented by a Vienna chair and a cracked round table with bent legs. As Levin mentioned in the interviews, he aimed to create a philosophical, non-literal illustration to the grief avoiding common for the Soviet memorialization military symbols or *"violence"*. *"The memorial is very simple but causes an enormous emotional impact"* (Левин, 2011, 2012). An additional effect was achieved by a careful attention to the landscape, in particular, an old picturesque tree that was an onlooker of the sad events memorized by the sculpture (Горевой, 2008). An inscription on a red square granite podium in Belarusian, Russian, Hebrew, and English says *"At this place in 1941-1943 more than 5,000 of Jews were exterminated by fascists and their collaborators. Eternal memory to the innocent victims of Nazism"*. Additionally, this podium reminds of a house's foundation (Горевой, 2008). As it was highlighted by Levin and his daughter Halina, this part of the memorial was fully funded by the Minsk Municipality (Левин, 2011). An original initiator of the project, though, was Levin himself with a group of Minsk ghetto imprisoners.

Figure 24

Social practices, not-such-a-social place

***130** passersby*
***12** of them interacted with the memorial*
***1** person read an inscription on a stone*

Due to a lack of the sources, it is not known much about the past of Jewish cemetery and, in particular, social practices that had happened there. One of the web sources claims that in after-war years Soviet authorities were preventing Jews from coming to the cemetery and taking care of their relatives' graves. Few years after the Jewish cemetery was closed, which caused its deterioration. The park that appeared here in the 70s was designed with a football field and a summer stage; therefore, it provided with an infrastructure for leisure to inhabitants of the nearest neighborhoods. Repeating each other, websites state that in 1990 the territory of the cemetery was *"leveled with the ground"*, which is controversial since a foundation of the old opened scene can be found on the photos from 2007 (Воложинский, 2007). Anyway, although the information about the former Jewish cemetery is fragmented this research was focused on social practices related to the memorial, hence, those that have taken place from the 90s.

As it was mentioned, the first memorial stone to Hamburg Jews was installed in the park in 1993. Most probably, at that moment old Soviet facilities were in quite a poor state. At least, they definitely were decaying several years after in the 2000s, which is obvious from the photos made in this period. Additionally, some memoirs confirm a lack of the park's maintenance by claiming that it had always been dark and the grass was not cut (Петрова, 2015). In the 2000s, ancient Jewish tombstones started to appear on the ground surface. According to the memories of a young Belarusian writer Siarhej Kalenda, young people used to seat on these stones for watching the football games on a sports ground. Besides, the teenagers used the park for other activities like gathering, lighting the fires, drinking, and even having sex (Петрова, 2015). Starting from 2007, all the found tombstones have been transferred to the hill, next to the Pantheon of Memory. Today new stones continue arriving and disappearing: while at the beginning of my field observations I found several dozens of broken gravestones, in one month on their place there were only two (fig.25-26).

In 2003, Minsk Municipality stated that among other green areas in the city this park should be reconstructed in the period between 2004 and 2008 . It is impossible to conclude without a further research whether this decision was caused by the continuous installation of the memorial stones or not. Was it an aspiration to create a more appropriate environment for a place of commemoration or to make a good impressionon foreign officials that were opening the stones? For sure,

Figure 25

Figure 26

this might be just a planned reconstruction. Regardless, in this period the park radically changed its appearance and status.

Doubtlessly, the erected memorials affected social practices around; though, most probably, they provoked rather occasional activities than a change in the everyday use of the park. In addition to the ceremonies of each stone's installation, other events happen by the Pantheon of Memory. For instance, in 2017 Jewish Religious Community organized a meeting dedicated to the International Holocaust Remembrance Day on 27 January. Considering that the Pit has always gathered people for such occasions, the memorial on the former cemetery may have a good potential for providing with alternative, more intimate space for commemorative events. Besides, this proves that the place can serve not exclusively for international formal delegations but the local groups and their needs.

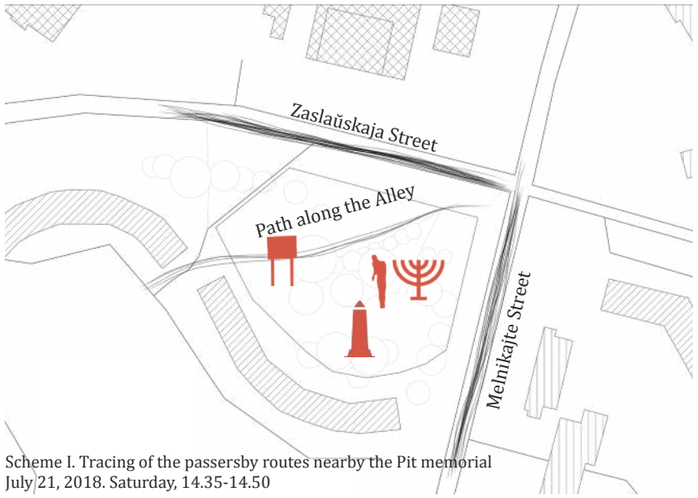
Regarding routine social practices, seven field observations demonstrated that different parts of the memorial do not affect them significantly. Among the most common activities in the triangular area around the memorial, I distinguished transit walking and various recreational practices that did not involve interaction with the memorial. In the recreational practices I included walking around a park, sitting on park benches alone or in a small group, walking a dog, walking with a stroller or with older children. Additionally, less frequently people were smoking, reading or checking

Figure 26. Opening of the Broken Hearth, 2008

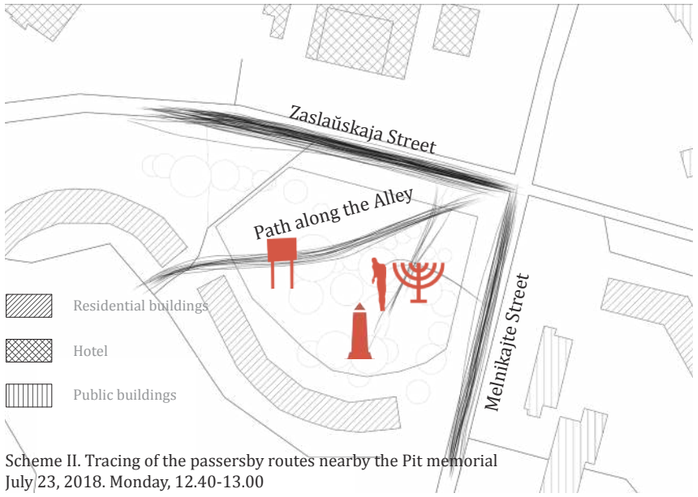
their cellphones on the benches, playing with their kids, cycling. As the schemes show, visitors' activities and a number of people in the park differed depending on time and day, sometimes significantly. So, for instance, around lunchtime, I saw two groups of people who met their acquaintances, greeted them and had a quick chat. Most probably, these people were co-workers who were having a walk during their lunch breaks. It was the only moment when this type of activities was noticed.

