

The Museum and Memorial of Terrorism

Scientific and Cultural Program Submitted
to the French President





Foreword

On September 19, 2018, French president Emmanuel Macron announced his desire to create a “museum and memorial of terrorism”. This announcement came after preliminary studies by a memorial committee directed by Élisabeth Pelsez, who was then the *Déléguée interministérielle à l'aide aux victimes* [inter-ministerial delegate for victim support], and it led to a first preliminary project, which I had the honor of chairing, in February 2019, at the behest of French Prime Minister Édouard Philippe. On March 11, 2020, we submitted an initial report to him that laid out the broad scope of a potential initiative and provided a set of recommendations. On the basis of that report, the French president entrusted me with a new mission on June 15, 2020, to develop a cultural and scientific program, set out specifications, and determine a location.

That is the purpose of this text which acts both as a waypoint in an ever-evolving project and as a fulcrum to help guide future decisions. This paper is being published at a highly symbolic time, just as France takes over the presidency of the European Union for the next six months. It reflects the journey of the preliminary project over the past eighteen months: the selection of an exceptional location (the former *École de Plein Air*, an open air school on Mont-Valérien in Suresnes); the development of a detailed scientific program that takes into account the history of terrorism, the voices of victims, and the reaction of French society, in a national, European, and global context; the launch of the acquisition process for unique collections; a foundation for a partnership with the French school system, thanks to an exhibition put together in collaboration with middle and high school students; the development of a website; outreach to build a network of partners, supporters, and experts; and, most important to the success of this project, constant close cooperation with victims' associations.

This text is also aspirational. It is ambitious. And while we hope a substantial portion of the program will be brought to fruition, we also understand that this project is contingent on financial (investment budget) and political (institutional support) considerations which are not yet fully in place. The program laid out here attempts to cover all the facets of a world-class modern museum of history and society, while being attentive to the fact that terrorism is a sensitive and difficult topic that requires a combination of pragmatism, imagination, care, and ambition.

While the present document does not fulfill all the requirements of a scientific and cultural program—the physical museum and memorial complex does not yet exist—it does follow the main headings. Put together by the entire permanent team and submitted to all the constitutive bodies of the public interest group, this paper seeks to bring this landmark place of history and remembrance to life through words and images.

Henry Rouso

Chair of the *Groupement d'intérêt public*

Preliminary Project for the Museum and Memorial of Terrorism French President's Engagement Letter, June 15, 2020

LE PRÉSIDENT DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE

Paris, le 15 Juin 2020

PR/CAB/P-REG 2020-106

Monsieur le directeur de recherche,

La Journée nationale d'hommage aux victimes du terrorisme, le 11 mars 2020, comme je l'ai rappelé, a constitué non seulement une réponse à tous ceux qui ont versé le sang sur le sol de France, sur les terres d'Europe et du monde entier, mais aussi un avertissement aux groupes qui ourdissent encore des projets de terreur. Elle a représenté un défi aux artisans de haine et de division.

Cette journée a marqué une étape décisive dans l'œuvre de mémoire que la Nation a initiée en faveur des victimes du terrorisme. Très nombreuses sont celles qui ont reçu ce jour-là la médaille nationale de reconnaissance aux victimes du terrorisme. Les victimes attachent un prix immense à ce que l'oubli n'efface pas le souvenir des tragédies qu'elles ont vécues et ont témoigné de leur reconnaissance pour l'organisation de cette journée.

La réflexion sur la mémoire a été engagée depuis février 2018 grâce au comité mémoriel réuni au sein de la Délégation interministérielle à l'aide aux victimes, dans un premier temps, puis grâce à la mission de préfiguration d'un lieu de mémoire que vous avez conduite depuis février 2019 sur demande du Premier ministre et dont le rapport a été remis en février 2020. Les propositions de ce rapport reflètent la richesse de cette élaboration collective et, donc, des apports de chacun des membres de la mission dont je salue l'engagement et la profonde implication. La création d'un musée-mémorial des sociétés face au terrorisme constitue le cœur de la dimension mémorielle que vous appelez de vos vœux.

J'ai donc affirmé, le 11 mars 2020, ma volonté de voir s'engager dès à présent la mise en œuvre de ce musée unique au monde par sa conception et sa dimension universelle, qui opposera à la barbarie et à la force mortifère de l'oubli, la lumière vitale de la mémoire et de la connaissance.

Monsieur Henry ROUSSO
C/O DIAV
Ministère de la Justice
13 place Vendôme
75042 PARIS CEDEX 1

J'ai souhaité vous confier cette nouvelle mission dans la lignée de celle que vous venez d'accomplir avec pour objectif la rédaction d'un projet scientifique et culturel et d'un cahier des charges dans un horizon de 18 à 24 mois, compte tenu des circonstances actuelles.

La mission devra envisager un lieu ayant une triple ambition : être un mémorial destiné à l'hommage et au recueillement, un musée d'histoire et de société et un lieu d'échange et de transmission.

La priorité sera accordée au choix d'un site permettant de délivrer un message adressé à toutes les victimes réunies dans une même communauté de destins et à la nation tout entière, et donc privilégier une localisation dans Paris ou le Grand Paris.

Il s'agira de tenir compte de la diversité et de la longévité du terrorisme ayant touché la France et les Français, y compris à l'étranger. Les thématiques du musée-mémorial traiteront de l'histoire du terrorisme, des réponses de la société française dans un contexte international et s'ouvriront à des questions plus larges.

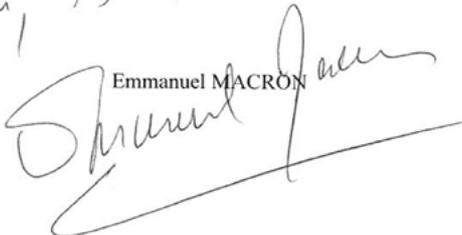
La mission aura toute latitude pour mener des actions de préfiguration, comme la création d'une plateforme numérique ou la mise sur pied d'expositions temporaires physiques ou virtuelles.

Les services du Premier ministre, en lien avec la déléguée interministérielle à l'aide aux victimes Elisabeth Pelsez, assureront la mise en œuvre pratique du fonctionnement de la mission pour l'aider à trouver un site, faciliter l'accès à certains documents, poursuivre le recueil des traces mémorielles destinées à alimenter les collections, assurer un lien très régulier avec les associations de victimes dont les attentes et espoirs à l'égard de cette réalisation sont manifestes.

Je sais en vous confiant cette mission que, compte tenu de votre expertise sur la mémoire collective et la Seconde Guerre mondiale, et grâce à la richesse de votre réflexion sur le rapport entre histoire et mémoire vous serez à même de mener à bien ce projet. Le rapport que vous m'avez remis sur la première phase de préfiguration est là pour en témoigner si besoin en était.

Vous pourrez compter sur mon soutien indéfectible pour que l'engagement que j'ai pris le 11 mars soit honoré : mobiliser la nation tout entière pour faire échec à l'œuvre de l'oubli.

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

M. Infante, 15 octobre
Emmanuel MACRON


President of the French Republic

Paris, June 15, 2020

PR/CAB/REG 2020-106

Dear Dr. Henry Rousso,

As I have previously stated, the National Day for Victims of Terrorism, March 11, 2020, was conceived not only as a commemoration for all who have shed their blood on French soil, in Europe, and around the world, but also as a warning to groups still nurturing terrorist plots. It represented a challenge to those who sow hate and division.

This day marked a decisive stage in the nation's mission of remembrance, undertaken to support victims of terrorism. On this day, many victims received the national medal of recognition for victims of terrorism. It is dearly important to victims that their tragedies not be forgotten, and they have expressed their appreciation for this day of remembrance.

Early considerations on remembrance began in February 2018, thanks to a committee for remembrance within the *Délégation interministérielle à l'aide aux victimes* [inter-ministerial delegation for victims]. These evolved into a preliminary project for a place of remembrance, which you chaired, at the behest of the prime minister in February 2019. A report was subsequently submitted in February 2020. Proposals in that report reflect a diverse contribution from all of the mission members, whom I commend for their involvement and profound dedication. The development of a museum and memorial for societies facing terrorism is a core feature of the mission of remembrance outlined in your recommendations.

On March 11, 2020, I therefore asserted my wish to see the creation of this museum, unique in its design and universal scope, brought to completion. This museum will be a space that combats barbarism and the fatal force of forgetting with the vital light of memory and recognition.

Dr. Henry Rousso
C/O DIAV
Ministry of Justice
13 place Vendôme
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I would like to entrust you with this new task, which is an extension of what you have just accomplished. The objective will be to draft a scientific and cultural program in addition to project specifications within the next eighteen to twenty-four months, given the current circumstances.

The space for this initiative should fulfill three criteria: a memorial that honors and provides refuge, a museum of history and society, and a place for outreach and education.

The priority will be to find a site that can speak to all the victims of a shared community of fate, and to the nation as a whole. Ideally, therefore, the location will be in Paris or its environs.

The aim will be to account for the diversity and longevity of terrorism such as it has impacted France and the French people, including abroad. The issues covered by the museum and memorial will include the history of terrorism, the responses of French society within an international context, and other broader questions.

You will have wide latitude in the preliminary stages of this project to develop a digital platform, put together temporary physical or virtual exhibitions, and so forth.

The offices of the prime minister, together with the *Déléguée interministérielle à l'aide aux victimes*, Elisabeth Pelsez, will assist you with the practical logistics of this project, providing assistance with finding a location, facilitating access to documentation, searching for artifacts to establish museum collections, and acting as a bridge with victims' associations, which have expressed their hopes and expectations for this site.

In light of your expertise on collective memory and the Second World War, and thanks to your extensive work on the relationship between history and memory, I am confident that you are capable of accomplishing this task. If further evidence were needed of your aptness for this project, the report you submitted on the first phase of the preliminary project would be proof enough.

In line with my commitment of March 11th, you can count on my unwavering support to mobilize our entire nation against forgetting.

Yours sincerely,

Emmanuel Macron



Introduction

“What a strange idea!” Since the announcement of the creation of a museum and memorial of terrorism, some have reacted with surprise. Yet this initiative is a reflection of the times.

Victims of terrorism, grieving families, and loved ones have longed for a museum and memorial to provide a national space for people impacted by all types of terrorist acts. This project lays the foundation for a place of recognition, understanding, tribute, learning, and communication.

One of the factors behind the decision to create this museum and memorial was to honor an ideal of equality in national remembrance. Our society is aware of the risk of forgetting and attached to the idea of remembering those affected by the violence of war and politics, even from the distant past. So it is natural to pay tribute to victims of more recent forms of violence. There has been an effort since the 1990s to preserve the memory of wars, genocides, slavery, and colonization. And it should be extended to terrorism, even if its causes, consequences, and outcomes are not the same.

Another motivation has been a growing understanding of what an act of terrorism signifies. Paying tribute to the victims of terrorism (for which the museum and memorial is but one among other means) is vital, because they are almost always proxy targets for the nation and its structures and values, including republicanism, democracy, freedom, and tolerance. The impact of terrorism on a society can be measured, of course, by its physical and material wreckage, but even more so by its short- and long-term psychological tolls, which often outmeasure the attack itself. Acts of terrorism have disproportionate consequences, which have long been underestimated.

That is the justification to go beyond a memorial site and create a place of history where modern terrorism, a poorly understood subject can be exhibited, studied, and objectified for the general public. This initiative is therefore a form of cultural resistance, to help stave off fear and shock. In addition, it is embedded in a humanist tradition, where building awareness, educating, and sharing knowledge, even on sensitive issues like terrorism, are vital to building an open society that is capable of overcoming challenges.

This scientific and cultural program seeks to show the many ways in which the future Museum and Memorial of Terrorism (MMT) is an original and unique space.

The site chosen for the museum and memorial is the former *École de Plein Air*, an open air school in Suresnes that was built in an exquisite, landscaped park on the Mont-Valérien hill by the architects Eugène Beaudouin and Marcel Lods in the 1930s. The site embodies an intersection between understanding and recognition, and it coheres with the philosophical underpinnings of the initiative as it is defined in the first preliminary report of March 2020¹: a place of resilience and resistance.

Resilience and, to be more exact, support for vulnerable members of society, were the driving forces behind this open air school, which was built for children in poor health. The peace and calm emanating from this space are vital to the future memorial, and

1. Henry Rousso (ed.), *The Memorial Museum of Societies Facing Terrorism: Report to the Prime Minister*, Paris, Ministry of Justice, Délégation interministérielle à l'aide aux victimes, March 2020.



<https://musee-memorial-terrorisme.fr/recherche-et-documentation>

the initiative will strive to preserve these qualities. Resistance is represented by the site's proximity to the *Mémorial de la France combattante*, a memorial to French fighters of the Second World War. In fact, visitor experiences could be made between the two sites around the notions of memory and history.

The choice of this site added another dimension to this project: rehabilitating a historic monument and gem of modern French architecture that has been awaiting renovation work for years.

Although the memorial and the museum each have their own objectives, together they form a single whole.

The entire site is a place of remembrance, even if only a specific part will be dedicated to tributes and commemorations. The memorial allows for the existence of the museum, which for its part provides another dimension to the space. Together, the memorial and museum offer a social and cultural space that is at once horizontal—through knowledge sharing—and vertical—through the educational component between generations.

Countless memorials of terrorism exist in the world—proof of the importance of this phenomenon. However, there are very few museums of terrorism—only about half a dozen. For the most part, museums of terrorism cover one attack or specific event (the 9/11 Memorial in New York), or they focus on the national dimension, like the very recent *Centro Memorial de las Víctimas del Terrorismo*, in Vitoria-Gasteiz, in Basque Country, which is dedicated to all Spanish victims of terrorism. For its part, the MMT covers a long historic period, taking into account all forms of terrorism (political, nationalist, regionalist, Islamist, state, etc.) and at a scale that is at once national and international.

