

THE MEMORIAL MUSEUM OF SOCIETIES FACING TERRORISM

REPORT TO THE PRIME MINISTER

March 2020

Preparatory assignment

Henry Rousso
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Prime Minister's Engagement Letter

Le Premier Ministre

Paris, le

04 FEV. 2019

Monsieur le Professeur,

Lors de la cérémonie annuelle d'hommage aux victimes du terrorisme, le 19 septembre 2018, le Président de la République a annoncé la création d'un Musée-mémorial dédié aux victimes des attentats, reprenant ainsi l'une des propositions du rapport du Comité mémoriel « *Terrorisme : faire face – enjeux historiques et mémoriaux* », remis le 7 septembre dernier à la Garde des sceaux, ministre de la justice.

Le Comité assigne au futur Musée-Mémorial la mission « *de rendre compte de la façon dont les sociétés démocratiques affrontent l'épreuve du terrorisme, car ce n'est pas tant du terrorisme qu'il s'agit de faire musée que du défi qu'il représente pour la démocratie et la façon dont elle le relève* ».

Le Musée-Mémorial aura ainsi une triple vocation : lieu de mémoire et de recueillement, il sera également un musée d'histoire ouvert sur l'avenir, et enfin un espace de recherche, de transmission et d'éducation pour les adultes comme pour les plus jeunes.

Compte tenu de votre expertise sur la mémoire collective et la Seconde Guerre mondiale, ainsi que de la richesse de votre réflexion sur les rapports entre Histoire, Justice et Mémoire, je souhaiterais vous confier la présidence de la mission qui préfigurera ce projet de grande ampleur.

Votre appartenance à de nombreux conseils scientifiques de musées et mémoriaux vous permettra d'affiner encore le sens à donner à ce Musée-Mémorial. En outre, je sais pouvoir compter sur vous pour susciter des collaborations fructueuses qui viendront enrichir la conception de ce lieu ambitieux et inédit.

Monsieur Henry ROUSSO
Institut d'histoire du temps présent
CNRS
59-61, rue Pouchet
75849 PARIS cedex 17

La mission de préfiguration que vous animerez aura principalement les objectifs suivants :

- Rédiger le cahier des charges et définir le lieu d'implantation du Musée-mémorial ;
- Structurer sa conception, avec l'aide d'un comité de pilotage que vous constituerez en lien avec les ministres en charge, et en associant des personnalités, experts et partenaires sur les aspects pédagogique, scientifique, mémoriel et institutionnel du projet ;
- Décider du statut du futur Musée et prévoir son mode de fonctionnement.

La déléguée interministérielle à l'aide aux victimes soutiendra les travaux du comité de pilotage et plus largement, vous apportera toute l'assistance dont vous aurez besoin. Madame Elisabeth PELSEZ veillera en outre avec vous, à chaque étape de la mission, à l'implication des ministères concernés et à l'information des partenaires impliqués dans le projet.

Le ministère de la justice mettra à votre disposition l'ensemble des ressources matérielles et humaines nécessaires à l'accomplissement de votre tâche.

Je vous saurai gré de me tenir informé des avancées de ce projet qui me tient particulièrement à cœur.

Je forme le vœu que la création du Musée-mémorial répondra aux attentes des victimes du terrorisme, mais aussi de l'ensemble de la Nation, car il est de la responsabilité de l'Etat de faire mémoire des attentats qui depuis plus de cinquante ans ont profondément marqué notre pays et nos ressortissants à l'étranger.

Je vous prie d'agréer, Monsieur le Professeur, l'expression de mes sentiments les meilleurs.


Edouard PHILIPPE

Summary and recommendations

WHY A MEMORIAL MUSEUM?

Paying a national tribute to all victims of terrorism as well as other victims of conflict. Through them, it is the community that has been targeted, whether it is the Nation, the Republic or the State. Erecting a memorial is a form of recognition and reparation, justice and truth.

Considering a joint memorial and a museum which does more than commemorate. Knowledge is a vector of memory. Honouring victims means understanding why they have been victims, giving meaning to their ordeal and encouraging the possibility of overcoming it. It is helping to transform an experience of death into an experience of life.

Building a place of peace and contemplation, reflection and exchange to affirm the fundamental values of citizenship: freedom of expression, freedom of belief, equal rights and equal conditions, tolerance, solidarity and openness to the world.

Meeting the expectations of victims and their associations. The memorial museum must offer them assistance and a place to meet, dedicate activities to them and maintain regular contact with them, in the spirit of cooperation that has emerged during the project.

Raising public awareness of the nature of terrorism in all its forms. The memorial museum must respond to the stupefaction, failure to understand and fear that it purposefully provokes. It therefore targets audiences of all ages, from all backgrounds: Parisian, Ile-de-France, national, foreign, and driven by various motivations: educational, moral, professional, cultural or touristic. These audiences with different uses must be considered as stakeholders and participants.

Educating from an early age and contributing to preventing the risks of terrorism: dislocation of social ties, rejection of the other and discrimination, misinformation and radicalisation.

Offering a place of resilience that highlights acts of heroism and solidarity, the diversity of which reflects the responses and reactions of society to the challenge of terrorism.

SPECIFIC FEATURES

Considering the diversity and longevity of terrorism in France. A great world power and long-time colonial power, since the end of the 19th century, it has been affected by anarchist, nationalist, extreme left, extreme right and Islamist terrorism. Many French people are also victims of all kinds of terrorist acts all over the world.

Focusing on a recent period, from the late 1960s to the present day, which has seen the emergence of terrorism that ignores borders, while tracing the long genealogy of terrorism. This choice is based on the decision to award the national medal of recognition to victims of terrorism to those affected since 1974, the year of the first indiscriminate fatal attack committed on French soil after the end of the Algerian War.

Affirming the unique nature of the place. By covering all the victims and all the terrorist acts that have affected France and the French for fifty years, it stands out from other comparable memorials around the world that are dedicated to a single event or a single form of terrorism.

Choosing the most neutral site possible to deliver a message to all victims and to the whole nation. This means that it is not a place of historical significance, nor is it a place where an attack was committed. The choice of location is a priority.

Choosing a location in Paris or Greater Paris to ensure this neutrality and national dimension, the capital having also been the city most affected in France by all forms of terrorism since the 19th century.

FUNCTIONS

Affirming the triple ambition of being a memorial for tribute and remembrance, a museum of history and society, and a place of communication. Everything must be encapsulated by a building offering aesthetic and design continuity.

1. THE MEMORIAL

The space must be calm and peaceful. It is intended to soothe the torments of memory and the violence of history.

The National Day of Tribute to the Victims of Terrorism on 11 March will be celebrated there and the site must include specific facilities, for example an esplanade capable of accommodating between 100 and 150 people.

The memorial must identify victims of terrorism in France and French victims abroad. The task of the future institution is to help develop as accurate and comprehensive a list as possible of those who have died as a result of terrorism since 1974.

It must have a place for survivors and those who were physically or psychologically injured. It must also give visibility to first-responders and first-aid workers: firefighters, rescuers, police officers and gendarmes, doctors, neighbours and those just passing by.

2. THE MUSEUM

It will be a museum of both history and society, a place focused on knowledge and learning, meeting the criteria of 21st century museums, by encouraging exchanges between the themes explored, the disciplines, the material and virtual collections, visitors and facilitators, and visitors amongst themselves.

It goes beyond the issue of terrorism alone in order to present a broader context and framework for analysis. It is a contemporary history museum focused primarily on France, but widely open to Europe and the world. The museum tour thus presents four major themes, which can evolve and change:

- the history of terrorism since the late 1960s
- societal responses and consequences
- the new focus on the victim
- the emergence of an era of remembrance since the 1970s

Collections are made up of loan or deposit agreements and donations. Initial scoping allows us to envisage a permanent exhibition and temporary exhibitions supplied by documents, still and moving images, objects, testimonies, artistic and other productions. The project team has established links with many heritage institutions (archives, libraries, museums, administrations, media, associations, individuals) that demonstrate a shared desire to contribute to creating a point of reference.

3. THE PLACE OF TRANSMISSION

The site welcomes the general public at the same time as more specific audiences. This requires specific infrastructures: a digital documentation and resource centre, seminar and meeting rooms equipped with 25 to 30 seats, an auditorium with a capacity of 120 seats, all designed to bring together all categories of visitors, and adaptable as required.

It will offer cultural programming on geographical, chronological or thematic scopes wider than those of the permanent exhibition, in history, science, artistic fields and others.

Particular attention will be paid to educational and civic activities, in particular to middle and high school students, as the site will offer many links with teaching programmes: the history of terrorism and its consequences, warnings against conspiracy theories and the dissemination of fake news, and control of social networks.

The site will be open to continuing training for various professions, directly or indirectly affected by the issue of terrorism, victim support, public policies of remembrance: judges, police, firefighters, first aiders, psychotherapists, teachers, etc.

It supports scientific research and is a meeting place for researchers in the human sciences, life sciences and all disciplines related to its themes.

The memorial museum establishes a national and international network bringing together the other French memorials dedicated to victims of terrorism, the heritage institutions with which it works and comparable museums and memorials around the world. The success of the project as a whole will be conditional upon the existence of this network.

RESOURCES

Designing a building accessible to all, open to all audiences, eco-designed and with a total usable area of 4,000 to 5,000 m², including an exhibition area of 1,200 to 1,600 m², and outdoor spaces open to the city, with water and greenery, easily secured to fit into the urban fabric.

Providing the preparatory team with its own structure, budget and personnel for subsequent operations enabling it to choose the site, draft the scientific and cultural plan and draft the specifications for future project managers (architects, scenographers, etc.).

Extending the delivery and project management of the rest of the project to other administrations in order to strengthen the action of the Ministry of Justice, which, for the time being, is the sole contracting authority.

Anticipating the future. The memorial museum is part of the long-term landscape, with the terrorist risk unlikely to disappear in the coming years. This is the most difficult challenge. The very existence of a living and active memorial museum shows how French society affirms its ability to distance itself from what harms it the most and therefore revives its long tradition of resistance through culture.

I. Introduction

On 19 September 2018, President Emmanuel Macron called for the creation of a "memorial museum of terrorism". In his letter of 4 February 2019, Prime Minister Édouard Philippe engaged the project team in the task of drafting specifications, defining a location, structuring its design and deciding on the future status and mode of operation. During a meeting with the Chair of the project team on 11 October 2019, the Prime Minister expressed the hope that the work would first focus on the development of a general concept, prior to the question of location and the drafting of the scientific and cultural project itself. This is the purpose of this report, the first step in the design of the future memorial museum.

A. Why a memorial museum?

The idea of a memorial museum dedicated to the victims of terrorism and the reactions of society has raised pre-existing questions, which have been duly asked of us, not without a certain amount of suspicion. Is this not taking the "duty to remember" too far? Is it not better to devote the necessary funds to other more urgent tasks? Can we commemorate an ongoing phenomenon, or turn it into a museum? Terrorism is indeed a long-term and, unfortunately, enduring trend: since the beginning of this project, several attacks have taken place in France, and the trend remains very intense in many parts of the world. Its story therefore has no short-term "ending." But no more so than "war" in general, which nevertheless has its museums. Even societies immersed in major conflicts commemorate their dead without waiting for the events to end. In February 2019, in Kabul, at the heart of an endless conflict, the Afghanistan Center for Memory and Dialogue, a project designed in 2009 by Afghan humanitarian NGOs, opened to pay tribute to the hundreds of thousands of civilian victims of a war in which terrorism is a central element, and to overcome, against all odds, the persistence of hatred and resentment.

In reality, the question is different: how can we not pay tribute to the victims of terrorism when it has become natural to do so for those of other tragedies that are sometimes very distant in time, a trend that has increased since the 1990s? This is a form of reparation similar (or comparable) to that due to those who died or were wounded in wars; mostly, victims of terrorism have been affected because, through them, sponsors and perpetrators targeted the State, the Nation, the Republic, society, a way of life, a target group. There seems to be a consensus on this point, at least: "This goes without saying," said François Molins, Public Prosecutor at the Court of Cassation, on 6 December 2019, who was on the front line in the face of the wave of attacks in 2015. This sentiment was expressed by most of the speakers heard, with few expressing reservations of principle.

Once a memorial is justified, building an exhibition, reflection and awareness site at the same time makes it possible to go beyond the commemorative dimension alone. Honouring victims means understanding why they have been victims, giving meaning to their ordeal, encouraging the possibility of overcoming it, strengthening shaken social cohesion; in short, helping to transform an experience of death into an experience of life. Making knowledge a conduit of memory is a premise of the future memorial museum.

The project is also part of a broader set of public policies implemented by successive governments since the attacks of 2015. Its aim is to deal with the memory of the victims of terrorism and, more generally, to lead to a better understanding of this unique type of violence and its consequences. A terrorist attack, like any act of extreme violence targeting a community, breaks the continuity of daily life, creates a 'before and after' and constitutes a potential trauma for each of the victims but also for the whole group. Understanding, explaining, enlightening and comparing, whatever the obstacles and difficulties, are essential tasks to confront it. It is precisely because terrorist action aims to paralyse reason and reflection by causing shock, on the one hand, and a disproportionate reaction on the other, that it is essential to offer the audience a sensitive space of empathy with the victims, of education, of speech, with its share of uncertainty, passion, conflict and questioning; in short not to freeze the phenomenon or turn it into a museum, but to "exhibit" it, to allow everyone to grasp and discuss all its dimensions, as Jacqueline Eidelman, general curator of heritage, who led a project on museums of the 21st century invited us to do when we heard from her.¹.

Although there are many memorials and some museums dedicated to the victims of terrorism, *the project we are drawing up here does not, for the time being, have any equivalent in the world.* This is due to the recommended choices, which themselves are consequences of the French context. France, a major world power and long-time colonial power, has been affected by forms of terrorism of all kinds (anarchist, nationalist, extreme left, extreme right, Islamist) since the end of the 19th century and even before that, albeit more sporadically. These terrorist actions may have been endogenous or imported. They developed both in times of war and in times of peace (or relative peace). Moreover, many French citizens have been victims of terrorist acts around the world for half a century. The future memorial museum must take account of this diversity and longevity of the phenomenon.

The future memorial museum must therefore be dedicated not to the victims of a single attack or a single sequence, but to all the victims over a long period of time.

¹ Jacqueline Eidelman (ed.), Rapport de la mission Musées du XXI^e siècle [Report of the 21st Century Museums Project], Ministry of Culture, 2017.

It will also need to broaden its perspective by focusing on social, political, and cultural responses at the state level, and even more so from civil society and ordinary citizens. It must be a contribution to national memory and history from an international and global perspective which, like terrorism and its effects, affects many countries and ends up ignoring borders, turning the entire planet into a single battlefield. It must respect a principle of universality that takes account of both the common fate of victims, the damage to the community as a whole and the intractable uniqueness of individual situations.

B. Defining terrorism

One objection to the project could be that it is impossible to define terrorism precisely. The argument is undeniably correct up to a point, which is sometimes also an implicit invitation to do nothing. That terrorism is difficult to confine, that its limits are often uncertain, that the term is highly controversial or even disqualifying does not detract from its lethal reality. Most politically motivated violence with a collective dimension – genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes – presents similar challenges. However, for more than a century it has been the subject of considerable investment in legal, judicial, scientific and memorial terms. There is no reason not to do the same with terrorism. It is therefore necessary to outline a preliminary definition to specify the intellectual framework of our task.

1. The appearance of the term

The etymology of the term comes from the Latin verb *terrere*, “to shake”, which refers to one of the primary intentions of any form of terrorism: to arouse extreme fear at the same time as harming those targeted. The adjective “terrorist” pre-dates the noun “terrorism”. It first appeared during the French Revolution. In 1794, Babeuf spoke of the “terrorist patriots of year two of the Republic” to refer to the supporters of “Emperor Robespierre”². It was, above all, with the opponents of the Terror and Robespierre and, in particular, with Tallien, that the term almost immediately took on a pejorative meaning. Although it initially referred to a mode of government, its meaning rapidly changed to refer, on the contrary, to a type of action against the State³.

² *Journal de la liberté de la presse*, [Journal of the freedom of the press] 25 fructidor an II (11 September 1794), no. 4, p. 3. The *Trésor de la langue française* dates the origin of the term of that year

(<https://www.cnrtl.fr/etymologie/terroriste>). See also Jean-Clément Martin, *Les Échos de la Terreur. Vérités d'un mensonge d'État*, [Echos of the Terror: Truths from a State lie] 1794-2001, Paris, Belin, 2018.

³ Dans une vaste littérature, voir Michel Wieviorka, *Sociétés et terrorisme*, Paris, Fayard, 1988, Jenny Raflik, *Terrorisme et mondialisation. Approches historiques*, [Terrorism and globalisation, historic approaches], Paris, Gallimard, 2016, and the appended bibliography.

The definition is complex for several reasons. First of all, there is great diversity among organisations described as “terrorist” and among the contexts in which they have operated: ideological, geographical, social and organisational diversity. Almost all of them, rightly or wrongly, reject this label in favour of descriptions such as “fighters”, “soldiers”, “revolutionaries” and “jihadists”. The phenomenon has been constantly evolving. Moreover, acts of terrorism are not the only methods used: they are linked to other economic, political and military actions. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the absence of a universal legal definition has, since the 19th century, enabled the term to be manipulated, often used by undemocratic regimes to justify repression against their opponents. These uncertainties have led, at least until recently, to suspicions as to the relevance of the term.

2. The legal definitions

From a legal point of view, there is no definition at UN level given the deep disagreements between the members on this subject. One of its resolutions refers to a set of “criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purposes⁴”. The Council of the European Union defines terrorism both by specific motives: the intention to seriously intimidate the population, to constrain public authorities, to destabilise or destroy political, constitutional, economic or social structures by specific operating methods⁵. Other regional organisations, such as the Arab League, also have their definitions: “Any act or threat of violence, whatever its motives or purposes, that occurs in the advancement of an individual or collective criminal agenda and seeking to sow panic among people, causing fear by harming them, or placing their lives, liberty or security in danger, or seeking to cause damage to the environment or to public or private installations or property or to occupying or seizing them, or seeking to jeopardise a national resource.” But this definition has restrictions: “All cases of struggle by whatever means, including armed struggle, against foreign occupation and aggression for liberation and self-determination, in accordance with the principles of international law, shall not be regarded as an offence.

⁴ UN General Assembly Resolution 54/110, 2 February 2000, available at <https://undocs.org/pdf?symbol=en/A/RES/54/110>

⁵ Council Framework Decision of 13 June 2002 on combating terrorism 2002/475/JHA, available at the following address:
<https://eurlex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CONSLEG:2002F0475:20081209:EN:PDF>

This provision shall not apply to any act prejudicing the territorial integrity of any Arab State.⁶”

More elaborate legal frameworks have been established in domestic law, particularly in response to the various unprecedented forms of terrorism that have emerged since the late 1960s. On 26 December 1968, in the aftermath of the Six-Day War, a commando of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) attacked an Israeli company, El Al's, civilian plane in Athens, killing one passenger and provoking retaliation. On 12 December 1969 in Milan, a neo-fascist attack killed 17 people and injured 88 others, ushering in a period of tension in Italy known as the “Years of Lead” during which political far-right and far-left terrorism developed.

France was also affected from 1972-1974 (see below) but it had two legal precedents on the classification of terrorist acts, in very different contexts. The so-called “scoundrel” laws of 1893-1894 were passed by the Third Republic to repress anarchist activities of a terrorist nature, even if the term itself does not appear in the texts. The word was nevertheless explicitly used by the “laws” of the Vichy government to fight the Resistance: that of 5 June 1943 “repressing communist, anarchist, terrorist or subversive activities”, which replaced the law on the “special sections” of 14 August 1941, and the law of 20 January 1944 which covered any individual arrested “in flagrante delicto of assassination or murder, attempted assassination or murder, committed by means of weapons or explosives, to promote a terrorist activity”. These texts, weapons of civil war not respecting any of the fundamental principles of law, were repealed at the Liberation.⁷

The law of 9 September 1986 “on the fight against terrorism and attacks on State security” was the first in French law to define terrorism: “an individual or collective enterprise with the aim of seriously disturbing public order through intimidation or terror”. It also created a guarantee fund for victims, the first of its kind.⁸ This law owes much to the actions of Françoise Rudetzki, founder of the association SOS Attentats. It was adopted against the backdrop of a strong resurgence of terrorist actions, attributable to various organisations (Direct Action, Carlos the Jackal and the FPLP, the Abu Nidal group, the Armenian Secret Liberation Army). This law does not create a new classification but defines new procedures. Setting aside the creation of an exceptional court – the State Security Court was abolished in 1981 – it allows derogations from

⁶ “Arab Convention For The Suppression of Terrorism of 22 April 1998”, available at https://www.unodc.org/images/tldb-f/conv_arab_terrorism.en.pdf

⁷ Virginie Sansico, “Le terrorisme, vie et mort d’une notion juridique (1930-1945)”, [“Terrorism, life and death of a political concept (1930-1945)”] *Archives de politique criminelle* [*Archives of criminal policy*], 2016/1, no. 38 (special issue): *Les terrorismes* [*Terrorism*], p. 27-45.

⁸ Text available at:

https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/jo_pdf.do?id=JORFTEXT000000693912&pageCourante=10956

ordinary law: centralisation of proceedings, creation in Paris of a criminal court composed solely of judges (Law of 30 December 1986). The law of 22 July 1992 introduced the new classification into the criminal code, listing specific offences:

1. Deliberate attacks on life, deliberate attacks on the integrity of the person, kidnapping and hostage-taking as well as the hijacking of aircraft, ships or any other means of transport, defined by Book II of this code;
2. Theft, extortion, destruction, damage and deterioration, as well as information technology offences defined by Book III of this code;
3. Offences relating to combat groups and disbanded movements [...];
4. Offences relating to weapons, explosive products or nuclear materials [...];
5. Concealment of the proceeds of one of the offences [...] above;
- 6 Money-laundering offences⁹.

Around twenty other texts subsequently completed the legislative arsenal culminating with the Law of 23 March 2019 which created the National Anti-Terrorist Prosecutor's Office, headed by the Anti-Terrorist Public Prosecutor of the Republic, at the Paris Regional Court.

3. *The scientific definitions*

Again, there are constant variations and controversies. In 1962, Raymond Aron proposed a definition that retained its acuity despite its brevity: "A violent action is called 'terrorist' when its psychological effects are disproportionate to its purely physical results¹⁰. In 1984, two researchers combined the definitions of terrorism proposed between 1936 and 1981 by a hundred civil servants and academics to identify the similarities. While none is unanimous, they nevertheless identify enough recurring and constituent elements: violence (83.5%), political objectives (65%), fear and terror (51%). At the end of this study, they propose a summary definition: "Terrorism is an anxiety-provoking method, consisting of repeated violent actions, used by clandestine or semi-clandestine perpetrators, consisting of individuals, groups or States, for personal, criminal or political reasons, under which – unlike murder – direct victims are not the main targets¹¹."

Starting in 2005, the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START) created a database of terrorist acts around the world. It has

⁹ Text available at:

<https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichCodeArticle.do?idArticle=LEGIARTI000032751714&cidTexte=LEGI TEXT000006070719&dateTexte=20160703>

¹⁰ Raymond Aron, *Paix et guerre entre les nations* [War and peace between nations], Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1962, p. 276.

¹¹ Alex P. Schmid, Albert J. Jongman, *Political Terrorism. A guide to actors, authors, concepts, data bases, theories, and literature*, Amsterdam, North-Holland Publishing Company, 1988.

become a major point of reference, presenting terrorism as “the threat of the use or effective use of illegal force and violence by a non-state actor in order to achieve political, economic, religious or social objectives, through fear, coercion or intimidation”. This definition, which (unlike the previous one) excludes state perpetrators, is supplemented by other criteria: the act is a terrorist act if it is intentional and results from a conscious calculation by its perpetrator; if it includes a certain level of violence or threat of imminent physical or material violence; if the perpetrators are non-state actors; if its objective is political, economic, religious or social; if it is motivated by the intention to coerce, intimidate or by a desire to spread an economic, political, religious or social message to a wider audience than that represented by the immediate victims; if it differs from activities considered legitimate in war time.¹²

4. *A working definition*

By cross-referencing these definitions, which are sometimes contradictory, we can determine that there are indeed constant and operational criteria in the way terrorism is approached:

- the use or threat of an extreme, intentional, disproportionate form of violence, resulting in the destruction of lives, infrastructure and information;
- the intention to intimidate or destabilise an existing system: State, society, human or political group, to push it into an act against its will or to destroy it;
- usually its nature is that it is organised in a movement, in a network, in a cell or purporting to reflect an ideology, even if the action is solitary, a point that has become particularly thorny in recent years;
- the spectacular nature, intended to make its mark on public opinion by seeking strong publicity: “propaganda by the deed”, theorised by anarchists, or “by action”;
- the existence of political, religious and social objectives;
- the rejection of all national and international laws in the name of another “legitimacy”.