Among practices that involved interaction with the memorial, I can distinguish taking a look at the memorial stones of the Pantheon of Memory or reading the inscriptions on them. Surprisingly, all the contacts with the sculpture Broken Hearth were initiated by children. During the observations I saw twice how they made their parents to come closer to the sculpture for walking on its base, playing around or touching it. This was also confirmed by Halina Levina who mentioned children's active attention towards the memorial during the interview. Therefore, among the 130 people who were passing by the memorial 12 interacted with it. 3 of them were children who were followed by 3 adults; only one man read an inscription on the stone stelas and carefully explored them. The rest 5 just quickly looked at the Pantheon of Memory while passing by.

According to several official decisions of the Minsk Municipality, different private institutions were planning to develop a detailed plan for a site where the Jewish cemetery was situated. As my search showed, this happened at least twice in 2005 and 2006 . Being concerned about the future of the burials the Jewish community addressed a letter to a responsible firm. It is not known if their protest or other factors played a key role but nothing was built in the area yet. Despite this fact, today a large part of the park is surrounded by a fence and looks like it is currently under the construction. The search on the satellite maps confirmed this. Certainly, these may be works related to underground engineering or landscaping, and public land will not be appropriated by the private actors. Even in this case, though, Jewish graves still may be in a risk of destruction.



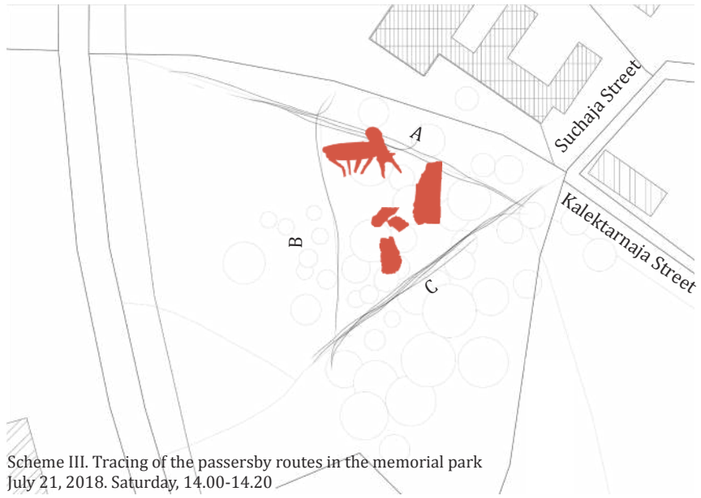
Scheme I. Tracing of the passersby routes nearby the Pit memorial
July 21, 2018. Saturday, 14.35-14.50



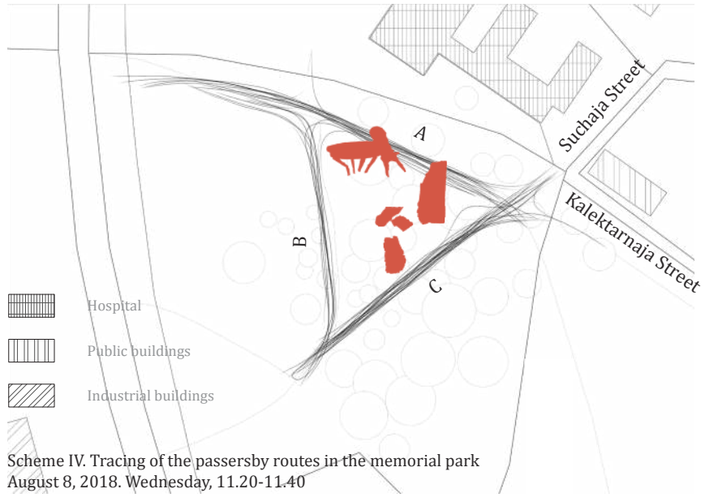
Scheme II. Tracing of the passersby routes nearby the Pit memorial
July 23, 2018. Monday, 12.40-13.00

Table III. Counting of the passersby by the Pit memorial

09.30-09.50, Thursday				14.35-14.50, Saturday			
women	men	children	total	women	men	children	total
Zaslaŭskaja Street				Zaslaŭskaja Street			
10	11	-	**21**	9	11	1	**21**
Melnikajte Street				Melnikajte Street			
7	7	-	**14**	10	5	3	**18**
Path along the Alley				Path along the Alley			
7	2	-	**9**	3	1	-	**4**
11.50-12.10, Wednesday*				16.30-16.50, Sunday***			
women	men	children	total	women	men	children	total
Zaslaŭskaja Street				Zaslaŭskaja Street			
4	7	-	**11**	15	12	-	**27**
Melnikajte Street				Melnikajte Street			
-	5	-	**5**	8	9	-	**17**
Path along the Alley				Path along the Alley			
-	1	-	**1**	3	7	3	**13**
12.40-13.00, Monday**				17.45-18.00, Friday****			
women	men	children	total	women	man	children	total
Zaslaŭskaja Street				Zaslaŭskaja Street			
28	16	3	**47**	34	6	8	**48**
Melnikajte Street				Melnikajte Street			
10	10	2	**22**	5	10	-	**15**
Path along the Alley				Path along the Alley			
3	8	2	**13**	3	4	-	**7**



Scheme III. Tracing of the passersby routes in the memorial park
July 21, 2018. Saturday, 14.00-14.20



Scheme IV. Tracing of the passersby routes in the memorial park
August 8, 2018. Wednesday, 11.20-11.40

Table IV. Counting of the passersby in the memorial park

08.50-09.10, Thursday*				14.00-14.20, Saturday****			
women	men	children	total	women	men	children	total
A				A			
1	2	1	**4**	2	1	-	**3**
B				B			
1	-	-	**1**	1	1	-	**2**
C				C			
6	3	-	**9**	2	3	-	**5**
11.20-11.40, Wednesday**				17.05-17.25, Sunday			
women	men	children	total	women	men	children	total
A				A			
4	10	1	**15**	3	2	-	**5**
B				B			
5	2	-	**7**	-	-	-	-
C				C			
7	10	1	**18**	2	2	-	**4**
12.05-12.25, Monday***				18.05-18.20, Friday*****			
women	men	children	total	women	man	children	total
A				A			
8	3	4	**15**	1	5	3	**9**
B				B			
4	1	2	**7**	-	-	-	-
C				C			
7	11	1	**19**	1	-	-	**1**

Outcome of national policy or individual effort?