“Where do we start?” That is a question we are often confronted with, given the challenges of defining terrorism and therefore of setting out reasonable intellectual and spatial parameters. Our response is threefold:

- the memorial takes into account all those who have died from terrorist attacks in France, as well as French victims of terrorism abroad since 1974. That year carries both legal and historic significance. In fact, since 2016, the national medal of recognition for victims of terrorism has been given to victims of acts committed in France or abroad as of January 1, 1974, in connection with the attack of September 15, 1974, in the Publicis drugstore on *Boulevard Saint-Germain* in Paris, by Ilich Ramirez Sanchez (better known as Carlos), which caused two dead and thirty-four wounded. This is considered to be the first *blind* attack in France since the end of the Algerian War. By *blind* we mean acts targeting random victims, with no apparent logic, keeping in mind that for perpetrators of these types of attacks, this notion is erroneous since they always believe they have *good reasons* to justify their crimes. The watchword of anarchist terrorism from the late nineteenth century—“there are no innocent victims”—remains a constant of terrorism;
- within the museum, the permanent exhibition will start with a historical retrospective going back to the origin of the term *terrorism*, under the French Revolution, from the Latin verb *terrere*, to *frighten*, the primary intention of any form of terrorism, which is to elicit extreme fear, beyond the direct targets of violence. This retrospective will cover the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The visit will then focus on a sequence from the late 1960s until today, with the appearance of new forms of terrorism at a global scale;
- finally, for the temporary exhibitions and cultural programming (lectures, conferences, and so forth), there will be no restrictions on periods or regions, and we will be able to go back in time and cover spaces as

vast as necessary. This decision demonstrates the MMT's desire to remain open, both intellectually and scientifically.

While the history of terrorism is an important part of the exhibitions and general programming—hence the institutional name, which stakes a clear position as to this project's ambitions—it will not be the only theme covered. The MMT will also reflect on the victims of terrorism, their specificity, and the care they have received, as well as major changes to those questions since 1980s. It will also consider the reaction of French society and, in part, that of other countries that have also been confronted with terrorist violence. The aim here is to create a museum of contemporary history that is generalist in scope.

In our minds, despite the fact that it has raised eyebrows, the museum component of this project is vital. Given the nature of the request behind this initiative and its objectives, the MMT has a national scope. That is why we have been particularly attentive to reflecting deeply on what a twenty-first century museum should be, especially one that deals with such a complex and unique issue:

- laying the groundwork for acquiring original collections, in particular thanks to the recovery of evidence from closed court cases and a drive for victim donations, organized in collaboration with the *École du Louvre* and the *Institut national de patrimoine* (French national institute of cultural heritage – INP), a higher education institution for curators;
- defining an educational strategy in cooperation with the school system: students, teachers, *rectorats*, and the ministry of national education;
- establishing a visitor policy and a digital strategy;
- creating partnerships with cultural organizations: *Institut national de l'audiovisuel* (the official archives of public channels in France – INA), *Réunion des musées nationaux-Grand Palais* (RMN-GP), *Opérateur du patrimoine et des projets immobiliers de la Culture* (French heritage facilities project operator under the Ministry of Culture– OPPIC), etc.;
- eventual application to acquire the title of *Musée de France*, once the major parameters of the initiative come together, if all the conditions have been met.

We would like to add that since the launch of the preliminary project, we have consulted and interviewed nearly two hundred figures from a wide spectrum of interests, including curators and museum heads in France and abroad, academics and researchers, civil servants, teachers, legal officials, police officers, artists, political leaders, and local officials.

The scientific and cultural program has been a collaborative effort by a small permanent team and volunteer members, with the active help of a public interest group and its constitutive bodies, created on February 1, 2021. The public interest group consists of a board of ten founding members, the scientific and cultural board, and an advisory committee. The advisory committee was created to facilitate collaboration with victims and victims' associations, which have been kept abreast of the project since its inception and included in its development.



I.

Background

The MMT reflects two tendencies: the growing stakes of memory within modern culture and the emergence of memorial policies on the one hand, and the development of museums of history and society or memorial museums on the other. These two concomitant and correlating phenomena emerged around the globe in the last thirty years of the twentieth century.

A. Remembrance and Policies of Memory

The modern relationship with the past has shifted since the 1970s, in response to amnesia about the Holocaust (particularly in the West), as part of a revision of history to consider so-called subaltern peoples, and in line with a reevaluation of colonialism and its long-term effects (notably in Africa and Latin America). Forgetting is no longer seen as an inevitable outcome to crises and conflicts. History's usual impunity for state crimes and their justifications has been rejected. And the importance of historical accountability has been recognized. These questions, which have not been without controversy, have led to greater consideration for history's victims and to appeals for symbolic, legal, and material reparations, sometimes long after the events.

That is the context in which politics of memory gained prominence, even if official representations of the past and the will to preserve traces of history are as old as states and statehood. Yet the term *politics of memory* is recent. It appeared just as memory became a new moral question, in reflections on how wars, genocide, and all forms of violence should be remembered. Violence is now understood in terms of trauma—another term that has recently come into popular currency.

In today's language, memory is no longer simply considered to be a mental, cultural, or social reality experienced at an individual or collective level.

It has become a value, a marker of democracy, and a new human right. That shift has nevertheless elicited strong resistance: authoritarian regimes and *non-liberal* democracies are the first to fight against a free exercise of memory and history. From this perspective, politics of memory act as a response to the new demands posed by a *duty to remember* and to expectations of recognition and reparation. They rarely result from the spontaneous will of public authorities, but thanks to activist movements and victims' associations.

France not only reflects this tendency; it can be said to have initiated it. France's history is marked with events that have left deep open wounds: the carnage of the Great War, the divisions of the Occupation, and the end of the colonial empire, to cite just a handful of recent events. The French people were among the first to mobilize in the name of memory, and France was one of the first countries to implement memorial policies. To cite just one indicator, there are currently fifteen national days commemorating historic events and phenomena (not counting France's national day or other special days like Labor Day and Women's Day), including January 27th for the Shoah and genocides, March 19th for the victims of the Algerian War, May 8th for the 1945 victory,

May 10th for slavery and its abolition, and November 11th for the victory of 1918 and the memory of all those who gave their lives for France. On the whole, fourteen of these national holidays commemorate the memory of wartime or political violence. And eleven were created since 1993, often after intense public debate, including for the most recent addition, the National Day for Victims of Terrorism, established by decree on November 7, 2019.

B. Museum of History, Museum of Society, Museum and Memorial

Today, museums of history and of society, along with museum and memorial complexes, are part of the global cultural landscape. Although the terms may be recent, the realities they reflect are diverse and age-old. It is not possible—nor even perhaps desirable—to define their exact parameters. But what they have in common is their differentiation from art museums. Indeed, their priorities are reversed: they focus on a theme which their collections then illustrate. This was a point of considerable reflection and deliberation during the preliminary project.

The museum of history dates back more than two centuries, even if the term has only become widespread in recent decades. It can be defined broadly:

History collections do not properly exist in themselves; they are multifaceted and multidimensional and cannot be reduced to any one form of art or technique but instead cover them all. Nor do they belong to any one academic discipline since they borrow from them all. Fundamentally, what counts in a museum of history is the theme it seeks to raise and the intentions behind the project. The collections are then used to illustrate and can be culled from all manner of sources. The initial choice of the subject, which both stakes out an ideological position and embodies a symbolic power grab, takes precedence over aims of heritage and artistic preservation.²

This strategy of using collections to illustrate a point has elicited reservations about the very nature of a museum of history. The project designers have taken stock of these considerations, even if these days the idea is generally taken at face value when talking about regions, famous personalities, singular events, and multidisciplinary issues, as in the case of our subject—terrorism. Above all, it is worth keeping in mind that a museum of history can be a conceptual space and a site for curating collections. The two activities are not mutually exclusive.

In France, the first museum of history appeared under the Revolution, with the creation of the *Musée des monuments français* (1791-1795). The thinking at the time was to avoid a complete amputation of the past, even if society sought to wipe the slate clean. This type of museum experienced a first wave of development throughout the nineteenth century, with, for instance, the *Musée de l'histoire de France* in Versailles (1837), the *Musée des souverains du Louvre* (1852), and even the *Musée Carnavalet* on the history of Paris (1880). The same period also saw the creation of the first ethnographic museums, whose ambition was to establish institutions that would preserve and study human activity in all its forms, such as the *Musée d'ethnographie du Trocadéro* (1880), which would later give way to the *Musée de l'homme* (1937) and the *Musée des arts et traditions populaires* (1968).

The twentieth century marked a major turning point, particularly with the Second World War, the Shoah, and wars of decolonization. The destruction, extreme violence, and tens of millions of military and civilian deaths called for the preservation and maintenance of a new type of site, different from traditional battle fields: concentration and extermination camps (Buchenwald, Auschwitz), martyr cities and towns (Nanjing, Oradour, Hiroshima), and execution sites (Mont-Valérien). Very often, these

2. Marie-Hélène Joly, "Les Musées d'histoire," Marie-Hélène Joly and Thomas Compère-Morel, *Des musées d'histoire pour l'avenir* (Paris, France: Agnes Viénot Editions, 1998), p. 58-59.



By the same author, see the first museum of history guide published in 1996 by the International Association of Museums of History, established in 1991: Marie-Hélène Joly and Laurent Gervereau, *Musées et collections d'histoire en France : guide* (Paris, France: International Association of Museums of History, 1996).



sites began as memorials before becoming museums, mainly created to honor heroes and victims.

The late twentieth century and early twenty-first century have ushered in another era, with the development of museums of societies and civilizations.³

These institutions, whose main focus is not art, have shuffled through an array of ill-fitting monikers to settle on this designation. [...] These museums of society cover very different realities. However, they all deal with theme-based issues rather than monographic ones, and rely on everyday objects rather than works of art. Once focused on the past or the *other* (foreign civilizations or colonies), these cultural institutions are increasingly interested in our societies and in modern phenomena.⁴

At the same time, the general public has shown a greater appetite for history in all its forms and mediations. This has been particularly salient in France. In the wake of the upheavals of 1968, young generations formed new questions about the present and the past. They raised doubts about official interpretations, exposed real and supposed post-war silences, and voiced a strong need for a more critical approach to history.

Starting in the 1980s, the abovementioned politics of memory led to the construction or renovation of new sites of memory and history, with a growing share of researchers and academics (historians, sociologists, anthropologists) participating in their conception and even leadership.

It is worth citing here the network of French museums on the Resistance and deportation, with more than seventy institutions across the French territory. The network, which was conceived in 1965, was initially shouldered by associations committed to sharing their lived experiences. Most of these institutions have been redesigned over the past thirty years to reflect a more modern museography: *Centre d'histoire de la Résistance et de la Déportation* in Lyon (1967, renovated in 1992), the *Musée de la Résistance et de la Déportation* in Besançon (1971), the *Musée de la Résistance nationale* in Champigny (1985, renovated in 2015), and the *Musée de la Libération de Paris–Musée du général Leclerc–Musée Jean Moulin* (1994, renovated in 2019).

The concept of a *museum and memorial* emerged in this context, although it is difficult to give a precise date when the term, a loan from the United States, first appeared. The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) in Washington, D.C., was conceived in 1979-1980 and inaugurated in 1993. It is a memorial and history museum, with an educational mission. The same idea was applied to the National September 11 Memorial and Museum, with the memorial opening in 2011 and the museum in 2014.

The concept of *memorial museums* is still rare in France. Mentions of the term appear in some institutional names, as in the *Musée-mémorial des enfants du Vél d'Hiv* in Orléans (2011), but no *Musée de France* museum bears the name. Generally speaking, *memorial* is the term most frequently used here, although it is applied to diverse situations. It can designate a memorial in the traditional sense of the word—a monument celebrating a historical event, usually an armed battle, as in the case of the *Mémorial de la France combattante* on Mont-Valérien, a typical Gaullist monument (1960). This memorial was augmented several years ago with a modernized museum experience that includes the *Clairière des fusillés* [clearing of the executed], where a thousand Resistance fighters (often foreigners, Jews, and/or communists) were executed. It can designate a museum that does not have a clear memorial dimension, as in the case of the *Mémorial de Caen* (1988), which is a large history museum on the Second World War and the world of that era, built near the landing beaches. It can refer to renovated sites, like the *Mémorial de la Shoah* in Paris, located in the *Centre de documentation juive contemporaine* (secretly created in 1943) and at the site of the *Mémorial du Martyr juif inconnu* (inaugurated in 1956).

3. See the conference founder: Éliane Barroso and Emilia Vaillant (eds.), *Musées et sociétés. Actes du colloque de Mulhouse Ungersheim, juin 1991. Répertoire analytique des musées, bilans et projets, 1980-1993*, Paris, Direction des musées de France, Ministère de la Culture et Ministère de l'Éducation nationale, 1993.

4. Jean François Chougnat, president of the Museum of the Civilizations of European and the Mediterranean (Mucem) <https://www.mucem.org/questions-answers/quest-ce-quun-musee-de-societe>

It is also the case for recent museum-scale sites of memory built in highly symbolic spaces: *The Maison d'Izieu*, a memorial to exterminated Jewish Children (1994), the *Mémorial de l'internement et de la déportation Camp de Royallieu* in Compiègne (2008), the *Site-Mémorial du Camp des Milles* (2012), the *Mémorial du Camp de Rivesaltes* (2015), the *Mémorial Acte – Centre caribéen d'expressions et de mémoire de la traite et de l'esclavage* in Pointe-à-Pitre (2015), and the *Mémorial de Verdun*, inaugurated in 1967, and recently augmented with a new interpretative center (2016).