The act of terrorism is therefore a use of deliberate, disproportionate and asymmetric violence, from the “weak” to the “strong”, triggered by an entity that is mostly organised and clandestine, aimed at arousing collective terror by often choosing indirect targets, to overthrow a legal order, intimidate or force a government, regime or nation to give in to its demands, and thus achieve a political and ideological objective that it, alone, considers legitimate. We have set aside the issue of “state terrorism” from the main proposal because it falls under another category. This is a scientific choice: because

¹² Global Terrorism Database, National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism (START), University of Maryland, *Codebook: Inclusion Criteria and Variables*, July 2017, p. 10, available at www.start.umd.edu/gtd/downloads/Codebook.pdf

terrorism is now viewed as a weapon used by relatively small organisations or groups towards states, including state terror policies would have obscured the narrative, and would mean dealing with virtually all of contemporary history. This does not mean that they should be excluded from the contexts and explanatory factors, nor that they cannot be part of the themes addressed in cultural programmes: temporary exhibitions, debates, conferences. On the other hand, the scope of the analysis includes the question of states suspected of having provided aid or even created terrorist-type networks (Iran, Syria, Libya, the countries of the former socialist bloc and the so-called “red thread” sector, and many others). Similarly, we must encourage reflection and awareness of state uses of the concept of terrorism, particularly in democracies, by removing certain confusion, such as that which consists of assimilating any form of asymmetric combat or resistance to “terrorism” or that, symmetrically opposite, which categorises any use of force by the State as “terror”. While the project leaves plenty of room for discussion and even controversy about the definitions of terrorism, it must first be a space for clarifying words and objects.

C. Terrorism in France

France offers a specific perspective that it only shares with very few other comparable nations: since the 19th century, it has been affected almost continuously by virtually all types of terrorism, whether it be the great waves of international terrorism or domestic terrorism. This historical observation has informed much of the memorial museum project.

The first great wave of terrorism was the anarchist wave, culminating in the early 1890s. This led to the passing of so-called “scoundrel” laws. The movement then affected many countries, such as Russia and the United States. France paid a heavy price because it was a safe haven for anarchists fleeing authoritarian regimes, a country where industrialisation fed the ideological demands of the class struggle, and it remained that of the Revolution, of which many supporters of “propaganda of the deed” declared themselves the heirs. This first great wave of terrorism was embodied by a few well-known figures: Ravachol, Auguste Vaillant, Théodule Meunier, Caserio and Émile Henry, and a few episodes that live long in the memory: the attack on the Palais-Bourbon on 9 December 1893, or the murder of Sadi Carnot on 24 June 1894.

However, it was particularly marked by the proliferation of anonymous acts of varying magnitude, giving rise to widespread fear in public opinion and fuelling “dynamite columns” in the press¹³.

¹³ John Merriman, *Dynamite club, l'invention du terrorisme à Paris* [Dynamite club, the invention of terrorism in Paris], translated by E. Lyasse, Paris, Tallandier, 2009.

Anarchist terrorism declined at the beginning of the 20th century but gave way to other movements. The demands for independence within the Ottoman Empire and from the Balkans were exported throughout Europe and persisted in the inter-war period. This terrorism affected French nationals in the territories concerned, but also affected the national territory: assassination of the French Minister of Foreign Affairs Louis Barthou and King Alexander of Yugoslavia in Marseille, in 1934, which led the French government to call upon the League of Nations to negotiate an international convention for the repression of terrorism.

After the Second World War and the Vichy chapter, the question of “terrorism” was obviously very present during the Algerian war, even more than during the conflict in Indochina that preceded it. The National Liberation Front (FLN) used it to terrorise the European population in Algeria and to put pressure on the French authorities, particularly during the Battle of Algiers, but also in the struggle in which it opposed the Algerian National Movement (MNA), including in metropolitan France. Terrorism was also the *modus operandi* chosen by some of the opponents of independence, particularly the OAS, the secret armed organisation, at the end of the war. Some of the attacks it committed had a profound impact on public opinion, such as the attack on André Malraux’s apartment in Boulogne-Billancourt on 7 February 1962, which seriously injured a girl, Delphine Renard.

From the end of the 1960s, in territories that were no longer at war, terrorism took on a new form, transcending borders, in which we can place the current terrorism matrix. On 15 September 1974, an attack at the Drugstore Publicis Saint-Germain, in Paris, claimed by Ilich Ramirez Sanchez, known as Carlos the Jackal, resulted in 2 deaths and 34 injuries. It was the first indiscriminate and fatal attack on French soil since the end of the Algerian war, but not the first terrorist act. Two days later, *Le Monde* drew up a list of fourteen attacks carried out in Paris since September 1972: against embassies (Israel, Saudi Arabia, Yugoslavia, Senegal, United Kingdom, Albania and Kuwait), against the representative of the PLO (who was killed), the Jewish Agency, a police station, a reception centre for foreigners, the Unified Jewish Social Fund and several media outlets (*L’Aurore*, *Minute*, the ORTF)¹⁴. From then on, the subject has hardly been out of the headlines. It first took the form of Cold War terrorism, which fed a wave of international terrorism with movements of various origins targeting France or acting on its soil. There are far-left groups, such as Direct Action, which murdered Engineer-General René Audran in 1985, and Renault CEO Georges Besse in 1986. There is also so-called imported terrorism, indirectly linked to the Cold War, either by ideology or by those targeted. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine claimed to be Marxist and collaborated with Direct Action or the Baader-Meinhof group. The Armenian Secret

¹⁴ “Les attentats à Paris depuis deux ans” [“The Paris attacks two years on”] *Le Monde*, 17 September 1974. See also Jacques Derogy, Roger-Xavier Lantéri and Jacques Perrier, “Terrorisme: la fin du sanctuaire français” [“Terrorism: the end of the French sanctuary”], *L’Express*, 10 September 1973.

Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA) targeted Turkey's allies, therefore NATO members, and committed around fifty attacks on French soil between 1975 and 1984, such as the hostage-taking at the Turkish consulate in September 1981 and the bombing at Orly in July 1983.

From 1979, Islamist terrorism, which openly claims to be politically-religious with, in most cases, an anti-Semitic dimension, has also been rooted in the daily lives of the French people: attacks by Palestinian groups against the synagogue on Rue Copernic on 3 October 1980, and against the Goldenberg restaurant, Rue des Rosiers on 9 August 1982; attacks by groups close to Hezbollah, including that on Rue de Rennes on 17 September 1986; extensions of the civil war that affected Algeria in the early 1990s, such as the actions of the Armed Islamic Group (GIA), which hijacked an Air France flight from 24 to 26 December 1994, and committed several attacks in Paris, in particular at the RER B Saint-Michel stations on 25 July 1995, and Port-Royal on 3 December 1996. France also suffered the repercussions of the Balkan conflicts: the Roubaix gang that operated in 1996 consisted of Bosnian veterans. Islamist-type terrorist action in France since 2012, i.e. 42 attacks between 2013 and 2019 were in line with the first waves. The trend of the French leaving to fight abroad and returning to act on national soil is, for example, a resurgence of what was observed during the Bosnian War¹⁵. The following table, taken from a recent survey by the Foundation for Political Innovation, gives an overview of this assessment:

¹⁵ Marc Trevidic, *Au cœur de l'antiterrorisme [At the heart of antiterrorism]*, Paris, J.-C. Lattès, 2011, and *Terroristes, les sept piliers de la déraison [Terrorists: the seven pillars of folly]*, Paris, Livre de Poche, 2014.

Islamist attacks in France 1979-2018

32

ISLAMIST TERRORIST ATTACKS IN THE WORLD



FRANCE

NUMBER OF ATTACKS

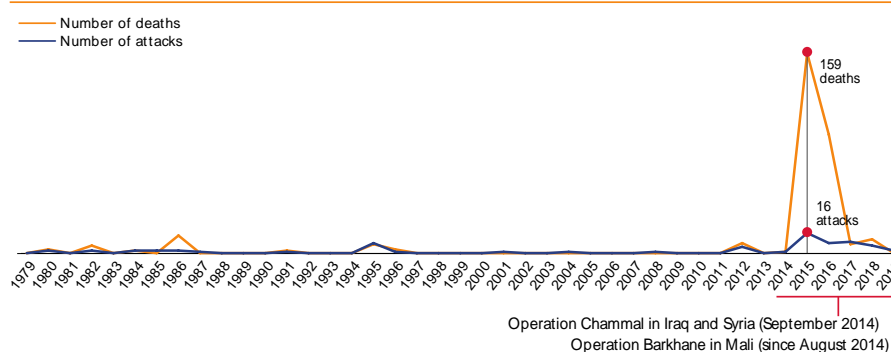
71 [retained estimate]

76 [possible estimate]

NUMBER OF DEATHS

317 [retained estimate]

317 [possible estimate]

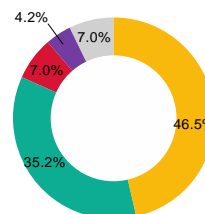


MAIN TARGETS

- 19.7% Civilians
14 attacks
- 15.5% Police
11 attacks
- 14.1% Military
10 attacks
- 4.2% Government
3 attacks

TYPE OF ATTACKS

- Armed assaults (33)
- Explosions (25)
- Assassinations (5)
- Hostage takings/Kidnappings (3)
- Others (5)



MOST AFFECTED PROVINCES

Province	Number of attacks
Île-de-France	46
Midi-Pyrénées	4
Rhône-Alpes	3
Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur	3

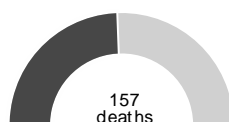
43.2% of those who died in Islamist terrorist attacks in France were killed during the attacks of 13 November 2015.

66.2% of Islamist terrorist attacks in France took place between 2012 and 2019.

20.2% of those who died in Islamist terrorist attacks in Europe were killed in France.

DEADLIEST TERRORIST GROUP

Islamic State
Responsible for 49.5% of deaths caused by Islamist terrorist attacks in France



AVERAGE NUMBER OF DEATHS PER ATTACK



Fondation pour l'innovation politique

Source: *Islamist attacks in the world 1979-2019*,
Fondation pour l'innovation politique, November 2019, p. 32-33
<http://www.fondapol.org/en/etudes-en/islamist-terrorist-attacks-in-the-world-1979-2019/>

France has also suffered attacks from movements born on its soil, often described as "internal" or "domestic" terrorism. This is the case for Basque movements, such as the Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (Basque Country and Freedom) or ETA, founded in 1959, active for Basque independence in Spanish and French territories, but mostly using French soil as a logistical rear base, or the Iparretarrak movement, which was very active in the French Basque Country during the 1980s¹⁶. It also suffered attacks from the Corsican independence movements (assassination of Prefect Claude Erignac on 6 February 1998), the most active movement of which was the Corsican National Liberation Front, created in 1976¹⁷, and the Breton independence movements. The Corsican and Basque movements unilaterally announced their renunciation of violence in 2014.

Given the diversity of these terrorist waves, the late nature of the classification of terrorism, and the still-fragmented information on the subject, it is difficult to give precise figures, particularly on the number of victims: one of the challenges of the memorial museum project will also be to help develop our knowledge. For a period between 1972 and 2018, the START database indicates that there were 2,510 attacks in France (see chart below), causing 544 deaths and 2,544 injuries. The same database puts the total number of attacks worldwide at about 190,000 over the same period – a low estimate, given all the attacks not listed.

Number of terrorist events committed on French soil between 1970 and 2018



Source : <https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/search/Results.aspx?chart=overtime&search=France>

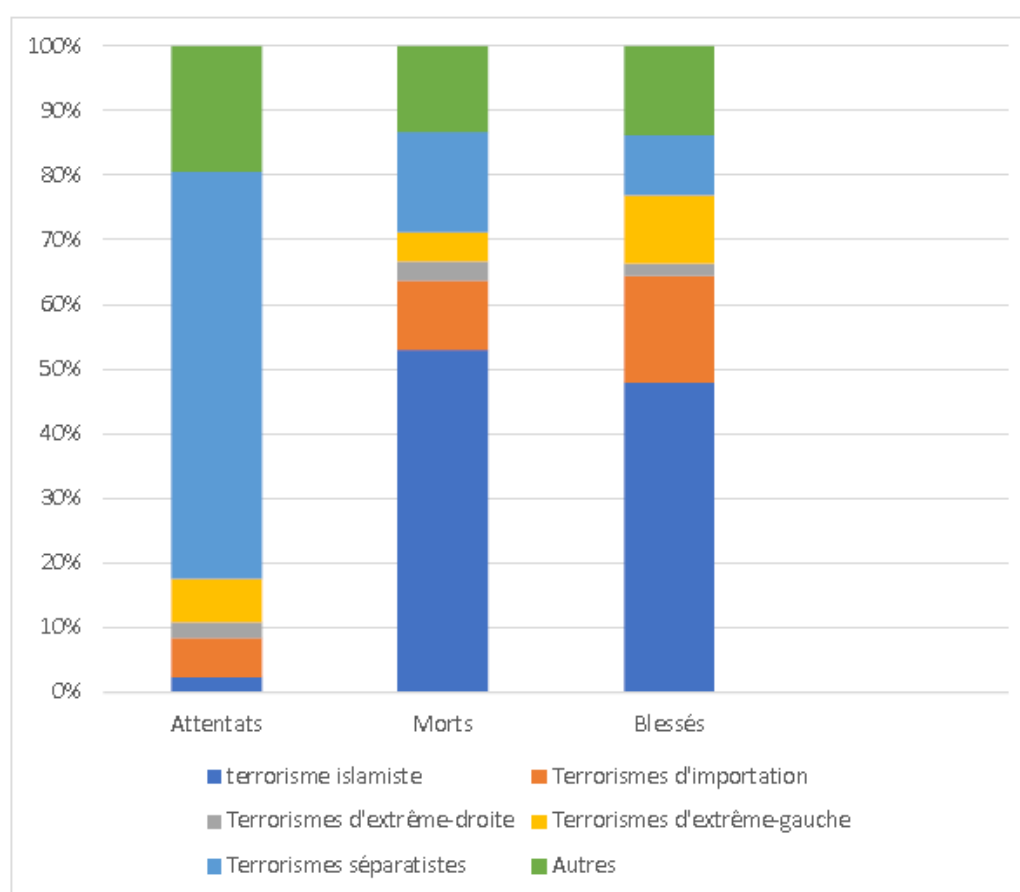
¹⁶ Eneko Bidegain, *Iparretarrak (IK): histoire d'une organisation politique armée [Iparretarrak (IK): the story of an armed political organisation]*, Larresoro, Gatzuzain, 2007.

¹⁷ Emmanuel Bernabeu-Casanova, *Le nationalisme corse : genèse, succès et échec*, suivi de *Entretien avec le leader autonomiste Edmond Simeoni* [Corsican nationalism: origins, success and failure, followed by an interview with the separatist leader Edmond Simeoni], Paris, L'Harmattan, 1997.

According to the ongoing work of Jenny Raflik, a member of the project team, terrorism in France of all kinds since the 1970s, breaks down as follows:

Distribution in % of terrorist acts in France from 1970 to the present day

	% number of acts	% deaths	% injuries
Domestic separatist terrorism (Corsica, Basque)	63	15.6	9.3
Far-left terrorism	6.7	4.5	10.6
Far-right terrorism	2.5	3	1.9
"Imported" terrorism (FPLP, GIA, etc.)	6	10.7	16.5
Islamist terrorism, internal or external	2.4	53	48
Other, unidentified	19.4	13.2	13.7



Source: Jenny Raflik

Terrorism of Islamist origin is therefore without doubt the most deadly, in particular for the period 2012-2020, which constitutes a particular sequence in the history of terrorism in France, the most affected country in Europe¹⁸. It explains the emergence of a public concern for the terrorist trend, for its victims, for its memorialisation, i.e. the processes aimed at making the event a lasting part of a collective memory: commemorations, lasting or short-term memorials, symbolic or material compensation. However, in the project we are presenting, it is the history and lasting memory of the trend that we wish to take into account, and not simply this component.

¹⁸ *Le livre blanc et noir du terrorisme en Europe 2000-2018* [The Black and White Paper on Terrorism in Europe 2000-2018], published on the initiative of Maite Pagazaurtundúa, Member of the European Parliament, by the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (ALDE) and the French Association of Victims of Terrorism (AfVT), 2019, available at the following address <http://www.bruxelles2.eu/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/livreblancnoirterrorismeifr.pdf>. For 2019, see “Terrorisme dans l’Union européenne: bilan 2019. Attentats, tentatives et projets d’attentats islamistes” [“Terrorism in the European Union: 2019. Islamist attacks, attempts and planned attacks”] Centre d’analyse du terrorisme, février 2020, available at the following address <http://cat-int.org>

II. The preparatory project

A. The origins of the project

On 6 November 2017, in the wake of the attacks of previous years, and following a request from the President of the Republic and the wishes expressed by victim associations, Élisabeth Pelsez, interministerial representative for victim support, assigned to the Ministry of Justice, issued an initial note of reflection on the commemorations and a future day of national tribute to the victims of terrorism. The DIAV was created in August 2017. It continued the work of the first State Secretariat in charge of victim law, entrusted to Nicole Guedj in the government of Jean-Pierre Raffarin (March 2004-May 2005), then that of the State Secretariat in charge of victim support, entrusted to Juliette Méadel in the government of Manuel Valls (February 2016-May 2017). In this note, Élisabeth Pelsez recommended that the State coordinate and unify the various private initiatives and suggested the creation of a memorial committee responsible for reflecting on a consistent policy of remembrance in this area. This committee, established on 12 February 2018 within the DIAV, most of whose members subsequently joined this project, submitted its report to the Keeper of the Seals, Minister of Justice, Nicole Belloubet, on 7 September 2018: “Terrorisme, faire face. Enjeux historiques et mémoriaux.” [“Facing terrorism. Historic and memorial issues.”] Of the fourteen proposals, nine concerned the creation of a memorial museum, most of which are included and completed in our report:

- Dedicating a memorial museum in Paris to societies battling terrorism, while placing the phenomenon in a global perspective.
- Providing training to targeted audiences in the museum, aimed at several audiences, in particular those called upon to intervene in various capacities in the field of terrorism: police forces, judges, teaching staff, emergency personnel, nursing staff.
- Setting up a preparatory team for the memorial museum. From its inception, it will be composed of three boards: memorial, scientific and educational.
- Including the names of all victims and all terrorist attacks in the memorial museum, regardless of the medium chosen to meet the expectations of families and relatives.
- Offering visitors a space to reflect in the memorial museum, which would take the form of a garden of remembrance.
- Encouraging museums to work in networks, with places of remembrance of attacks that may be set up in France, or that already exist in Europe and around the world.
- Consulting with victim and victim support associations on a very regular basis, throughout the development of the project to create the memorial museum.
- Prioritising the public institution for cultural cooperation of an administrative nature (EPCC) for the legal structure of the museum.
- Considering the possibility of installing this memorial museum on the Île de la Cité, in the premises of the former Paris court¹⁹.

¹⁹ Text available at:

http://www.justice.gouv.fr/publication/DIAV_Rapport_Comite_Memoriel.pdf

Following this first report, a series of provisions were put in place by the public authorities. On 19 September 2018, the President of the Republic, at the ceremony of national tribute to the victims of terrorism, announced his wish to see the creation of a "memorial museum of terrorism".²⁰ A decree of 6 March 2019 extended the scope of the national medal of recognition to victims of terrorism, created in 2016, to victims of attacks committed from 1st January 1974 and no longer from 1st January 2006.²¹ The aim was to take account of all the victims since the attack on 15 September 1974 at the Drugstore Publicis. Similarly, in November 2019, after lengthy negotiations, it was decided to establish a new National Day of Tribute to the Victims of Terrorism, set for 11 March, the date of the European Day of Remembrance for the Victims of Terrorism. It recalls the attacks in Madrid on 11 March 2004, the most lethal in Europe since 11 September 2001. This day will be celebrated for the first time on 11 March 2020²². Since the end of 2015, these policies of remembrance have been supplemented by public funding of dedicated professorships and major research programmes in all disciplines on terrorist violence, the trend of "radicalisation", psychological and social issues related to trauma and memorialisation processes. In February 2019, the National Resource and Resilience Centre (CN2R) was inaugurated, co-managed by the Lille University Hospital Centre and the Assistance publique-hôpitaux de Paris, following a report by Françoise Rudetzki and the implementation of the interministerial plan for victim support from the DIAV.

The memorial museum project is therefore one of the many ways in which French society is reacting to the trials of the particularly deadly sequence of terrorist attacks from 2012-2016. It is also part of a longer economic situation that saw the emergence in the last third of the 20th century (in France as well as worldwide) of greater concern about the place of victims of all kinds and their care by both the State and civil society (associations, humanitarian organisations). This trend has developed in parallel with an increasing preoccupation with "memory", with new approaches to the past and the proliferation of commemorations, memorials and historical museums.

²⁰ Text available at:

<https://www.elysee.fr/emmanuel-macron/2018/09/19/discours-du-president-de-la-republique-emmanuel-macron-a-la-ceremonie-dhommage-national-aux-victimes-du-terrorisme>.

The date of 19 September commemorates the attack on UTA's DC10 by Libya which left 170 dead, including 54 French nationals, on 19 September 1986. It was the date of commemoration for victims of terrorism until 2019, before the creation of a new national day.

²¹ Decree of 12 July 2016 creating the national medal of recognition for victims of terrorism, amended by the Decree of 6 March 2019.

²² Decree of 7 November 2019 establishing a national day of tribute to the victims of terrorism.

These questions concerning the contemporary ethics of the victim and the emergence of an era of remembrance are developed in more detail in the rest of this report because they form the political, social and cultural background of the project's work and part of the museographic themes that it advocates.

The decision to appoint an historian who has worked on the history and memory of contemporary traumatic events as Chair of the project reflects this context as much as it clearly indicates its initial direction²³. Rituals of homage and remembrance only make sense today if, at the same time, we prioritise understanding the trend in play through distance and depth of field. Collective memory is forged both in the transmission of experiences and in the constitution of shared knowledge accessible to all.

Following discussion, we decided to retain as the title of the project wording similar to that suggested by the Memorial Committee and aimed at the creation of a "memorial museum for societies facing terrorism". This is about imagining a place that goes beyond the history of terrorist acts and pays tribute to the victims while, at the same time, covering the entire community, its responses, its resistance and its resilience. However, the formulation is not easy to use, and others have been considered: "memorial museum of terrorism", a term used by President Emmanuel Macron in his speech of 19 September 2018, or "memorial of terrorism" or "memorial to the victims of terrorism". The most comparable memorial sites were identified either by their location (Auschwitz Museum), by a date (National September 11 Memorial Museum), by the description of the crime (Kigali Genocide Memorial), by one of its methods (Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial), or finally by the identity of the victims (Armenian Genocide Memorial in Yerevan). Of course, there are sometimes expressions with positive or abstract connotations: the Parque de la Memoria in Buenos Aires or the Freedom Park in Pretoria. But they relate to events that make up national history: the military dictatorship in Argentina, apartheid in South Africa. Everyone therefore knows what it is, including foreigners, despite an elliptical title resulting from the context of national reconciliation where euphemism may have seemed a necessity. In the case of France, these options are inappropriate. The question therefore remains open, especially as the name of the future memorial museum must include parameters such as the location or nature of the building.

²³ Born in 1954, Henry Rousso built his career at the CNRS, at the Institut d'histoire du temps présent, and taught in France and abroad, particularly in the United States. He has worked on the history of the Vichy regime, the memory of the Second World War and, more recently, on the globalisation of memory practices. He chaired the Entretiens du Patrimoine (Heritage Interviews) in 2001 and was a member of scientific councils of numerous museums and memorials: Caen Memorial, Izieu Memorial, Holocaust Memorial in Paris, Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, Gdansk Museum of the Second World War, Oradour Memorial Centre.

B. Project management and partner institutions

The main institution involved in this project has been the Ministry of Justice, for the time being the sole project owner and sponsor of the project and, in particular, the Interministerial Delegation for Victim Support which welcomed it and financed it from its own budget. Elizabeth Pelsez, the representative, and Rachid Azizi, institutional relations, memorial activity and communications manager, fully participated in the project's work, plenary or small meetings, travel, playing a decisive role in general coordination.

Other institutions have also played a key role:

- the National Centre for Scientific Research, which has agreed that the Chair of the Project, Research Director at the CNRS, may devote most of his work to it from March 2019;
- the Ministry of Culture and in particular the Operator of Heritage and Real Estate Projects of Culture (OPPIC) which allowed Valérie Brisard, architect-programmer, who participated in similar projects, including that of the National Museum of the History of Immigration, to offer her intellectual and technical support;
- the Ministry of National Education and, in particular, the Chancellor of the Île-de-France academic region, Chancellor of the Paris Academy, Chancellor of the Universities of Paris, Gilles Pécout, who gave his consent to the active participation of Rachid Azzouz, Academy Inspector and member of the project, as well as that of Emmanuelle Iardella-Blanc, Associate Professor of History, responsible for identifying museum content from November 2019.