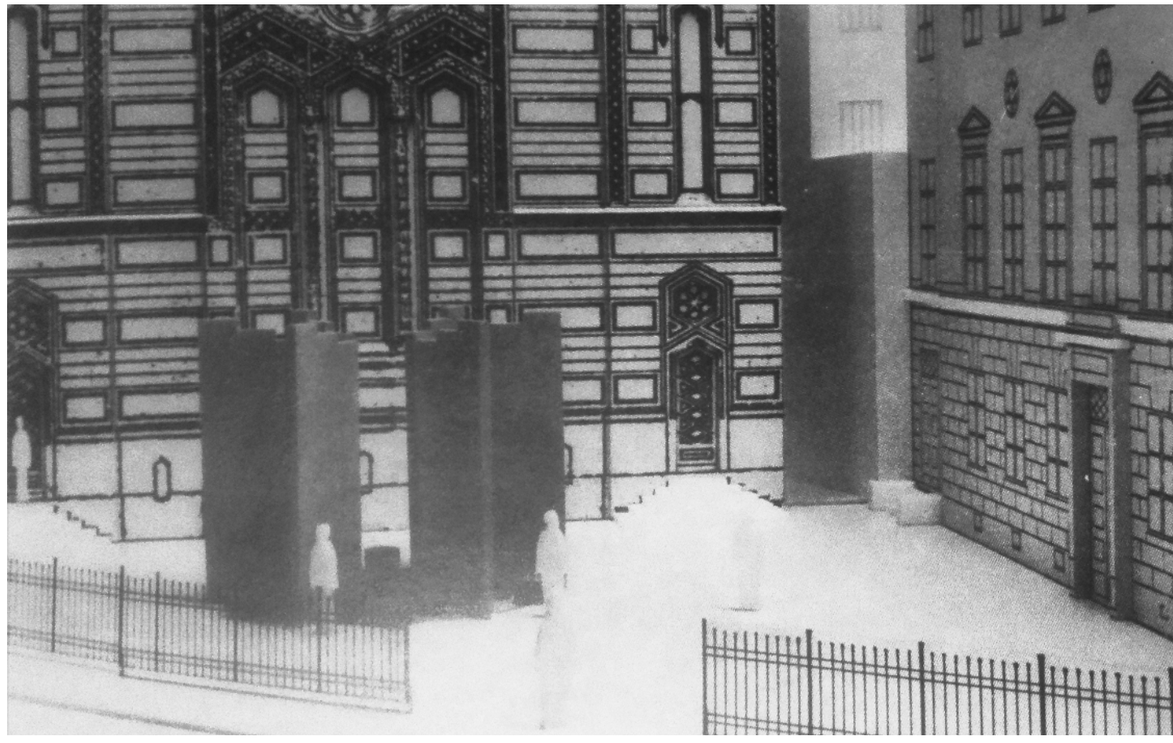
Figure 27. The first sketch made by Tadeusz Klimczak

Even though in the case of Sweden Holocaust memorialization had been a part of the national policy, certain personalities played a crucial role in the creation of the Holocaust memorial by the Great Synagogue. An independent activist Roman Wroblewski came up with an idea of the name memorial and drew the first sketch for it. Additionally, he was collecting the names of the memorized victims, applying for funding and, which is even more important, pushing an implementation forward despite numerous issues appearing in the process. The latest he performed in a close collaboration with a KTH professor and a Holocaust survivor Halina Neujahr (Wroblewski, 2013). Regardless a fact that the Jewish community in Sweden had been institutionalized for a long time and the government openly supported activities related to the Holocaust memory, this project turned out to be challenging and depending on a private initiative.

The idea of the name memorial appeared within Wroblewski's family. In 1993 his mother-in-law visited a cemetery in Poland and could not find the graves of her relatives who died or were murdered during the Second World War. As it turned out, the graves were simply removed and instead plaques with the names were put on the cemetery wall. This incident caused a massive collection of the names of those who were killed during the Holocaust but remembered by survivors living in Sweden. The campaign had begun within the family and personal acquaintances. Nonetheless, even on this stage, Wroblewski managed to gain more than 2300 names, which clearly demonstrated a scale of the future project. Later the information about the names collection was spread among the visitors of the Great Synagogue and parents of children who studied at the Jewish school. Some people were delivering dozens or even hundreds of names that resulted in a number of almost 8,500 (Wroblewski, 2013).

These events formed a concept of the name memorial that could commemorate those who perished far from their homes and, probably, did not even have proper graves. In addition to the names, the memorial was supposed to contain dates and places of birth and death. According to the authors' idea, this could have shown that the victims of the Holocaust were people of different ages and origins who died, though, in only a few places. These links were conceived for demonstrating terrifying *"logistics"* of the Holocaust (Wroblewski, 2013). Additionally, the memorial was designed for translating an idea of a connection between present generations and murdered Jews. These people would not have been commemorated if their relatives or friends had not

Figure 28



survived, remembered, and named them (Martinez, 2017).

In order to collect more names from the members of the community and further develop the project, Wroblewski involved Halina Neujahr. As a board member of the Stockholm Holocaust Survivors Association, she presented the project during one of the meetings. Although the board reacted to this idea mostly negatively she managed to organize the next meeting with a participation of Wroblewski. The second presentation went with more approval, and the Association agreed to be mentioned in the official applications for funding. Regardless, the first application to the City Hall Wroblewski and Neujahr signed earlier as two individuals. By the end of summer 1994 the activists had the idea, the first sketch painted by an architect Tadeusz Klimczak (fig.27), and almost full funding granted from the public money.

Among potential project sites two, according to Wroblewski, had the best potential for becoming a meaningful place of memory. His first choice was a current location of the memorial in the Great Synagogue's courtyard. The second one was today's Raoul Wallenberg square nearby. One of his major intentions was to find a centrally located site with a constant presence of people. By contrast to the abovementioned places, the rest of the considered sites were situated outside of the city with a lack of access like, for instance, a hill on the Jewish cemetery. Another reason for focusing on this part of the city was its "Jewish" history and present. In addition to the synagogue and the Community House (Judiska Församlingen), a Jewish school Hillel still occupies a building on Riddargatan 5 in the same area. Moreover, a building where Raoul Wallenberg used to be a frequent quest as a child is located in Arsenalgatan and his former office is based on Strandvägen 7a (Schult, 2009). The crucial point in choosing between two places became a fact that the synagogue had been regularly visited by the high-school students in accordance with the Swedish study program. Installation of the memorial there was an opportunity to transfer the knowledge about the Holocaust to new generations including non-Jewish youth.

Tension

Surprisingly, this plan faced discontent of the Jewish Congregation of Stockholm that owned and still owns the Great Synagogue's territory. Unfortunately, this happened after their previous approval and getting a permit from Swedish officials. One of the reasons for an unexpected protest was a fact that the Jewish Congregation saw its mission in serving the needs of *"Swedish Jews"* whereas none *"Swedish Jew"* suffered from the Holocaust (Feldman, 1994). In addition, three other points complemented this argumentation against the memorial's installation. Firstly, the institution argued that employees of the Jewish Community parked their cars in the suggested site. Secondly, it was claimed that the hooks in a blind wall in the project site were used for installing Sukkah – a temporary hut-looking construction for Sukkot celebrations. Finally, as a formal problem was pointed out a fact that Wroblewski was not a member of the Congregation (Wroblewski, 2013).