It is also important to mention other designations: the *Centre de la Mémoire d'Oradour*, built on the outskirts of a village destroyed in the war and untouched since June 1944 (1999). And there are the museums and interpretive centers that have opted for the designation historical: the *Historial de la Vendée* (2006) and the *Historial Jeanne d'Arc* in Rouen (2015). Through their designation, they have followed the lead of the *Historial de Péronne* (1992), a pioneer in the genre, whose intention is to emphasize the history of the Great War over and above its memory.

Overall, if we limit ourselves to the *Musées de France* (for which we have reliable statistics), there are approximately 600 history museums or institutions with collections that are either partially or totally devoted to history, archeology, or pre-history, and nearly 360 museums of society in the broad sense of the term.⁵ The MMT is therefore the first *museum and memorial* in France with a national and international scope that has been designed as such from its outset and that strives to be a place of commemoration and a museum of history and society dealing with a past and present subject.

C. Terrorism Museums and Memorials in the World

Terrorism has been massively deployed over the past fifty years, so it is not surprising that it has prompted the construction of many museums and memorials, even if that trend is rather recent—since the year 2000. Indeed, modern societies have been slow to grasp the full measure of this phenomenon. In its March 2020 report, the preliminary project provided many examples of these memorials, which exist in nearly all countries and take a variety of forms—from simple plaques to true monuments to the dead. Most of these edifices identify the victims and offer a space for reflection on site or near the scenes of the attacks. This practice has become more automatic in France since 2015. However, very few of these memorials are museums or interpretive centers. We located half a dozen, which project members visited in 2019-2020. Nearly all of these institutions have since entered into partnerships with the MMT, as leadership members have joined the advisory committee:

- the Oklahoma City National Memorial and Museum, the first of its kind, opened in February 2001 after the right-wing extremist attack of April 19, 1995, resulting in 168 dead and nearly 850 wounded;
- the Museo per la memoria di Ustica, near Bologna, which commemorates an unsolved attack on a flight between Bologna and Palermo on June 27, 1980, resulting in 81 dead, opened in 2007;
- the National September 11 Memorial and Museum, in New York, on the Islamist attacks of 1993 (6 dead) and 2011 (2,977 dead), or 2,983 names inscribed on the memorial, which opened in 2011, followed by the museum in 2014;
- the 9/11 Tribute Museum, in New York, designed by victims' associations in 2006;

5. Marie-Christine Labourdette, *Les musées de France*, 2nd edition (Paris, PUF, 2021).



Museums that have been granted this designation by the French Ministry of Culture represent approximately 30% of French museums, according to Olivier Barrot, *Guide Dexia des musées en France* (Paris: Le Cherche-Midi, 2008).

- [the 22 July Centre in Oslo](#), as well as the different memorials erected on Utoya in 2015, is a tribute to the victims of the right-wing extremist attack of July 22, 2011, resulting in 77 dead and 172 wounded;
- [the Centro Memorial de las Víctimas del Terrorismo](#), in Vitoria-Gasteiz, dedicated to all the victims of terrorism in Spain or affecting the Spanish people, or more than 850 dead and nearly 5,000 wounded, inaugurated in 2021. A second center of remembrance is planned to open in Madrid in the coming years.

Most of these sites commemorate a single attack, a single series of attacks, or attacks within a national context. That is a key difference with the MMT, which seeks to cover the history of terrorism in all its forms, over a long term and at a national, European, and global scale.

D. Remembering Terrorism in France

The first appeals for recognition and the first memorial initiatives date back to the 1980s, when France was already suffering from the effects of international terrorism. Initiatives were embedded in policies to care for and assist victims generally. This history will be covered in the permanent exhibition.

Public interest for victims, particularly in terms of compensation and psychological care, emerged in the early 1980s, thanks to major figures like Robert Badinter, then Minister of Justice (*Garde des Sceaux*), and the first victims' associations. A report edited by Professor Milliez was published in 1982: *Rapport de la commission d'études et de propositions dans le domaine de l'aide aux victimes*. This was one of the first of its kind. The years 1985 and 1986 marked a turning point. On December 7, 1985, the Lebanese Hezbollah, under Iranian control, committed the first in a long series of attacks on French soil. The violence would continue until September 1986. In January 1986, Françoise Rudetzki, a victim of an unclaimed terrorist attack in a Paris restaurant (Le Grand Véfour) on December 23, 1983, created the association SOS Attentats. The first law to address terrorism and attacks on national safety was enacted on September 9, 1986. This law entered the term *terrorism* into French law and, under the impetus of SOS Attentats, created a guarantee fund for the victims of terrorism, which would later become the *Fonds de garantie des victimes du terrorisme et d'autres infractions* (FGTI). As of 1986, French compensation policies have led the FGTI to compensate nearly 10,000 people affected by terrorism. The law of January 23, 1990, caps off this legal framework, equating victims of terrorism with civilian victims of war and granting children of French victims or direct victims under the age of 21 with the status of wards of the state. Created in 1917, this status has been applied to 1.3 million children. They include 911 children for acts of terrorism occurring since 1986. Of those children, 651 have been since 2014.

The 1990s saw the emergence of increased interest in remembrance, with the creation of a day to commemorate victims of terrorism in 1998: September 19th. This commemoration day was introduced by SOS Attentats to remember the 170 victims (including 54 French nationals) of the UTA Flight 772 from Brazzaville to Paris, which was destroyed by a bomb attributed to the Libyan secret service on September 19, 1989. On December 3, 1998, under the impetus of Françoise Rudetzki, a statue and fountain sculpted by Nicolas Alquin was installed in the *Jardin de l'Intendant* in the Invalides: *Parole portée à la mémoire des victimes du terrorisme* [voice for the memory of victims of terrorism]. In subsequent years, and until 2019, this site commemorated September 19th, under the auspices of associations of victims of terrorism, notably the *Association française des victimes du terrorisme* (AfVT), founded in 2009 by Guillaume Denoix de Saint-Marc, the son of one of the UTA flight passengers, and the *Fédération nationale des victimes d'attentats et d'accidents collectifs* (FENVAC).

Following the Islamist attacks of 2012 in Toulouse and Montauban, the attacks of January and November 2015 in Paris, and the attack of July 2016 in Nice, memorial ceremonies became more numerous, with a proliferation of dates and places. Given the situation, public authorities began to envision an official national memorial mission.

E. From the Memorial Committee to the Preliminary Project Team

This task was entrusted to the magistrate Élisabeth Pelsez, then *Déléguée interministérielle à l'aide aux victimes* (DIAV) and today managing director of the preliminary project. Created in August 2017 within the Ministry of Justice, the DIAV implemented initiatives under the *secrétariat d'État chargé du droit des victimes* (Nicole Guedj from March 2004 to May 2005), and subsequently under the *secrétariat d'État chargé de l'aide aux victimes* (Juliette Méadel, from February 2016 to May 2017). On November 6, 2017, Élisabeth Pelsez submitted a brief to the *garde des Sceaux* [minister of justice], Nicole Belloubet, in which she suggested the French state coordinate and unify different private initiatives, by means of a memorial committee made up of experts and figures from different fields. The committee was established on February 12, 2018, and its report was submitted on September 7, 2018. The report outlined suggestions that were then implemented over the following two years:⁶

- September 19, 2018, the French president announced his intention to create a “museum and memorial of terrorism” during the ceremony for victims’ associations;⁷
- February 2019: the creation of the *Centre national de ressources et de résilience* (CN2R), co-piloted by the *Centre hospitalier de Lille* and the *Assistance publique-hôpitaux de Paris*;
- the decree of March 6, 2019, expanded eligibility requirements for the National Medal of Recognition for Victims of Terrorism (created by decree on July 12, 2016) to include victims of attacks dating back to January 1, 1974 (as opposed to January 1, 2006). It therefore acknowledges all victims since the attack on September 15, 1974, at the Publicis drugstore in Saint-Germain in Paris, the first attack on civilians in France since the Algerian War;
- the decree of November 7, 2019, established a national day for victims of terrorism on March 11th, the same date as the European Remembrance Day for Victims of Terrorism, in memory of the Islamist attacks in Madrid on March 11, 2004—the deadliest attacks in Europe since September 11, 2001. This official date replaced the commemoration of September 19th, and it supplemented commemorations for specific attacks. It would be observed for the first time on March 11, 2020.

The MMT is not an isolated initiative. Since its inception it has belonged to a broader national mission of remembrance, in response to appeals from many victims’ associations for visibility and recognition. It is also worth adding that the project was conceived at the same time as research on the history of terrorism, memorialization, and trauma experienced incredible growth, particularly since 2015.

In February 2019, Prime Minister Édouard Philippe appointed Henry Rousso, the research director of the CNRS and a specialist on issues of memory, to oversee the preliminary project. The mission of the future museum and memorial is threefold: “a place of remembrance and reflection, a museum of history that looks toward the future, and a space for research, communication, and education for adults and

6.

Terrorisme, faire face. Enjeux historiques et mémoriaux, Ministère de la Justice, 2018



www.justice.gouv.fr/delegation-interministerielle-daide-aux-victimes-12894/remise-du-rapport-du-comite-memorial-a-la-garde-des-sceaux-31762.html

7.

<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>

children.”⁸ The committee behind this first preliminary project included most of the members from the previous Memorial Committee as well as new figures from the fields of research, museum design, and modern art. In March 2020, the committee submitted its report, in which it laid out the general concept: a memorial that would be national in scope and a museum of society and present-day history that could go beyond the theme of terrorism and address the questions of victims and societal responses in France and internationally.

On March 11, 2020, the first French National Day for Victims of Terrorism, French president Emmanuel Macron announced his intention to pursue the project on the basis of the preliminary report. On June 15, 2020, after the first pandemic lockdown in France, President Macron addressed a new engagement letter to Henry Rousso, in which he entrusts the historian with finding a location for the future museum and memorial and drafting a first scientific and cultural program, for March 2022.



Drawing by Jochen Gerner, published in 1 hebdo No. 380, January 19, 2022, on the November 13th trial, conception and documentation by Patrice Trapier⁹

8.

Engagement letter from the prime minister on February 4, 2019, "The Memorial Museum of Societies Facing Terrorism: Report to the Prime Minister", Ministry of Justice, March 2020, pg. 7. [letter not translated]



<http://www.justice.gouv.fr/le-garde-des-sceaux-10016/archives-2020-nicole-belloubet-12990/le-musee-memorial-des-societes-face-au-terrorisme-33258.html>

9.

June 1986: Creation of the National Institute for Assistance to Victims, an umbrella organization for 60 associations.

September 1986: Creation of the guarantee fund for victims of terrorism, conceived by Françoise Rudetzki of SOS Attentats.

1990: Status of civilian victims; orphans become wards of the state.

1995: Creation of medical and psychological units after the RER commuter train station attack at Saint-Michel.

2000: The law of June 15th establishes that victims must be informed of current criminal procedures.

2003: Libya agrees to pay out one million dollars for each victim of the DC10 UTA attack.

2004: After the attack in Madrid, the deadliest in Europe (191 dead) ... Europe creates a European Day for Victims of Terrorism on March 11th.

2011: The 9/11 memorial pays tribute to the 2,693 victims of the World Trade Center attacks of 2001 and 1993.

January 10th and 11th, 2015: More than 4 million French people take to the streets after the Charlie Hebdo massacre.

2019: Creation of the Centre national de ressources et de résilience (CN2R).

2027: A memorial will be inaugurated on Mont-Valérien in Suresnes, near the memorial for French veterans of the Second World War.



II.

Public Interest Group (GIP)

After much deliberation, it was decided that a *groupement d'intérêt public* or public interest group would be the most suitable model for the museum and memorial. Indeed, in French law, this is a relatively flexible status that can accommodate public-private partnerships in the pursuit of goals that benefit the public. This decision does not, however, prevent the MMT from becoming a public institution in the future.

The public interest group, *Preliminary Project Team for the Museum and Memorial of Terrorism*, was created on February 1, 2021. It is made up of ten founding members, including seven French ministries: Justice; Culture; Interior; Europe and Foreign Affairs; National Education, Youth, and Sport; Higher Education, Research, and Innovation; Remembrance and Veterans, attached to the Ministry for the Armed Forces; as well as the *Institut national de l'audiovisuel* (INA), the *Centre national de la recherche scientifique* (CNRS), and the *Fondation d'aide aux victimes du terrorisme* (FAVT).¹⁰

The composition of the public interest group reflects the project's commitments. The crucial role played by the Ministry of Justice can be seen in the MMT's collection of closed court records and in the importance of trials on acts of terrorism, which are critical milestones in the historical narrative. Culture is directly involved since the mission is to create a museum of history and society. National Education is just as important since the MMT is devoted to education. Likewise, for Higher Education, and the MMT's focus on research. The presence of the Interior is almost self-explanatory if we consider the importance of police work in this field. Europe and Foreign Affairs is also vital, due both to the geopolitical dimension of terrorism and the fact that the MMT covers French victims abroad. Finally, the Armed Forces, and the office for Remembrance and Veterans, play a special role due to the organic similarities between war and terrorism. Indeed, France recognizes victims of terrorism as civilian victims of war.

The three other founding members were invited to join the GIP for their expertise. The INA is today a premier center in France and Europe for image collection and research. The inclusion of the CNRS is a reflection of the central role of research within the MMT. Finally, the FAVT, the only private-sector member, is a financial contributor with a significant national and international network.

A. Operational Team

The GIP is piloted by a small permanent team made up of seven staff members, three of whom are part-time seconded employees. There are also three service providers. This team oversees the administrative and financial management of the GIP, exhibition development, collection acquisitions, visitor policy and the scope of the educational branch, and the communications strategy.

The GIP is also assisted by a small group of expert volunteers from different sectors (research, culture, education, architecture, art, health, and so forth). In particular, these volunteers have been divided into four working groups on the history of terrorism, the voice of victims, societal reactions, and remembrance of the attacks, so as to

10.