C. The composition of the project team

For the sake of efficiency, the project team comprised a single board of seventeen members bringing together almost all those from the Memorial Committee (CM), adding new individuals from February 2019, respecting parity, a multidisciplinary approach (philosophy, law, history, sociology, anthropology, biology), and a diversity of professions, from the public and private sectors (architects specialising in museums, scenographers, artists, teachers, academics, civil servants, heads of memorials and foundations).

- Myriam Achari, General Controller of the Armed Forces, Director of Memory, Heritage and Archives of the Ministry of Defence (CM)
- Rachid Azzouz, Academy Inspector (IA-IPR), Paris Academy, Academic Representative for Memory, History and Citizenship (CM)
- Valérie Brisard, architect-programmer with the Cultural Heritage and Real Estate Project Operator (OPPIC)
- Alice Bombardier, Associate Professor of Geography and Lecturer at the National Institute of Oriental Languages and Civilizations (INALCO) (CM)
- Clifford Chanin, Executive Vice President of the National September 11 Memorial Museum (New York)
- Isabelle Chaudieu, biologist and epidemiologist, Research Fellow at INSERM, University of Montpellier (CM)
- Marc Crépon, senior researcher at the CNRS, director of the philosophy department at the École Normale Supérieure, Paris (CM)
- Jacques Fredj, director of the Holocaust Memorial (Paris)
- Olivier Grémont, President of the Foundation for Assistance to Victims of Terrorism (CM)
- Emmanuelle Iardella-Blanc, historian, associate professor of history
- Denis Peschanski, historian, senior researcher at the CNRS (European Centre for Sociology and Political Science) (CM)
- Jenny Raflik-Grenouilleau, historian, professor of contemporary international studies, University of Nantes
- Adeline Rispal, architect, scenographer, member of the Academy of Architecture and the High Council of the Museums of France
- Henry Rouso, historian, senior researcher at the CNRS (Institut d'histoire du temps présent), project Chair
- Esther Shalev-Gerz, visual artist, installations, photographs, videos and monuments around memory, history and identities
- Brigitte Sion, anthropologist, programme director at the Rothschild Hanadiv Europe Foundation (London)
- Michel Wieviorka, sociologist, director of studies at the École des hautes études en sciences sociales, president of the Fondation Maison des sciences de l'homme (CM)

D. The role of victim associations

Through the DIAV, the project has maintained a constant link with those who had been directly affected by terrorism in all its forms, in particular victim associations, together with a number of individuals. They have fully invested in the project and have provided us with invaluable support, which is destined to last. These include:

- France-Victimes (Chair: Maryse Le Men Régnier, Managing Director: Jérôme Bertin)
- 13onze15 - Fraternité et vérité (Chair: Philippe Duperron)
- Life for Paris - 13 November 2015 (Chair: Arthur Dénouveaux)
- French Association of Victims of Terrorism (AfVT) (Chair: Sophie Darses, Managing Director: Guillaume Denoix de Saint-Marc)
- National Federation of Victims of Attacks and Collective Accidents (FENVAC) (former Chair: Pierre-Étienne Denis)
- Promenade des Anges (Chair: Yassine Bourouais)
- Angels Memorial (Chair: Anne Murriss)
- Life for Nice (Chair: Jean-Claude Hubler)
- Association Dessinez créez liberté (Chair : Julien Sérignac), founded by *Charlie Hebdo*, SOS Racisme and the independent and democratic high school federation
- Association of the victims of the attack on the Bardo museum (Chair: Françoise Vernet)
- Strasbourg Association from Tears to Smiles (SDLAS) (Chair: Mokhtar Naghchband)
- Françoise Rudetzki, founder of the former association “SOS Attentats”, member of the Guarantee Fund for victims of acts of terrorism and other offences.

In particular, two plenary meetings were organised: on 29 March 2019, to present the new project and gather reactions and suggestions; and on 18 October 2019, to present the first guidelines and initiate a general discussion on the content. In addition, between March 2019 and January 2020, the project team met several heads of these associations to identify collections of documents and objects, and it was able to benefit from decisive assistance (see Chapter VI). We would add that Denis Peschanski represented the project and gave a presentation to the International Congress of Victims of Terrorism, in Nice, on 22 and 23 November 2019. Finally, the Chair of the project and several of its members took part in several of the commemorations in tribute to the victims of terrorism: on 19 September 2019, 13 November 2019 and 7 January 2020, together with many opportunities for meetings and exchanges²⁴.

²⁴ See the general project schedule in the appendix.

E. Working methods

The project team met in full around ten times between March 2019 and January 2020, and was divided into four specialist divisions operating independently:

- Division 1: Location and building (manager: Adeline Rispal, with Valérie Brisard, Myriam Achari, Brigitte Sion);
- Division 2: General project, museography (manager: Henry Rouso, with Marc Crépon, Isabelle Chaudieu, Jenny Raflik, Michel Wieviorka);
- Division 3: Collections (manager: Denis Peschanski, with Cliff Chanin, Olivier Grémont, Emmanuelle Iardella-Blanc, Esther Shalev-Gerz);
- Division 4: Communication and teaching (manager: Rachid Azzouz, with Alice Bombardier and Jacques Fredj).

The project team also conducted numerous interviews and hearings. In these meetings we have prioritised stakeholders and witnesses of terrorism in general and its effects, specialists in questions relating to museums and memory policies, leaders of heritage institutions, and personalities who can concretely help launch the mission. It was decided to postpone the systematic consultation of specialists on the themes that will be retained in the museography to the next phase of preparation. In addition to the managers and members of the victim associations mentioned above, the following have been consulted:

- 13 March 2019: Olivier Renard, Chief of Staff to Jean-Louis-Missika, Deputy Mayor of Paris, in charge of urban planning; the aim was to initiate discussions with the City of Paris on the location;
- 04 April 2019: François-Joseph Ruggiu, Director, Sandrine Lefranc and Fabrice Boudjaaba, Deputy Scientific Directors, of the CNRS National Institute of Human and Social Sciences; the discussion focused on the involvement of the CNRS and the scientific dimension of the project;
- 09 May 2019: Clarisse Mazoyer, Chair of the Cultural Heritage and Real Estate Projects Operator (OPPIC) and Marie-Bénédicte Caumette, head of the preliminary design department; the meeting made it possible to associate Valérie Brisard, architect-programmer, with the project;
- 14 May 2019: Lucie Muniesa, director of the office of the Minister of Culture; the purpose of the meeting was the possible involvement of the Ministry of Culture;
- 21 May 2019: Christian Estrosi, Mayor of Nice; the discussion focused on the location of the future memorial museum and the involvement of the city of Nice in the project;
- 27 May 2019: interview with Jacques Toubon, rights advocate, former chair of the preparatory project for the National City of Immigration History (2003), and Luc Gruson, former director of the National Museum of Immigration History; the (recorded) exchange focused on their experience;

- 22 July 2019: Guillaume Nahon, Director of the Paris Archives, and Mathilde Pintault, collection and classification manager; the meeting focused on the assets connected to the attacks, in particular those of 13 November 2015;
- 05 September 2019: Philippe Bauchot, Deputy Director of the Directorate of State Real Estate, and Michel Laffitte, Head of State Real Estate Policy in Paris and Île-de-France; the discussion focused on the possibilities of locating the museum in state-owned buildings;
- 07 October 2019: Myriam Tournoux and Guillaume Merzi, respectively Head and Chief of Staff of the Mayor of Pantin, Bertrand Kern; the discussion focused on the development areas under way in the north-east of the capital;
- 05 November 2019: Sylvie Zaidman, Director of the Musée de la Libération de Paris–Musée du Général Leclerc–Musée Jean-Moulin; the visit to the recently-renovated museum and the meeting enabled an exchange of experiences;
- 15 November 2019: Ariane James-Sarazin, Deputy Director of the Musée de l'Armée; the meeting focused on the links between the Musée de l'Armée and the future memorial museum;
- 18 November 2019: Bruno Ricard, Director of the National Archives, as well as Marion Veyssière (Head of the Justice and Interior Department), Violaine Challéat-Fonck (Head of the Interior Division) and their employees: Gérald Monpas (Interior division), Christophe Bouvier, Céline Delétang and Jean Salvat (Justice division) on funds dedicated to terrorism over the long term;
- 22 November 2019: Philippe Pradal, first deputy mayor of Nice and Anthony Borré, director of cabinet; the meeting, which took place in Nice, focused on the city's involvement in setting up a network of memorials dedicated to victims of terrorism;
- 27 November 2019: Michèle Antoine, exhibition director at Universcience, and Pierre Reinisch, head of international projects; the meeting focused on a possible collaboration during the preparatory phase;
- 06 December 2019: Sarah Gensburger and Gêrôme Truc, sociologists, research officers at the CNRS; the (recorded) interview focused on the memorialisation of attacks worldwide since 2001 ;
- 06 December 2019: François Molins, Attorney General at the Court of Cassation; this involved presenting the project and obtaining the opinion of a leading player in the fight against terrorism (recorded);
- 09 December 2019: Valérie Guillaume, director of the Carnavalet museum; the interview focused on the collections dedicated to the history of the terrorist attacks in Paris, as well as a possible partnership;
- 06 January 2020: Dominique Reynié, politician, professor at the Institute of Political Studies in Paris, Chair of the Foundation for Political Innovation; the (recorded) discussion focused on the report he published in November 2019 on Islamist attacks worldwide from 1979 to 2019;

- 06 January 2020: Christian Delage, historian, professor at the University of Paris VIII and director of the Institute of History of the Present Time; the (recorded) discussion focused on filmed recordings of victims and trials linked to terrorism ;
- 06 January 2020: Jacqueline Eidelman, General Curator of Heritage; the meeting (recorded) focused on the “Museums of the 21st century” project, which she chaired in 2017;
- 08 January 2020: Agnès Chauveau, Director of Broadcasting and Innovation, Fabrice Blanche, Head of the Audiovisual Productions Department, Antoine Bayet, Head of the Digital Editions Department, Mileva Stupar, Head of the Cultural and Educational Action Department of the National Audiovisual Institute (INA); the meeting focused on the issue of collections and possible partnerships;
- 08 January 2020: Jean-François Ricard, prosecutor, head of the national anti-terrorist prosecutor’s office, and Camille Hennetier, deputy prosecutor; the discussion focused on recording the trials of the collection of legal documents for the project;
- 14 January 2020: Antoine Garapon, magistrate and writer, secretary general of the Institute of Advanced Studies on Justice; the meeting focused on the place of victims in contemporary society;
- 14 January 2020: Nicolas Hénin, former journalist specialising in the Middle East, consultant and trainer, specialising in prevention issues; the interview (recorded) focused on his experience as a journalist and his detention, with three other French people, by Daesh (2013-2014).

The project team also made several visits to memorials in France and abroad, presented in the next chapter.

III. Museums and memorials dedicated to terrorism

From the first discussions, it became clear that a project of such magnitude would have a unique nature. It was therefore necessary to carry out a quick overview of comparable memorials around the world, in particular the few sites that offered a museum or an interpretation centre in parallel, to find our own bearings.

A. Memorials around the world

The importance adopted by memorials and historical museums of all kinds in recent decades can be explained by the emergence of new forms of sensitivity to the past which, since the 1970s, have inaugurated an era of remembrance, highlighting the need for memory against the inevitability of forgetting. This has manifested itself all over the world through unprecedented processes of anamnesis and awareness. Sometimes long after the fact, the memory of significant events, particularly traumatic episodes, has resurfaced, stirring public debate and controversy: the legacy of the two world wars, fascism and Nazism, colonialism and slavery. This new awareness of the past has led to demands for recognition and compensation for the victims and their descendants. It has also led to early forms of memorialisation following the tragedies of the present. The reactions to the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 or those of 2015-2016 in France are clear examples of this.

The policies of remembrance that accompanied these developments led to the construction of new types of memorials, different from the monuments to the dead of the first half of the 20th century. These accomplishments pay more attention to suffering than to heroism. In the aftermath of World War II, the fallen fighters and resistance fighters were celebrated across Europe. Thirty to forty years later, more attention was paid to the Jewish victims of the genocide: the Shoah Memorial was inaugurated in Paris in 2005. Specific tributes were made to other categories of victims persecuted by the Nazis: in Berlin, homosexuals and gypsies now have their memorials, inaugurated in 2008 and 2009 respectively. Similarly, the first French museum dedicated to civilians in the war was opened in Falaise in 2016.

These memorials are also set apart by the way in which they fit into the urban space, by the important place they sometimes occupy: the memorial to the murdered Jews of Europe, inaugurated in 2005 in Berlin, or the Buenos Aires Memorial Park, opened in 2006, a tribute to the 30,000 who disappeared during the dictatorship (1976-1983), constitute real neighbourhoods in the city. These are often “monuments by default”, devoid of the attributes of classic “monumentality”: “uniqueness, stagnation, hieratism,

permanence, dimensional hypertrophy, symmetry, centrality, rhetoric, indifference to places, nobility of materials, eloquence, rejection of emotions²⁵”.

The last half-century has ultimately been characterised by enthusiasm for history museums, whether or not they have a memorial aspect. We will only mention a few relatively recent French examples here: the Caen Memorial (1988), l’Historial de Péronne (1992), the National Museum of the History of Immigration (2007), the Abolition of Slavery Memorial in Nantes (2012). As with our project, the latter two relate to both historical and social phenomena.

There are many commemorative monuments to acts of terrorism and its victims around the world, in the form of plaques, dedicated spaces (squares, gardens, groves), street names, figurative or allegorical artistic monuments and, more rarely, museums. We provide some examples here in a list that is obviously not exhaustive, but which may serve as a starting point for a more systematic scientific study.

- **Afghanistan**

Kabul, Afghanistan Center for Memory and Dialogue, exhibition of “memory boxes” and clothes of victims of war and terrorism



Source: <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/17/world/asia/kabul-afghanistan-memory-boxes.html>

²⁵ Adachiara Zevi, *Monuments par défaut. Architecture et mémoire depuis la Shoah* [*Monuments by default. Architecture and memory since the Holocaust*], translated from Italian by Christophe Carraud, edition of the journal “Conférence” [Conference], 2018, p. 7. There is considerable literature on contemporary memorials. See, in particular, James Young, *The Texture of Memory. Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1993; Brigitte Sion, *Memorials in Berlin and Buenos Aires. Balancing Memory, Architecture, and Tourism*, Lanham, Lexington Books, 2015. See also the journal *Mémoires en jeu/Memories at Stake*, which covers, in particular, issues relating to the development of “dark tourism” or “memory tourism”.

- **Germany**

Munich, Monument to the victims of the Olympic Games attacks, committed by the Palestinian group Black September, 5 September 1972.



Source : <https://www.familie-sterr.eu/2017/10/gedenkstaette-olympia-attentat-1972/>

- **Argentina**

1) Buenos Aires, Memorial to the victims of the attack on the Israeli Embassy, 17 March 1992.



Source : <https://jewishnews.timesofisrael.com/argentina-passes-law-to-hold-annual-memorial-for-1992-israeli-embassy-bombing/>

2) Buenos Aires, Memorial in front of the AMIA building (Jewish Community Centre) targeted by an attack, 18 July 1994. Both attacks were attributed to Hezbollah.



Source : <https://u.osu.edu/argentinastudyabroadmay2015/2015/05/>

- **Belgium**

Brussels, Monuments to the victims of the Daesh attacks of 22 March 2016, Quartier de l'Europe and the memorial in the Sonian Forest



Sources: photo H. Rouso and <https://environnement.brussels/news/un-memorial-la-memoire-des-victimes-des-attentats-de-bruxelles-inaugure-en-foret-de-soignes>

- **Spain**

1) Madrid, memorials to the victims of the Islamist attacks of 11 March 2004:
Atocha station



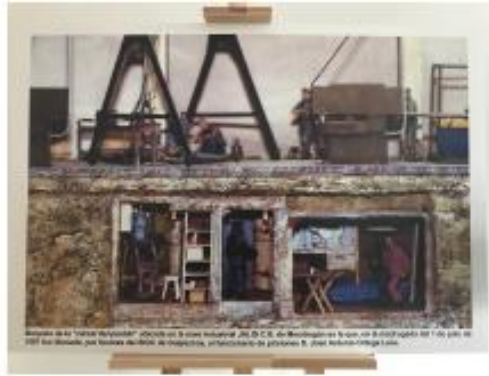
Sources: https://elpais.com/elpais/2007/03/11/album/1173604617_910215.html#foto_gal_1
<http://www.vivreamadrid.it/2010/03/la-cicatrice-di-madrid/>

Forest of Remembrance (formerly Forest of the Departed)



Source: https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bosque_del_Recuerdo

2) Vitoria-Gasteiz, Memorial Centre for Victims of Terrorism (opening scheduled for 2020).
Façade of the building and model of an ETA “People’s Jail”



Demining robot and reading room project



Source: photos R. Azizi, E. Shalev-Gerz, H. Rousso (18 December 2019) and <http://www.memorialvt.com/en/home-presentation/>

- United States**

1) Oklahoma City, National Museum and Memorial for the Victims of the April 19, 1995 Attack



Source: <https://oklahomacitynationalmemorial.org/museum/about-us/>

2) Memorials to the attacks of 11 September 2001

New York, National September 11 Memorial Museum



Sources: <https://www.newyorkcity.fr/memorial-du-11-septembre-new-york/> et R. Azizi, A. Rispal et H. Rouso (11/9/2019).

New York, 9/11 Tribute Museum



Sources: photos A. Rispal and H. Rouso (11 September 2019)

Washington, National 9/11 Pentagon Memorial



Source: <https://pentagonmemorial.org/explore/biographies/photo-gallery>

Stoystown, Pennsylvania, Flight 93 National Memorial, the "Tower of Voices"



Source: <https://www.nps.gov/flni/index.htm>

3) Boston, Memorial to the attacks of 15 April 2013



Source: <https://www.wbur.org/news/2019/08/19/memorial-martin-richard-lingzi-lu-krystle-campbell>

4) Orlando

Construction under discussion of a memorial commemorating the 12 June 2016 attack at Pulse, a gay club, by an American who pledged allegiance to Daesh.

- **Israel**

1) Jerusalem, Victims of Acts of Terror Memorial, State National Cemetery, Mount Herzl



Source : https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Victims_of_Acts_of_Terror_Memorial

2) Jerusalem, cenotaph on Arazim Hill in tribute to the victims of 11 September 2001.



Source : <https://livingmemorial.voicesofseptember11.org/memorials/911-living-memorial-plaza-0>²⁶

- **India**

Mumbai, numerous memorials to the victims of the Islamist attacks of 11 July 2006 and 26 November 2008. Here, a plaque at the Chhatrapati Shivaji station terminus and police memorial



Sources: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2008_Mumbai_attacks#Memorials
<https://www.straitstimes.com/asia/south-asia/modi-pays-tribute-to-victims-of-2008-mumbai-attack>

- **Indonesia**

Bali, Kuta district, memorial to the attack of 12 October 2002 by the Jemaah Islamiyah group



Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2002_Bali_bombings#/media/File:Bali_memorial.jpg

²⁶ This site lists the many memorials around the world dedicated to the victims of the attacks of 11 September 2001.

- **Kenya**

Nairobi, 7 August memorial park at the site of the 1998 attack on the US embassy.



Source: <http://memorialparkkenya.org>

- **Niger**

Ténéré Memorial, DC10 attack of 19 September 1989, built in 2007 by Guillaume Denoix de Saint-Marc and the association of victims' families, financed by Libyan compensation.



Source: <https://www.afvt.org/1er-septembre-2014-25eme-anniversaire-de-lattentat-du-dc10-duta/> and G. Denoix de Saint-Marc

- **Norway**

Memorials to the attacks of 22 July 2011 by a far-right activist.
Oslo, July 22 Information Center, building, wreckage of trapped van.



Oslo, Victims' Names Wall and Rose Monument



Utøya, island memorials (the enclosed cafeteria, the tree with messages, the circle of names)



Sources: photos R. Azizi, J. Raflik, H. Rousso

- **Peru**

Lima, Place of Memory, Tolerance and Social Inclusion, museum and memorial.



Sources: <https://lum.cultura.pe/el-lum/quienes-somos>

- **United Kingdom**

1) London, Hyde Park memorial to the Islamist attacks of 7 July 2005.



Source: <https://www.911memorial.org/blog/london-marks-10th-anniversary-77-terrorist-attacks>

2) Manchester, the remnants of the attack on 22 May 2017 at the Arena concert, must be transferred to a permanent memorial.

- **Russia**

Beslan Memorial (North Ossetia), to the victims of the hostage-taking by Chechen terrorists and the attack on the school by Russian forces, 1-3 September 2004, 350 dead.

The enshrined ruins of the school and the “City of Angels” cemetery



Source: <http://www.solidarite-enfantsdebeslan.com/index-22.html>

This brief overview provides an insight into the diversity of memorials dedicated to victims of terrorism around the world. There are great contrasts between the impressive monumentality of certain places (New York) and the minimalist nature of other sites (the island of Utøya), between the considerable weight of certain events on a global scale (11 September and its memorials around the world) and the infinitely lesser media coverage given to terrorist phenomena that were nevertheless very deadly in Afghanistan, India, Peru and many other countries. There is also a recurrence of certain components: the walls of names or equivalents, the symbolism of absence, the columns, water and greenery (considered in many cultural environments as signs of life and calm), the places of martyrdom enshrined in structures built to preserve them (Beslan, Utøya): “so the living protect the dead”, as the Norwegian architect Aatle Aas explained to us.

Above all, and this is essential to our proposal, almost all of these memorials are almost exclusively dedicated to a specific attack and have been built on the very places where it occurred. Some of them deal more broadly with a certain type of terrorism: the Centre of Vitoria-Gasteiz on Basque terrorism, the Place of Memory of Lima on the Shining Path. A few others mention several attacks: the September 11 memorial includes the victims of the 26 February 1993 attack on the twin towers, and the Tribute Museum evokes social responses in other contexts, particularly in France. Nevertheless, to our knowledge, no memorial encompasses the victims of several attacks, at different times and targeted by different ideologies and motivations. Finally, and this is just as essential, the museums themselves or interpretation centres, therefore with tours, exhibitions of objects and documents devoted to terrorism, whether or not adjacent to a memorial, are very rare. Of the half-dozen we identified, we visited five: two in New York, as well as Oslo, Vitoria-Gasteiz and Oklahoma City.

B. The sites visited

Given the scarcity of museums devoted to terrorism, these visits, made each time with several members of the project team, proved decisive. They made it possible to study experiences in the field where problems have been confronted that the French memorial museum will also have to face. They have also made it possible to forge links with leading partners for the future network of memorials, the creation of which we recommend (see Chapter VII.F National and international network).

- ***New York, 7-12 September 2019***

The visit was made as part of the commemorations, thanks to an invitation from Clifford Chanin, executive vice president of the 9/11 memorial and museum, a member of the preparatory team. It was conducted in parallel with the organisation of a Franco-

American study day on 10 September 2019, organised by the French House of Columbia University and the 13 November programme, led by Francis Eustache and Denis Peschanski.²⁷

This visit made it possible to understand the deep unity of the various components of the memorial and museum: the place of tribute with the pools symbolising the missing towers, and the underground museum, of an extraordinary size. The latter, including in its historical part, is an integral part of the memorial function, which is not overlooked at any time during the tour. This overall unity has given us cause to reflect on the need for a strong, organic link between the memorial and the museum, despite their distinct functions, a point to which we return in Chapter V. The spectacular scenography is based on the very short-term experience: it is first and foremost a museum about 11 September 2001 rather than a museum on terrorism, its causes or its consequences. The visitor is therefore plunged back into the shock of the event; the historical exhibition also promotes re-living certain emotions for many visitors since there is a recurrent, almost obsessive, presence of material remains: tower reinforcements, concretions, remains of fire engines, debris of all kinds. Similarly, the memorial and museum can be seen as a moment of patriotic expression, almost an act of resistance. Finally, it should be noted that this institution, funded mainly by private sources, has, thanks to donations from victims and families, collected a considerable number of documents, objects and remnants. This position is different from France where collections related to recent attacks, in particular in Paris, have already been carried out by public heritage institutions.

The meeting with teachers and trainers on-site made it possible to gauge pupils' and students' interest levels. Most of the training programmes were put in place years after the inauguration because the highly attractive nature of the place for the school environment had not really been anticipated. "They love it!" said a teacher. The discussion highlighted the diversity of possible approaches for a young audience and the precautions to be taken, particularly to avoid any kind of stigmatisation and generalisation. It also addressed training issues: visiting the site has been mandatory since 2019 for all new FBI recruits and it has already hosted more than a thousand of them; the museum and memorial also has 87 civic programmes with more than 5,400 participants.

We also had a very informative experience: on the day of 11 September, and thanks to a sophisticated webinar system, nearly 325,000 people from all over the world, including many schoolchildren, were able to connect on the day of the commemoration to a dedicated site of the memorial and museum to ask all kinds of questions that a

²⁷ "What is suffering worth? Perspectives across disciplines on the treatment of victims", text available at <http://www.maisonfrancaise.org/what-is-suffering-worth-perspectives-across-disciplines-on-the-treatment-of-vict>

dozen people trained for the occasion were able to answer in real time. Finally, this visit made it possible to measure the attachment and role of the victims within this memorial. The meeting with Dening Lohez, widow of Jérôme Robert Lohez, one of the French victims, was a very powerful moment, highlighting the importance of the memorial as a place for speaking and communication.