Additionally, Wroblewski stated that there was another significant reason for blocking the memorial's erection in the chosen place. As a matter of fact, the Jewish Congregation at the moment was involved to the creation of another memorial to the Holocaust victims in a Jewish cemetery. Their approach, though, was quite different. Each family, regardless an actual number of murdered relatives, had to pick up to three names and pay for metal plaques with them. One plaque was rather expensive, especially considering that the Holocaust survivors were mostly retired people who lived on their pensions. Moreover, the letters with this request were delivered only to the *"paying members"* of the Jewish Congregation (Wroblewski, 2013). Therefore, whereas Wroblewski and Neujahr in their project were trying to commemorate everyone, the local Congregation chose quite an exclusive tactic.

While the concept of the name memorial was formed from the beginning its shape had been changing multiple times. Original designs proposed by an architect Tadeusz Klimczak occupied the segment of the wall visible from Wahrendorffsgatan. After applying for an official approval and funding from the City Hall, it was necessary to run a competition in accordance with a formal procedure. Therefore, new projects appeared. One of them (fig.28) was developed by a sculptor Sivert Lindblom and represented another interpretation of the same idea of the name memorial. By contrast to the previous suggestions, this design was conceived as a volumetric composition placed in the middle of the inner courtyard (Wroblewski, 1995). Due to a fact that none of the projects was selected in the first tour, the second round had to be organized (Rothe, 2015).

Finally, a project designed by an architect Gabriel Herdevall was implemented in 1998. Similarly to an original concept, it occupied a firewall between the synagogue and a Catholic church and was composed of stone slabs with the victims'

Figure 29

Figure 30

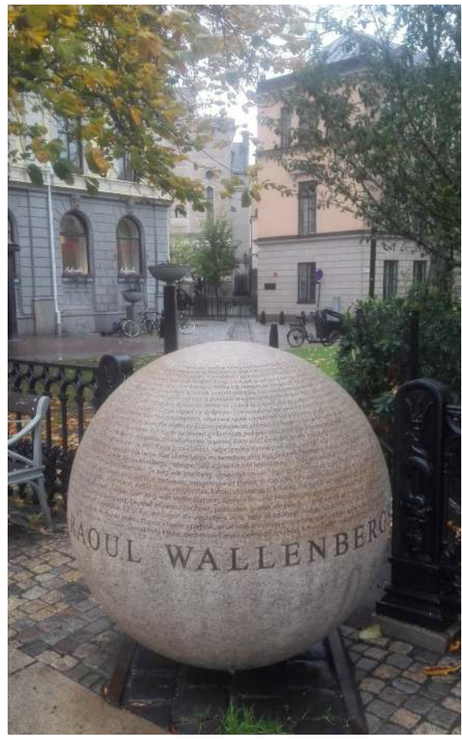
names. Roman Wroblewski even claimed that his initial idea was stolen (Wroblewski, 2013). In addition, the name memorial was complemented by sculptural elements created by Sivert Lindblom. Originally, granite slabs were creating a symbolic menorah by differing in heights. In the final design, though, a metal menorah is placed in front of the memorial wall nearby the main entrance to the Synagogue. Additionally, a metal vase made in the same manner serves for the stones that visitors are supposed to put by the names of their relatives.

Present

Today, if one stays at Raoul Wallenberg square or Berzelii Park, the Holocaust memorial in Stockholm seems to be just a narrow space between the Synagogue and a high wall. A visitor can enter through one of two gates that are open during the working hours of the Jewish Community. On the right side of this 42 meters path, one will find light-gray stones with the carved names of the Holocaust victims and the information about their birth and death (Schult, 2009). Though, sometimes this information was not remembered or even known; in these cases there are blanks. The path along the wall first goes down and then rises again with several steps to an open space in front of the main entrance to the Synagogue. During the day a narrow part of the memorial is shadowed, which creates a contrast between the buildings and the sky as well as between closed and open spaces (fig.29). Decorative lanterns and a menorah made in the same manner are installed in front of the wall and seen from Wahrendorffsgatan. The visitor can leave through a gate right in front of the wall or go back the same way.

Remarkably, another place of memory related to the Holocaust, specifically a Swedish diplomat Raoul Wallenberg was erected nearby in 2011 and nowadays is physically and symbolically linked to the name memorial. A number of bronze ground sculptures designed by an artist Kirsten Ortwed had completed the restorationproject of a former Nybroplan, or today's RaoulWallenberg torg. The restoration process that took place from 1996 to 2001 was led by an architect Aleksander Wolodarski who also came up with an idea of a linkage between two places of memory. However, he and Gabriel Herdevall managed to turn this connection into reality only in 2004. The link is represented by a narrow path made of cobblestones (fig.30). Interestingly, the cobblestones were specially delivered from Budapest ghetto, which highlights a connection with Wallenberg's personality. The metal elements that frame the stones imitate a railway. This linking path was named Vägen, or the Way. In turn, an alley where the name memorial was erected was called Aron Isaac's gränd in a memory of *"the first Jewish immigrant who was allowed to practice his religion in Sweden"* (Schult, 2009).

Figure 31. View from Raoul Wallenberg torg to the name memorial



Social practices in (non)public space

As in the case of Minsk, direct observations were conducted in Stockholm. Since none of them happened during commemoration days or other events (official visits, guided tours, etc.), observations mostly gave an understanding of everyday practices around the Holocaust memorial. In addition to seven 15-minutes sessions, I visited the memorial two more times, for meeting Roman Wroblewski in the Community House and having a guided tour with Folke Holtz in the memorial site as well as inside of the Synagogue. According to the results of my observations, 277 people were passing by along Wahrendorffsgatan in both directions and, hence, had an opportunity to see the memorial and enter the Synagogue's courtyard.

Among this amount, 21 people were involved in some kind of interaction with the memorial. The most common type of such interaction was taking a look at the memorial site and less frequently reading the inscriptions on the informational plaques or discussing it with a companion.

While the majority of the people who interacted with the memorial seemed to be passersby, a few of them came to the memorial site for a purpose. One group of four people acted like they came for visiting the memorial though, due to a fact that it was a weekend, were not able to come inside the courtyard. Additionally, two couples during two different sessions were fully exploring the memorial. As it turned out, one of these couples arrived from Australia as tourists and was looking for the names of the relatives who were murdered in Auschwitz. At first, the Australian couple was staying by a fence and entered only after some woman opened the gate from inside and confirmed that they could explore the memorial freely. When I asked the woman about visiting hours she replied that the memorial was available during the working time. So states the official website of the Jewish Congregation though it does not specify exact hours as well. Additionally, on the same day, I checked two other entrances to the courtyard and found out that they were locked. As this incident demonstrated, the memorial by the Great Synagogue has not only public but international meaning though an access to it seems to be confusing to the visitors.