See the decision of February 1, 2021: <https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/jorf/id/JORFTEXT000043087653>

The GIP organizational chart can be found in Appendix 2.

establish the main lines of the permanent exhibition and reflect on multi-disciplinary, architectural, and artistic points. The team also includes interns from universities and the *École du Louvre*, for six-month periods (three interns in 2021).

B. Constitutive Bodies

The GIP is made up of three distinct bodies: a general assembly with the representative founding members, a scientific and cultural board (SCB), and an advisory committee.

The general assembly (GA) manages the business side of the group. In particular, it deliberates on the annual provisional agenda and its corresponding budget, hiring provisions, and renewing the convention. The general assembly has met on three occasions since the creation of the GIP.

The scientific and cultural board (SCB) is consulted on scientific and cultural objectives, the museum project, cultural programming, and preliminary actions, prior to submission to the general assembly. The SCB's opinions and recommendations are communicated by its chair to the chair of the general assembly, the director of the group, and the chair of the advisory committee. Two victims of terrorism sit on this board: Laura Dolci, a UN expert who has been personally impacted by terrorism, and Nicolas Hénin, a journalist and former hostage in Syria. Their experiences help ground the project in a lived reality. The SCB has met three times under the leadership of the sociologist Michel Wieviorka, elected by the SCB members.

The advisory committee (AC, *Observatoire d'orientation*) is unique to this GIP, in line with the specific nature of the mission. The AC is consulted on the development and main lines of the project, which are presented to the committee by the chair of the general assembly and the group director. If necessary, these presentations can be attended by any other member of the group's leadership team. AC opinions and recommendations are communicated by its chair to the chair of the general assembly, the group director, and the chair of the scientific and cultural board. Chaired by François Molins, public prosecutor at the French Court of Cassation, and former public prosecutor at the High Court of Paris during the 2015 attacks, this body invites all terrorist victims' associations, as well as any victims outside of these associations, to participate in this mission, in line with the practices of the memorial committee and the first preliminary project. Giving victims a voice in the conception of the MMT creates mutual trust through constant dialogue.

Religious representatives also sit on the committee, providing a spiritual dimension to the project and an expert perspective on religious issues, which have been central to the history of recent terrorism. The AC also includes heads of foreign museums and memorials that are similar in scope to the MMT and with whom relationships of trust have been created since the inception of this project. Their expertise is vital to the conception of this place of remembrance whose vocation is to be open to the world and international in scope. Finally, the *Association des maires de France* (AMF) provides representation for some four hundred French towns affected by terrorism over the past fifty years. That is the capacity in which the mayor of Trèbes, Éric Menassi (president of this association), has been able to take part in the work of this body.

The AC has met on three occasions since its inception. It has been apprised of the collection acquisitions process and of the possibility of victims contributing to the project through object donations. It has also been consulted on the place of victims within the future MMT (a point covered in the next chapter) and on this paper.

The GIP has created bridges between the SCB and the AC and provided other opportunities for more direct, spontaneous contact between their members. For instance: during visits to the site in Suresnes and informal meetings like the one organized at

the *Grande mosquée de Paris* by Chems-Eddine Hafiz (an AC member and mosque rector), which brought together members from the two bodies and some of the team.

Finally, several members of the SCB and the AC have cooperated on different MMT initiatives. People worth citing outside of the heads of partner institutions include: Laura Dolci, a member of the SCB, who gave her testimony during the launch of the educational exhibition initiative at the *École du Louvre* on September 29, 2021; Simon Fieschi, a member of the AC, who provided his testimony at different schools connected with the initiative; and Charlotte Piret, a journalist at *France Inter*, who agreed to have her reporting on the November 13th trial published on the MMT website.

C. Budget

To fulfill its missions, and by inter-ministerial decision, the GIP was granted a budget of €401,000 in 2021 and €428,363 in 2022, financed by all the members of the general assembly. In addition, some ministries (Justice, Interior, National Education, Higher Education, CNRS) have seconded four part-time employees, gratis, in particular for the functions of the director and the secretary general. The Ministry of Justice has also provided the GIP with offices (including related expenses), free of charge.

The GIP's initial 2021 and 2022 budgets were adopted by the general assembly on February 25, 2021 (2021 budget) and November 23, 2021 (2022 budget). More specifically, the initial 2022 budget provides for:

- employee costs (46.6% of the project's initial budget) for a total amount of €199,763 to cover the cost of one employee, stipends paid to the GIP chair and the accountant for services rendered, as well as the payment of fees;
- operational costs (53.4 % of the project's initial budget, excluding preliminary studies), totaling €228,600, broken down thus:
 - the first expenditures (65 % of operational costs) cover expenses related to the preliminary phase of the museum (museum expert services, collection acquisition services, cultural programming, studies, interns, etc.): €148,550;
 - costs for ongoing operations (travel and missions, software maintenance and hosting, supplies, equipment, documentation, etc.): €40,050;
 - communication and marketing expenses (content, website development and hosting, graphic charter, and copyright fees): €30,000;
 - IT expenses (IT licenses, email, domain name, subscriptions, maintenance and security): €10,000.

An additional allotment of €300,000, apportioned between two years, was granted by inter-ministerial decision in July 2021, to cover the costs of preliminary studies on the building and site in Suresnes. The GIP contracted the *Opérateur du patrimoine et des projets immobiliers de la Culture* (OPPIC) on December 17, 2021, to perform these studies.

Looking ahead to 2023 and the years leading up to the site's inauguration, we would like to emphasize the importance of maintaining this budget and the additional financial and human resources (not including the investment budget). The smooth

progress of this project relies on the resources afforded to the GIP (or whatever form it may take in the future) since the mission involves managing a museum and therefore: making acquisitions; hiring staff qualified in conservation, museography, public policy, law, and digital strategy; seeing to special considerations like security.

III.

Visitor Policy

The MMT seeks to challenge a deep-seated belief that museums are rarefied, esoteric, and even—for some—intimidating institutions. Victims are at the heart of the MMT's mission, but this is a space for all that reflects the charter of values advocated by a new generation of museums. The MMT is a shared space founded on hospitality and trust. It is an inclusive and collaborative cultural forum, and a community-oriented cultural service. Its hours of operation, fees, services, and programming can be adjusted to adapt to evolving demands.

A. A Space for Victims

Victims, grieving families, and loved ones are at the heart of the mission at the MMT. They are the impetus for this initiative, which has been conceived in large part as a space of recognition. This translates into the inclusion of a memorial (described in Chapter XI). It also takes shape in the permanent exhibition (Chapters V and VI), with the question of victims as one of the three central themes covered there. Above all, and in another vein, this means that victims play an active role in the conception and life of this space.

Since the inception of the GIP in February 2019, victims' associations and people directly impacted by terrorism have been informed of and included in the project.

Initially, this took the form of regular informational meetings and more informal get-togethers that helped build strong bonds, and even personal and friendly relations between victims and members of the team. Later, as we have seen, after the creation of the GIP in February 2021, associations and some figures became members of the advisory committee and have since participated in mission activities.

A climate of trust emerged that has allowed GIP members to consider victim expectations and explain the details of our project, the challenges we have encountered, and our hopes. We drew inspiration from the museum and memorial experience in New York—a pioneer in the field. The Norwegian experience in Oslo and Utøya was also invaluable: the *coalition of trust* built between memorial designers and the association of victims compelled us to create a similar spirit of cooperation, even if the French situation is different, since here there are a dozen victims' associations, and our project covers fifty years of history.

That was the spirit in which the MMT consulted members of the advisory committee, and in particular victims' associations, in May-June 2021. Some of the proposals are described below.¹¹

1. Welcome

Victims and their loved ones should feel at home at the MMT. The feeling of welcome can be generated in different ways. One idea would be for one part of the site, probably one of the pavilions, to be dedicated to different victims' associations so they could hold meetings and gatherings there. They could also enjoy site infrastructure (meeting rooms, amphitheater) for special events (conferences, lectures, etc.).

11.

Proposals are designated here in "quotes" and in italics.

“Visiting the museum should be a positive and enriching experience for victims, even if it is painful.” The team behind the MMT has given this point considerable thought. It will be possible to organize personal visits, outside of regular hours if necessary, with special guides for those expressing an interest. These visits will also be made available to foreign visitors. The impact of visitor experiences will be anticipated in advance, and a *care* component—in the broad sense of the term (as opposed to a medical one)—will be included to promote wellbeing. This will take the form of discussion groups or art therapy workshops, as an extension or outside of visits. Although recovery after a traumatic event is a personal journey, the MMT should offer a space where discussion and sharing of experiences is possible. This is a practice that has been successful at many museums and memorials for victims.

2. Testimony

“Testimony should be given an important space as a means of combatting forgetting and the dehumanization of victims by terrorists. Indeed, the goal of the museum should go beyond creating a historical narrative.” Testimony will appear in museum exhibitions and programming. It is an important means for victims to participate in the life of the museum, and it is a powerful tool for drawing attention to unique personal experiences. Testimony helps create empathy and brings a human dimension to complex sociological and historical explanations. It anchors the anonymity of numbers in a lived reality.

Victims have very different motivations behind their desire to provide testimony. That is something the MMT intends to take into account. It can invite victims to talk about their unique experiences, speak for the deceased, and fight conspiracy theories. Victims’ voices can help combat forgetting and prevent new terrorist events from superseding previous ones in the collective consciousness. This last point is particularly important to the memorialization of terrorism: *“victims don’t have the same point of view one, five, or twenty years after an attack. It is crucial to keep dialoguing and reaching out”*. As part of the research programs focused on this point (see Chapter VIII), the MMT intends to build a heritage archive of oral testimonies.

3. Participation

“The museum and memorial could give associations opportunities to meet and collaborate behind broad goals and carry out projects and initiatives internationally”. Most victims’ associations organize meetings on the legal, administrative, and psychological challenges facing their members. They give presentations in schools and prisons. They also organize cultural and artistic events. The MMT can assist with and encourage this type of initiative. It can also facilitate better cooperation between associations, in connection with the museum, helping them organize round tables, conferences, and meetings between witnesses and figures from the cultural and scientific world.

Victims can also play a special role in visitor experiences, through real-life testimonies. This is a common practice in museum and memorial complexes. Two examples include the Oklahoma City National Memorial and Museum and the Tribute Museum of New York. *“It could make the experience more interesting and allow victims to teach, build awareness, and participate in the collective memory”*. Similarly, their role with school-age children is a proven resource and will be central to this initiative, as discussed below.

4. Resilience and Recovery

Meetings with associations included debates on the idea of the MMT as a place of resilience and recovery. There were contrasting positions, with the term *resilience* eliciting reservations. Some rejected the term as an overused catchall. Others preferred the term *resistance*. Still others were okay with the word but only if meant in a shared sense, and not as a personal aptitude. This is a crucial point for victims, but not one which the MMT will arbitrate since only time will tell. Nevertheless, experiences with victims since the early stages of this project show without a doubt that active victim participation has had positive effects.

5. Special Considerations for Children and Adolescents

The MMT will continue the tradition of care and attention for children, which was the impetus behind the *École de Plein Air* in Suresnes, where it will be located.

It will therefore pay special consideration to children and adolescents who have been victims of terrorism in the broadest sense of the term. We have in mind here the targeted victims at the Jewish school Ozar Hatorah in Toulouse, young people on the island of Utøya in Norway, young victims with their families or friends, particularly in Nice, young French victims abroad, in Loyada (1976) and Cairo (2009), and the hostages taken by Chechen terrorists in a Beslan school, in North Ossetia, followed by an attack by the Russian police, which led to 338 dead, including 155 children (2004). In addition, terrorist attacks have turned many children into orphans, with some losing one parent or even two. Others have been affected by a parent being wounded. The impact of terrorism on young people is therefore massive.

The memories of these children and teens will of course be present in the memorial. They will also appear within the permanent exhibition, through the inclusion of testimonies. As an example, here we can cite the participation of Laura Dolci's son, Mattia-Selim, a member of the advisory committee, who was a baby when his father died in August 2003 during a terrorist attack in Bagdad, and who often shares his testimony together with his mother.¹²

These victims, who will be adults, will be invited to ceremonies at the MMT. For younger victims, we can also imagine the possibility of special experiences, in connection with the MMT's educational activities. This component reflects recommendations from the European Commission.¹³

Many studies have been conducted in recent years on the psychiatric and psychological care of child and teen victims. Research in this field has seen substantial growth over the past several years. Work by Professor Florence Askenazy at the *Université Côte d'Azur*, on victims of the Nice terrorist attack of July 14, 2016, is particularly well known since it has tracked the development of children and teens impacted by the attack from the moment it happened until the present day, including children who were in utero at the time of the attack.¹⁴ This study is part of the *Programme 13-Novembre*.

Research has also been expanded to cover the impact of attacks on children who are then obliged to return to school after an attack. A Norwegian longitudinal study has studied school operations and student health after a return to school. Findings from that study are particularly telling on the importance of ongoing support for youth impacted by terrorism from teachers and school health staff.¹⁵ Research, used as a tool for prevention that draws on past experiences, will be used in MMT programs with schools.

12.

See, for instance, his speech during World Humanitarian Day, at the UN, in Geneva, August 18, 2016: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MccZ5B0IZ8M>

13.

EU Center of Expertise for Victims of Terrorism, *EU Handbook on Victims of Terrorism*, European Commission, January 2021, see pg. 32 on children.

14.

Florence Askenazy, Morgane Gindt, Lucie Chauvelin, Michèle Battista, Fabian Guenolé and Susanne Thümmel, « Early Phase Psychiatric Response for Children and Adolescents After Mass Trauma: Lessons Learned From the Truck-Ramming Attack in Nice on July 14th, 2016 », *Frontiers in Psychiatry*, 2019, vol. 10, p. 65. www.frontiersin.org/articles/10.3389/fpsy.2019.00065/full

15.