For completeness, we must include a visit to another lesser-known museum, the Tribute Museum, located a few blocks from Ground Zero. Much less spectacular than the memorial and museum of 11 September, it offers a look at the aftermath more than what took place, on the forms of resilience, reconstruction, solidarity: a quite unique example of the museographic treatment of individual and social responses to terrorism.

- ***Oslo, 14-16 October 2019***

The preparatory team went to Oslo to visit the various memorial sites commemorating the attacks of 22 July 2011 committed by an extreme right militant and which resulted in a total of 77 dead, 8 in Oslo and 69 on the island of Utøya, as well as around fifty wounded. In Oslo itself, we met Lena Fahre, director of the information centre of 22 July, Lisbeth Røyneland, Chair of the Norwegian National Support Group 'After 22nd July 2011', the only association of victims, Tor Einar Fagerland, historian, and Aatle Aas, architect, who were the designers of the various memorials, as well as Lise Eilin Stene, doctor, specialist in resilience issues, and Jørgen Watne Frydnes, political science researcher, responsible for the island's memorial project, who guided our visit.

We were struck at first by the calm of the interpretation centre, located in the heart of the capital, where the terrorist blew up a van bomb. There are few objects, images or documents and the museography leaves room for visitors who experienced the event - one of the most traumatic since the end of the Second World War in Norway - to remember and for others to imagine. We were struck by certain strong choices such as the desire to only include excerpts from the legal documents and the trial that took place in August 2012 as explanatory texts, or the absence of photos of the terrorist except those of the fake cards that he used or the one where we see him in the dock. The animated images, such as those from the surveillance cameras that filmed part of the crime scene, are unusually intense.

The visit to the island of Utøya, an hour's drive from the capital, was even more impressive. It is a place already steeped in history as the island has been a gathering place for political youth organisations, its owner being the Labour Youth League.

On 22 July 2011 there was a group of activists, explicitly targeted by the killer. Its memorialisation has taken on a multidimensional character: the cafeteria, transformed into an enshrined mausoleum to preserve the building, the crime scene maintained 'as is' with the impact of bullets, the mural of the text messages received by relatives during the attack, probably the most upsetting part of the small exhibition there, the message tree, the circle of names, located in a clearing, symbol of the equality of all victims, the numerous inscriptions on trees or in corners of the island, which are all individual expressions. On the day of our visit, we came across a group of young people landing on the island to carry out the same sporting activities as before the attack. The memory of death rubs shoulders with the expression of life, an example that has greatly impressed us.

The discussion with the leaders and the chair of the victims' association made it possible to understand the originality of these memorial achievements. These were not self-evident. They have led to many controversies before the opening of the interpretation centre – but not after – particularly on the need for such an initiative. They were carried out thanks to a "coalition of trust", a relationship of trust between, on the one hand, the designers and, on the other, the victims and their relatives who were very directly associated with certain projects, in particular the construction of the circle of names. Overall, given its ethical choices, the Norwegian experience seemed to us to be of great interest to the future French memorial museum.

- ***Vitoria-Gasteiz, 18-19 December 2019***

The visit to the Memorial Centre of the Victims of Terrorism (Centro Memorial de las Víctimas del Terrorismo), located in the capital of the autonomous province of the Basque Country, was particularly important for the project and, without a doubt, it was also important to those with whom we were speaking²⁸. Indeed, it is the only identified case of a museum and memorial to terrorism and its victims, not a place devoted to a singular event.

On 18 December we met Florencio Domínguez Iribarren, the director, Raúl López Romo, historian, responsible for educational activities and exhibitions, Gaizka Fernández Soldevilla, historian, responsible for the archives sector, Gorka Angulo Altube, journalist, responsible for the communication sector, and Juan Pablo García de Vinuesa, lawyer, administrative manager. The next day, we were received by Jesús Loza, the government delegate in the Basque Country, who explained to us the genesis of the project he initiated.

²⁸ See their website: <http://www.memorialvt.com/una-comision-oficial-francesa-visita-el-memorial/>

The choice to build such a centre in the Basque Country was decided by the Law of 22 September 2011 – the year in which ETA renounced armed struggle – “on the recognition and full protection of victims of terrorism”, voted in unanimously (minus one vote) after consultations. The city of Vitoria-Gasteiz was chosen not only because it is the provincial capital, but also because it has been particularly scarred by terrorist acts in recent decades. The project is therefore part of a context of reconciliation, with the centre's mission having been to “delegitimise terrorism” (Jesús Loza) and promote democratic values.

The preparatory team's report was delivered in January 2015 and the project began in earnest in 2016. The Centre should open its doors in spring 2020, the delay being due to the economic crisis, but also because it was decided that this place would be built in a spirit of political consensus, which was difficult to find. The team worked with the 37 victims' associations but was made up only of experts and professionals, with the victims having their own advice.

The centre is located in the historic heart of Vitoria-Gasteiz, in a former branch of the Bank of Spain dating from the early 20th century, rebuilt for the occasion. The immediate surrounding area is being redeveloped into a pedestrian area and residents are now calling it “the Memorial.” In the discussion, Jesús Loza emphasised that a mistake was made in choosing a place before defining the project, which led to a rift between the space actually allocated and the stated ambitions. Indeed, while the five-storey building is impressive at first glance, the exhibition area is barely 600 m² over a total surface area of 2,000 m². These problems are partly due to the limited room for manoeuvre for architects and scenographers in this listed building. This observation has drawn our attention, in particular, because it justifies the fact that our project team, on the advice of its specialist museum members, has focused primarily on defining a project to establish the criteria that will make it possible to select suitable or potentially adaptable places.

The centre must include a reception area that presents the purpose of the place and an open and plural definition of terrorism. It will also include a documentation centre that must centralise the archives of the fight against terrorism, a special position in the Basque Country, the centre being concerned with encouraging historical research on these subjects by organising summer schools and establishing links with universities in the region.

The permanent exhibition, which was not yet installed during our visit and for which we were not able to see the scenographic project, will deal almost exclusively with Basque terrorism (that of ETA and certain extreme left and extreme right groups), as well as counter-terrorist groups (GAL). Jihadist terrorism (Madrid, 2004, Barcelona and Cambrils, 2017) will be the subject of a branch of the centre that is due to open in Madrid at an as yet undetermined date. Although ETA was founded in 1959 and its first attacks date back to 1960, we have been told that the museum will deal first and

foremost with terrorism after the death of Franco in 1975, i.e. almost all the attacks committed in the Basque Country which, according to the official report, resulted in 853 deaths and nearly 5,000 injuries. Among the highlights of this permanent exhibition, we were shown the project of an identical reproduction of a “people’s prison” where a prison official, José Antonio Ortega Lara, kidnapped by ETA, was detained for 532 days, in 1996-1997. Generally speaking, the museum tour will be based on identifying the victims, presenting some illustrative cases, also mentioning the “righteous”, such as Ignacio Echeverria, the “skateboard hero” killed in the London attack of 3 June 2017 while trying to intervene. Last but not least, the names of the terrorists will not be mentioned anywhere.

- ***Oklahoma City, 22-23 February 2020***

Inaugurated on 19 April 2000, the Oklahoma City National Memorial commemorates the 19 April 1995 attack on a federal building in the city by a far-right activist, killing 168 people and causing extensive damage. The memorial, opened in February 2001, occupies a very large space and also includes a museum. It is one of the first in the world dedicated to an act of terrorism. It offers an exhibition on the victims, the emergency services, the forms of solidarity that followed the attack. It devotes much of its work to education and resilience issues. The site also hosts an institute for the prevention of terrorism. The director, Kari F. Watkins, told us that she was very interested in establishing permanent contacts with the future memorial museum network [*we visited the Museum, in February 2020, after the release of this report*].

To be comprehensive about visits to museums and memorials, we must add those previously organised by the Memorial Committee in France (Camp de Rivesaltes Memorial, Camp des Milles Memorial, Caen Memorial, Shoah Memorial), as well as those made by members of the project team outside the framework of the latter and which, all, have fuelled our thinking: Jewish Museum and Centre of Tolerance, Museum of the History of the Gulag in Moscow (Esther Shalev-Gerz, April 2019); memorial to the Attacks of the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich (Brigitte Sion, October 2019).

C. French memorials

In France, remembrance of terrorist attacks was relatively absent in urban areas before 2015. In May of the same year, a few months after the Islamist attacks in January, an investigation conducted by the 3Millions7 website, (an offshoot of the Journalists' Training Centre) found that, in Paris, commemorations were rare: barely half a dozen plaques have been affixed since 1974, of which we present a few examples below²⁹. This is all the more remarkable because there are so many memorial plaques of all kinds – 1,600 in total, more than three-quarters of which relate to the Second World War.³⁰ Moreover, for half a century, the capital has been a prime location for terrorist attacks. Among the Paris plaques affixed before 2015, we could mention those dedicated to the most significant attacks:

Attacks before 2015

Synagogue on rue Copernic, 3 October 1980, 4 dead and 46 wounded, not claimed.



Source: https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fichier:Plaque_Attentat_de_la_rue_Copernic_Paris_16.jpg

Restaurant Goldenberg rue des Rosiers, 9 August 1982, by the Abou Nidal group, 6 dead, 22 wounded. Plaque affixed in the following months, removed, and affixed again in 2011.



Source: <https://3millions7.cfjlab.fr/2015/05/14/a-paris-les-attentats-quon-oublie-et-ceux-dont-la-memoire-perdure/>

²⁹ <https://3millions7.cfjlab.fr/2015/05/14/a-paris-les-attentats-quon-oublie-et-ceux-dont-la-memoire-perdure/>. The 3millions7 website is an offshoot of the Centre de formation des journalistes sur l'après-Charlie [The 'After Charlie' Journalists' Training Centre], a reference to the "3,700,000, the (official) number of people marched in France on 11 January 2015, behind the world leaders, under numerous slogans in defence of the Republic".

³⁰ <https://www.paris.fr/pages/histoire-et-memoire-2419#plaques-commemoratives>

Rue de Rennes, 17 September 1986, by Hezbollah, 7 dead and 55 wounded.



Source: <https://3millions7.cfjlab.fr/2015/05/14/a-paris-les-attentats-quon-oublie-et-ceux-dont-la-memoire-perdure/>

RER Saint-Michel, 25 July 1995, by the GIA, 8 dead and 200 injured.



Source: <https://www.afvt.org/france-paris-attentat-a-la-sation-rer-saint-michel/>

RER Port-Royal, 3 December 1996, perpetrators not identified



Source: <https://3millions7.cfjlab.fr/2015/05/14/a-paris-les-attentats-quon-oublie-et-ceux-dont-la-memoire-perdure/>

Also worth mentioning is the memorial erected in the Intendant's garden, at the Hôtel National des Invalides, as well as several plaques nearby in tribute to French victims of attacks committed abroad. The fountain statue "Speaking out in memory of the victims of terrorism" was inaugurated on 3 December 1998 by President Jacques Chirac. The only one of its kind before 2015 on French soil, it is down to the initiative of Françoise Rudetzki, then Chair of the association SOS Attentats:



"It is the result of an encounter with the artist Nicolas Alquin who sculpted in bronze a statue representing a woman whose decapitated head rests in her hands, but whose words continue to come out of her mouth; this symbolises the words of the victim carried beyond death. It is our message of hope, our concern for justice and truth. This sentinel reminds everyone that perpetrators of acts of terrorism must be prosecuted and sentenced according to our democratic rules. Our goal is to fight terrorism through justice. This sculpture is also a fountain, because water is the symbol of life in all civilizations³¹."

Source: <http://www.sos-attentats.org>

After the Islamist attacks of 2015-2016, the situation changed completely. Now, the sites and victims are mostly identified in the year following the events, such as the plaques dedicated to the victims of 13 November, unveiled on the first anniversary, and several memorials are quickly being created on the sites themselves, in Paris, Nice, and in other places in France. In November 2019, the City of Paris announced the creation of a "garden of remembrance" for all the victims of 13 November. We give some examples of these sites of remembrance here.³²

³¹ Françoise Rudetzki, 16 October 2003, text available at the following address:

<https://www.terrorisme.net/2003/10/16/s-o-s-attentats-entretien-avec-francoise-rudetzki/>

³² On the immediate memorialisation of the 2015 attacks and its inclusion in space, see Sarah Gensburger, *Mémoire vive. Chroniques d'un quartier, Bataclan, 2015-2016* [*Living memory. Chronicles of a neighbourhood, Bataclan, 2015-2016*], Anamosa, 2017.

2015 attacks

Tree of Remembrance (Place de la République)



Images: Esther Shalev-Gerz, 24 January 2020.

“In memory of the victims of the terrorist attacks of January and November 2015 in Paris, Montrouge and Saint-Denis. The people of France pay tribute to them here.”

Attacks in January 2015

- Plaque on the *Charlie-Hebdo* building



Picture: R. Azizi.

- Plaque in tribute to Ahmed Merabet, boulevard Richard-Lenoir, Paris, 11th arrondissement (7 January 2015).



Source: <http://www.leparisien.fr/>

- Plaque on the Hyper Cacher store, Paris, 20th arrondissement (8 January 2015).



Source: AFP and https://www.lemonde.fr/actualite-medias/article/2016/01/05/charlie-hebdo-la-plaque-a-la-memoire-des-victimes-de-l-attentat-terroriste-devoilee_4841764_3236.html

- Plaques in memory of Clarissa Jean-Philippe, Malakoff and Montrouge (8 January 2015)



Photographs by H. Rouso, January 19, 2019.

"In memory of Clarissa Jean-Philippe, municipal police brigadier of the city of Montrouge, murdered in this place on 8 January 2015, victim of terrorism in the performance of her duty."

Attacks of 13 November 2015

- Plaque at Stade de France, Saint-Denis (Seine-Saint-Denis)



Picture: R. Azizi

- Near the café Le Comptoir Voltaire, Paris, 11th arrondissement.



Source: <http://www.leparisien.fr/faits-divers/attentats-du-13-novembre-suivez-en-direct-les-ceremonies-en-hommage-aux-victimes-12-11-2016-6320256.php>

- Near the café La Bonne Bière and the restaurant Casa Nostra, Paris, 11th arrondissement.



Sources: <https://www.franceculture.fr/emissions/le-reportage-de-la-redaction/13-novembre-trois-ans-apres-quelle-place-pour-la-memoire-dans-le-quartier-du-bataclan> et <http://www.leparisien.fr/faits-divers/attentats-du-13-novembre-suivez-en-direct-les-ceremonies-en-hommage-aux-victimes-12-11-2016-6320256.php>

- Near the La Belle Équipe café, Paris 11th arrondissement.



Source: <http://www.leparisien.fr/faits-divers/attentats-du-13-novembre-suivez-en-direct-les-ceremonies-en-hommage-aux-victimes-12-11-2016-6320256.php>

- Near the restaurants and cafés Le Petit Cambodge and Le Carillon, Paris 10th arrondissement.



Picture: R. Azizi.

- Bataclan Memorial, Paris 11th arrondissement.



Photographs by H. Rouso, 18 March 2019

- Château-Larcher (Vienne), plaque inaugurated on 11 November 2017 on the monument to the dead in tribute to a victim of 13 November, originally from the city.



Source: <https://www.20minutes.fr/societe/2167323-20171111-attentat-13-novembre-plaque-chloe-victime-terrorisme-monument-morts-village>

“The choice of the monument to the dead and the date of commemoration is not a coincidence, it is deliberate. Chloé died in an attack organised in such a way that it resembles an act of war.” The mayor, Francis Gargouil.

“[My daughter] is indeed a victim of war [...] Chloé did not die in an accident because she had drunk too much, she died in a state of war, with many other young people. She died because she lived, free, in a country where you can have a drink on the terrace with friends.” Élisabeth Boissinot.

Attack in Nice, 14 July 2016

- Angels Memorial



Source: <https://www.francebleu.fr/infos/faits-divers-justice/le-memorial-pour-les-victimes-de-l-attentat-installe-dans-les-jardins-de-la-villa-massena-nice-1496937608>

Strasbourg attack, 11 December 2018



Source: <https://www.lenouvelliste.ch/articles/monde/france-hommage-aux-victimes-de-l-attentat-du-marche-de-noel-de-strasbourg-889391>

These plaques and monuments pose semantic questions that warrant reflection on the choice of the future memorial museum. The killers or the nature of the crime are rarely mentioned, except for the plaque affixed to the Goldenberg restaurant and the Hyper Cacher, which indicate anti-Semitic attacks and that at Château-Larcher (just one example) which identifies 13 November as an act of war and pays tribute to one of its victims during a ceremony on 11 November. Most of the time, they were victims as a result of an “attack”, a “terrorist attack” or even “terrorism”, a generic term that seems to increasingly prevail. These choices, the reasons for which can be varied – an instinct to be modest, the desire to silence the killers, disagreements about how to name them – are not new in French traditions. In 1946, a headstone was erected in the forest of Fontainebleau in tribute to Georges Mandel, which reads: “In this place, Georges Mandel died, murdered by the enemies of France on 7 July 1944.” However, the former minister, a fierce opponent of the Vichy and Jewish regime, was not killed by the Nazis, but by members of the French militia. Seeking to avoid highlighting the fratricidal dimension of the conflict that had just ended, the inscription left this crucial information in the shadows.³³

However, in recent years, euphemisms are no longer used on plaques and headstones commemorating crimes that have become part of history and the perpetrators are, indeed, identified. For example, the 390 plaques affixed to schools in the Paris schools district since the 1990s, in memory of Jewish children who were victims of the Holocaust, all explicitly mention the Nazi occupiers, the French police or the Vichy government. Similarly, in October 2011, the Paris Council decided to erect a headstone at the Père-Lachaise cemetery, “in tribute to all the victims of the OAS in Algeria and France, civilians, soldiers, elected representatives, magistrates, civil servants, defenders of the institutions and values of the Republic³⁴”. The future memorial museum will have to take account of this memorial topography in the capital.

³³ Henry Rousso, *Le Syndrome de Vichy de 1944 à nos jours* [The Vichy Syndrome from 1944 to date], Paris, Seuil, 2016, p. 37 (1st ed. 1987).

³⁴ *L'Humanité*, 7 October 2011, article available at the following address: <https://www.humanite.fr/politique/une-stele-pour-les-victimes-de-l-oas-481098>

IV. The general concept: a unique place

The French memorial museum project is very unique with regard to the other aforementioned creations or places of remembrance, both in terms of its memorial aspect (the tribute to the victims) and in its museographic aspect (the history of terrorism and the responses it has elicited). This is the result of months of reflection on the long history of terrorism in France and the international context in which different forms of terrorism have manifested themselves. This is an observation with regard to the global topography of the existing places of memory devoted to this violence which is, at the same time, unique and universal.

Unlike the current memorial sites, all designed, despite their respective idiosyncrasies, around a single notable event or around a particular form of terrorism, the purpose of the French Memorial Museum will be to commemorate and evoke *all events* of a terrorist nature that have affected France and the French, and it must be dedicated to *all victims*: those of all nationalities who have been affected in France regardless of the types of attacks as the French who have been affected by terrorist actions abroad. This objective informs the general concept.

A. Location

As we indicated at the beginning, despite an initial exploration (see Chapter IX), we have not yet found a place that meets the criteria that we consider essential: neutrality, visibility, accessibility.

Commemorating all the victims in France and all the French victims abroad, over a period of more than half a century and over a vast geographical area, invites us to choose a place that is as neutral as possible, “that is obviously neutral with regard to all of the events”, as Jacques Toubon told us, on 27 May 2019. This means avoiding historic sites that are already loaded with other symbolic or functional significance. This means finding a site that is not close to a specific place of an attack so that a message can be sent to all victims and to the entire nation. The subject has been discussed several times with victim associations, which have very largely approved this idea of relative neutrality of location. It is on this condition that a unique architecture and staging can be expressed, resonating with the particular nature of this project.

The future memorial museum must indeed be visible without being ostentatious. It will, above all, be a place of reflection and culture. It must be integrated into the urban fabric so as to reach the widest possible audience, which presupposes excellent accessibility, from both geographical and transport perspectives and having regard to reduced mobility.

Consequently, only a location in Paris or Greater Paris can ensure it has a national and universal dimension. This was already a recommendation of the Memorial Committee, whose proposals were approved by the public authorities. Incidentally, since the 19th century, Paris has been the city most affected in France by terrorism in terms of the number of attacks, the diversity of actions perpetrated and the number of victims. It is the second highest in Europe after Madrid since 2000³⁵. A location in the capital or its surroundings therefore goes to the very heart of the project.

B. Audiences and uses

A memorial museum responds to a need for memory, i.e. a need for recognition, justice and truth. It must listen carefully to the victims and their associations, and develop close ties with them that began to be forged during the early preparatory phases. As custodians of experiences that are both unique and universal, victim associations (while maintaining their necessary independence from the public authorities) and any person engaged in a fight of the same nature can greatly help the memorial museum in its activities through their testimonies, the deposit of documents or objects, the establishment of dedicated activities, such as discussion groups or events they might initiate. These associations must be essential partners of the future establishment.

The memorial museum must also raise awareness among the general public about the nature of terrorism, a process that is part of a long history and that is poorly understood because of the shock it causes, incomprehension and fear being, by definition, among its objectives. The aim is to offer keys not only to understanding the phenomenon but also to help overcome the fears it generates. In the face of extreme violence and its aftermath, the possibilities for resilience involve speaking out, social sharing of emotions, expressing compassion and giving meaning to the inconceivable, all of which are the aims of a memorial museum.

It must therefore be a place suitable for a wide variety of audiences, of all ages and from all backgrounds: Parisian, Ile-de-France, national, foreign. Dealing with a subject that affects the whole world, it may in particular attract foreign tourists due to its unprecedented nature and the “world-events” dimension of certain attacks in France. It concerns both specific and broad audiences: direct and indirect victims, populations directly or indirectly affected, physically or psychologically, in particular via the media, professionals faced with attacks, representatives of public authorities, pupils and students, researchers and teachers, or any person with empathy or who is simply

³⁵ See *Le livre blanc et noir du terrorisme en Europe 2000-2018* [*The Black and White book of terrorism in Europe 2000-2018*], op. cit.

interested in a subject that is almost always current. Each of these categories will have different expectations and uses. In this respect, it is desirable to consider them not as mere visitors but as participants, encouraging multiple forms of participation: collection of testimonies and reactions, interactive devices, collective, scientific, artistic, recreational or other projects. This is how the memorial museum will gradually define its unique identity.

C. A museum on the history of the present time

Paying tribute to all victims, without discrimination, means going back in time, identifying acts or victims where there is sometimes little information left. It is essential, however, to maintain clarity and high visibility in this place, both in terms of the memorial and the museum. The recent decision by the public authorities to extend the scope of the medal for victims of terrorism to 1974 – the date of the first deadly attack in France since the Algerian war – is a landmark that the memorial must take into account. Its action is, in fact, part of the continuity of the support, reparation and recognition policies conducted in recent years, even if the tribute may have a symbolic and collective dimension, and therefore go back before this date. In museographic terms, this means that the memorial museum focuses primarily on a period that spans from the late 1960s to the present day, a sequence of present history that is relatively consistent with the development of terrorism and that of French society in a global context. This priority will be achieved by offering visitors longer-lasting points of reference, since the 19th century, making it possible to understand the terrorist trend over a long period of time.

Similarly, it is essential that the tours address broader themes than that of the history of terrorism alone. The Memorial Committee recommended that the preparatory team design a memorial museum dedicated to "societies in the face of terrorism" to avoid an approach focused solely on the acts and perpetrators of violence. Extending this idea, the project team proposes to broaden the scope by considering a four-stage, interdependent tour, presented in more detail in Chapter VI:

- the history of terrorism since the late 1960s
- societal responses and consequences
- the new focus on the victim
- the emergence of an era of remembrance since the 1970s

It is therefore a question of proposing not simply "a museum of terrorism", but a museum of history and society offering a wider understanding of the contemporary world for fifty years, taking terrorism and its effects as starting points.

D. A national, international and universal site

The memorial museum must have a primarily domestic dimension. It is a self-imposed memorial choice, with the site intended to provide a national tribute to the victims of terrorism. It is also a pragmatic museographic choice. Given that the future museum must cover almost half a century of history and deal with broader themes, it would be unreasonable to seek to cover an unrealistic world history.

However – and the project team would strongly emphasise this point – the future memorial museum must have an international dimension and aim for a form of universality. Not only does the tribute embrace foreign victims in France and French victims abroad, but the project is part of a European perspective, as is the choice of 11 March as the new National Day of Remembrance for Victims of Terrorism, which coincides with the European Day of Victims of Terrorism.