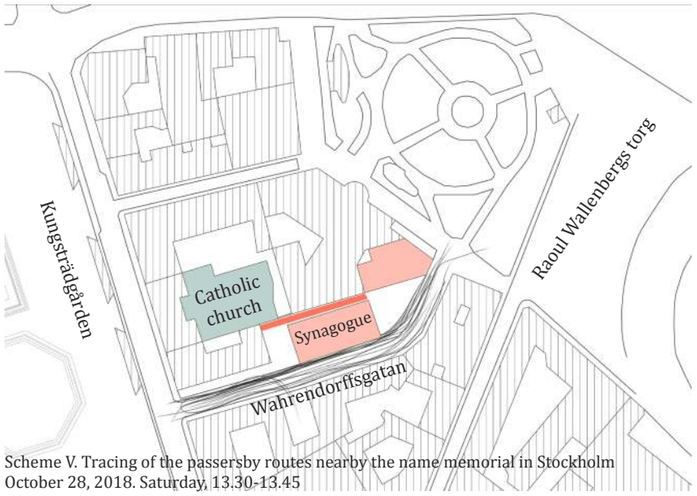
As it was mentioned, visitors also come to the memorial site with guided tours though I did not discover how often this happens. The first group of visitors is represented by the schoolchildren. According to a newly developed in 2011 national curricula, the education about the Holocaust is mandatory for students of the secondary and upper-secondary school levels. Though the document does not specify the number of hours dedicated to the subject, so it directly depends on a teacher (The Living History Forum, 2011). Nonetheless, as the interviews confirmed, this has encouraged school students coming to the Holocaust memorial site by the Great Synagogue, which partly became a rationale for the memorial's erection in this particular place.

Another opportunity to have a tour around the memorial site is booking an appointment with one of the members of the Jewish Congregation. In accordance with a schedule on their website, in summer these excursions are available from Monday to Thursday at 11 and 12 and by Fridays at 11 only. While I contacted the Congregation on October 26, I was offered time on November 5 and turned out to be the only participant of the tour. It lasted around an hour and included the information about Judaism and Jewish culture rather than the memorial. The cost of the tour, which is also announced on the website, is 150 kronor, 20 dollars or 15 euro. Therefore, public technically has opportunities to visit the memorial as well as gain the information about its history; albeit, both a regime of work and a price policy do not encourage visiting by being rather exclusive.

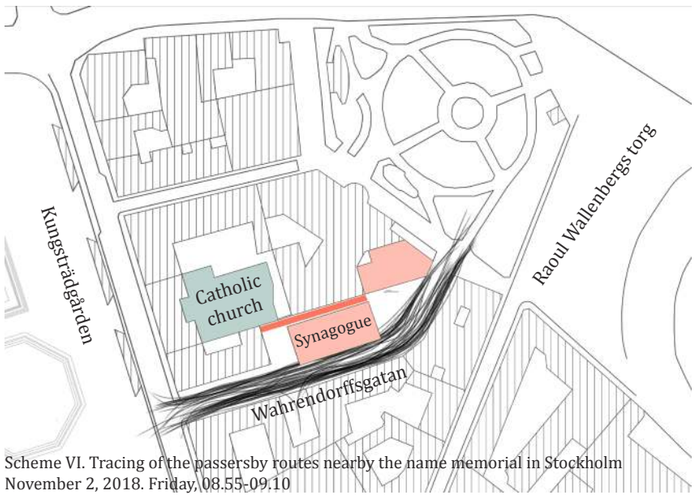
Finally, formal events with a participation of Swedish and international authorities represent another segment of the social practices that take place around the memorial. So, a ceremony of the memorial's opening in September 1998 involved the King of Sweden Carl XVI Gustav (Rothe, 2015). In 2000, a governmental institution The Living History Forum established a national Holocaust Memorial Day that is annually celebrated by the Jewish Community. Although The Living History Forum claims that in recent years this day has gained the status of an official commemorative date (The Living History Form), its meaning for the community is still not clear. As Roman Wroblewski admitted in his interview, people come to the Synagogue though they do not know what exactly to do as far as a ritual has not been formed yet. Regarding the international attention towards the memorial, Barack Obama visited it in 2013 on the eve of Rosh Hashanah, or the Jewish New Year. The former Swedish Prime Minister Fredrik Reinfeldt, a rabbi as well as Raoul Wallenberg's family members joined him in this visit during which the ex-president placed stones by the name memorial (Nosanchuk, 2013).

***277** passersby*
***21** of them interacted with the memorial*
***6** people came for a purpose*

Figure 32. Visitor by the memorial, summer 2018



Scheme V. Tracing of the passersby routes nearby the name memorial in Stockholm October 28, 2018. Saturday, 13.30-13.45



Scheme VI. Tracing of the passersby routes nearby the name memorial in Stockholm November 2, 2018. Friday, 08.55-09.10

08.55-09.10, Friday				13.35-13.50, Saturday***			
women	men	children	total	women	men	children	total
from Kungsträdgården				from Kungsträdgården			
5	5	-	**10**	4	11	2	**17**
to Kungsträdgården				to Kungsträdgården			
18	30	-	**48**	12	15	-	**27**
12.10-12.25, Tuesday*				14.05-14.20, Thursday****			
women	men	children	total	women	men	children	total
from Kungsträdgården				from Kungsträdgården			
6	8	-	**14**	9	10	-	**19**
to Kungsträdgården				to Kungsträdgården			
5	10	-	**15**	5	6	-	**11**
13.30-13.45, Sunday**				16.55-17.10, Monday*****			
women	men	children	total	women	man	children	total
from Kungsträdgården				from Kungsträdgården			
2	6	-	**8**	15	20	-	**35**
to Kungsträdgården				to Kungsträdgården			
4	9	1	**14**	6	9	-	**15**