Lise Eilin Stene, Jon-Håkon Schultz, Grete Dyb, « Returning to school after a terror attack: a longitudinal study of school functioning and health in terror-exposed youth », *European Child & Adolescent Psychiatry* (2019) 28: 319–328. <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC6407738/>
Lise Eilin Stene is a member of the MMT's scientific and cultural board.

B. Reaching Out to All

Visitor policy was a point of reflection during the preliminary project. Visitor policy refers to all efforts to get to know real or potential visitors, to build their awareness, and to guide and assist them. The visitor policy seeks to build the audience for the MMT over time and gain their loyalty. It also informs the design and production of user experiences. The visitor policy guides the project throughout its lifecycle, from the preliminary stages to after its inauguration.¹⁶

1. Understanding Visitors and Expectations

To estimate the level of public interest, the MMT has developed a research team, which has three main goals: estimating visitor traffic, understanding potential visitor types, and analyzing their expectations.

Initial Data in Numbers

According to the 2017 Eurobarometer on cultural heritage, 50% of Europeans visited a museum or exhibition at least once in the year (+13% vs. 2013).¹⁷ That number is not stable across countries: 27% in Portugal, 49% in France, and 80% in Sweden. The traffic is so high in some places that the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) has spoken of a risk of *overtourism*. In 2018, approximately sixty museums in the world admitted more than a million visitors.

For 2019, frequentation at museums, galleries, and exhibitions combined were estimated to exceed 75 million visits in France.¹⁸

In the four years prior to the pandemic, visits to the 1,200 institutions with the *Musées de France* designation steadily grew, from 60.2 million in 2016 to 67.5 million in 2019 (+12%). This in part reflected strong numbers in Paris (24.8 million to 28.7 million entries or +16%), which reached a peak in 2018 (29.4 million entries).

A third of visitors are foreign tourists, and 7.5% are students. Nearly nine in ten visits occur with another person, including a third with children. Three quarters of visitors use the internet for practical information, to download content, or to communicate over social media. More broadly speaking, shifts in user practices, visit contexts, and museum experiences show that a new relationship to museums has emerged. This is the felicitous outcome of free museum access for different age groups (visitors under 18 and between the ages of 18 and 25 represent 14 million entries), a trend toward family visits across all socioeconomic categories, and growth in mass tourism, particularly among the elderly.

However, the visitation curve for museums in the Hauts-de-Seine area, which is more directly relevant to the MMT, is an outlier: it saw a strong regression from 2016 to 2018 (from nearly 351,000 entries to approximately 310,000 entries, or a 12% decline); then it showed a spectacular comeback in 2019, when it recaptured its 2016 level with approximately 341,000 entries (+10% from 2018 to 2019).

16.

This part is inspired by: Jacqueline Eidelman (ed.), *Inventer des musées pour demain. Rapport de la Mission Musées du XXI^e siècle*, La Documentation française, 2017.

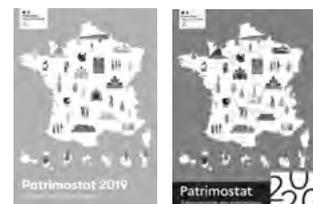


17.

"Special Eurobarometer 466, Report, Cultural Heritage", European Commission, 2017. https://institute.eib.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/Eurobarometer_en_final.pdf

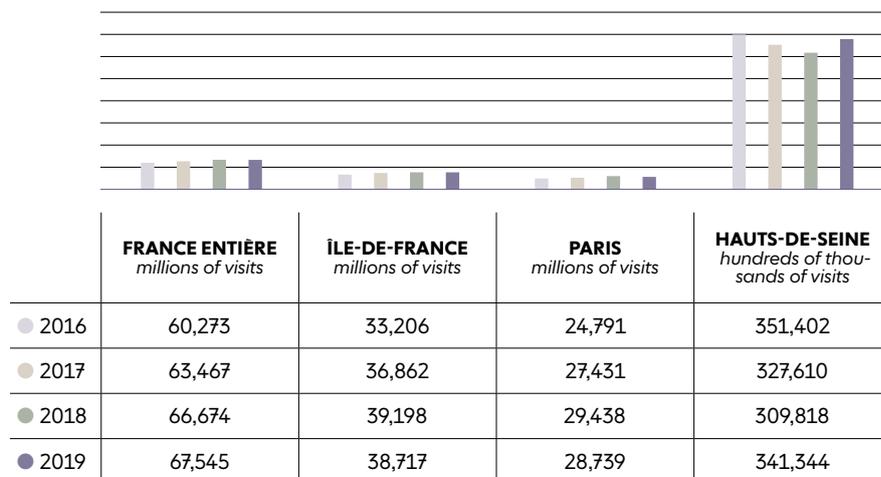
18.

This approximative figure covers the overall visitation of *Musées de France* institutions (including national museums), exhibitions at the Grand-Palais, foundations, cultural centers, scientific, technical, and industrial centers, and association and private museums). These statistics are from the 2019 and 2020 issues of *Patrimostat*, published by the Ministry of Culture..



Musées de France Attendance (2016-2019)

France, Île de France, Paris and Hauts-de-Seine

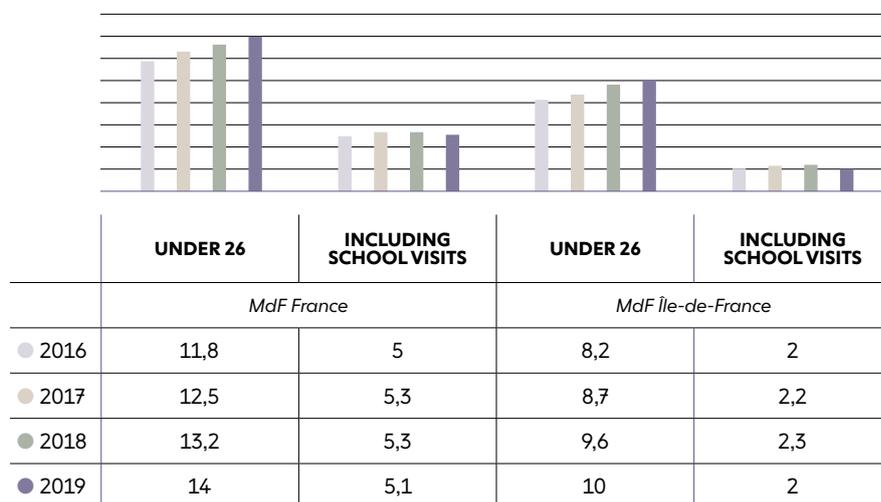


(Source: Patrimostat 2017, 2018, 2019, and 2020, consolidated data, French Ministry of Culture)

Over the same period, attendance by people under the age of 26 grew, thanks to a special fee schedule and programs for different stages of youth in the form of special visits and field-specific programming. Attendance by school-age youth was more stable and represented 5 million visits on average from students all over France and 2 million visits from students in Île-de-France, where the share of school visits represented between 20% and 25% of visits from people under the age of 26.

Musées de France attendance by people under age 26 (2016-2019)

France and Île de France (millions of visits)



(Source: Patrimostat 2017, 2018, 2019, and 2020, consolidated data, French Ministry of Culture)

Finally, again for 2019, attendance at museums and public collections on *history or society and civilizations* reached 18.5 million visits, or an increase compared to 2018 of 3% for *history* and 2% for *society and civilizations*. In Île-de-France, that number was 6.4 million visits (or +16.5%), which should be attributed to a grouped category, *history, society, and civilizations*. The MMT is part of this category of museums and makes projections for its visitor policy in light of this rather favorable situation.



Approaches to Studying Visitor Traffic, Expectations, and Needs

To evaluate potential visitor traffic to the site, an initial stage involves collecting information on public perception of the project, interest in the site, and projected attendance once the institution is open. A preliminary study has already been completed by CREDOC [research center for the study and monitoring of living standards], in June 2020. Data collected will help make projections on attendance for the opening year and beyond. Benchmarking studies will be held with other museums and memorials of terrorism in the world. After the site opens, two sources of additional data will be used: ticket sales and traffic to the website and social media.

Potential visitor profiles will be evaluated based on surveys: at the local level, with an opinion poll for a museum on terrorism; at the regional level, with the MMT embedded in the landscape of museums and heritage sites on offer in the greater Paris area; and nationally, particularly on the resonance of the project in towns affected by terrorism. These surveys will help imagine attendance scenarios and potential visitor profiles. They will be conducted online or in one-on-one meetings at preliminary events (traveling exhibitions and lectures/debates). Once the site is open, surveys will be taken often, in line with the *À l'écoute des visiteurs* program established by the *Direction générale des patrimoines et de l'architecture* (DGPA) in 2011. The MMT seeks to align itself with this national barometer.

Finally, for a qualitative evaluation, the MMT will reach out to the public to gain an understanding of expectations for content and experiences. This outreach will take place over the course of preliminary events as the museum programming takes shape. It will use traditional methods (comprehensive interviews, focus groups) and a *museum lab* (in line with the *Musée des Ducs de Lorraine*) to study and develop visitor experiences. Patterned after methods used at Universcience and the Mucem, this approach to public outreach will allow us to test the feasibility and relevance of a permanent visitor committee in the future.

2. Museum Experience Strategy

The MMT welcomes all visitors and makes accommodations for special needs. The museum team will develop personalized experiences and different tours for visiting and interpreting exhibitions. The key points of the experience strategy are: building a lasting relationship with visitors; universal accessibility; a *phygital* experience; and implementing ideals of an inclusive and collaborative museum.

A Lasting Relationship with Visitors

Modern museums face multiple challenges. They must defend the idea that a physical visit to a unique space is an irreducible experience, and at the same time they must give visitors opportunities for virtual experiences.

They must satisfy and build loyalty among traditional museumgoers and at the same time seek out and entice *non-traditional* users. They must consider young audiences, foreigners and locals, class visits, and atypical and vulnerable visitors.

The MMT is up to the challenge. It will adjust the hours of operation to align itself with seasonal flow, and it will organize personalized experiences and services, particularly through the use of multi-media tools and individualized experiences for victims.

Access to the park and the permanent exhibition will be free of charge. The fee schedule for the rest of the offering will cohere with admission fees at French national

museums, to include full price, reduced rate, and free tickets. Adjustments to entrance fees over time will be controlled. The MMT will also offer membership rates to attract locals. Accessibility tools (applications, audio-guides) will be made available free of charge or for a small fee. Fees for different guided experiences will be set in accordance with the *Réunion des musées nationaux Grand Palais* (RMN-GP) and the federations of expert guides. Programming for families and youth between the ages of 18 and 25 (special events and cultural evenings) will also be included. The aim is to keep costs accessible and visitor experiences satisfying. The MMT also seeks to be included on the list of Culture Pass activities.

Broadly speaking, the MMT will be embedded in the life of the city, particularly by sharing its spaces, acting as a platform for potential, and becoming a hybrid space with a fab lab and a living lab—two kinds of digital sharing spaces, the former for younger populations and the latter for students and researchers.

Mobility and Universal Accessibility

The MMT will work toward universal accessibility, using a sensitive and comprehensive approach to different visitor types so as to build an experience that can appeal to all, from inexperienced or reluctant museumgoers to the most demanding visitors. Inside and outside its walls, the MMT seeks to create the conditions for a positive first experience that will encourage visitors to come back.

The MMT's on-site experiences will be devised to attract visitors from all socioeconomic backgrounds. It therefore plans to build partnerships with the 9,000-odd works councils that have signed the *Culture & Monde du Travail* framework convention. In addition to outreach with victims and schools, the MMT is aimed at other special groups like the corrections sector and social workers. This also covers vulnerable populations or people with disabilities (mobility, hearing, visual, mental). The chosen site for the MMT is particularly well-suited to this objective since the architecture of the former *École de Plein Air* in Suresnes (today home to the *Institut national supérieur formation et recherche – handicap et enseignements adaptés* [INSHEA]) was out-fitted in part with this in mind. The MMT will also reflect the *Vivre ensemble* mission developed by the Ministry of Culture and will adhere to its charter.

Particular care will be given to the following: designing user-friendly signage, easy-to-read and translated text (leaflets, posted text), new equipment for guided visits, audio guides, applications available in several languages and geared toward adults and children.

If the MMT puts together a panel to assist with visitor experiences, now quite common practice, particular emphasis will be placed on several core points of the institution's mission: human participation through testimonies; written communications (leaflets, posted text, digital text) from multiple voices and for different readerships; sound experiences (sound bubbles, testimonies); interactive features (some touch screen); a mix of images.

Visitor comfort, both in terms of physical fatigue and emotional shock, will be a priority. Quiet spaces will be installed throughout the exhibition for adults to take a break and for children to express themselves.

Outside its walls, the MMT will work to bring its collections out of the museum, with traveling exhibitions, guided programming, and artistic and cultural experiences. This is part of its mission to build ties to the community through outreach into local structures and workplaces (townhalls, companies, etc.).

Phygital for a Sensitive Topic

The aim of digital experiences is to convince users to visit the museum (via the website and virtual visits), enhance on-site experiences (applications on tablets or smartphones, tactile interfaces), and continue the physical experience (podcasts and virtual events). Applications can provide both personalized experiences and a solution for shared visits. Tactile interfaces enhance content and keep written and on-site experiences fresh. Virtual events like MuseumWeek and collections of videos for YouTube energize the image of the institution and suggest unique visitor experiences. The MMT will use these kinds of digital experiences, which have become commonplace at many museums.¹⁹

Yet the human experience is still vital: visuals, guided visits, workshops, lectures, not to mention the victims wishing to contribute their *lived* experiences. We are sensitive to the fact that this institution deals with a living and painful memory, which requires special attention as to the tone and attitudes to take with our visitors. Managing emotions and reactions will require constant vigilance so we can anticipate and prevent uncomfortable situations, stress, and distress.²⁰ Moreover, these questions will be included in the MMT's ethics charter, the first pieces of which are presented in Chapter V.