It is also not possible to analyse contemporary terrorism without highlighting its international dimension, the links between organisations based in different countries or the recent developments towards global terrorism, in particular Islamist networks of all kinds. This internationalisation and then this globalisation have led to police and judicial responses that transcend borders. They have also reinforced major trends in contemporary societies, starting with the considerable weight of collective emotions, which are particularly significant in this area: 11 September 2001, in New York, 11 March 2004, in Madrid, 7 and 8 January, then 13 November 2015 in Paris, 14 July in Nice are “monster events”, according to the famous formula of Pierre Nora, having acquired an almost instantaneous global dimension, in a public space disrupted for two decades by social networks and the accelerated circulation of emotions and information³⁶. These stupefying effects on a global scale are certainly part of the terrorists’ objectives, taking them as a whole, but the global dimension of reactions and responses is also one of the essential factors to take into account to measure a society’s ability to face this test. The memorial museum must therefore establish itself as a universal reference point through the message it will convey beyond its borders.

Finally, in its memorial and museographic dimension, the future memorial museum must give a central place to the deceased victims but also envisage giving space to those injured, to those physically as well as psychologically traumatised, a matter that has not often been dealt with by the museums that we have visited and which may also amount to something innovative. Similarly, we recommend giving visibility to acts of rescue, assistance, heroism and resistance, which are all messages of hope. The New York City Memorial Museum gave firefighters and those who worked to clear the wreckage plenty of space, given their sacrifice when the Twin Towers collapsed. But, as Cliff Chanin (with

³⁶ On this point, see, in particular, G  r  me Truc, *Sid  rations. Une sociologie des attentats*, [A state of shock: a sociology of attacks], Paris, PUF, 2016.

all his experience) has suggested to us, to the extent that terrorist acts target an entire society tangibly or symbolically, then it must pay tribute to all those who work to prevent them and to all those who take risks, in a spirit of fairness. Again, the French project could be innovative in this respect.

E. An approach based on truth and distance

The future memorial museum must address criminal acts, reject excessive euphemism or caution, identify those responsible, without affording them more importance than they actually have. While the debate on this sensitive point remains unresolved, two symmetrical pitfalls must be avoided. To remove the perpetrators of terrorist acts from common humanity would risk transforming them into extraordinary individuals, which they are not. The debate is not new; it has raged over the understanding of totalitarian phenomena, particularly Nazism. On the contrary, to ignore them is to take the opposite risk: that of feeding misinformation that must be combated. We believe it is necessary to maintain a form of consistency in this area: it is undesirable to ignore the perpetrators of terrorist acts that have made the headlines in a museographic journey with a historical and educational purpose. However, there is no reason to think that the perpetrators of attacks should be systematically named: the Memorial Centre for the Victims of Terrorism in the Basque Country has chosen not to do so to give them no publicity.

However, it is essential to identify the nature of the actions. We must, if not “name the enemy”, as one of our interlocutors urged us to do, at least advocate attempts to be clear, emphasising the different natures in time and space of the targets and victims: attacks against France, against the State, against the Republic; attacks against Muslims (by far-right attacks against mosques, and even more so because they are among the most affected in the world by Islamist attacks), against Jews (anti-Semitism is a constant of contemporary terrorism), against Christians (murder of the monks of Tibhirine, attack of the church of Saint-Étienne-du-Rouvray). Terrorist movements have emerged in a wide variety of countries and political or religious groups at different times in their history. None of them has exclusivity.

However, this does not justify maintaining false equivalence or sacrificing the usual common spaces: “resistant for some, terrorist for others”, “we are always someone’s terrorist”. On the contrary, it will be a question of clarifying as much as possible what this singular type of action, distinct from other forms of violence, means: of defining its variety, prioritising showing where and how it has developed, emphasising its multiple and different causes depending on the place and context, and, above all, emphasising its effects. The distance that must be used in this place must not lead to a “neutral” ethical position. There are essential principles that the terrorist or terrorists flout: the abiding right to life, freedom of thought and belief, freedom of expression, freedom of movement. It must be recalled without moralising.

F. A window to the future

The memorial museum, as was said at the outset, is part of a tragedy that has no likely end. This is the hardest thing to take on and translate. The place must therefore be designed to integrate the future evolution of the trend, including space to pay tribute to potential new victims within the scope of its memorial. This expectation may be shocking, but it is part of a reality that we must face once again. Above all, such a project demonstrates that it is possible to transform experiences of death and suffering into experiences of life and hope. A society caught in a conflict, capable not only of honouring its dead but of distancing itself from what harms it most, of offering a place of exchange on the world as it has been, as it is and as it can and must become, is a society that is not only resilient, but resistant.

Including all the victims and all the events of a terrorist nature, extending tributes to the carers and participants and to all those who have taken risks to combat terrorism, giving a long historical perspective, addressing a broader section of contemporary societies, asserting a national dimension while respecting the European and international context, and finally opening up to the future: all these elements highlight the ambition of the French memorial museum project, unparalleled to date.

To do this, the future location will be:

- a memorial, with its role of tribute and remembrance
- a museum of history and society, with exhibitions and cultural programmes
- a place for sharing experiences and knowledge, with educational and scientific activities.

V. The memorial

The memorial museum will be a place of tribute to the victims of terrorism in France and to French victims of terrorist acts abroad. This is where the new National Day of Remembrance on 11 March should be celebrated every year, in the presence of the highest State authorities. This requires specific facilities: esplanade, reception area, reinforced security, so that the commemoration and memorial can become a reality. This new space will take on its full meaning with the practice of the ritual which, in return, will create part of its identity.

In contrast to the museographic part, which will have to take a clear and uncompromising look at a tragic history, it is essential that the space dedicated to recollection be characterised by peace and calm. It must be a living space, with access to a garden lined with trees, with the presence of water, a sign of calm, like the New York pools, that it is more open, or even outside, than the other parts. It is intended to soothe the torments of memory and the violence of history.

However, the different parts of the building must form a single continuous whole, through the design approach, the aesthetics, the materials: the memorial and the museum must constitute the two sides of the same project. In New York, the ground-level pools and the underground museum form the front and back of the same complex, that of a bruised but rebuilt site, launched into the future. The French project will be different, as it is not associated with a specific location of an attack. However, it must also offer spatial and symbolic continuity. Although a specific place must be provided for the tributes, it is the memorial museum as a whole that will be a place of remembrance.

While it will be up to architects and scenographers to ensure consistency *in fine*, we suggest that the building as a whole should be in keeping with the aesthetics of recent memorials. Those built in the last thirty years have shown great inventiveness, even exceptional architectural successes, in translating the memory of significant events (slavery, the two world wars, the Holocaust) into space, decades or even centuries after the events took place. Even with arguably fewer monumental dimensions, we can hope for the same impetus, the same awareness of symbolic issues and the same creativity to memorialise a more recent history, highlight the uniqueness of terrorism and confirm the originality of the project. In short, the location must be easily identifiable. It must make sense.

Similarly, it must take account of the existing memorial topography, particularly if it is located in the capital. It will be able to offer “memory trails”, both in the Île-de-France region and nationally, to allow visitors to view the network of memorials dedicated to victims of terrorism throughout the country.

The memorial should give priority to identifying victims. The inscription of their name on a wall or any other medium expresses the longevity of loyalty to the dead. This is the primary purpose of a memorial. The future memorial museum will therefore have the task of helping to draw up as precise and exhaustive a list as possible of victims who have died as a result of acts of terrorism since 1974, perhaps even before, in cooperation with families and relatives, and under the supervision of the competent judicial and administrative bodies: the Interministerial Delegation for Victim Support, the Guarantee Fund for Victims of Acts of Terrorism and Other Offences (FGTI), the National Anti-Terrorism Prosecutor's Office and the Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs.

In the discussions with associations and with officials of foreign memorials, the question was raised several times as to whether it was possible to honour individual or collective categories other than the deceased victims. Firstly, it is about mentioning the survivors, those physically and psychologically wounded, the traumatised, who have sometimes been absent from the memorials. It then involves taking into account the “first responders” and “first-line caregivers”: firefighters, first-aid workers, police and gendarmes, doctors, residents of the affected neighbourhood and those just passing by. It is an opportunity to showcase heroic acts, including seemingly innocuous ones. As Clifford Chanin, executive vice president of the New York Memorial, told us, “I don't know of any examples where this issue has been an integral part of the project since its design. The presence of these other categories, whether in the memorial or in the museum, can be a fundamental element in explaining and commemorating the event. In any case, it would be an unprecedented inventiveness, which would make it possible to emphasise a social link, a solidarity between the living and the dead”. This aspect could take the form of a series of individual portraits.

The memorial must therefore include a martyrology, regardless of the medium: wall of names, digital memorial – provided that it gives the latter a sensitive, human dimension. It will be adjustable and capable of change. For example, the Shoah Memorial has just redone the wall of the names of the 76,000 Jews deported from France, inaugurated fifteen years ago in 2005, to allow additions and corrections to be made. It did the same with the Children's Memorial, a memorial of portraits collected by Serge Klarsfeld, incorporating in the same conditions nearly 2,000 new photographs found over the last few years, and capable of accommodating them as they are discovered. In this respect, the memorial may also take the form of a set of individual portraits, having obtained the families' agreements, allowing a diversity of situations and individualities to be presented. Looking at faces offers a dimension other than nominal identity, it helps to feed the symbolism of imagination. The series of portraits is also a component of many memorials around the world, particularly those in New York or Oslo. We can even imagine more detailed portraits, with some biographical elements, snippets of testimonies, a vocal reminder. It is a way of visualising and personalising each individual life destroyed behind the collective tragedy.

VI. The Museum of History and Society

Due to the nature of its scientific project, the memorial museum must be both a museum of history and a museum of society. The so-called "society" museums, which appeared in the 1990s in cultural terminology, refer to the whole of what is known in France as ecomuseums, museums of popular arts and traditions, museums of ethnography, history and industry. They draw a panorama of collective memory and its heritage in all its diversity. All are museums in the sense that their task is to preserve, study and exhibit collections of objects or documents evoking the evolution of man in society. They therefore share a more thematic than chronological approach to address the broadest audiences by questioning contemporary issues.

Since the beginning of the 21st century, the international museum community has reconsidered museums' new values and duties to the point of considering redefining them³⁷. In addition to the fundamental tasks of museums, there are the values of hospitality, inclusion, empathy and care.³⁸ The museum becomes a place of attention to others, a place of education concerning all areas of living together, or even a therapeutic space, like the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts and its concept of art therapy developed with health circles³⁹. In these new-generation museums, exhibitions and cultural practices foster links and crossovers between the themes explored, between the disciplines involved, between the material and virtual collections, between visitors and facilitators, between visitors themselves who have become participants by accessing knowledge. Today, there is so much recognition within these institutions of the essential nature of "learning to learn" to confront the profound changes that our societies are experiencing throughout our lives⁴⁰. The project team has considered how to integrate this extension of the scope of the museum.

- In the future memorial museum, visitors/participants will be able to explore a wide variety of sensitive and cognitive experiences of varying emotional intensity: witness items, mementos, videos, sound recordings, testimonies, analyses, etc.
- The scenography – the symbolic and spatial device that organises the exhibition tour and interprets the scientific and museographic project, as well as the collections, to promote sensitive and intellectual encounters between visitors and the knowledge and questions they raise – must imperatively avoid the spectacular

³⁷ Voir Jacqueline Eidelman, *Rapport de la mission Musées du XXI^e siècle*, doc. cité, et les récents débats sur la définition du musée au sein du Conseil international des musées (ICOM) :

<https://icom.museum/en/resources/standards-guidelines/museum-definition/>

³⁸ Adeline Rispal, "The 'Caring Museum', a new proposal for an inclusive museum", in Timothy Verdon (ed.), *Museology & Values. Art and human dignity in the 21st century*, London, Brepols Publishers, 2020.

³⁹ <https://www.mbam.qc.ca/en/education-wellness/art-therapy-and-health/>

⁴⁰ André Giordan and Jérôme Saltet, *Apprendre à apprendre [Learning to learn]*, Paris, Librio, 2019.

because the outrageous showing of murderous acts constitutes a weapon of choice for terrorism of any kind. It must address the visitors' sensitivity, their humanity and their intelligence.

- The building in its entirety and the museum tour in particular will be versatile in order to enable them to adapt to future operational and museum developments, and to be exemplary in the sustainable approach to the construction of public facilities.
- The exhibition will be designed to be permanent, integrating the variability of all or certain elements and the issue of short-, medium- and long-term loans, using an eco-designed approach.
- Aimed at all visitors and users of all ages and backgrounds affected by terrorism to a greater or lesser extent, the tour offer will enable individual, family or group visits, with or without human or digital support, accessible to all.
- At the end of the tour, we envisage a site so that visitors can make their mark (guest book) or a written message as in many museums (the Anne Frank House in Amsterdam or the Tribute Museum in New York, where there are forms to fill in and a dedicated space).
- The tour will be multilingual: French, English and a third foreign language, under the law of 4 August 1994.⁴¹

⁴¹ Law of 4 August 1994 on the use of the French language: "Any recording or notice affixed or made on the public highway, in a place open to the public or in a means of public transport and intended to inform the public must be made in French" (Art. 3). "Where the recordings or notices to which the previous Article refers, affixed or made by public legal entities or private persons exercising a public service role, are translated, there shall be at least two" (Art. 4).

A. *The Museum's themes*

One of the project team's key recommendations is to propose that the future museum move beyond the issue of terrorism to a broader framework of reflection. It is a way to make the experience of this place more positive, and above all to offer a museum of history and society on France, Europe and the contemporary world, going beyond terrorism and its consequences.

Since the late 1960s, what has been as striking with the emergence of new forms of terrorism on a global scale is the scale and variety of the changes it has brought about, both geopolitically and in the daily lives of millions of people. Bombs explode in public bins, as in 1986 and especially in 1995, in Paris, and the entire urban space has been transformed. When a terrorist tries to blow up a plane in flight with explosives hidden in his shoes, as on 22 December 2001, all airport security is affected, not to mention the millions of travellers who will have to change their habits and undergo reinforced checks. Faced with often unforeseen actions, the societies affected – including France – have had to adapt, change their habits, face new dilemmas and conflicts, or invent new forms of solidarity.

During this same historical sequence, and as a result of a longer trend, contemporary societies, and particularly France, have given an increasing place to victims, not without some risks, and, in particular, a reading of the past and the present through this prism alone. They have given them greater prominence in court proceedings. They have put in place new mechanisms for physical and psychological care, whether immediate or longer term. They have developed policies of remembrance, of which this project is an illustration, creating links with associations that are also of a new kind because they bring together civilian victims outside the context of war.

Finally, during a comparable period, in the last third of the 20th century, we saw almost everywhere in the world the rise of a “era of memory”, i.e. a demand for memory, recognition of historical wrongs, and even very late compensation for victims who had sometimes been ignored or forgotten. This phenomenon has been characterised by many forms of anamnesis concerning the history of Nazism, the Second World War and the Holocaust, the history of colonisation and the history of slavery. Controversies about the rewriting of the past have occupied a significant space in contemporary culture to the point of leading to normative processes, such as the French “memorial laws”. Among many indicators, we can see the spectacular increase in commemorations: in France, of 15 national commemorative days, 11 were created between 2003 and 2019, the most recent being that of 11 March, and 14 of them concern phenomena of mass violence: the two world wars, genocide, the Algerian war, slavery and terrorism.

We propose to make a museum out of all these developments, to make them the subject of four distinct phases of the tour, as suggested in the diagram below which outlines a permanent exhibition:



1. *The history of terrorism since the late 1960s*

The start of the tour must be based on the definition(s) of terrorism. If it is necessary to explain to visitors that these definitions are plural, it is essential to offer them a simple explanation that can accompany their visit, like the working definition that we adopted for this report, presented in the introduction. The tour will then give them an idea of the relevance or inadequacies of the generally accepted definitions.

Most of this first part of the tour will be devoted to contemporary terrorism, from the late 1960s to the present day. This choice, explained several times, corresponds to the emergence of a new form of terrorism, without borders, internationalised, using relatively new and very spectacular methods such as the hijacking of aircraft, and attacking first and foremost civilians outside a context of war in the targeted territory.

However, visitors will have the opportunity to have an overview of the long history of this form of violence, with reminders of some significant sequences: the anarchism of the late 19th century, the terrorism of the wars of independence and decolonisation, such as the Algerian war. These reminders will be made in two ways:

- ⇒ a retrospective at the beginning of the tour, so as to establish a framework, a genealogy, a long history;
- ⇒ reminders along the way to show how certain forms of terrorism have reoccurred far away, despite very different contexts: the attack on the Terminus cafe in Paris on 12 February 1894 with the still-famous formula of the bomb-maker, Émile Henry: "There are no innocent bourgeois", and the Islamist attacks on the terraces, on 13 November 2015.

The tour will offer historical references: first to France, then to global terrorism since the late 1960s. For example, it will include access to databases (existing free-to-access databases or those developed by the museum itself) to take account of all attacks on French soil.

The tour will offer a thematic approach to different types of terrorism:

- nationalist and separatist terrorism
- far-left political terrorism
- far-right political terrorism
- islamist terrorism
- new forms: cyberterrorism, "eco-terrorism", etc.

Each of these themes will be presented through a few detailed examples, in order to pinpoint the reality of specific situations, to individualise them and personalise them, to avoid looking too distant. These examples will change more often than the rest of the permanent exhibition, to cover a wide range of situations.

2. Societal responses and consequences

A transition unit on what actually happens after a terrorist act will make it possible to make the link between the first two parts of the tour. By choosing one or more cases (which may, again, be adapted) the objective is to highlight the victims, the first responders (police officers, firefighters, gendarmes, first aid workers, doctors), the first-line caregivers and the initial reactions (media, public authorities, opinion).

The second part of the tour must show the diversity of responses to the terrorist phenomenon over the last half century, starting from a dual observation: terrorism has changed our societies, including, first and foremost, our daily lives; it has given rise to forms of resilience, solidarity and resistance that must be highlighted. There are wide museographic options on this topic. Here are a few examples that may have a place, depending on the collections available:

- changes in everyday life from the 1990s in air transport, urban transport, access to public places, street furniture;
- changes in the perception and representation of terrorist violence, the weight of images, the emergence of new media and social networks, the problem of fake news, conspiracy, the use of the media by terrorists, what Marc Crépon called during our work: “the great globalised rhetorical stage”;
- geopolitical and military counter-terrorism policies;
- the work of the various police forces: prevention, surveillance, intervention. The emergence of new surveillance and identification systems and the political and ideological debates they have led to on public freedoms;
- management of major crises: professionalisation of stakeholders with the creation of specific training courses (such as the Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne university diploma) designed by the General Secretariat for Defence and National Security (SGDSN);
- the development of legal texts, since the first definitions in 1986 and 1992, and court procedures; the role assigned to certain judges, such as Prosecutor Molins during the Islamist attacks of 2015; the recent creation of a national anti-terrorist prosecutor's office;
- the essential role of trials, essential moments of a search for truth, a voice for victims and their relatives, a process of mourning and a process of resilience, a possible restoration of trust in society, which terrorism affects profoundly. Trials are both a source of images and documents as well as an element of exhibited content;
- the economic consequences, which are not widely covered in the media, with terrorism often taking place in a very short timeframe, that of immediacy and suddenness, with long-term effects that are often not very visible.

3. *The new focus on the victim*

Beyond the question of terrorism, the tour must highlight this major characteristic of contemporary societies, which is the attention paid to the victim, his or her psychological,

financial and symbolic care.⁴² Putting this in perspective should make it possible to understand the special position of victims of terrorism by providing a more general perspective on the care of victims of all types, especially as terrorist acts have played an important role in this development. This section, like the next, is a little different from the previous two because it deals with more general issues. Information intended to be included in the permanent exhibition includes:

- the evolution of the definition of ‘victim’ in history: originally designating a “living creature offered as a sacrifice to the gods”, it has gradually taken on the meaning of a person injured by physical, psychological or material damage, in the context of a conflict or offence.⁴³
 - the changing mentalities and representations of situations of violence and war: from a vision highlighting the action, the violence inflicted, we have moved on to taking account of the consequences on people, the violence suffered. The first remembrance of the end of the wars, in 1918 or 1945, focused on the heroes and martyrs who died for their country. The anamnesis of these same conflicts, decades later, in the 1990s-2010s, put the emphasis (not unproblematically) on the victims, either to evoke forgotten categories, such as civilian victims or Jewish victims of the Holocaust, or to speak of the same combatants but, this time, in terms of victims, with less emphasis on the sacrifices made than on the suffering endured. This aspect concerns the political sphere as well as the public space, literary, cinematographic and artistic representations.
 - the public health dimension, in particular consideration of psychological injuries that have made it possible to consider victims differently. The aim will be to discuss:
- ⇒ the development of the concept of “post-traumatic stress disorder”, which entered the American classification of mental illnesses in 1980, the DSM-III, and then, in 1992, the World Health Organization’s international classification of diseases;

⁴² Much has been written on these subjects. Some titles include: Guillaume Erner, *La société des victimes* [The society of victims], Paris, La Découverte, 2006; Didier Fassin and Richard Rechtman, *L’Empire du traumatisme. Enquête sur la condition de victime* [The Empire of traumatism. Enquiry into the victim’s condition], Paris, Flammarion, 2007; Arthur Dénouveaux and Antoine Garapon, *Victimes, et après ?* [After the Victims?], Paris, Gallimard, 2019.

⁴³ See Noëlle Languin, “L’émergence de la victime. Quelques repères historiques et sociologiques” [The emergence of the victim. Some historical and sociological issues], in *La place de la victime dans le procès pénal* [The place of the victim in the criminal trial], study day, Strasbourg Faculty of Law, 16 December 2005, text available at the following address: <http://cdpf.unistra.fr/travaux/procedures/contentieux-penal/la-place-de-la-victime-dans-le-proces-penal/aspects-historiques-et-sociologiques-de-lemergence-de-la-victime/>

- ⇒ the medico-psychological emergency units (CUMP), a specific French unit, set up by Xavier Emmanuelli after the attack on 25 July 1995 at the Saint-Michel RER station, and their network covering the entire territory created by Louis Crocq in 1997;
 - ⇒ the development of the concept of “resilience”, which has recently become part of everyday vocabulary, making it possible to distinguish between potential and actual victims of trauma, to understand how they see themselves and how society sees them, and to study the ability of individuals and societies to rebuild themselves, in this case to build themselves differently.
- changes in public policies relating to compensation for victims, particularly following terrorist attacks and based on three principles: national solidarity, full compensation and non-discrimination between French and foreign victims for acts committed on French soil. These public policies were initiated by the voluntarism of certain politicians, in particular Robert Badinter, in the 1980s, and by associations. We outline here some historical benchmarks that could constitute milestones of the tour:
 - ⇒ publication of the Report of the Commission for Studies and Proposals in the field of Victim Support, chaired by Professor Milliez, in 1982;
 - ⇒ creation of the National Institute for Victim Assistance and Mediation (INAVEM) in 1986, which brings together associations providing assistance to victims of criminal offences;
 - ⇒ creation, also in 1986, of the SOS Attentats association, which secured the creation of a guarantee fund for victims of acts of terrorism and other offences (FGTI);
 - ⇒ the creation in 2004 of the first State Secretariat responsible for victim law, then, in 2016, a State Secretariat responsible for victim support and, finally, the DIAV, in 2017;
 - ⇒ creation in 2009 of the French Association of Victims of Terrorism;
 - ⇒ creation in 2019 of the civil court for compensation of victims of acts of terrorism (JIVAT), with national and exclusive jurisdiction to hear all litigation (recognition of the status of victim and compensation for bodily harm).
 - the development of the victim’s place in criminal proceedings: in recent years, it has undergone significant changes through specific provisions enabling their rights to be guaranteed from the investigation stage, but also through the implementation of systems intended to help them during the judgment stages and then compensation: assistance from a lawyer, right to information on the follow-up reserved for a complaint, the ability to participate in proceedings as civil party, creation of victim support offices (BAV) in all high courts.

This development concerns more particularly the treatment of victims of terrorism, now assimilated with civilian victims of war, with specific provisions: health insurance and social protection coverage, pensions granted to direct victims and beneficiaries, their own tax regime, the Nation adopting as wards child victims and victims of terrorism who have died or been injured, legal aid, recording “victim of terrorism” on the death certificate;

- this part must ultimately leave a large space for the testimonies, the situations experienced by the victims, the stakeholders, the politicians, the associative activists, in order to also show the reality on the ground of these developments, their limits and the unresolved questions.