Table V. Counting of the passersby by the name memorial

V

Discussion and implications

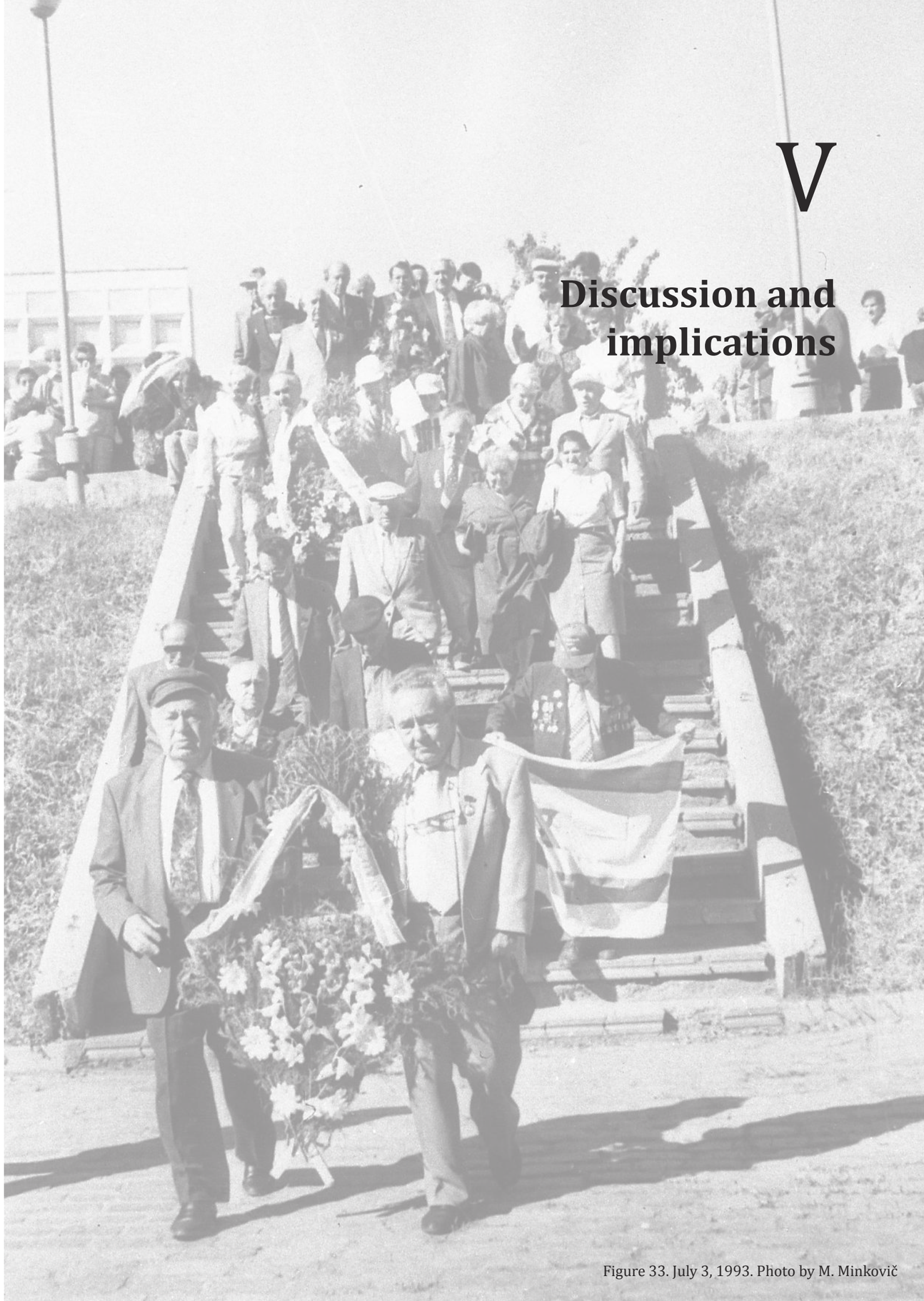


Figure 33. July 3, 1993. Photo by M. Minkovič

Discussion and implications

Coming back to the original research questions, all of them were answered to a certain degree by this report. Due to the time limitations of this project, I was not able to perform a full review of the archival documents in Belarus. Their detailed analysis could have discovered additional details about the decision-making process regarding the memorials' installation and the process of their design. Such a work, though, would require weeks or even months. Also, an amount of direct observations was not enough for making informed conclusions about the patterns of the social practices around the memorials. This research, though, can serve as a base for making starting hypothesis for the further studies in this area. Nonetheless, this report summarized the information regarding the memorials' history, design and a social role comprehensively, which was not done before. Such a summary can contribute significantly to the further studies on the Holocaust memorials in Belarus and Sweden.

In the case of Sweden, the main limitation for the report became a lack of knowledge in Swedish. However, the report composes a coherent narrative about the name memorial in Stockholm with a focus on social practices and its impact, which was not done before. Additionally, although the memorial in Stockholm was quite well described by the academics, journalists, and participants of the approval process it was rarely put in the international perspective. The latest can be applied to the memorials in Minsk that were barely analyzed as a part of the European culture of memory.

Discourse

Although generally public's perception of the Great Patriotic War in Belarus is considered as homogeneous (Ластовский, 2009), the memory about the Holocaust is less solid than one could expect. So, both of the studied memorials have experienced the attacks of neo-Nazi organizations. During their actions, vandals covered the memorials with paint and left a note with threats by the Pit. A researcher Leanid Smilavitsky also claims that Jewish cemeteries and synagogues around the country had been regularly attacked by vandals during the 90s (Smilovitsky, 2007). Thus, alternative attitudes towards the Holocaust exist in Belarus though they are rather marginal.

Additionally, a visible solidity of the war discourse in the case of Belarus may signal rather about its selective character than a social agreement regarding it. As it was mentioned, official discourse does not support an inclusion of certain aspects of the war like, for example, a collaboration of Belarusians with Nazis. In turn, within the Holocaust subject, there are other lacunas. One of them, according to Andrej Katliarčuk, is an extermination of the Roma minority during the Holocaust. Knowledge about this aspect of the Holocaust in Belarus is fragmented and commemoration of the Roma victims is represented by only three memorials that mention this ethnic group (Kotljarchuk, 2013). Therefore, existing Holocaust memorials narrate only about a part of its history. This narrative can be complemented by new memorials that commemorate other groups of victims or provide with a new perspective on the familiar events.

Power

A question of power, in other words, who has conceived the commemorative spaces, was one of the crucial in this research. As this report demonstrates, the Belarusian government was involved in both the reconstruction of the Pit and an installation of the memorial in the Jewish cemetery. However, not the government but the Jewish community initiated their erection; additionally, a personal role of Leanid Levin is noticeable. So, other places of commemoration to the Holocaust victims installed in the latest years in Minsk were also designed by Levin's studio. The first of them is a monument to the ghetto victims in the city center that appeared in 2009 (Вайніцкі, 2017). Another one is a large memorial complex in the suburbs that was designed on a place of a former concentration camp Trasčianeč and opened in June 2018 (Касперович, 2018). Since almost all the existing Holocaust memorials in Minsk are linked to Levin's personality, it is hard to assume how the Holocaust memorialization will be developing after his death.

Regarding the changes in the design of the studied memorials, the report demonstrates that they have always been connected to the changes in the politics of memory. For instance, an erection of the black obelisk was a typical example of bottom-up memorialization in after-war years that took place in Belarus, Lithuania, and Latvia (Young, 1994). In turn, a demolition of the Jewish cemetery and establishing the park on its place was also not a unique practice (Медведь, 2012). Therefore, new objects in the studied memorial sites have not been random but represented a certain tendencies in the politics of memory. Recognizing the uniqueness of each case, though, can allow capturing what makes a certain memorial an influential place of commemoration and another one a silent stone.

In the Swedish context, the government has played an active role in the Holocaust commemoration by being an initiator and a major sponsor of the related activities. In the case of the name memorial in Stockholm, its creation was almost fully funded by the City Hall. However, as this case demonstrates, even with the support of the state private initiative remains important and even crucial. The memorial by the Great Synagogue had been started as an independent initiative but not as a part of the Holocaust commemoration mainstream. Though, a fact that the process of the memorial's approval overlapped with the governmental interest in the subject might result in the fast and generous financial support from the City Hall.