With this in mind, the MMT is part of a trend among museums that appeared about fifteen years ago, favoring *phygital* experiences (a contraction of the words *physical* and *digital*), or the combination of human and digital experiences. This approach proved particularly relevant during the pandemic, when museums went through cyclical periods of shutting down and reopening, and so periods of physical absence or presence of visitors: "even in the early days of the lockdown, museums were quite creative in their efforts to maintain visibility on the web. [They did] everything to maintain contact with the public, which could no longer visit institutions, providing educational and humorous content, explanations of works, challenges, and quizzes".²¹ These new experiences were maintained, even after museums opened back up. The MMT is building similar experiences that can also be used as tools for on-site visits (see Chapter IX on the digital strategy).

An Inclusive and Cooperative Museum

The museum of the twenty-first century has become a space for sharing, conversation, and debate. A new paradigm has emerged out of this shift: the experience hub. The plurality of contributing voices and the inclusion of multiple perspectives have turned museums into collective databases. The MMT is part of this shift, which is crystallized in several recent projects, including the Mucem's exhibition *HIV/AIDS: The Epidemic Isn't Over!*, the collaboratively conceived audio guide at the Mac-Val, and the program for *Villeurbanne: The European Capital of Culture in 2022*.²² Rather than expecting the public to adjust to museum programming, the MMT will seek out public participation in developing experiences and content.

Before it opens, the MMT will consult with locals on different aspects of the project's architecture and museum programming, in a kind of *museum lab*. After the inauguration, MMT users will be invited to join the *visitors' club* (a concept borrowed from the *Musée des Beaux-Arts* in Rouen), where the MMT will organize different outreach events. A Society of Friends of the MMT will be established to help the MMT launch collection drives, as well as index and document items.

The exhibition by middle and high school students, *Facing Terrorism* (presented below), is a first illustration of this philosophy. The exhibition has been developed as a collaboration between students and teachers from eight Ile-de-France schools and will be available first as a digital download and then as a traveling exhibition. Collaborative exhibitions, museum labs, visitors' clubs, the Society of Friends, as well as participation in in Museomix events²³ will all be occasions to include public voices in this institutional setting.

19.

See the solutions developed by Ask Mona Studio, used by more than sixty-odd cultural sites. Or on podcasts, the Clic France file: <https://www.club-innovation-culture.fr/tour-de-france-podcasts-natifs-musees-lieux-de-sciences/> and in particular the podcast on the memorial for the abolition of slavery in Nantes: <https://memorial.nantes.fr/2021/10/12/podcast-les-memoires-vives/>

20.

See "Exposer les sujets sensibles", *Lettre de l'Ocim*, 183, May-June 2019, as well as the annotated bibliography: <https://ocim.fr/lettre/exposer-les-sujets-sensibles/>



The Office for Museum Cooperation and Information (OCIM) is a department at the University of Bourgogne.

21.

<https://blog.sebastienmagro.net/2020/05/22/le-confinement-a-mis-a-lhonneur-les-metiers-du-numerique-dans-les-musees/>

22.

Current information on this initiative can be viewed on the Clic France website: www.club-innovation-culture.fr/category/actu

23.

Museomix is an international three-day event in November modeled after a hackathon, in which participants come up with innovative experiences and uses of space in an existing museum. Past events have taken place at the Museum of Decorative Arts in Paris, France, the Museum of the City of Ancona, Italy, the Sanskriti Foundation in India, and the Palais de Rumine in Switzerland. For more information, see the Museomix website: www.museomix.org/en/.

C. Schools and the Educational Mission

Education is central to the mission at the MMT, as it is in all similar institutions. Generally speaking, school visits have increased dramatically over the past several years (with the exception of 2020 due to museum closures during the pandemic). This trend reflects closer ties between the worlds of culture and education. Educators look to museums as a means of supplementing their curricula, enhancing educational content with original and innovative experiences, and building lasting relationships. Cooperation between schools and museums helps open student minds and develop free and critical thinking.

1. Our Challenge

Understanding Terrorism, Its Causes and Effects

Educational programming, workshops, and activities at the MMT are focused on understanding terrorism and related issues.

The educational branch is a tool for understanding, education, and training. In its way, it works against intolerance, hate, and radicalization. As such, it is a pillar of the mission at the MMT.

Educators visiting the main exhibition with middle and high school students, particularly as part of history, civics, or ethics courses, will find scientific content to add depth to what they have covered in class. Complementary activities to work through complex ideas will also be available.

Educational programming will be designed to encourage students to reflect on and grasp relatively recent events, inviting them to take distance from immediate reactions (like ritual ceremonies paying tribute to victims). Educational experiences will use the MMT's scientific project to question society's reactions (from an initial shock to different behaviors to confront the event) and may include the experiences of middle and high school students when relevant. Educational visits and workshops will therefore help students unpack the effects of terror generated by attacks in order to defuse them and understand the sometimes-vehement debates around these events in democratic societies.

These activities reflect an interdisciplinary approach to school curricula: ethics and civics, history/geography, French literature, economics and social sciences, and specialized high school programs in which students study terrorist violence from the perspective of history/geography, geopolitics, and political science or the humanities, literature, and philosophy. The aim of these activities is to teach and foster a civic sense.

Building Awareness on Terrorist Attacks: Learning and Getting Involved

The role of the MMT is to encourage students to think critically about common sense notions, returning them to their polysemic dimension, starting with the idea of terrorism, or even terms as commonplace as history or memory.

The main exhibition, for instance, discusses the history of all forms of terrorism over several decades. It also covers shifting forms of memorialization. Educational materials will be designed to address these questions in a way that avoids the usual pitfalls, like focusing on the most recent periods, creating hierarchies between events, and unconsciously pitting events against each other in a memorial competition.

This memory is passed down by listening to witnesses: victims, mourning families, loved ones, first responders. Their voices are a first step in learning about terrorism.

It is also a way to capture the attention of school-age children and make them active participants at the MMT. As we know, testimony and intergenerational communication help convey the weight of an issue students need to understand—in this case, terrorist violence. They show the personal impact of these events on individuals and give students the opportunity to understand the relationship between the *I* of an individual experience and the *we* of a collective experience. As such, they help students grasp the mechanisms of individualization and socialization of memory, a question with broad relevance.

The MMT will give students the opportunity to attend different commemorations taking place on the site, particularly events on March 11th. Memorial trips and exchanges with classes in other places affected by terrorism in France and abroad are also possible. Inspired by the Shoah Memorial, the MMT may create an *ambassadors of memory* program for students to act as a bridge between the MMT and their schools.

2. Education at the MMT

Opportunities to Participate and Training for Educators

Many educators felt disoriented and disempowered after the attacks of January and November 2015, and particularly after the assassination of Samuel Paty in October 2020. And many still feel this way today. Yet several initiatives emerged rather quickly, like the creation of a *Samuel Paty* prize by the *Association des professeurs d'histoire et de géographie* (APHG). National training courses were developed, notably as part of the employee training initiative, on secularism and republican values, as recommended in the Obin report²⁴ submitted to the Minister of National Education on May 18, 2021.²⁵ The MMT sets out to be a place of reflection on these issues, and will use its collections and media to create pertinent learning modules and materials on questions that go beyond the subject of terrorism, like secularism and the place of religion in the modern world. It intends to participate in programs like the *Plan national de formation* (PNF) and the *Plan académique de formation* (PAF), organizing training days, seminars, and conferences with specialists on these issues.

The MMT will also craft educational programming for different age groups to equip educators with tools adapted to their classrooms. This will include content for younger groups, although we recognize that it is very difficult to address these questions with 10-year-old children. At that age, we can talk about terrorist events, but adjustments have to be made. It will also be geared toward older groups, covering different themes, to address school curricula and educators' programs with their students.

Because modern terrorism uses the media as a weapon, the MMT intends to support educators in the realm of media and digital technologies, in partnership with the *Centre de liaison de l'enseignement et des médias d'information* (CLEMI). In addition to the MMT's participation in educational programming, it will design and produce tools and content to fight the use and misuse of different information sources, building awareness on fake news, historical revisionism, and pseudo-science, all of

24.

After the assassination of Samuel Paty, Jean-Michel Blanquer, the minister of National Education, Youth, and Sports, commissioned Jean-Pierre Obin, the deputy inspector general, to draft a report on training for employees of the national education system on secularism and republican values. The aim of this report was to come up with proposals that would be very operational.
<https://www.education.gouv.fr/media/89897/download>

25.

To implement this training program, 1,000 educators from across all French *académies* and from all of France's departments have begun receiving additional intensive training, starting October 19, 2021, at the CNAM. This training will provide educators with a certificate by the CNAM, a partner in this initiative. This network of educators is made up of teachers, regional education centers, trainers, leadership staff, inspectors, administrative staff, social and health workers, and psychologists within the national education system. Subsequently, they will organize training sessions in middle and high schools for all employees, regardless of their status.



which students may be exposed to within family circles or on social media. Directly or indirectly, the MMT hopes to foster critical thinking and build awareness among today's youth about the modern world—its possibilities as well as its dangers.

Student Participation: Facing Terrorism Exhibition

A first innovative exhibition for school-age visitors was developed during the 2020/2021 school year. This exhibition, titled “Facing Terrorism: An Exhibition by Middle and High School Students”, was created as a collaboration with schools and the students at the *École du Louvre* in Paris. In the first year, it will be digital, and in subsequent years it will be a three-dimensional traveling exhibition.

Inspired by a program at the Mucem, the MMT's collaborative exhibition was conceived with educators from four secondary schools in the *Académie de Paris*. It was then expanded to include two schools from the *Académie de Versailles* when the site in Suresnes was chosen. Two schools from the *Académie de Créteil* were later included. For this first experiment, the three Ile-de-France academies are represented by eight schools (six high schools and two middle schools) and fourteen classes (students ages 13 through 18, general and technical tracks). By name, the middle schools involved are: Flaubert (Paris, 13th arrondissement) and Olympe de Gouges (Noisy-le- Sec). And the high schools: Jules-Ferry (Paris, 9th arrondissement), Sainte-Élisabeth (Paris, 15th arrondissement), La Fontaine (Paris, 16th arrondissement), Lucie-Aubrac (Courbevoie), Louis de Broglie (Marly-le-Roi), and Flora Tristan (Montereau). The students have been the main designers of this exhibition, and they have been guided by teachers from different disciplines (literature, philosophy, cinema, arts, history, humanities, history/geography, geopolitics and political science, fashion, and digital technology). Their work reflects the new programs set out by the national education system and the four educational tracks (Future, Health, Civics, and Arts and Culture).

This evolving exhibition on terrorism and how we face it, broadly speaking, has been innovative in its involvement of different figures within secondary education (inspectors, educators, and students). Its content has been designed thanks to student questions and it will be implemented in collaboration with the teams at the MMT. Students will visit cultural institutions and participate in research and creative workshops under the guidance of educators and in line with school curricula.

The different projects developed within the eight middle and high schools will then come together under a common theme decided by the group, to become a collaboratively designed exhibition. This project acts as a first bridge between the design phase of the MMT and its inauguration in 2027. As such, it is a preliminary embodiment of the MMT's intended future functioning.

Coordination for this initiative has been provided by the educational branch of the MMT, which has responded to class requests and helped develop different media. A partnership signed with the *École du Louvre*, as part of a *work/study* program for second-year master's students in Museum Studies, has helped produce the digital modules for the exhibition's first year (2022) and the more traditional traveling exhibition for the second year (2023). The initiative has received assistance from museologists, half a class of second-year master's students (until January 2022), and three interns as of February 2022. Finally, the project will be tracked and evaluated (observations, interviews, questionnaires) by a team from the *Centre de recherche sur les liens sociaux (Université de Paris/CNRS)*. The official launch of this initiative was on Wednesday, September 29, 2021, at the *École du Louvre* in Paris. The event convened official representatives from the Ministry of Justice (cabinet of the *Garde des Sceaux*), National Education (*Direction générale de l'enseignement scolaire*), the Ministry of Culture (*Délégation générale à la transmission, aux territoires et à la démocratie culturelle*) as well as the *rectorats* of Paris and Versailles, and students and teachers from the eight schools in question.

After remarks from officials and a presentation of the MMT, students and teachers were able to present their projects.



Launch of the first educational exhibition at the *École du Louvre* on September 29, 2021. (© MMT)

After the launch, each class was given the green light to start producing content on their own until February 2022. From November 2021 until June 2022, students from the *École du Louvre* will lend their assistance to design exhibition modules, draft synopses, and delivery a first digital version.

The school projects can be grouped into three broad themes:

- designing a unique museum of history, which invites students to reflect on what such a project implies from the perspective of a museum's social function, its relationship to current events, and issues that are proper to museums, like collections, museography, and interfacing with the public;
- memory and cultural and literary creation, which invites students to write, compose, sing, dance, film, draw, sew, etc., to express emotions and reflect on terrorism. This allows them to think about how art can be a tool of resilience and memory;
- justice and the trial for the attacks of November 13th, a theme that allows students to work directly with current events since this historic trial will unfold over the entire school year. Students will therefore work to understand the stakes and aims of a trial on terrorism, and to question the reasoning behind its filming.

Throughout the year, the initiative will make resources available (lectures, films, books), invite students on visits (museums and institutions), and set up meetings (witnesses, victims, experts). For instance, several classes have been able to meet Simon Fieschi, the webmaster at *Charlie Hebdo*, who was seriously injured on January 7, 2015, and the magistrate Rémi Crosson du Cormier, who gave a presentation on legal procedure and the specificities of a historic trial on terrorism, like the one for November 13, 2015:



Simon Fieschi at Lycée Louis de Broglie in Marly-le-Roi (© MMT)



Simon Fieschi at Lycée La Fontaine in Paris (© MMT)

Students will also work with the twenty-odd second-year master's students in Museum Studies at the *École du Louvre*. On November 10 and 16, 2021, these graduate students organized workshops for classes on the exhibitions *Si Leuwen: The Parade* at the *Musée d'art et d'histoire du judaïsme* (MAHJ) and *Lumières du Liban* at the *Institut du monde arabe* (IMA). Students were encouraged to reflect on the functions and purposes of a museum through a variety of works, including a painting by Otto Dix, a frame from *Maus* by Art Spiegelman, and works by young Lebanese artists.