4. *The emergence of an era of remembrance since the 1970s*

New approaches to victims, trauma and suffering in general have coincided with the emergence of memory as the cardinal value of contemporary societies. The emergence of new forms of solidarity and compassion towards victims of contemporary situations has been accompanied by a similar movement towards those of the great traumas of the past. This, in itself, itself is a relatively new concept to define world wars, genocides, mass violence, processes of long-term domination such as slavery and colonisation. This fourth part of the tour must put certain characteristics observed after terrorist attacks into a wider context. Possible topics include:

- the development of the perception of national history and of history in general, through that of commemorations, memorials, school education, literature, arts or popular culture, in order to show that our societies have entered into a new “regime of historicity” since the end of the 1960s, that they have a different conception of history than in previous periods, which has influenced the development of memorial plans;
- individual memory and collective memory, two intertwined issues that deserve to be addressed by taking account of scientific advances in neuroscience, psychology, psychoanalysis and the human and social sciences. This section will be able to draw on the work carried out following the attacks of 13 November, in particular the aforementioned multidisciplinary programme of the same name;
- the forms of immediate memorialisation and new rituals at the sites of attacks since the end of the 1960s, highlighting the relatively unprecedented nature of the mass demonstrations and collective emotions observed after 11 September 2001, in January and the day after 13 November 2015, or after 14 July 2016;

- rituals and memorials across the world dedicated to the victims of terrorism, the overview presented in Chapter III (Museums and memorials dedicated to terrorism) may form part of the tour, the opportunity to evoke the forms of contemporary terrorism on a global scale;
- the level of importance assumed by the witness and testimony in the private space, in the public space, in the judicial space, in research, a question which is, itself, in direct correlation with that of the new place afforded to the victim.

The end of the museum tour remains open for the time being. A calm exit hatch can be provided, giving visitors the opportunity to take a break and share their emotions and thoughts. Part of this space may be entrusted to an artist, giving him/her *carte blanche*, with a rotation of six months to one year.

B. The collections

1. The principles

When planning a museum of history and society, especially on a sensitive subject that is rarely addressed by museums, the concept must precede the creation of collections. “We must first think about the downstream (the subject) before thinking about the upstream (the collection)”, advised Guillaume Nahon, the director of the Paris Archives, who collected the vestiges of remembrance of the attacks of 13 November. That is largely what the project team has done. However, since we recommend the creation of a museum and not just an interpretation centre, we have started very early and, at the same time, begun to identify possible collections. A series of meetings and contacts with representatives of major heritage institutions, judicial institutions and victim associations made it possible to publicise the memorial museum project, identify content and initiate cooperation.

With regard to the history of terrorism and its effects, the first stage of our research, the sources are abundant. However, the French project is in a different position to other comparable projects. The memorials of New York and Vitoria-Gasteiz were chosen to be the custodians of a large part of the documentation, objects and images concerning their subject: the New York Museum and Memorial ultimately collected a large part of the spontaneous tributes left on the site of Ground Zero after 11 September 2001, collected before its design by the New York State Museum; the Basque Centre must house all Spanish police and judicial archives on the fight against terrorism.

In France, many public or private heritage institutions already have collections relating to terrorism, either because it is part of their usual work to collect them (such as the National Archives or the INA), or because they have created *ad hoc* collections (such as the Paris Archives). It was therefore necessary to take preliminary steps to see to what extent and under what conditions certain parts of these funds or collections could be loaned (less than three months), deposited (more than three months) or reproduced to supply the permanent exhibition or temporary exhibitions. All the institutions contacted responded favourably to our request and also agreed to participate in the creation of a network that the future memorial museum plans to set up (see Chapter VII, The place of transmission).

We have also explored the possibility of creating the museum's own collections, in particular through outreach to victims, families and associations. Most agreed to open a discussion regarding the possibilities of long-term donations or deposits. Once again, input was positive. It allows us to envisage that the future site could fully play its dual role as a place of remembrance, by hosting objects with a high emotional significance, and a place of knowledge, by showing them for educational purposes, subject to reflection on the way in which they are exhibited.

2. *Partners*

From the start of the project, and systematically from November 2019 (once the outline of the project had been drawn up and thanks to the work carried out by Emmanuelle Iardella-Blanc), we contacted numerous heritage institutions. Their documentary collections, their approaches to valuation and their expertise in conservation and transmission are essential assets for designing the documentation of the future memorial museum. Below is the list, which is far from exhaustive, but which shows the potential wealth of existing content.

- National Archives (NA)

Contacts: Marion Veyssière (head of the Justice and Home Affairs department), Violaine Challéat-Fonck (head of the Home Affairs division) and their employees Gérald Monpas (Home Affairs department), Christophe Bouvier, Céline Delétang and Jean Salvat (Justice department).

The content from the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of the Interior deposited with the NA document the history of terrorism in France and its repression. It contains the procedural records of attacks committed since the 1960s (in particular the OAS) until the 1990s and the first Islamist attacks, including the 1980s (Direct Action). You can therefore follow a file, step by step, with other sources, in particular local archives. It is also possible to work on international cooperation on terrorism since 1945 thanks to the presence of documents from several European countries. For example, the

collections of the State Security Court (5W) make it possible to study the activities of separatist groups between 1963 and 1981 and hold seals, some of which may constitute exhibition objects (see below).

Chrono-thematic subject	Trial records (number of boxes)	Sealed (number of boxes)
Corsican separatists	84	47
Breton separatists	68	28
Basque separatists	2	2
Guyanese separatists	5	2
Guadeloupean separatists	15	5
Separatists from Reunion	1	0
Direct action	11	1

As these archives are subject to significant disclosure delays (75 years for court archives, 25 years after the death of the individual concerned, 50 years for public security archives), not forgetting certain military archives which are classified for national security or other reasons, it will be necessary to consider the general possibility of exemptions and the conditions for loans or deposits, liaising with the research world.

- **Paris Archives**

Contacts: Guillaume Nahon, director of the Paris City Archives and Mathilde Pintault, collection and classification manager.

A fund “Hommages aux victimes des attentats de novembre 2015 (Bataclan et terrasses)” [“Tributes to the victims of the attacks of November 2015 (Bataclan and terraces)”] was recently created. The city of Paris collected and digitised 7,700 2D documents dedicated to the victims and left at the sites of the attacks. A “Charlie Hebdo” fund was created on the same principles, based on letters and drawings received by the newspaper after 7 January 2015.

- **Archives of the Prefecture of Police (Paris)**

Contact: Aude Roelly, general curator of heritage.

The Préfecture de Police keeps and manages its own archives, which cover all sectors of its work and, in particular, the organisation, work and operation of the police, in Paris but also – and over a long period – throughout the former Seine region. Its extremely rich collections make it possible to document terrorism since the anarchist attacks of the 19th century, based on the archives of the prefect’s office, the judicial police and General Intelligence. It contains files relating to the attacks that took place in Paris (rue des Rosiers or RER Saint-Michel, for example) and files on individuals under surveillance. Tracking the same case is possible by cross-referencing several sources.

The personal files of “victims of duty” (agents who may have been injured or died on duty, therefore potentially during attacks) are also very rich. A large photo library completes these collections.

- Defence communication and audiovisual production establishment

Contacts: Catherine Dupuy, seconded associate professor of history, and Philippe Touron, head of the media library.

In its general collection, ECPAD has numerous sources (still and animated images) that allow it to document the involvement of the army during attacks, the mechanisms put in place by it to deal with terrorism (Vigipirate plan, Operation Sentinelle) and the ceremonies to pay tribute to the victims of attacks and decorate the military.

- National Audiovisual Institute (INA)

Contacts: Agnès Chauveau, Deputy Director for Broadcasting and Innovation, Fabrice Blancho, Head of the Audiovisual Productions Department, Antoine Bayet, Head of the Digital Publishing Department, and Mileva Stupar, Head of the Cultural and Educational Action Department.

Since 1995, the INA has held the legal deposit of television and radio channels and, recently, the legal deposit of their digital platforms. In 2017, the INA therefore continuously captured 169 television and radio channels, 14,426 media websites, 8,600 video platform accounts and 13,000 Twitter accounts. Its documentary base is therefore considerable and likely to provide the memorial museum with first-hand sources once the issue of rights has been settled, particularly with certain private channels. INA has already worked on the issue of terrorism, notably by participating in the preparation of the international conference for victim support on 9 January 2017. Beyond access to its documentary resources, the INA has declared itself to be very interested in an educational and scientific partnership, based on the model of its cooperation with the National Education Service (establishment of educational activities for the Lumni platform, accessible from the Edutheque). A consultation branch could be installed in the resource centre of the memorial museum for everything related to the themes it addresses. Laurent Vallet, the Chair of the INA, explained to us all possible methods of collaboration with the memorial museum in a letter dated 30 January 2020.

- National Library of France (BnF)

Contact: Alexandre Chautemps, Head of Digital Legal Filing, Legal Filing Department.

Since the 1990s, and even more since the 2006 law on the extension of legal deposit, the BnF has undertaken to archive the web through annual collections. These are of major interest for studying the reactions of societies to terrorism.

In particular, they make it possible to address recent attacks. In January and November 2015, emergency collections were carried out by the BnF teams to capture the digital traces of these events: testimonies, reactions and speeches by political figures and individuals, reports. Social media accounts (mainly Twitter) were also included in these collections. Full-text indexing of this corpus allows it to be used effectively.

- Carnavalet Museum

Contact: Valérie Guillaume, director.

When it reopens in spring 2020, the Paris history museum will dedicate a space to the attacks that took place in the capital in 2015. 3D objects left at the scene of the attacks to pay tribute to the victims were collected and delivered to the museum (guitar in front of the Bataclan, objects, soft toys, etc.). Some of them could be the subject of loans and the Carnavalet museum welcomed the future memorial museum project with interest and goodwill.

As major players in the fight against terrorism and the defence of democratic freedoms, police and judicial institutions also have essential resources for understanding the terrorist phenomenon and the ways in which our democratic society has faced it. Again, the individuals we met assured us of their full willingness to cooperate with the future memorial museum.

- Regional Department of Judicial Identity of the Paris Prefecture of Police

Contact: Xavier Espinasse, Divisional Commissioner, Head of the Regional Department of Judicial Identity of the Prefecture of Police (SRIJPP).

Xavier Espinasse arrived at the Bataclan on 13 November 2015, just after the Research and Intervention Brigade (BRI). With his team from the Traces and Indices section, he worked to identify the victims and to identify the objects at the scene of the attack. With the approval of his superiors, he offered his personal items to the mission and wished to make available to the memorial museum some of his photographs, in particular a series of photographs in the form of a report to explain the work of the Judicial Identity. This may be very valuable in explaining the operation of the forces involved during an attack and is very directly in line with the spirit of the museography proposed above.

- Research and intervention unit

Contact: Christophe Molmy, Divisional Commissioner, Head of the BRI.

Christophe Molmy led the assault on the Hyper Cacher, on 9 January 2015, in parallel with the RAID, and that of the Bataclan, on 13 November 2015. He agreed to donate a "mythical" object, currently at 36 quai des Orfèvres: the BRI "Ramses" shield used

during the assault on the Bataclan. For Christophe Molmy, its position in the future museum is "an obvious one". He also offered other sources (videos in particular) and, like Xavier Espinasse, wants to help document the ways in which his department was involved.

- Judicial institutions

Following the visit to the National Archives and the discovery of the wealth of the seals of justice that were deposited there, and thanks to the action of Élisabeth Pelsez, the project team has made various requests in this sense to various judicial institutions. The Keeper of the Seals, Minister of Justice, Nicole Belloubet, in a letter dated 21 January 2020 sent to the Presiding Judge of the Court of Paris, the Public Prosecutor of the Republic of the Court of Paris and the National Anti-Terrorist Prosecutor, expressed the hope that "the seals, once the cases have been closed, can be kept in order to be handed over to the memorial museum", adding that "those relating to the oldest cases in which final rulings have been given should also be kept and not destroyed" suggesting that these seals may already be inventoried. The successive meetings with François Molins, Attorney General at the Court of Cassation (6 December 2019), Jean-François Ricard, National Anti-Terrorist Prosecutor and Camille Hennetier, Deputy Prosecutor at the PNAT (8 January 2020) showed the keen interest that the courts have in this initiative.

In addition to the question of seals, there was the question of filmed recordings of future trials for terrorism. The experience of trials for crimes against humanity (Barbie in 1987, Touvier in 1994, Papon in 1997-1998, Simbikangwa in 2014 and 2016, Ngenzi and Barahirwa in 2016 and 2018) has shown the scope of these images, which make it possible to hear the victims and to understand at least the motivations and the course of the acts perpetrated. By definition, these resources are intended to be included in the future memorial museum, again where the trials have been definitively closed and rules for submission and viewing have been established. This issue was addressed in particular with the National Anti-Terrorism Prosecutor's Office and with historians already involved in this field, in particular Christian Delage. These preliminary contacts make it possible to think very early on about the systems to be put in place.

- Private archives of associations and individuals

Victim associations and a number of individuals were key contacts for the team. The memorial museum project that they themselves wanted may attempt to provide some answers to the anxiety and disarray born of the intrusion of terrorism in their lives. The prospect of having a space where they can both pay tribute to their dead and have a dialogue with the living is very welcome. All our contacts have therefore expressed their desire to actively participate in the creation of the collections and the project is deeply grateful to them, knowing the emotional cost that this approach can represent. This concerns old attacks, such as the archives created by Françoise Rudetzki and the activism she has carried out to have victims' rights recognised, or the objects preserved

by Guillaume Denoix de Saint-Marc since the attack on the D10 of UTA, on 19 September 1989. This also concerns recent attacks. Many people have told us that they are ready to entrust objects belonging to their loved ones: clothing, telephones, personal objects, the materiality of which will make it possible, more than any other medium, to establish a direct, sensitive link with the audience of the future memorial museum. In addition to the two meetings organised at the DIAV, the team met:

- Chantal Anglade and Delphine Allenbach-Rachet, seconded teachers, and Marie-Cécile Castel, lawyer, of the AfVT, meeting with E. Iardella-Blanc, 4 December 2019;
- Guillaume Denoix de Saint-Marc from the AfVT, interview with H. Rouso and R. Azizi, 4 June 2019, as well as with E. Iardella-Blanc, 10 December 2019;
- Arthur Dénouveaux, Chair of Life for Paris, meeting with E. Iardella-Blanc, 26 November 2019, and with E. Pelsez, H. Rouso, R. Azizi and A. Garapon, 14 January 2020;
- Philippe Duperron, Chair, Dominique Kielemoes and Patricia Correia, Vice-Chairs, of 13onze15, meeting with E. Iardella-Blanc, 6 January 2020;
- Simon Fieschi of *Charlie-Hebdo*, interview with E. Iardella-Blanc, 13 December 2019;
- Nina Goldenberg, granddaughter of Jo Goldenberg, discussion with E. Iardella-Blanc, 12 December 2019;
- Jean-Claude Hubler, Chair of Life for Nice, interview with E. Iardella-Blanc, 13 December 2019;
- Françoise Rudetzki, meetings with D. Peschanski, H. Rouso and E. Iardella-Blanc, 6 November 2019, 10 December 2019 and 17 January 2020;
- Isabelle Sadowski, legal director for the coordination of victim support of France Victimes, meeting with E. Iardella-Blanc, 9 December 2019;
- Sophia Seco, director, and Marie-Claude Desjeux, Vice-Chair in charge of external relations at FENVAC, meeting with E. Iardella-Blanc, 8 January 2020;
- Julien Sérignac, General Secretary of *Charlie Hebdo*, interview with H. Rouso and R. Azizi, 20 June 2019; meeting with E. Iardella-Blanc, 9 January 2020;
- Françoise Vernet, Chair of the association of victims of the Bardo museum attack, interview with E. Iardella-Blanc, 19 December 2019.

- Public collections

Many recent initiatives have been launched by heritage institutions to collect documents, photos, films and sounds from the public:

the project launched in 2017 by the Palais des Beaux-Arts in Lille in partnership with Wikipedia⁴⁴ and the 2018 'Grande Collecte' organised as part of the 14-18 Centenary Project⁴⁵. These operations concerned vestiges of relatively old events. A similar initiative could have a big impact on more recent events. The memorial museum would therefore be a place for the deposit of archives from the most diverse audiences, and not just the affected audience.

Requests will be made to other museums and other institutions during the remainder of the project because they have interesting sources for the creation of the documentary corpus: the Shoah Memorial, the Museum of Art and History of Judaism, the Paris Police Prefecture Museum, the Paris Fire Brigade Museum, the forensic collection of the École nationale supérieure de la police de Saint-Cyr-au-Mont-d'Or (Rhône), the Melun National Gendarmerie Museum, etc.

3. Content

The sources used to create the collections are very varied in nature. We can therefore distinguish the sources linked to the event itself: images taken at the time, objects collected on site after an attack, police or health service archives, and sources of a memorial nature, i.e. all the writings, images and objects deposited after the event, which allow us to look not at the terrorist act itself but at the first reactions of the population. This distinction is important given the different themes selected for museography. However, we found it easier to present the contents of the collections here by type of source and by medium, with a few examples, bearing in mind that the research field is far from having been completely delimited and that it will only be done once the size of the exhibition spaces are known.

- Written sources

These are the most numerous, they are essential for documenting the history of the attacks, but also for presenting the different participants involved in facing terrorism. The public archives, as soon as they can be disclosed – and the creation of the memorial museum can facilitate access to research, within five years – are a special source. For example, to document the Carlos the Jackal file, the National Archives has the files of the Anti-Terrorist Liaison Office of the Ministry of the Interior (BLAT), the Office for the Suppression of State Security Violations and Subversive Conduct, judicial police files, individual files in the central file of the national police, files of the Office of the Minister

⁴⁴ <https://pba.lille.fr/Collections/WIKIMUSEUM>

⁴⁵ <https://www.centenaire.org/fr/en-france/la-grande-collecte-2018-transmettez-vos-archives-de-la-grande-guerre>

of the Interior for the period 1977-1984 relating to terrorism in general and the personal file of Ilitch Ramirez Sanchez, and the appeals file (June 1999). These sources may be supplemented by others, added to the archives of the Paris Prefecture of Police: the Carlos the Jackal individual file in the archives of the prefect's office, in those of the Public Order Department and in those of the General Information Department.

Private archives are also a major resource. Those of SOS Attentats, made available to the memorial museum by Françoise Rudetzki, allow us, for example, to trace the history of the first association of victims of terrorism. They include activity reports (1986-2008), press kits, details of the steps taken to build the first memorial, the fountain sculpture "Speaking up in remembrance of the victims of terrorism" (see Chapter III, Museums and memorials dedicated to terrorism).

- Purposes

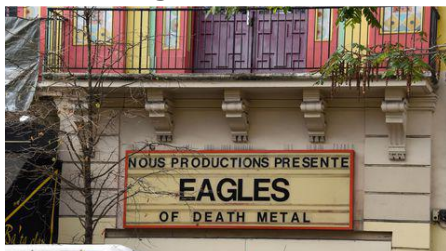
The project could have a number of physical vestiges associated with terrorist acts. Guillaume Denoix de Saint-Marc offered us his collection relating to the UTA DC10 attack; Nicolas Hénin spontaneously offered us his personal effects brought from his detention by Daesh, in 2013-2014. In the same way, it will be possible, according to the contacts made, to obtain in the form of a deposit or donation other objects with a strong symbolic significance: the sign of the Bataclan in 2015, tickets to the concert of the Eagles of Death Metal or the burnt remains of the car of Michel Catalano, the printer of Dammartin-en-Goële taken hostage by the Kouachi brothers.

UTA DC10 safety belt from the wreckage.



Source: AfVT, photo by Emmanuelle Iardella-Blanc

Bataclan sign.



Source: https://www.lexpress.fr/actualite/societe/depuis-les-attentats-la-vente-de-billets-de-concert-en-baisse-de-80-a-paris_1738002.html

Ticket for the 13 November concert at the Bataclan.



Picture: Arthur Dénouveaux

There are also material remnants of institutional origin, left during interventions at the Bataclan, such as Xavier Espinasse's suit, the Ramses shield of the BRI used during the assault, or the nuts placed inside the jacket of one of the terrorists, and intended to be thrown during the explosion. This finding does not prejudice how these objects may be exhibited.



Photographs: E. Iardella-Blanc, 28 November 2019 and 16 December 2019

Finally, there are many vestiges of memorials left after the attacks of 13 November. These are, without doubt, the best known because they have been visible on site for several weeks and have been the subject of numerous reports, works and online sites. Most of them are or will be deposited with the Paris Archives (drawings) or the Carnavalet Museum (objects), as stated above:



<http://archives.paris.fr/r/137/hommages-aux-victimes-des-attentats-de-2015/>



https://www.lexpress.fr/actualites/1/societe/aux-archives-le-colossal-travail-de-memoire-des-attentats-de-paris_1744945.html

https://www.lexpress.fr/actualites/1/societe/debut-des-commemorations-des-attentats-du-13-novembre-2015_2106963.html

- Still and animated images

In terms of animated images, the contents of the INA are a major source. One only has to type a few keywords like "terrorism" or "attacks" into their public website (ina.fr) to get an idea of the wealth of resources. They make it possible to document all aspects of the museography sketched out for the project: the terrorist acts themselves from the late 1960s to the present day; the reactions of the public authorities, the responses of the public and of course the media coverage; the aid policies, the care of victims, the role of associations; finally, the memorial aspects including commemorations, immediate tributes, political speeches. It is therefore not necessary to go into detail here, knowing that it is the actual museographic choices that will make it possible to identify the most relevant images and that these choices will be made in close collaboration with the INA services, ready to guide us in their archives, the public part of which only gives an initial idea.

There are also many possibilities for non-public animated images, either shot by individuals (this is research to be considered at a later date), or of institutional origin, all of which can be included in the future collections of the memorial museum: a 30-minute video filmed by a Judicial Identity technician to "freeze" the crime scene inside the Bataclan, the video filmed by the firefighters at the various places where they were involved, videos of training of the forces involved and the army and a short video filmed

in a personal capacity by a member of the BRI at the time of the assault on the Hyper Cacher.

There are also photographic sources in abundance. In addition to the essential research to be carried out in relation to the collection of press agencies and photo agencies, we can mention a few examples of non-public photographs identified during our research: those of judicial identity for those responsible for attacks committed in Paris during the Algerian war and for recent attacks, or private photos, such as those of the Jo Goldenberg restaurant taken in 1982 and that his granddaughter, Nina Goldenberg, is ready to give to the memorial museum.

- Audio sources

They are also plentiful, whether at the INA (radio archives are as abundant on the subject as video archives), or as unpublished sources. There is, for example, a 2 hr 38 min recording of the Bataclan concert, recovered and managed by the Judicial Identity. Some excerpts can be used on the condition, once again, that there are very strict ethics regarding the use of this type of source, in consultation with victim associations and the persons concerned.

- Sources of digital native heritage

This is information originally disseminated on digital media, websites and social networks, which is a major source for recent terrorist acts and even more so for the reactions they have provoked. For example, in the hours following the attacks of 13 November 2015, 11 million tweets circulated, relaying and commenting in real time on the events (#jesuischarlie, #parisattacks, #prayforparis, etc.) from the first shots fired at Stade de France. They participated in the search for missing persons, helped organise the reception of people trapped outside their homes from the very first hours (#porteouvert), then relayed the 'wanted' notice of Salah Abdeslam (tweeted more than 44,000 times). By way of comparison, the memorial on the island of Utøya, Norway, has recovered some of the text messages exchanged between the young people trapped on the island and their relatives, another digital source, which amount to a very emotional moment for the visitor.

- Witnesses and testimonies

The testimonies will obviously be a major source of information for the future memorial museum, as they are in most historical museums today, especially on events of this nature. These testimonials may be collected in various ways:

- ⇒ testimonies taken on the spot and already archived (available, for example, at the INA);
- ⇒ testimonies gathered after the event and having been the subject of a public broadcast, such as the documentary by Jules and Gédéon Naudet, *Fluctuat Nec Mergitur* (June 2018);
- ⇒ testimonies collected in a scientific context, such as those produced by Christian Delage at the Institut d'histoire du temps présent⁴⁶ or the database created by the Programme 13 novembre⁴⁷. In this respect, the memorial museum could be a place of consultation, or even accommodation, for the bank of testimonies collected as part of this programme and which will have the status of public archives from 2028. All or part of this database can be integrated into a museum tour (including individual pathways) and may be used both by researchers and for educational and training activities. Two avenues should be favoured: the use of certain testimonies, (of course, with the agreement of the witnesses) as part of the tour itself; and making the database available virtually for researchers and students in accordance with the commitments made and the rules set out between the partners of this multidisciplinary programme.
- ⇒ filmed testimonies during public events, for example in schools, high schools and junior high schools;
- ⇒ testimonies to be produced by the memorial museum itself, according to its museographic choices;
- ⇒ testimonies collected from visitors by the memorial museum.

Through its educational purpose, the memorial museum could also involve victims of attacks *in situ*, as in New York, where some of them accompany visitors on their journey. This could be done on the museum tour, as part of thematic workshops, discussion meetings, plays or film screenings. Teachers will be able to find a framework to work on the subject with visitors.

- Artistic production

Recent attacks have resonated with artists, writers and filmmakers. This is an aspect that the future memorial museum must support and report on, including going back in time to find forms of artistic expression that may have gone unnoticed or forgotten. It will therefore be able to host original works of all kinds, following the usual approval procedures and, in particular, projects or achievements from victims or their relatives, as proposed to us.