In addition, Stockholm's case clearly demonstrates the significance of inclusive bottom-up design practices. Collection of the victims' names and, hence, returning them their dignity became a fundamental idea for the memorial. This idea was reflected both in the design and in the process that aimed to be transparent and engaging. As it was mentioned, the Jewish Congregation was working on another project for the Holocaust victims' commemoration. Their approach, though, provoked significant tension and even phone calls with complaints due to a reason that only *"paying members"* of the Segregation were suggested to choose up to three dead relatives and pay for a name plaque for each of them (Wroblewski, 2013). Thus, while a participatory approach can encourage people to identify themselves with a memorial and a process of its creation, exclusive principles may cause protests, claims, and rejection.

Design and message

It is needed to admit that drawing any principal conclusions regarding the tendencies in the memorials' design in Belarus or Sweden is quite problematic, at least due to a small number of the contemporary Holocaust memorials. Besides, considering that numerous memorials to the Holocaust victims in Belarus were designed by one author, Leanid Levin, it is rather possible to follow the evolution of his personal style than a contemporary national tradition of memorialization. Nevertheless, a sculptor Vajnicki attempts to do this by claiming that figurativeness is commonly used in the Belarusian Holocaust memorials of the recent years. According to him, such a tool can be suitable and expressive for small-scale monuments but does not allow a full use of the larger spaces' potential (Вайніцкі, 2017). On a basis of this research, though, it is impossible to distinguish such a tendency since it includes the analysis of only two places of memorialization in Belarus. Nonetheless, Vajnicki may be right since contemporary memorials, regardless figurative or abstract, rather tend to provide with the unique spatial experiences and engage visitors. While the memorial in Yama has these qualities, the objects in the former Jewish cemetery more likely reflect the earlier type of a memorial that tends to form as a single volume connected with the park environment (Stevens, Franck, 2016).

It is worth mentioning that both memorials in Minsk specify the Jews as a commemorated group, which sharply contrasts the Soviet era when this was impossible. Additionally, the Broken Hearth mentions Nazi collaborators shedding light on an issue that is usually not articulated by media, scholars or politicians. The Pantheon of Memory is quite unique in this regard, due to a fact that it commemorates European Jews including Belarus into the European memory context after the decades of the Soviet isolation. Though, a fact that Jews are not mentioned in regard to the Second World War in Belarus is still topical. So, an organizer of the guided tours around Jewish places of Belarus Sviatlana Berger reacted on the opening of the memorial in the former concentration camp on her Facebook page. Her post said *"I very carefully reread the news about the opening of the memorial in Trasčianeč on the available websites. Not a word about Jews. Why?"*

Additionally, the report mentions what messages Leanid Levin attempted to express through the design of his memorials. This study can serve as a base for further research with a focus on the public's perception of these messages. So far, though, some preliminary assumptions are possible. Firstly, media review demonstrated that there is certain confusion regarding a function of a sand career on a place of the Pit memorial. So, the sculpture Walking to Death is interpreted by some sources as a representation of historical events during which Jews were descending into the Pit for being shot and buried there (Cohen, 2017). As an introduction to the Pit's history demonstrated, it is not exactly true; the victims were murdered all over the ghetto and only several hundreds of them were buried in the Pit. Was this inaccurate interpretation caused by a shape and a position of the sculpture? Are these walking figures perceived by the public too literally?

Secondly, the direct observations allowed discovering a few unexpected practices that were taking place around the Broken Hearth memorial. As it was pointed out, two groups of children were playing on the memorial's foundation. Additionally, a young mother was helping her little son to urinate under the tree right in front of the sculpture. Besides, an adult who looked like homeless was urinating almost in the same place the other day. Of course, these practices are not equal though both are quite noticeable. Did these people think that their behavior was appropriate for a memorials site or simply were not aware of the sculpture's role? If the latest is right, was an author's metaphor too indirect? These questions bring back an assumption made by Yilmaz in The Art of Memory: an unclear message seems to be able to provoke confusion within a public (Yilmaz, 2010). Regardless, for answering these questions further investigation is needed. As Tanja Schult points out, as far as the public is usually not familiar with a complicated context in which a memorial exists its form itself should communicate to the visitors precisely (Schult, 2009).

Continuing discussion on the physical qualities of the memorials, the Pit illustrates well another thesis articulated by Yilmaz. Her hypothesis of detachment is represented precisely in this place of memory (Yilmaz, 2010). The shape of the deep carrier itself serves here as a powerful architectural tool by contrasting with the surroundings, drawing people's attention, and creating a spatial experience different from routine activities. The latest is especially true for Minsk with its monotonous topography. This may be an additional reason why so much more people were attracted to this memorial. The objects in the memorial park, by contrast, are placed there in a way that they have become a part of people's everyday routes and, therefore, do not suggest any new experiences as well as do not identify a significance of this place.

This research also discovers that the roles of the studied memorials have been quite different. Although a meaning of the memorial for a certain group is subjective, even on a stage of literature and media review the importance of the Pit became obvious. Yama appeared in the movies, on the books' covers, in the memoirs of the ghetto imprisoners. While almost every publication about the Holocaust in Minsk referred to the Pit, a search of information regarding the other memorial was much more challenging. The direct observations also confirmed this hypothesis. So, a number of people around the Pit was approximately 2.5 times larger than around the studied area in the former cemetery. Besides, several individual visitors and groups came to the Pit for a purpose, whereas no one came specially to the Pantheon of Memory or the Broken Hearth.

This difference can be caused by numerous reasons including the memorials' location within the city fabric. It is obvious to me, though, the main distinction of the Pit is its symbolical meaning for the Jewish community. The history of the memorial formed the myths that, in turn, have constructed a famous place of memorialization. The place where thousands of Jews died. The place where the community installed the first obelisk to them. The place where the first massive meeting happened. The Pit, for sure, can serve as an example to the Lefebvrian triad; here physical and discursive spaces in connection with social practices constructed this significant space known to everyone as Yama.

Location and identity

In regard to the name memorial in Stockholm, its design reflects the original idea clearly. Though, it is questionable how its location and the regime of use correspond to one of the initial purposes such as being a *"shield against racism, Neo-Nazism and anti-Semitism"*. Additionally, an author of the idea Roman Wroblewski argued that the memorial was supposed to constitute the *"Swedish contribution to the documentation of the Holocaust"* (Wroblewski, 2013). Therefore, the memorial was conceived as both an intimate place of commemoration for the descendants of the Holocaust victims and a public statement addressed to the citizens. However, whereas the first objective is achieved the public impact of the memorial is not obvious. Raoul Wallenberg's memorial nearby is built in the transit public area and, therefore, engages more people and more likely represents the Swedish role in the Holocaust resistance.

As it was originally planned, the memorial was supposed to be open on the 50-years anniversary of the Auschwitz liberation in 1995 (Wroblewski, 2013). In fact, the process of its design and approval took longer though another thing is demonstrative in this regard. By contrast to the Belarusian context, choosing a memorial site that would be meaningful for the citizens is problematic in Sweden. This is also true for the commemoration dates that among the Swedish Jewish Community are mostly related to the internationally known large-scale events like, for instance, the uprising in Warsaw ghetto. Nonetheless, this does not mean that Sweden cannot have its own perspective on the Holocaust connected with specifically Swedish experience. The places that connect Sweden and the Holocaust are mostly coast areas where refugees were arriving from Norway and Denmark or numerous countries at the end of the war (The Living History Forum, 2011).