Students from *Lycée La Fontaine* at the MAHJ and from *Collège Olympe de Gouges* at the IMA
 (© MMT)
 November 10 and 16, 2021 (© MMT)

Exhibitions with Other Schools and New Creations

Over time, the intention is for this exhibition initiative to expand to other *académies* in France, first in places affected by terrorist attacks and later everywhere in France. Some possibilities for the 2022/2023 school year are Toulouse, Nice, Strasbourg, or Rouen. The experiment in Ile-de-France schools over the course of the 2021/2022 school year will provide insight into improvements and changes that can be brought to this unique initiative. Student feedback will be vital to this process. The depth of their reflections, their involvement in the different workshops, and their participation in meetings show the extent to which this type of educational initiative is a source of motivation for middle and high school students, and their teachers.



Beyond this first largescale educational initiative, other preliminary activities can take shape in the 2022/2023 school year:

- design and production of a digital educational kit for fall 2023;
- offshoots of this preliminary collaborative exhibition, which should serve as a model for other collaborative initiatives;
- exhibition designers in classes as part of special workshops;
- meetings with witnesses, a practice which is quite common and which students really appreciate.

3. Educational Programming After Inauguration

As is the case at many other French museums, school classes will be hosted in dedicated educational spaces equipped with audiovisual and digital resources, and they will be included in special missions like the one described above. Workshops and visits will be focused on discovering the site, a relevant theme, educational activities, and time for debates and discussions. The museum's educational programming will be adjusted for all age groups and will be designed to appeal to different disciplines, from building general awareness to homing in on more specialized study:

- history or sociology workshops dealing with the MMT's main themes;
- literary workshops on books and authors (*Disturbance: Surviving Charlie Hebdo* by Philippe Lançon, *Une minute quarante-neuf secondes* by Riss, *Lettres à Nour* by Rachid Benzine, *You Will Not Have My Hate* by Antoine Leiris);
- writing workshops giving students the opportunity to express a feeling or an emotion as they reflect on notions of sorrow, trauma, and resilience;
- artistic workshops: oral readings, drawing, musical creations, cinema (*Heaven Will Wait*, *Young Ahmed*, etc.), comics (*Dessiner encore* by Coco, *La Cellule* by Soren Seelow, Kevin Jackson, and Nicolas Otero);
- thematic and multidisciplinary workshops: on prejudice, conspiracy theories, justice, the notion of the executioner or terrorist, the relationship to otherhood and foreigners, media coverage of events and how information is packaged and received, in the format described above;
- meetings, with testimonies from victims or *ordinary heroes*: Michel Catalano or Lassana Bathily, as part of an on-going partnership with associations of victims of terrorism, notably the AfVT;
- for the development of personal projects, a fab lab will be open to youth ages 13 to 17.



IV.

The Collections

The MMT has started building a unique and ambitious collection, in line with the scientific content of the main exhibition, temporary exhibitions, and cultural programming. The collections also have a memorial mission: understanding and recognizing victims, collecting artifacts from the attacks, documenting analyses of terrorism and society's reactions, paying tribute to civilian and institutional victims and figures.

A. Objects and Creative Works

The museum collection will be made up of objects from different sources: closed court cases, victim donations and submissions, institutional donations and long-term loans (memorial ephemera collected from attack sites by city services, equipment from first responders preserved by the police, etc.), archives (copies of public archives, audiovisual archives, the museum's own digital archives, media archives), and artistic creations (drawings in the media, paintings, sculptures, installations, and other works of art). Collection objects can be divided into four categories: court evidence, memory objects, resource objects, and creative works.

1. Court Evidence from Closed Cases

The core of the collection will come from evidence from closed court cases, which have been preserved as part of terrorism cases that have been adjudicated in France. They have been retained by the Paris courts (TJP) and will be transferred to the MMT over time.

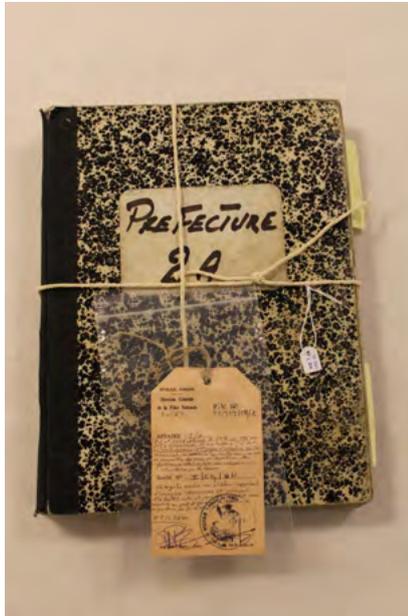
It is worth remembering that all terrorist cases have been centralized in Paris since the counterterrorism law of September 9, 1986. The MMT has received authorization to obtain and preserve these items through an agreement with the presiding judge of the Paris courts (TJP) and the national prosecutor for counterterrorism. This agreement was obtained thanks to assistance from the Ministry of Justice. Initially, there was no intention of saving these items. Instead, they were to be returned, given over to the state, or destroyed.²⁶ The items sourced from sensitive cases are crucial historical evidence that can be used to reconstitute the context of events and document acts of terrorism. As such, they are intrinsically valuable to the future museum. They also give insight into procedures used by the police and the justice system.

The transfer process was launched in July 2021, when the Paris courts (TJP) slowly began making items from at least 3,000 closed cases available to the GIP. These items come from the first cases, now closed, covering important historic events. To give an example, these cases include: the attack on the Marseille train station, Saint-Charles, on December 31, 1983, for which Carlos was sentenced in November 2011; a case linked to Hezbollah, concerning the year 1986; the assassination of the Corsican prefect, Claude Érignac, in 1998; the killings in Toulouse and Montauban in March 2012; an investigation into the Cannes-Torcy cell and the attack of September 19, 2012 in Sarcelles; an anti-Semitic attack in Marseille on January 11, 2016; and the attempted assassination of three soldiers in Nice on February 3, 2015.

26.

See the *Bulletin Officiel du ministère de la Justice et des Libertés*, a joint circular from December 13, 2011, on managing closed court cases.

In terms of other cases (twenty-odd open cases, including the attacks of January and November 2015), evidence will be made available to the MMT after decisions have been rendered. In addition, the MMT should actively monitor court cases that could be of interest to the institution in the coming years since cases from before 1986 are preserved in departmental archives. That will make it possible to update and refresh the list of potential cases for the MMT's collections.



Evidence from the investigation into the assassination of Prefect Érignac: typewriter, notebook, cassette tapes (© MMT)

2. Memory Objects: Donations and Loans from Victims, Associations, and Institutions

The second body of objects comes from a first collection drive held in 2020, in which the MMT reached out to victims, their loved ones, associations, and institutions on the front lines of attacks. Here, the MMT took inspiration from the Mucem and its collection drives for contemporary events (on AIDS and COVID-19, for instance), as well as its methods of creating a formal framework for collecting objects and oral documentation for its collections. As of the time of writing, this campaign has obtained seventy-three donation pledges. These *memory objects* come in many forms: victim photographs and clothing, concert tickets, telephones, and children's toys and drawings. They help bring individual situations to life, in a way that is salient to the public, beyond portrayals of collective experiences.

As part of the acquisition process, the MMT seeks to create filmed interviews with donors, giving them an opportunity to discuss the objects and provide depth and meaning for the viewing public. The MMT plans to launch a pilot program during the first quarter of 2022. These interviews could be included in the Flora-Musées database, which features a sound/video module.

Since 2015, many French municipalities have collected tributes to victims erected around attack sites and public spaces in the wake of attacks. That is the case for cities directly impacted by attacks, including Paris, Nice, and Strasbourg. And it is also the case for cities like Rennes, Saint-Etienne, Toulouse, Lyon, and Orléans, which kept objects left in tributes within their cities to victims of the *Charlie Hebdo* and the November 13th attacks. The Mucem also has a collection of fifty or so objects documenting the march for republican values on January 11, 2015, created on the initiative of the *Balayeuses Archivistes LGBT*.²⁷ Objects in these collections could be loaned out or placed in a repository for relevant heritage institutions. Since its

27.

On these collections, see: *Mise en archives des réactions post-attentats : enjeux et perspectives*, La Gazette des Archives, eds. Maëlle Bazin and Marie Van Eeckenrode, No. 250, 2018-2.



inception, the MMT has been in touch with some such institutions, including the Paris Archives. A pilot program involving these collections, and in collaboration with towns affected by terrorism attacks, is planned as part of the preliminary traveling exhibitions (see Chapter VII).

International partnerships could also be established, particularly with the *Charlie Archive* at Harvard University, which is directly relevant to the MMT's mission since it too documents reactions to the January 2015 attacks. Other institutions with similar collections related to other terrorist events would also be of interest, notably the National Archives of Norway (July 22, 2011 attacks in Oslo and Utøya), Northeastern University in Boston (Boston Marathon attack of April 15, 2013), the city archives of Brussels (attacks of March 22, 2016), London (attacks of July 7, 2005), and Barcelona (attacks of August 17, 2017), as well as the Railway Museum of Madrid (attacks of March 11, 2004) and the Manchester Art Museum (attack on Manchester Arena of May 22, 2017).

3. Resource Objects: Multimedia Archives

This type of collection is extremely vast. The MMT will first have to negotiate the possibility of exhibiting copies of documentation from terrorist investigations or trials. Such archival documentation is vital to understanding evidence.

Museography at the MMT will also feature press archives, multimedia, and locally digitized archives from social media, which are crucial to putting terrorist events into context. Resources of this kind are preserved at the INA, the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* (BNF), and the Audiovisual Communication and *Établissement de communication et de production audiovisuelle de la défense* (ECPAD). The former two are major heritage institutions that should be contacted in early 2022. Drawings in the press, graphic production on these issues, and trial recordings are also important objects/resources which the MMT will begin collecting, restoring (when needed), and exhibiting as part of its permanent exhibition or during temporary exhibitions. Also included in this category are the aforementioned audiovisual archives collected by the *Programme 13-Novembre*. Finally, visitors will be given the opportunity to leave their written or audiovisual testimony thanks to a recording experience, such as can be found in many museums today, and which will supplement the MMT's in-house oral archives collection.

4. Creative Works

The MMT intends to give ample space to contemporary artists on the phenomenon of terrorism.

Some of this fourth component of the MMT's collections can come from spontaneous donations. Since the beginning of this initiative, many artists, collectors, and galleries, in France and abroad, have offered to donate visual works (drawings, photographs, posters) which the MMT may agree to include in its collections once its acquisitions committee is in place. The MMT's collections will also feature loans, acquisitions, and commissions of works which can be exhibited in the permanent exhibition, in different galleries and walkways, on the grounds, or as part of an online display (in line with what the 9/11 Memorial has done).²⁸ A public procurement program will be designed in cooperation with the *Direction générale de la création artistique* to see to the establishment of this collection. A collection drive for drawings in the press by illustrators will also be launched.

The MMT also plans for a permanent 'artist in residence' program. It could take the shape of an invitation to artists to visit the collections and provide an interpretation or reading from their unique viewpoint.

28

www.911memorial.org/connect/communities/artists-registry

The 1% *artistique* program will provide the means to commission one or several works of art specially for the site. These could be plastic or graphic arts using new technologies, requiring a redesign of museum landscaping, involving furniture design, or calling for special signage.

B. Structure and Management

1. Collections Management System

With the scheduled arrival of the first collection pieces, it became necessary to think about what kinds of tools and skills would be needed to manage museum assets. In June 2021, in anticipation of the delivery of the first pieces of court evidence, the MMT compared providers and selected Decalog, which manages the Flora-Musées database, to establish inventory and documentation criteria for collection pieces. Collective reflections on inventory criteria looked to recommendations from the *Musées de France*. Institutions and organizations featuring similar collections were also consulted (the *musée de l'Armée*, the *Mucem*, the *Service de la mémoire et des affaires culturelles* within the *Préfecture de police*, and the *Département des archives de la documentation et du patrimoine* at the Ministry of Justice).²⁹ The last stage of planning in this documentation process, determining data standards, is currently underway.

As part of the computerization of the collections, the MMT has undertaken to train its members in the use of the Flora-Musées software. A first training session concerned the daily management and administration of the database by the conservation service. A second session will soon be dedicated to the use of the database by the researchers and the educational service of the MMT, for the purpose of the enhancement of the collections.

2. Processing and Storing Collection Assets

The arrival of the first collection pieces brought up questions related to processing, conserving, and storing assets. A team was developed internally to come up with a process for conserving and managing assets. This was done in collaboration with the *Département des archives de la documentation et du patrimoine* within the Ministry of Justice, which agreed to receive and conserve processed assets in the Russy-Bémont archive center in Crépy-en-Valois (located northeast of Paris).

The MMT was thus able to process evidence from two terrorist cases between June 2021 and January 2022. This involved receiving evidence from the court, unpacking, identifying evidence, taking inventory, inputting data into the Flora-Musées application, photographing, condition reports, conservation work, address labeling, repacking, and final deposit at the archive center. Special care was applied to sensitive assets: fabric pieces were treated with anoxia and then repacked, guns and munitions were neutralized. .

29.