⁴⁶ <http://www.ihtp.cnrs.fr/content/attentats-du-13-novembre-2015-des-vies-plus-jamais-ordinaires>

⁴⁷ <https://www.memoire13novembre.fr>

As one example, amongst many others, we would mention the student initiative of the Lycée Lucie-Aubrac in Courbevoie, supported by the AfVT. They wrote and performed a play, *Le Café Zitouna*, which dramatises the trial of the Islamist attack on Café Argana on 28 April 2011 in Marrakech, which left 17 dead and 20 injured. The play has just been translated into Arabic, illustrated by Catherine Bertrand, survivor of the Bataclan⁴⁸, and printed by Michel Catalano, survivor of the Dammartin-en-Goële hostage-taking⁴⁹. We could also mention Jean Jullien, a French cartoonist and illustrator living in London, who spoke after the attack on *Charlie Hebdo*, like many other illustrators around the world in tribute to their murdered comrades, with a drawing showing a pencil opposed to a machine gun. After 13 November 2015, he created the symbol for the solidarity slogan “Peace for Paris”, an image that quickly became iconic worldwide to express messages of solidarity and peace against terrorism. When contacted by the project team in December 2019, he offered to donate an original work to the memorial museum.



<https://frenchdigitateur.com/2017/02/20/jean-jullien-un-illustrateur-attache-au-monde-moderne/>

This brief overview, which only gives a glimpse into the initial research carried out by the project team, illustrates the wealth of possibilities. We already have an initial corpus that can be developed and completed in the next phase of preparation. There is enough to create original collections from a memorial and museum perspective.

⁴⁸ Catherine Bertrand, *Chroniques d’une survivante* [Chronicles of a survivor], Paris, La Martinière, 2018.

⁴⁹ <https://www.afvt.org/reconstitution-du-proces-de-largana-2011-rencontre-avec-christiane-lombard-et-soad-elkhammal/>. The project team thanks Chantal Anglade for this information.

VII. Place of transmission

As we have seen, the memorial museum will have to be designed to accommodate a large local, national and international audience. It is a place for all, especially as its scope covers a large part of recent world history. It must also accommodate specific audiences: victims, but also schoolchildren, professionals and researchers. This requires specific infrastructures: a digital documentation and resource centre, seminar and meeting rooms, an auditorium, designed to bring together all categories of visitors. The aim is to make this place a crossroads for discussion and reflection on a wide range of issues: terrorism, of course, but also individual and collective resilience and resistance, the emergence of a new place for the victim, his or her care by the State and society, issues affecting individual and collective memory in all its forms: social, cultural, political, neurological, literary, artistic, etc.

Here we present some reflections on these activities which constitute the third major role of the memorial museum.

A. Cultural programming

In addition to the permanent exhibition, which is itself versatile, this venue must organise temporary exhibitions, including exhibitions or artistic performances, conferences and film screenings. These are essential activities in the life of such a place, often the way a large part of the potential audience discovers their existence. These activities may cover geographical, chronological or thematic scopes that are broader than those of the permanent exhibition. The possible themes relate to history, geopolitics, cinema and the arts. We give only a few examples here, to show the extent of the possibilities:

- Anarchist terrorism in the 19th and early 20th centuries
- Terrorism and nationalism at the turn of the 20th century
- War and terrorism since 1945
- What is "State Terrorism"?
- The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict
- The Algerian War
- The Years of Lead in Italy
- Violence and Terrorism in Latin America
- Resilience: achievements, debates, criticisms, national differences
- Emergency medicine
- Contemporary art exhibitions (visual arts, videos, others)
- Immediate memories of the attacks (New York, Madrid, Manchester, Paris)

B. Educational activities

The memorial museum will have an educational dimension to its priorities, a central component of contemporary museums. The school population accounts for a very large proportion of their visitors in France. For example, in 2018, of the 33.9 million visitors to national museums under the supervision of the Ministry of Culture, 6.8 million were young people under the age of 25, of whom 1.8 million were schoolchildren, a figure that increased by 7% in one year.⁵⁰ This position should be viewed in parallel with the development of educational action within the National Education system, which mobilises history and other secondary education disciplines, arranging prizes, competitions, days or weeks dedicated to a particular theme (and in particular remembrance) by educational teams as part of institutional projects.

The educational dimension is all the more important as the new school curricula now address, on several levels, the issue of terrorism and the other themes of the memorial museum, a change that, itself, is a direct consequence of the wave of attacks that has affected France in recent years. This subject is present in moral and civic education, introduced in 2015, which replaces civic education in secondary schools and civic, legal and social education in high schools; in the general stream of the penultimate year of high school where one of the topics covers “trends and mechanisms of counter-truths: conspiracy and revisionism, “fake news””; finally, in the general stream of the final year of high school where one of the questions concerns “the protection of democracies: national security and defence; the fight against terrorism; a state of emergency and exceptional legislation; cyber security”. In addition, following the proposal of the DIAV Memorial Committee, the school curricula for the 2020 academic year include the question of terrorism in history/geography: in the general approach with “the new forms of conflict: terrorism, asymmetric conflicts and renewal of the confrontation of powers”; in the technological approach where the teacher can choose 11 September 2001, an study topic that “aims to understand the event and its multiple consequences” and allows the student “to understand the question of terrorism and its role in the evolution of the international position”; in the new specialist teaching of history/geography, geopolitics and political science from the end of the general approach which must deal with the “Clausewitz model to the test of “irregular wars”: from Al Qaeda to Daesh”⁵¹.

We also envisage that the memorial museum will be a place to welcome young volunteers from the National Universal Service (SNU) which must care for young people aged 15-16 in order to raise their awareness of themes concerning citizenship, including

⁵⁰ Patrimostat 2018. *Fréquentation des patrimoines*, ministère de la Culture [Visits to heritage sites], Ministry of Culture, 2019, p. 19.

⁵¹ Bulletin officiel de l'Éducation nationale [Official Journal of National Education], no. 8, 25 July 2019.

"national defence, security and resilience⁵²." It can also be a place for civic service, a voluntary commitment created in 2010 and open to 16-25 year olds, which can be carried out in nine major areas, some of which fall directly within the scope of the memorial museum such as emergency involvement in the event of a crisis, remembrance and citizenship, health and solidarity⁵³. Finally, it can offer a place for training in the security instructions linked to the Vigipirate plan and, in particular, the "enhanced security - attack risk" level⁵⁴.

Generally speaking, the memorial museum will, almost naturally, be a place of resources for young people and the educational world, both as general training in citizenship and as an introduction to certain issues in school curricula. As this dimension is particularly important, the entire educational policy of the memorial museum must include a specialised service enabling the preparation, reception and feedback of students and teachers. It will be able to rely, as is the case for other existing institutions (Camp des Milles, Shoah Memorial, Maison d'Izieu), on the "memory and citizenship" points of contact with the education officers in each academy. Well before the venue opens, it may consider signing agreements with the latter to allow the provision of teaching liaison representatives, a practice that has proven its worth in many heritage institutions. Its infrastructure must also take account of this essential role: a museum tour adapted to visiting groups, the presence of one or more rooms for welcoming schoolchildren.

C. Research centre

Although it is not recommended that the memorial museum creates its own research structure (at least not initially), it is essential that it be able to have staff, budgets and infrastructures enabling it to ensure it has a presence and coordination function in the scientific fields that concern the themes it addresses, whether in the human sciences, biology or neurosciences, to give non-exhaustive examples. The future memorial museum can benefit from advances in research while giving encouragement through its resources, or by positioning itself as an events space (conferences, seminars, workshops) in coordination with existing research teams.

⁵² Report on the creation of universal national service, prepared by Major General Daniel Menaouine, 26 April 2018. Document available at the following address:

https://www.gouvernement.fr/sites/default/files/contenu/piece-jointe/2018/06/rapport_du_groupe_de_travail_snu.pdf

⁵³ <https://www.service-civique.gouv.fr>

⁵⁴ <https://www.education.gouv.fr/cid85267/consignes-securite-applicables-dans-les-etablissements-relevant-ministere.html>

The memorial museum will therefore be able to support emerging scientific fields on the history, sociology, anthropology of contemporary terrorism, on memorialisation, on the question of trauma and resilience. It must establish links with research programmes directly in line with the objectives of the memorial museum: the aforementioned 13 November programme on the memory of attacks or the Matrix programme on the processes of memorialisation, particularly after 11 September, for which cooperation already exists through the presence of researchers such as Denis Peschanski, its manager, Clifford Chanin, Isabelle Chaudieu and Brigitte Sion within the project team⁵⁵. There are other programmes with which it is possible to quickly establish contacts: the "Past in the Present" labex (laboratory of excellence) on history, memory and heritage, which brings together researchers and heritage professionals, and with which the Chair of the project is associated⁵⁶; the REAT project, on the reactions to the 2015 attacks⁵⁷, the Network of Spontaneous Memorials, mentioned during their joint hearing by sociologists Sarah Gensburger and G r me Truc⁵⁸, or the Jupiter project, on justice in the face of terrorist violence.⁵⁹

It is necessary, in this sense, for a researcher or lecturer-researcher to be seconded or made available for a period of two to three years, part-time or full-time, who will be responsible for coordinating the strictly scientific activities of the memorial museum in order to facilitate contacts with researchers. We can also recommend that the future memorial museum fund doctoral and post-doctoral fellowships, or that it award an annual prize to research, as is done in other comparable institutions.

D. Training centre

As is the case in other similar places, the memorial museum may be a place which hosts the training of various professions directly or indirectly affected by the issue of terrorism and its effects, the short- or medium-term care of victims, by public policies of remembrance, such as judges, police officers, firefighters, first aiders, psychotherapists, teachers, etc. This activity must be carried out in the context of partnerships, responses to calls for tenders, outdoor activities, in synergy with the institutions that are responsible for these training courses, and by relying on the network that will be created by the memorial museum so that these activities can cover as large a geographical area as possible.

⁵⁵ <http://www.matricememory.fr>

⁵⁶ <http://passes-present.eu>

⁵⁷ <https://reat.hypotheses.org>

⁵⁸ <http://www.spontaneousememorials.org/network/>

⁵⁹ <https://jupiter.hypotheses.org/328>. The project team thanks Virginie Sansico, associate researcher at the Centre for Sociological Research on Law and Penal Institutions (CESDIP) for this information.

For example, and in addition to what has been explained previously on the educational dimension of the memorial museum, the latter may organise training courses *in situ* as part of the National Training Plan. Priority is given to inspectors and trainers. It will also be able to organise summer universities, with a scientific component, an educational component and the presence of stakeholders in the field and witnesses, or continuing training courses.

Finally, François Molins, Public Prosecutor at the Court of Cassation, suggested that the memorial museum could host "citizenship courses" to which the perpetrators of certain offences have been subject since the Law of 2004⁶⁰. Experiments in comparable locations, such as the Shoah Memorial, have borne fruit and can be repeated.

E. Resource Centre

It is recommended that the future memorial be able to set up a resource centre that can accommodate readers and visitors, including a library/media library rich in digital resources, whether it be the possibility of creating a portal on the themes of the museum, in addition to the permanent exhibition and in possible partnership with the Ministry of National Education, whether it be access to certain large databases such as those of the INA, the START database or the aforementioned 13 November project.

It is also proposed that the future memorial museum have an online newsletter, or even that it produces a few publications of its own, again in partnership with public or private publishers.

Finally, we think it would be interesting to draw inspiration from the experience of the museum and memorial of 11 September, which we attended on 11 September 2019, during a webinar where nearly 325,000 people connected to the museum site during the commemoration and were able to obtain answers to the most diverse questions concerning the event thanks to a team which had been set up and trained for the occasion.

⁶⁰ <http://www.justice.gouv.fr/actualite-du-ministere-10030/les-editions-11230/stage-de-citoyennete-19274.html>

F. National and international network

Building on and extending the international cooperation work carried out by the New York Museum and Memorial, it is essential that the French memorial museum create its own national and international network. This network will first aim, at a national level, to create links with other existing or planned French memorials dedicated to terrorism, in particular that of Paris (13 November 2015) and that of Nice (14 July 2016). The aim is to recommend exchanges of experiences, cooperation in museum matters (travelling exhibitions) and the handling of specific themes. For example, the possibility of addressing specific issues, such as terrorism in the Mediterranean area, was discussed with the Nice Town Hall in a spirit of finding synergies.

It must also involve the heritage institutions with which it works, a list of which we have outlined in the previous chapter. This is an essential point that will make it possible to maintain a constant link with those who have helped to create the collections and will therefore be able to participate in their development or in the general policy of the site. It will also be possible to be a member of the network of institutions close to us which have shared their experience with us, such as the Musée de l'Armée, Universcience, the Shoah Memorial, the Rivesaltes Camp Memorial (a list that is obviously not exhaustive).

Finally, and this is something to which the project team is particularly wedded, four of the major museums and memorials dedicated to terrorism that we visited will be members of this network: the New York Memorial, Oslo, Vitoria-Gasteiz and Oklahoma City (see Chapter III, Museums and memorials dedicated to terrorism, for more detailed information). Their agreement in principle has already been obtained. This will be the preferred means of asserting the international dimension of the venue.

VIII. Preparation after March 2020

March 2020 will mark an important stage of the project, allowing an initial decision to be taken on the general concept. If the decision is taken to continue, it will be necessary to finalise the scientific and cultural project, and to define its means and mode of operation (status, team, budgets). The priority objective will be to find a location. It will also involve drawing up specifications adapted to the chosen site as well as the museum programme for the permanent exhibition in order to launch the project management tender. This more operational phase will require the implementation of arrangements and a certain number of resources presented in Chapter IX.C, The foundational project.

A. Communication policy

Prior to its physical implementation, we propose that material and immaterial communication be implemented from this second stage of the preparation. So far, the work of the project team has been carried out relatively discreetly, with the publication of a few press articles (see the general plan in the appendix). We now believe that the use of diversified communication media is necessary to publicise the project, promote it and participate in the exchange policy with the public. It is necessary to be present on social networks, collaborative platforms and online events such as Museum Week. As a minimum, it is also necessary to create an online site to present the main characteristics of the project, its schedule, its latest news, possibly with a newsletter, a blog, or a collaborative platform for exchanges around the project. It is a simple way to better understand and recognise expectations, and to collect testimonials and contributions. Many museums and memorial sites have developed this type of tool⁶¹. This site could prefigure the future digital portal recommended in the previous chapter.

B. Preparatory activities

The preparatory team also recommends launching preparatory activities in order to experiment with some of the selected departments and publicise the project to the public. For example, initial contacts have been made with Universcience for a *forerunner exhibition* that will also make it possible to draw the outlines of the future network that the museum plans to create. In a limited area conducive to roaming (150 to 300 m²), the system would consist of going to different places where attacks took place in France in

⁶¹ See the aforementioned report by Jacqueline Eidelman, *Rapport de la mission Musées du XXI^e siècle [Report of the 21st century museums project]*, or ““Citoyen, participatif, forum”, le musée français se réinvente”” [“Citizen, participation, forum”, the French museum is reinventing itself””], France Culture, 20 January 2019, article available at the following address: <https://www.franceculture.fr/societe/citoyen-participatif-forum-le-musee-francais-se-reinvente>.

order to meet and organise participation by the general public and other stakeholders (universities, training centres, victim support associations, local cultural fabric), based on the collaborative actions proposed at the Livinglab of the digital Crossroads² of the City of Science and Industry⁶². The system would be scalable and incremented, building on the achievements of each stage. It would make it possible to test one of the themes of the memorial museum or to propose at each stage one theme among the four selected. All this would lead to a preparatory exhibition presenting the approach itself and elements of the definitive museography. It would also be an opportunity to present the scientific programmes involved in the project and to maintain a space of collective intelligence to continue collecting objects, documents and testimonies from the public.

Informal contacts have also been made to carry out educational activities with students from fine arts or architecture schools for scenography or museography, or high school and college students on their spontaneous perception of terrorism, with the Rectorat de Paris, HESAM Université and the École supérieure d'art de Paris-Cergy. Finally, the preparatory project team envisages scientific operations related to the establishment of the memorial museum: on the definition of contemporary terrorism, on the role of memorials, on collective memory, in partnership with the programmes or institutions with which it collaborates.

⁶² <http://www.cite-sciences.fr/fr/au-programme/lieux-ressources/carrefour-numerique2/living-lab/>

IX. From concept to execution: resources

A. The building

1. Initial scoping of activity and surface area requirements

With regard to the objectives and challenges of the project, the preparatory project team proposes an initial framework for the programmatic needs in terms of space and surface area. This was set out in a “Progress report and statement of real estate needs” sent to the Prime Minister on 7 June 2019. As the question of the location remains open for the time being, this initial approach is intended to be theoretical, “disconnected”. It seeks to give, to the extent possible, some material and financial elements of the main items and elements of the future memorial museum. It will obviously have to be redesigned once the site has been chosen. It can be broken down as follows:

FIRST OUTLINE OF THE NEEDS OF USABLE SPACE ⁶³	Min SU.		Max SU.	
	Exterior	Interior	Exterior	Interior
ESPLANADE	200 m²		500 m²	
GARDEN	X		X	
RECEPTION		500 m²		650 m²
MEMORIAL		500 m²		500 m²
SEMI-PERMANENT TOUR		1,200 m²		1,600 m²
TEMPORARY EXHIBITIONS				
EDUCATIONAL RECEPTION		170 m²		270 m²
AUDITORIUM		180 m²		180 m²
SEMINAR ROOMS		200 m²		260 m²
DOCUMENTATION CENTRE		280 m²		300 m²
MANAGEMENT		200 m²		200 m²
MUSEOGRAPHIC LOGISTICS		550 m²		700 m²
Subtotal =		3,780 m²		4,660 m²
GENERAL LOGISTICS		300 m²		350 m²
Total usable floor areas (excluding external surface area)		3,980 m²		5,010 m²
Internal usable surface area requirements dedicated to activities, excluding corridors, plant rooms, rounded walls and partitions		± 4,000 m²		± 5,000 m²

⁶³ The usable areas are the only areas dedicated to activities, excluding traffic, walls and partitions, technical rooms.

The creation of a memorial museum first raises questions about urban planning. In this sense, we propose first of all to give great importance to *outdoor spaces*, open to the city, while making them easy to secure. As we have seen, many places of remembrance and commemoration are spaces open to all, often with a strong presence of plants and water. These spaces must include an esplanade or square, of moderate size, capable of accommodating 100 to 150 people, and suitable for hosting ceremonies, including the National Day of Remembrance on 11 March. Depending on the site, this esplanade could fit into the heart of the project, in the form of a courtyard, with the presence of a garden, a space planted with trees integrated into the project, on the ground or on the terrace, opening onto the city or in the heart of the memorial museum in the form of a patio.

Interior spaces must respect the variety of activities, bearing in mind that the quantification of needs is, at this stage, a proposal for scale, based solely on assumptions concerning the relative share of the different activities or functions of the future memorial museum presented in the previous chapters.

Reception areas, the first transition between outside and inside, play a fundamental role in the perception of this type of building. A transition between the urban and the heart of the project, they can take various forms but must in all cases contribute to the “conditioning” of the visitor, while leaving him or her free to explore. These spaces must avoid being intimidating. They must offer a friendly welcome for all visitors, possibly with associated services (cafeteria, bookshop), the justification and size of which must be discussed given the nature of the project.

Also associated with the concept of hosting, the qualities of inclusion and conviviality embodied in the third place concept are part of the response to the needs of future users of the memorial museum⁶⁴. For this purpose, one or more informal spaces should be provided that all visitors can use, simply to spend a moment, alone or in small groups, for informal meetings, exchanges or, on the contrary, to seek isolation in an unpredefined setting, before, during or after the visit or even without the objective of visiting.

The *memorial* itself could be an external or internal space with a current estimated surface area of 500 m², likely to change depending on the site chosen.

The exhibition space must be substantial given the high stakes of the project. It was calibrated based on feedback from members of the preparatory team, many of whom were involved in the creation of memorials, as well as observations conducted in recent

⁶⁴ The “third place”, a concept forged in the early 1980s by Ray Oldenburg, professor of urban sociology at the University of Pensacola in Florida, differs from the first place, the sphere of the home, and the second place, the field of work. It is understood as a neutral space, as a complementary component, dedicated to the social life of the community, and refers to spaces where individuals can meet, gather and have informal discussions.

months in foreign museum institutions dedicated to victims of terrorism. An area of 1,200 to 1,600 m² seems appropriate in this sense to develop the scientific and museographic purpose of the project. It would break down as follows:

- an area of 900 to 1,000 m² dedicated to the semi-permanent exhibition tour, presenting the four major museographic themes. The concept of “semi-permanent” seems important to us here, and has already been addressed in Chapter VI, The Museum of History and Society. As terrorism and its effects are constantly evolving trends, and as research on these issues is also increasing, the memorial museum’s museography must be capable of being partially renewed or totally reexamined over time. To do this, we envisage “capable” spaces, conducive to the development of the exhibition, which are economical and do not pose major technical difficulties;
- a temporary exhibition unit of 300 to 600 m², the latter being essential to offering a particular development of certain topics or news.

Educational spaces have a decisive role, as we saw in Chapter VII (The place of transmission) in the analysis of eponymous activities, as well as the hosting of particular audiences (victim associations, professionals). The memorial museum must therefore have at least two facilitation spaces to accommodate two groups simultaneously.

Like temporary exhibitions, the *various meeting spaces* – auditorium, meeting rooms or seminar rooms – are essential to the general activities of the memorial museum. They may vary depending on the location of the project and the possible sharing of these services with other neighbouring institutions. For the time being, we propose an auditorium with a capacity of 120 seats, potentially retractable, combined with meeting rooms equipped with 25 to 30 seats.

The *documentation centre* is another important feature of the project. It could offer a dozen consultation spaces, online consultation terminals, a collection of works, periodicals, visual or sound documents the size of which remains to be determined, in relation to the scientific function of the site.

Finally, areas are to be provided for *the management and logistics of the site*. With regard to the *tertiary spaces* (offices), dedicated to the memorial museum team, a 200 m² area has been envisaged (purely indicative figure). Logistics must include:

- the part specific to the operation of museum activities: assembly/dismantling/exhibition management, transit of collections; this could be coupled with a collection conservation function, which has not been accounted for here, as it is difficult to quantify at this stage. We will have to give thought to whether or not to conserve items *in situ*, given that many museum institutions, faced with land constraints in the city centre, have reserves of outsourced collections; we may also envisage the pooling of reserve areas with another institution;
- general logistics covering all activities and spaces related to the operation and maintenance of the building and site: technical transit, general storage, maintenance workshop, company premises and maintenance agents, staff premises, control station, fire safety and security.

In total, the usable floor areas required for the project have been estimated at 4,000 to 5,000 m².

2. Location: initial prospecting

By virtue of the criteria defined previously (see Chapter IV, The general concept: a unique space): neutrality of a site that is neither already marked by another history, nor close to the site of an attack, preferably in Paris or in the Paris metropolitan area, visible without being ostentatious, the project team conducted initial prospecting. It established exploratory dialogue with various contacts from local authorities: Olivier Renard, Director of the Cabinet of Jean-Louis Missika, Deputy Mayor of Paris in charge of urban planning (13 March 2019), plus numerous contacts with the Cabinet of Anne Hidalgo, Mayor of Paris; Christian Estrosi, Mayor of Nice, on 21 May 2019, as well as his Cabinet in Nice, on 23 November 2019; Myriam Tournoux, Head of Cabinet, and Guillaume Merzi, Director of the Cabinet of the Mayor of Pantin, Bertrand Kern, Monday 7 October 2019; Patrick Braouezec, President of Plaine Commune, Vice-President of Paris Métropole, in November 2019. Although the project was warmly received each time, these contacts have so far not led to any tangible solutions, as the prospect of municipal elections in March 2020 has probably not provided a favourable backdrop.

On 5 September 2019, the project team also met with Philippe Bauchot, Deputy Director of the State Real Estate Department, and Michel Laffitte, Head of State Real Estate Policy in Paris and Île-de-France. This is why we were allowed to visit the former headquarters of the newspaper *L'Humanité* in Saint-Denis (93), built by Oscar Niemeyer, and acquired by the State in 2009, which offers a total surface area of 7,000 m², currently unoccupied. We also visited the roof of the Arche de la Défense, a space operated by a private company which seems to offer possibilities. However, neither venue seemed suitable for the project. While the Niemeyer building is impressive, its

renovation and development costs, as well as operating costs, seem particularly high at first glance. In addition, it does not meet one of the essential criteria because it is close to the Stade de France, one of the places where the attacks of 13 November 2015 took place, and to the building where the police operation took place five days later. As for the prestigious Arche, it is not suited to a memorial museum project. At the beginning of the 2000s, plans had already been made to set up the National City of the History of Immigration, then in the planning stage, a project that has not progressed due to costs and difficulty of access⁶⁵. To date, the question of location remains open and should be the priority for the next phase of the project.

3. The environmental approach

The Energy Transition for Green Growth Act of 17 August 2015 requires all contracting authorities, whether public or private, to take environmental criteria into account with processes and materials. The memorial museum must also be exemplary from this point of view. The potential of the various proposed sites (land to be built upon or renovation of a building) will therefore be compared in order to comply with the law and to inform the decision-makers' choice. Programmatic choices will also be made and greater flexibility will be sought to allow the necessary changes over time to such a public facility. The building and scenography will be designed and executed using an eco-design approach.