The survey also demonstrates that today this memorial is situated in the intersection of multiple identities. By contrast to the memorial in the Pit, though, some of these identities were not organically formed through time but invented. The name memorial is located in the alley of Isaac Aaron and connected to Raoul Wallenberg torg by a so-called Vägen. All these names are new and, moreover, not relevant to each other in historical terms (Wroblewski, 2013). Tanja Schult states in her book that numerous stockholmers still call Raoul Wallenberg torg its former name Nybroplan, which confirms that there is certain confusion regarding this area's identity (Schult, 2009). While in the case of the Pit its various roles have formed a solid image, abundance of symbols in the studied area in Stockholm rater represents different visions and interests of actors that have created it.

Implications

This research did not seek to make practical implications regarding memorials design on a basis of three analyzed cases. Nonetheless, its findings allow drawing several conclusions that can be applied specifically to Belarusian and Swedish contexts or to other cases. These conclusions problematize a lack of information about the memorials and an access to them as well as a deficit of participatory practices in the design of the memorials. Additionally, the findings made in this report shed light on an issue of the memorials' identity and location.

One of the biggest challenges in this research was a lack of information or a limited access to it, especially in the case of Belarus. For example, a heritage of Leanid Levin has still not being transferred to the city archives. Therefore, a personal visit to his studio is the only way to see the original projects of the memorials he designed. Unfortunately, such significant materials are not available for the public and, moreover, even for photographing. Making these projects available would contribute significantly to the work of researchers and architects and, hence, the memory of the Holocaust.

Additionally, as the direct observations demonstrated, the Pit memorial site does not provide with a physical access to the groups with special needs. Its natural landscape sharply contrasts with the surrounding urban environment, which makes the memorial recognizable and expressive. As it was mentioned, this feature of the Pit serves as an example of what Yilmaz calls *"detachment"* (Yilmaz, 2010). At the same time, though, *"detachment"* prevents visitors from going down the Pit and exploring it. Additionally, review of the visual materials confirmed that the Pit have been often visited by the elderly, thus, safe and comfortable conditions for different groups are absolutely necessary. Regarding the memorial on the former cemetery, problems of the physical access are not that obvious there. Though, an entrance to the memorial park is not equipped with a ramp making this place of memorialization not fully inclusive as well.

In the case of Stockholm, a problem of the access was visible from the very beginning, and the report confirms that specific memorial's location and working hours affect the visitors. Additionally, such a location prevents achieving one the initial goals of this memorial. Originally, it aimed to spread awareness about the Holocaust and represent Swedish contribution in fighting it though, in fact, these objectives were achieved only partly. Therefore, if a new Holocaust memorial is built, for enhancing its social impact in the national and international scales this place of commemoration should be created in public space. Erection of such a memorial in one the sites related to the local Holocaust history would have increased its meaning and allow citizens to identify themselves with it.

The report also reveals that public participation in the memorial's funding, approval, design, maintenance, etc. significantly amplifies its further impact. In a case of the Pit, such an involvement was caused by a lack of resources, anti-Semitic politics, and other mostly negative factors. It seems possible, though, to increase public engagement today for creating more diverse and meaningful places of memorialization. For sure, this requires new policies that would regulate the procedure of the memorial design with an involvement of the state, spatial experts and civil society.

Finally, even though a comparison of Belarusian and Swedish contexts was not one of the report's objectives one particular aspect allows doing so. This aspect is an access to the victims' names, which was challenging but possible in the case of Stockholm and totally unachievable in Minsk. In fact, not only names but even numbers of Belarusian victims are still not known and, most probably, never will be. This makes a name extremely valuable since it allows commemorating a person instead of an abstract victim. While the entire Holocaust ideology and "industry" aimed to blur victim's individuality, dignity and significance, calling the victims by their names restores all of these. Thus, in the contexts where the names are known they should not be ignored as well as human dignity should never be taken away.

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Appendix

Interviews questions

Вопросы, связанные с личностью интервьюируемого/интервьюируемой:
Questions related to the personality of the interviewed person:

1. Представьтесь, кратко объяснив, какова Ваша роль в сохранении памяти о жертвах Холокоста в Беларуси.
1. Introduce yourself and briefly explain your role in the preservation of memory about the Holocaust in Belarus.

Вопросы, относящиеся к истории и дизайну мемориалов:
Questions related to the history and design of the memorials:

1. Кому принадлежит идея установки мемориала?
1. Whose idea was an installation of the memorial?
2. Кто участвовал в разработке и финансировании мемориала? Как происходило взаимодействие между акторами процесса?
2. Who participated in developing and funding the memorial? How was the collaboration between different actors going?
3. Какова роль частных инициатив, государства, еврейской общины, иностранных организаций и т.п. в создании мемориала?
3. What was the role of private initiatives, the state, the Jewish community, foreign organizations, etc. in creating the memorial?

Вопросы, относящиеся к дизайну и идее мемориалов:
Questions related to the design and idea of the memorial:

1. Почему был выбран именно этот участок для установки мемориала?
1. What was the rationale for choosing this site for the memorial's installation?
2. Какие аспекты Холокоста планировалось отразить в мемориале?
2. What aspects of the Holocaust were planned to reflect in the memorial?
3. В чем вы видите миссию мемориала?
3. How do you see the mission of the memorial?
4. Какие образы были выбраны для мемориала? Почему именно они?
4. What metaphors were chosen for the memorial? Why them?
5. Какими выразительными средствами автор пытался сконструировать выбранные образы? Считаете ли Вы выбранные средства успешными?
5. What were the tools used by the author for expressing the chosen images? Do you think he succeeded?

6. Чем отличается сегодняшний внешний вид мемориала от изначально задуманного? Почему произошли эти изменения?
6. How is today's appearance of the memorial different from the originally conceived? Why did these changes happen?
7. Кому посвящен мемориал? Почему выбрана именно эта группа жертв?
7. Whom does the memorial commemorate? Why was this group of victims chosen?

Вопросы, относящиеся к использованию мемориалов и общественной реакции на них:
Questions related to the use of the memorials and public reaction to them:

1. Какое значение имеют эти мемориалы для Вас и еврейского сообщества Минска? Почему?
1. What is the meaning of the memorial for you and the Jewish community?
2. Как используются мемориалы в настоящее время? Кем инициированы мероприятия, проходящие у мемориалов?
2. How is the memorial used today? Who does initiate the events that take place by the memorial?
3. Есть ли общественная реакция на мемориалы (их дизайн, сам факт присутствия в городском пространстве)? Если есть, то какая?
3. Is there any public reaction on the memorial (its design, the fact of its existence)? If so, what is the reaction?
4. Есть ли планы по установке новых мемориалов жертвам Холокоста в Минске и Беларуси? Кем они инициированы?
4. Are there any plans regarding the installation of the new memorials to the Holocaust victims? Who does initiate them?