B. Project process

The development of a project of this nature involves different stages:

- a “preparatory” phase, which this report describes by proposing a general concept;
- a preparatory phase itself, which is the direct continuation thereof;
- a preparatory phase for opening and, in parallel;
- an operational phase for the design and execution of the real estate project;
- opening to the public.

However, the schedule for the creation of the memorial museum is difficult to assess at this stage and will need to be settled once the site has been chosen, the terms of availability and the conditions for scaling up the project have been specified and the available budget is known. For now, we can outline a purely indicative timetable, distinguishing for convenience the project component from the real estate component, which are closely linked:

⁶⁵ Luc Gruson, *Le Musée national de l'histoire de l'immigration. Genèse d'un musée*, [The national museum of the history of immigration: origins of a museum], Paris, La Documentation française, 2017, p. 77.

Indicative timetable for the creation of the memorial museum

Roll out	Foundational project	Property project
	Preparatory phase (current preparatory project) Submission of this report to the Prime Minister	
BEFORE CHOOSING THE SITE	Preparatory phase (putting in place a dedicated project team, organisation of the project); Development of the scientific and cultural project/institutional project; Review of audiences	Preliminary studies Refinement of the concept and programmatic framework; Site research and studies
AFTER CHOOSING THE SITE Year N (1 st / 2 nd week 2021?)	Continued preparation Mobilisation of budgets and project management arrangements.	Preliminary studies Development of the architectural plans and the museum programme (specifications for future project managers); Establishment of expected real estate investment budgets.
Year N+1 (2022?)	Continued preparation	Launch of the real estate operation, choice of project manager
Year N+2 (2023?)	Preparation for opening	Project management studies
Year N+3 (1 st -2 nd week 2024?)		Company procurement
Years N+4 & N+5 (2025-2026?)		Works
Year N+6 (early 2027?)	Inauguration, opening to the public	

The choice of site, as well as the implementation of budgets, determine the starting point for the operational implementation of the real estate project. Under the terms governing public procurement under the MOP law, it is therefore necessary to take at

least 5 years between the launch of the real estate project and opening to the public⁶⁶. This period will vary depending on whether it is a new build or the renovation of an existing building. The heritage character of the site may also have an impact on the timing of the project, as well as potential constraints (pollution, land, location). Finally, the method of appointing the project manager(s) (architects, scenographers, etc.) may influence the schedule (from 8 to 10 months to more than one year).

C. The foundational project

In parallel with the real estate component, the ramping up of the project will see a certain number of steps taken to refine the foundational project, the cultural and scientific project and putting arrangements in place in anticipation of the memorial museum opening to the public.

1. New working arrangements

For the rest of the project, it is essential to consider setting up *a dedicated project team*, as the current project team cannot, alone, assume all the tasks to be carried out. This team must, as a priority, find a site, develop the scientific and cultural project (PSC) on the basis of the guidelines coming from this report, if they are approved by the public authorities, and reflect on the offer of the memorial museum and its resources. For the drafting of the PSC, a study of the different audiences must in particular be carried out to better understand expectations, test concepts, understand the perception of the project and help to define the offer, as well as the facilitation and communication policy. We would emphasise that the PSC and the choice of site are essential prerequisites for drafting the specifications intended for future project managers. The dedicated project team will also have to implement a certain number of preparatory actions, described in Chapter VII (The place of transmission) after March 2020.

To do this, this team must think about *a new way of organising work*.

Although the Ministry of Justice is currently solely responsible for the preparatory project, *it should be possible to broaden the scope of the memorial museum project*. This project concerns the Nation and various sectors of the State: Justice but also Interior, Health, National Education, Defence. The Ministry of Culture is also involved, in particular, through museum policy and links forged by the project with the National Archives, the National Audiovisual Institute and the National Library of France.

⁶⁶ The “theoretical” schedule for the real estate project was drawn up here based on the milestones for implementation by a traditional project manager within the meaning of the Law of 12 July 1985 on public project management and its relations with private project management, known as the “MOP law”.

The association of *local authorities* in carrying out the project will also be a factor to consider.

In the same vein, the question of *project management*, in particular real estate, must be reassessed. As the preparatory project was initiated within the DIAV, the Ministry of Justice is therefore currently solely responsible for project management of the operation under the supervision of the Prime Minister.

It will also be necessary to create project governance bodies. In addition to the operational structures, attention must be paid to three components:

- the scientific board intended to develop the content and cultural offer: this board will be composed of French and foreign researchers, skilled in the various fields covered by the museum, both in human and social sciences, in life sciences, in other disciplines that cannot be identified to date;
- expert groups bringing together professionals from various backgrounds, particularly from the world of museums, to reflect on specific themes and aspects of the project; the creation from the ground up of a new institution - such a unique place must be able to benefit from all the experiences acquired;
- user committees, to be created from the preliminary phase, to allow, on the one hand, the participation of associations and, on the other, the implementation of the principle of co-design with the public, an essential element of the museums of the 21st century, discussed in Chapter IV (The general concept: a single place). The composition of these committees must reflect the diversity of the audiences for which the memorial museum is intended. The project will be able to rely on the partnership envisaged with Universcience to develop a project for a travelling preparatory exhibition (Chapter VIII, Preparation after March 2020) aimed at assessing the relevance of the proposals to the public and setting up forms of participation, an experience that can be continued after the museum opens.

The memorial museum must enjoy *legal status* reflecting its unique, innovative and plural nature, enabling it to carry out its various tasks. Given these fundamentals, the future status will depend on the directions that will be given, the partners recruited and the desired increase in workload for the project. Many projects were developed thanks to the creation of an association under the 1901 Act initially (or a public interest group) leading to that of a public establishment (administrative or cultural cooperation).

2. *Operating resources before the opening*

To estimate operating costs at this stage seems premature, if only because the location is not yet known. Furthermore, the scope of the proposed activities will need to be specified, as will the management choices (whether or not certain activities should be outsourced) or the scheduling of actions over time.

However, we can try to outline the resources to be put in place to run the team before opening, based on examples and case studies: the preparation for the National City of Immigration History⁶⁷, the activity reports of different museums and sites and the Senate Finance Committee's report on national museums.⁶⁸ In any event, from the preliminary phase to operation after opening to the public, it is necessary to plan for a gradual increase in the resources allocated to the memorial museum project as the prospects for its expansion increase.

At present, as has already been pointed out, the preparatory project team operates using the DIAV's resources, the gracious "loans" of staff from the Ministry of Research (CNRS), the Ministry of Culture (OPPIC) and the Ministry of National Education (Rectorat de Paris), and finally on volunteering. This is the position of all the other members of the project, who have given a considerable amount of time to the smooth running of the project despite almost all of them working elsewhere.

To maintain the dynamic implemented and go further in the definition of the project, the search for a site and the creation of the team for the future memorial museum, we recommend that the project be equipped with the following resources during the preparatory phase:

- 5 full-time equivalent employees, with an operating budget of approximately €0.5 million per year, excluding accommodation costs;
- work and meeting spaces (100 m²);
- an additional budget for reflection, research, work on collections and resources, communication, organisation of events during the preparatory phase (temporary exhibitions, scientific colloquia, meetings, in the order of €0.3 to 0.5 million).

⁶⁷ Jacques Toubon (ed.), *Rapport au Premier ministre. Mission de préfiguration du Centre de ressources et de mémoire de l'immigration* [Report to the Prime Minister, Preparatory Project for the Immigration Resource and Remembrance Centre], Paris, La Documentation française, 2004.

⁶⁸ Yan Gaillard, "Les musées nationaux : quelles ressources pour quelles missions ?" ["National museums: what resources are available for which projects?"] Information report on behalf of the Finance Committee, 4 June 2014.

<<https://www.senat.fr/rap/r13-574/r13-574.html>>

The preparatory phase for the opening must allow the resources devoted to the operation of the different centres and the memorial museum team to be expanded in order to prepare for its opening to the public:

- ⇒ semi-permanent exhibition curator and his team
- ⇒ development of the cultural programming team and that of audiences
- ⇒ collections/collection and management team
- ⇒ resource centre manager and team
- ⇒ production manager and team (temporary exhibitions, conferences, publishing)
- ⇒ multimedia and web manager and team,
- ⇒ management, communication, partnerships and support functions (general secretariat, human resources, logistics department; accounting firm, depending on legal status).

If we refer to other examples of project implementation, this team could then have between 20 and 40 people by 2026. The hiring and training of people dedicated to facilitating and welcoming visitors are envisaged during this phase, in particular.

On the assumption of opening in 2027, based on current operations, the projection could lead to the first composition of a team in the order of forty to fifty people.

3. The resources required for the real estate project

It is difficult to have expertise in real estate investment costs without knowing the location, or having settled upon the outlines of the operation's programme. These will vary depending on whether it is a renovation or new build, depending on the programmatic elements, which will be adapted to the chosen site and depending on the tender method used for the project managers and the construction schedule.

At the meeting of 5 September 2019, Philippe Bauchot, Deputy Director of the Directorate of State Real Estate, and Michel Laffitte, manager of the State's real estate policy in Paris and the Île-de-France region, gave an indication of "between €50 million and €100 million" if it is land that does not belong to the State – expensive and difficult to find – on which a new building would be built or an existing building redeveloped. However, the position is obviously different if the land or building belongs to the State and is more or less available.

By way of reference points and information:

- ⇒ the cost of the preliminary studies to be carried out before the launch of the project (programming, diagnostics, surveys, audience studies, etc.) may amount to €0.5 to €1 million including tax;
- ⇒ the budget for the ongoing renovation of the Musée national de la Marine at the Palais de Chaillot in Paris amounts to €65.36 million for 10,250 m² of floor area;⁶⁹
- ⇒ the construction of the new reception area for the Cluny Museum amounted to €7.64 million for 983 m² of floor area, the renovation of the pathways, currently under construction, representing a budget of €12.91 million for 1,663 m² of floor space.

Apart from the costs related to the real estate project, it will be necessary to determine the specific costs related to the restoration, the preparation of the items and resources exhibited, the creation of documentary and digital collections and the production of content. These costs may represent one third of an additional budget.

The budget schedule can also only be established when the various parameters (programme, choice of site, ramp-up strategy and project implementation, etc.) are established. However, we can specify a few elements:

- ⇒ between the time of the political decision and the choice of an architect, it takes approximately 18 months and involves 2 to 3% of the cost of the works excluding VAT;
- ⇒ the design studies (project management) of the project represent around 15% of the amount excluding VAT of the works and will take place over at least one year;
- ⇒ works begin 18 to 24 months after the selection of the architect.

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⁶⁹ The budgets given here for example are "all expenses combined" (works, project management fees, taxes, etc.) in current euros.

Appendix 1: General project schedule

4 February 2019: engagement letter from Prime Minister Édouard Philippe
22 February 2019: 1 st plenary meeting of the project team
6 March 2019: presentation of the entire project to Nicole Belloubet, Keeper of the Seals
13 March 2019: meeting with Olivier Renard, Chief of Staff to Jean-Louis-Missika, Deputy Mayor of Paris, responsible for urban planning, on localisation (R. Azizi, H. Rousso)
28 March 2019: 2 nd plenary meeting of the project team
29 March 2019: 1 st meeting with victim associations and France Victimes, introduction to the project
4 April 2019: meeting with François-Joseph Ruggiu, Sandrine Lefranc and Fabrice Boudjaaba, director and assistant scientific directors of the CNRS National Institute of Human and Social Sciences, on the scientific dimension of the project (H. Rousso)
11 April 2019: restricted project meeting
25 April 2019: 3 rd plenary meeting of the project team
9 May 2019: meeting with Clarisse Mazoyer, President of the Cultural Heritage and Real Estate Projects Operator (OPPIC) and Marie-Bénédicte Caumette, Head of the Preliminary Design Department, which involved Valérie Brisard, architect-programmer, in the project (R. Azizi, H. Rousso)
14 May 2019: meeting with Lucie Muniesa, Director of the Office of the Minister of Culture, on the possible involvement of the Ministry (R. Azizi, É. Pelsez, H. Rousso)
20 May 2019: restricted meeting
21 May 2019: meeting with Christian Estrosi, Mayor of Nice, on the location of the future memorial museum and the involvement of the city in the project (H. Rousso)
25 May 2019: restricted meeting
27 May 2019: interview (recorded) with Jacques Toubon, rights advocate, former chair of the preparatory project of the National City of Immigration History (2003), and Luc Gruson, former director of the National Museum of Immigration History, on their experience (H. Rousso)
31 May 2019: 4 th plenary meeting of the project team
4 June 2019 and 10 December 2019: meetings with Guillaume Denoix de Saint-Marc of AFVT (R. Azizi and H. Rousso, E. Iardella-Blanc)
6 June 2019: restricted meeting
20 June 2019: meeting with Julien Sérignac, General Secretary of <i>Charlie Hebdo</i> (R. Azizi, H. Rousso)
27 June 2019: 5 th plenary meeting of the project team
22 July 2019: meeting with Guillaume Nahon, director of the Paris Archives, and Mathilde Pintault, collection and classification manager, on collections linked to terrorism (H. Rousso)
5 September 2019: meeting with Philippe Bauchot, Deputy Director of the Directorate of State Real Estate, and Michel Laffitte, Head of State Real Estate Policy in Paris and Île-de-France, on the location in State-owned buildings (R. Azizi, H. Rousso)
9 to 13 September 2019: trip to New York for the 9/11 Memorial Museum visit, presentation at a symposium at Columbia University (É. Pelsez, M. Crépon, D. Peschanski) and participation in the ceremonies of 11 September
19 September 2019: participation in the ceremony honouring the victims of terrorism at Les Invalides
24 September 2019: visit to the Oscar Niemeyer building in Saint-Denis
25 September 2019: restricted meeting
26 September 2019: 6 th plenary meeting of the project team
26 September 2019: visit to the roof of the Arche de la Défense (R. Azizi, H. Rousso)
04 October 2019: restricted meeting
7 October 2019: meeting with Myriam Tournoux and Guillaume Merzi, respectively Head and Chief of Staff of the Mayor of Pantin, Bertrand Kern, on the development zones underway in the north-east of the capital (A. Rispal, H. Rousso)
11 October 2019: meeting with Édouard Philippe, Prime Minister, on the state of progress of the work (H. Rousso)
14 to 16 October 2019: trip to Oslo and visit to the Interpretation Centre and Utøya Island

18 October 2019: 7th plenary meeting of the project team
18 October 2019 : 2 nd meeting with victim associations and France Victimes on the progress of the work
22 October 2019: meeting with Hélène Davo and Bruno-Roger Petit, Justice Advisor and Memory Advisor to the President of the Republic (H. Roussou)
5 November 2019: meeting with Sylvie Zaidman, Director of the Musée de la Libération de Paris–Musée du Général Leclerc–Musée Jean Moulin and visit to the recently renovated museum
6 November 2019, 10 December 2019 and 17 January 2020: meetings with Françoise Rudetzki (D. Peschanski, H. Roussou, E. Iardella-Blanc)
15 November 2019: meeting with Ariane James-Sarazin, Deputy Director of the Musée de l'Armée on the links between the Musée de l'Armée and the future memorial museum (R. Azzouz)
18 November 2019: meeting at the National Archives with Bruno Ricard, director, Marion Veyssière, head of the Justice and Interior Department, and Violaine Challéat-Fonck, head of the Interior Division, as well as Gérald Monpas (Interior Division), Christophe Bouvier, Céline Delétang and Jean Salvat (Justice Division) (E. Iardella-Blanc, D. Peschanski, H. Roussou)
22 November 2019: meeting in Nice with Philippe Pradal, first deputy mayor of Nice, and Anthony Borré, director of the cabinet, on the establishment of a network of memorials dedicated to victims of terrorism (D. Peschanski)
26 November 2019: meeting with Arthur Dénouveaux, President of Life for Paris (E. Iardella-Blanc)
27 November 2019: meeting with Michèle Antoine, director of exhibitions at Universcience, and Pierre Reinisch, head of international projects, on a possible collaboration during the preparatory phase (D. Peschanski, A. Rispal, H. Roussou). A meeting with Bruno Maquart, Chair of Universcience, scheduled for 22 January 2020 has been postponed to 19 March 2020
27 November 2019: hearing with Sarah Gensburger and G��r��me Truc, sociologists, research officers at the CNRS, on the memorialisation of attacks worldwide since 2001
29 November 2019: 8th plenary meeting of the project team
4 December 2019: meeting with Chantal Anglade and Delphine Allenbach-Rachet, seconded teachers, and Marie-C��cile Castel, lawyer, from the AfVT (E. Iardella-Blanc)
6 December 2019: hearing with Fran��ois Molins, Public Prosecutor at the Court of Cassation, introduction to and discussion of the project (R. Azizi, O. Gr��mont, ��. Pelsez, H. Roussou)
9 December 2019: meeting with Isabelle Sadowski, legal director for the coordination of victim support from France Victimes (E. Iardella-Blanc)
9 December 2019: interview with Val��rie Guillaume, director of the Carnavalet museum, on the collections dedicated to the history of the terrorist attacks in Paris, as well as a possible partnership (H. Roussou)
12 December 2020: discussion with Nina Goldenberg, granddaughter of Jo Goldenberg (E. Iardella-Blanc)
13 December 2019: interview with Simon Fieschi of <i>Charlie-Hebdo</i> (E. Iardella-Blanc)
13 December 2019: interview with Jean-Claude Hubler, President of Life for Nice (E. Iardella-Blanc)
18 to 20 December 2019: trip to Vitoria-Gasteiz (Spain), guided tour of the memorial centre for the victims of terrorism under construction by Florencio Dom��nguez Iribarren, its director, and meeting with Jes��s Loza, member of the government in the Basque Country
19 December 2019: interview with Fran��oise Vernet, Chair of the association of victims of the Bardo museum attack (E. Iardella-Blanc)
20 December 2019: 9th plenary meeting of the project team
06 January 2020: hearing of Dominique Reyni��, political scientist, professor at the Institute of Political Studies in Paris, president of the Foundation for Political Innovation, on the report published by FONDAPOL in November 2019 on Islamist attacks worldwide from 1979 to 2019
06 January 2020: hearing of Christian Delage, historian, professor at the University of Paris VIII and director of the Institute of History of the Present Time, on the filmed recordings of victims and trials linked to terrorism
06 January 2020: hearing of Jacqueline Eidelman, General Curator of Heritage, on the 21 st Century Museums project, which she chaired in 2017
6 January 2020: interview with Philippe Duperron, Chair, Dominique Kielemoes and Patricia Correia, Chairs, of 13onze15 (E. Iardella-Blanc)

8 January 2020: meeting at the National Audiovisual Institute (INA) with Agnès Chauveau, Deputy Director for Broadcasting and Innovation, Fabrice Blancho, Head of the Audiovisual Productions Department, Antoine Bayet, Head of the Digital Editions Department, Mileva Stupar, Head of the Cultural and Educational Action Department, on the issue of collections and possible partnerships (E. Iardella-Blanc, D. Peschanski, H. Rousso)
8 January 2020: meeting with Sophia Seco, director, and Marie-Claude Desjeux, vice-president in charge of external relations at FENVAC (E. Iardella-Blanc)
8 January 2020: meeting with Jean-François Ricard, prosecutor, head of the national anti-terrorist prosecutor's office, and Camille Hennetier, deputy prosecutor, on the recording of trials and the collection of legal documents (R. Azizi, É. Pelsez, H. Rousso)
9 January 2020: meeting with Julien Sérignac, General Secretary of <i>Charlie-Hebdo</i> (E. Iardella-Blanc)
14 January 2020: meeting with Arthur Dénouveaux, Chair of Life for Paris, and Antoine Garapon, judge (R. Azizi, É. Pelsez, H. Rousso)
14 January 2020: hearing of Nicolas Hénin, consultant and trainer, on his experience as a journalist and on his detention, with three other French people, by ISIS (2013-2014)
16 January 2020: 10th plenary meeting of the project team

Media presence

16 March 2019: <i>La Fabrique de l'Histoire</i> [<i>The Fabric of History</i>], France Culture, interview with H. Rousso by E. Laurentin
03 April 2019: <i>Le Figaro</i> , "Ce musée-mémorial sera une forme de victoire sur le terrorisme" ["This memorial museum will be a form of victory over terrorism"], interview with H. Rousso by M. Lombard-Latune
10 July 2019: <i>France 3 Côte-d'Azur</i> , interview with É. Pelsez
14 July 2019: <i>La Croix</i> , "Nice : la mémoire des attentats est ancrée dans l'espace" ["Nice: the memory of the attacks is rooted in space"], interview with H. Rousso by Th. Mercadier
15 October 2019: <i>Le Monde</i> , "Aide aux victimes : la Délégation interministérielle en ordre de marche" ["Assistance to victims: the interministerial delegation in working order"], interview with É. Pelsez by J.-B. Jacquin
11 December 2019: <i>Le Figaro</i> , "Le projet de "Musée du terrorisme" prend forme" ["The "Museum of Terrorism" project takes shape"], interviews with H. Rousso and C. Chanin by Jean Chichizola
20 January 2020: <i>Le Pèlerin</i> , "Un mémorial pour toutes les victimes" ["A memorial for all the victims"] interview with H. Rousso by Alban de Montigny
November 2020: <i>Arte</i> , broadcast of a documentary by Joël Calmettes remembering 13 November and including the work of the DIAV memorial committee and that of the preparatory project team

Appendix 2: Bibliography

This indicative bibliography primarily includes the publications and works mentioned in the report as well as some general reference sources on the major themes addressed.

Raymond Aron, *Paix et guerre entre les nations* [War and Peace between nations], Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1962.

“Au nom des victimes” [“On behalf of the victims”], file, *Témoigner* [Testify]. *Entre mémoire et histoire* [Between memory and history], no. 118, September 2014.

Maëlle Bazin, Gilles Ferragu and Claire Sécail, “L’attentat, un objet au croisement de l’histoire politique et de l’histoire des médias” [“The attack, an object at the crossroads of political history and media history”], file, *Le Temps des médias* [Media time], no. 32, 2019/1.

Eneko Bidegain, *Iparretarrak (IK): histoire d’une organisation politique armée* [Iparretarrak (IK): the story of an armed political organisation] Larresorre, Gatuzain, 2007.

Emmanuel Bernabeu-Casanova, *Le nationalisme corse. Genèse, succès et échec. Suivi d’un entretien avec le leader autonomiste Edmond Simeoni*, [Corsican nationalism: origins, success and failure, followed by an interview with the separatist leader Edmond Simeoni], Paris, L’Harmattan, 1997.

Catherine Bertrand, *Chroniques d’une survivante* [Chronicles of a survivor], Paris, La Martinière, 2018.

Patrick Boucheron et Mathieu Riboulet, *Prendre dates: Paris, 6 January-14 January 2015* [Laying down a marker: Paris, 6 January-14 January 2015], Lagrasse, Verdier, 2015.

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Table of acronyms (translated)

ALDE	Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe
AfVT	French Association of Victims of Terrorism
AMIA	Asociación mutual israelita argentina
AN	National Archives
ASALA	Armenian Secret Liberation Army
BAV	Victim Support Offices
BLAT	Anti-terrorism liaison office of the Ministry of the Interior
BnF	National Library of France
BRI	Research and intervention brigade
CNRS	National Centre for Scientific Research
CN2R	National Resource and Resilience Centre
CUMP	Medical-psychological emergency unit
DAESH	Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant
DIIV	Inter-ministerial Delegate for Victim Support
DSM	Diagnostic and Statistical Manual
ECPAD	Defence communication and audiovisual production establishment
EPCC	Public institution for cultural cooperation of an administrative nature
ETA	Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (Basque Country and Freedom)
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FENVAC	National federation of victims of attacks and collective accidents
FGTI	Guarantee Fund for Victims of Terrorism and Other Offences
FLN	National Liberation Front (Algeria)
FLNC	Corsican National Liberation Front
FONDAPOL	Foundation for Political Innovation
PFLP	Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine
GAL	Grupos Antiterroristas de Liberación
GIA	Armed Islamic Group
HESAM	Hautes Écoles Sorbonne Arts et Métiers Université
ICOM	International Council of Museums
INA	National Audiovisual Institute
INALCO	National Institute of Oriental Languages and Civilizations
INAVEM	National Institute for Victim Support and Mediation
INSERM	National Institute of Health and Medical Research
JIVAT	Civil jurisdiction for compensation of victims of acts of terrorism
MNA	Algerian national movement
MOP (law)	On public project management and its relations with private project management
SAA	Secret Armed Organisation
WHO	World Health Organization
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organisation
OPPIC	Operator of cultural heritage and real estate projects
ORTF	French Broadcasting and Television Office
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
PNAT	National anti-terrorist prosecutor's office
PP	Paris Prefecture of Police
CSP	Scientific and Cultural Programme
RER	Regional express network
RG	General information
SGDSN	General Secretariat for Defence and National Security
SNU	Universal National Service
SRIJPP	Regional Police Headquarters Judicial Identity Service
START	National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism
UTA	Air Transport Union