See the Ministry of Culture:
Inventorier et recoler les collection
des musées de France,
[https://www.culture.gouv.fr/
Thematiques/Musees/Pour-
les-professionnels/Conserver-
et-gerer-les-collections/
Generer-les-collections/Inventorier-
et-recoler-les-collections-
des-musees-de-France](https://www.culture.gouv.fr/Thematiques/Musees/Pour-les-professionnels/Conserver-et-gerer-les-collections/Generer-les-collections/Inventorier-et-recoler-les-collections-des-musees-de-France)

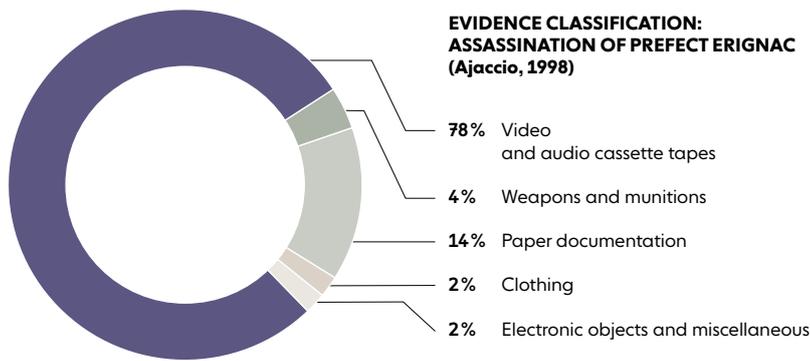


Collections processing (© MMT)

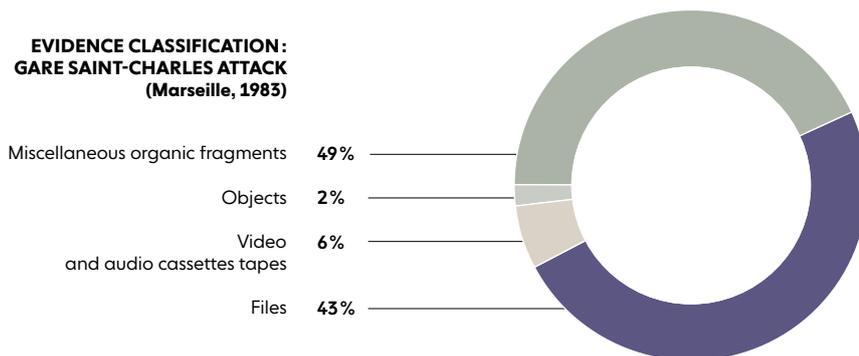


The MMT works in close collaboration with the *Musée de la Préfecture de Police de Paris* and the *Musée de l'Armée* on the processing and conservation of some weapons.

The first round of processing, on the Marseille Saint-Charles train station attack of 1983, dealt with forty-nine items. The second, on the assassination of Prefect Claude Érignac, included 1,605 objects. These collections include different types of items: clothing, weapons, munitions, paper documentation, cassette tapes, and electronic objects. They were quantified and classified:



**EVIDENCE CLASSIFICATION:
GARE SAINT-CHARLES ATTACK
(Marseille, 1983)**



(Source: MMT)

The nature of the items in the MMT’s collections makes the task of processing particularly complex. Currently, this task is being performed by students in the second year of their master’s program, under the supervision of a heritage conservationist. In the coming years, the scheduled arrival of evidence, together with donations and loans from victims, will necessitate the creation of a permanent professional team trained in collection management and conservation.

3. Considerations on Asset Processing

Research Material

The definitive status of assets collected by the MMT has not been decided. For now, they are being classified as *research material* (*matériel d'étude*). The museum may acquire some items for their scientific and heritage value. Others may serve as documentation. The notion of *research material* provides a provisional in-between status that allows museum workers to inventory these materials, study them, and eventually make decisions as to their ultimate role—either in museum collections or as



documentation. This distinction has legal relevance. Collection assets are inalienable and imprescriptible, which is not the case for objects classified as documentation.²⁷ In consideration of the special nature of the items being collected and the relative novelty of the issues they pose, it was decided, for now, to classify them all in this way.

An Acquisitions Committee

The task of this committee will be to make final decisions on the different assets within the collections and to include them in the museum's inventory. The *research material* status affords the committee time to study and sort assets. The MMT-GIP seeks to provide a coherent scientific framework for its collections through the inventory and documentation processes it has developed. These processes will be embodied by the data standards being established. In addition, the committee will examine future contemporary art acquisitions, donations, and loans, including them in the permanent exhibition based on their historic relevance and coherence with the scientific and cultural program.

Donation Contracts and Loan Agreements

The GIP is currently finalizing model donation contracts and loan agreements to help provide a framework for donations of assets or objects by individuals and institutions. These documents will help establish donation and loan criteria as well as the rights and obligations of all parties, ensuring proper asset management and display.

Reflections on Assets

The MMT has been confronted with somewhat unusual questions in its search for collection assets, particularly as pertain to evidence. What heritage status should they be given? Most of these objects were intended to be destroyed: how can they be repurposed into objects for exhibition and research? Similarly, and more broadly speaking, how can we reconcile the mission of the MMT—to show, explain, and build public awareness on terrorism through its collections—with current legislation on the protection of individuals?

In our search for answers, the preliminary project team has consulted various heritage institutions. In addition to the ones previously cited, it is worth mentioning the *Musée Carnavalet*, the *Musée de l'Armée*, and the *Musée de la Préfecture de Police*, as well as the *Centre national des arts plastiques* (CNAP) and the virtual site for the *Direction générale de la sécurité intérieure* (DGSJ).³⁰

The GIP also reached out to the *Commission nationale informatique et libertés* (CNIL) (an independent French administrative authority created to protect personal data, support innovation, and preserve individual liberties), which laid out the scope of the MMT's leeway in establishing and publishing information on its collections and databases. Archivists, curators, and lawyers were also consulted, and a work group was created in 2022 to reflect on the status and use of the MMT's collections, which are unique both in nature and historical significance.

This work group will be tasked with reflecting on how to present the MMT's collections in the museum space and virtually. It will also consider issues of confidentiality linked to some items, in particular court evidence (written documents, recordings, and so forth). The aim will be to understand how to apply current legislation on access to personal information and data protection (the *code du patrimoine*, the *code des relations entre le public et l'administration*, RGPD, the *loi Informatique et libertés*) to these documents. It will include representatives from the Ministries of Culture, Justice, and the Interior, as well as curators, legal experts, and academics.

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www.dgsi.interieur.gouv.fr/la-dgsi-en-clair/decouvrir-la-dgsi/notre-histoire/notre-musee



V.

Framework for the Permanent Exhibition

A. Scientific Commitments

The exhibitions and programming are structured around some broad guiding principles:

→ **Terrorism: An age-old, recurring, and poorly understood phenomenon**

In recent years, terrorism has been particularly visible and deadly. However, it is part of a long history that is often poorly understood. The aim is then to show that this is a recurring phenomenon, to analyze its causes and underpinnings, and to demonstrate that reactions have also been premature. No matter the source, acts of terrorism seek to shock and destabilize a population. The museum's primary objective is therefore to bring clarity to the inconceivable, to allow the public to better understand this history, and even to appropriate it as a means of defusing fear.

→ **A Historical and Sociological Approach**

The exhibition recreates the history of terrorism, going back to the origins of the term, from the French Revolution. Yet its main focus is a period that began in the late 1960s, with the emergence of motives and modes of functioning that constitute a new form of global terrorism. Terrorism and the reactions it provokes are features of modern life, and the exhibition seeks to explain the long- and short-term effects on society.

→ **Between War and Peace**

Terrorism is a form of modern warfare, which has seen a blurring of the lines between open conflict and apparent calm; between combatants and civilians. Increasingly, it affects seemingly peaceful countries. Moreover, it is often imported—either randomly or intentionally—from external conflicts. It inflicts wartime violence in times of peace, with weapons, scenes, and injuries of war erupting with brutal and anticipated force.

→ **Unity and Diversity of the Phenomenon**

Modern terrorism stems from a variety of motivations linked to conceptions of territory and the nation; political, economic, and social regimes; religion and belief systems; and the environment. Yet what unifies these diverse motivations are the means of operation, tactics of intimidation, and forms of organization. Inversely, while an entire society may stand together in the face of an act of terrorism, the effects on society are diverse in nature, and reactions to the event are manifold, particularly in open societies like France, which must confront this violence in a way that does not erode fundamental principles.

→ Ongoing and episodic violence

The exhibition should explore the impact of terrorist violence and the ways in which individuals and societies attempt to anticipate and curb future events, which are at once foreseeable and unpredictable. A common principle behind all attacks is to instill a sense of dread within target societies on the prospect of future events. Historical explanations and distance can help lessen this threat.

→ Media Coverage

Media coverage of terrorist acts and their fallout plays a central role in the exhibition since it is essential to understanding modern terrorism. The emergence of 24-hour news networks, and later of social media, unfolded in parallel with the rise of terrorist violence. Whether they like it or not, the media are a core part of this history because they provide the real-time information so vitally needed when these attacks occur, and also because terrorists use the media to glorify and bring attention to their actions.

→ From the individual to the collective, and from the national to the universal

The programming will attempt to strike a balance between different focal points. The individual dimension is embodied by personal testimonies. The collective experience concerns society in general as well as groups targeted by terrorism—representatives of the state (police officers, soldiers, magistrates, and so forth); journalists; Catholics, Muslims, and Jews, with attacks in places of worship and particularly the anti-Semitic bent of modern terrorism; and other ethnic, political, and sexual minorities. The nation is an essential concept because it is often the body targeted through attacks on anonymous citizens. The transnational component is vital to understanding events that go beyond borders. Finally, the French situation is a special point of focus: it is committed to universalist values, particularly in its approach to victims of a shared community of fate.

B. Ethical and Narrative Commitments

Exhibitions and programming at the MMT should build public awareness on scientific findings and share unresolved questions or points of debate, of which there are many on this subject. They should introduce the public to complex problems in a coherent, simple, and accessible manner, without imposing a predetermined interpretation. Exhibitions should be open and informative—not authoritative. They should let visitors make their own interpretations.

The future setting of the MMT lends itself to this mission, thanks to its vast linear and modular spaces, both inside and outside. The permanent exhibition can thus include special spaces on polysemic or controversial concepts, including political violence, Islamism, antizionism, independentism, strategy of tension, etc. The space for the permanent exhibition has been developed in connection with the collection acquisition process. For instance, the acquisition of court evidence was made in parallel with reflections on the space for trials on terrorism in France since the 1980s.

Varying the nature of spaces and their atmospheres is vital, given the heavy subject matter. In addition, the permanent exhibition will be modular to keep up with rapid changes in terrorism. It will be devised to complement the temporary exhibitions and the digital experience. The museum and memorial will abide by an ethics charter. Some parts of that charter have already been decided. The rest will be written as the project comes together and in response to the emergence of new questions:

→ The Presence of Victims

The presence of victims is an integral part of the design of the memorial. The aim is to convey lived experiences, which are both unique and universal. This is central to a museum experience that seeks to speak to all, and in particular to youth. The presence of victims is embodied by testimonies, either from existing archives (the media, associations, trials) or on commission. Objects donated or loaned by victims or grieving families should be displayed in such a way as to respect their emotional weight and the unique history of the people attached to them. This is why the museum seeks to film short interviews with donors to include in the exhibition.

→ An Embodied Experience

This space must go beyond the register of abstract history and show that history is embodied in voices, faces, and unique fates and experiences, acknowledging the lives impacted by the shock of an attack and a trial. Victims of terrorism and their loved ones are forever marked by the event, for the rest of their lives. This embodiment will take the form of testimonies. Different perspectives on the realities of terrorism will be taken into account: fire fighters, police officers, rescue and recovery workers, government officials, activists, and bystanders. The aim is also to show all the mechanisms set into motion by an act of terrorism.

→ Addressing Violence

No voyeurism, no euphemizing. Violence cannot be avoided. It must be addressed, but with respect for victims and care for the public. While eliciting emotions in the memorialization process can have a positive impact on the visit, too much catharsis can interfere with reflection. This is something that has been noted in museums on the two world wars and on genocides. So, limiting—not banning—the use of explicit images and sounds would be prudent. The idea is to strike a balance between emotions and reason. Here, the MMT has drawn inspiration from other experiences: the audio recording of the bombing at the Oklahoma City museum, telephone conversations at the 9/11 museum in New York, and pictures of the car bomb in the Oslo learning center.

→ Authors of Terrorist Acts

Excluding those responsible for terrorist attacks, as has been suggested, would run the risk of distorting reality and bracketing them from humanity. However, special care must be taken to prevent their inclusion from being used for the purposes of propaganda or glorification. This is a museum of history, and just as we name war criminals and perpetrators of genocide, here we must also mention those who have been frequently cited in the media, who have been on trial, and who appear in materials on display (archives, press, testimonies). Moreover, the aim is to explain their backgrounds and how they became radicalized—a process that is inherent to all forms of terrorism. Still, pictures and portraits will be limited (identity cards, trial images). Here again, the MMT can look to other similar museums, all of which cover the authors of terrorist acts.

→ Policing and Legal Procedures

The history of attacks resembles a crime series. But it takes on another dimension if we introduce policing procedures to the picture, particularly to show the importance of attack prevention and legal action. Terrorism is not invincible; it can be stopped. This is one avenue explored by the permanent exhibition, especially since many terrorist acts committed in France have been adjudicated. Trials are a major source for the museum, providing conflicting narratives, voices in filmed recordings (when available, as for the 2015 attacks), or archives and evidence.

→ **Free Interpretation**

In the project's current philosophy, the MMT does not strive to settle disputes or controversies surrounding the issue of terrorism and its media coverage. When providing definitions of terrorism and its scope, on the causes of radicalization and the possibilities of deradicalization, and on the notion of resilience, it does so to give visitors tools for understanding, show why these issues may be controversial, and explain its own commitments.

VI.

The Permanent Exhibition

This chapter describes the scientific framework for the permanent exhibition. It serves as a detailed guide for planning future work at the museum, in connection with ongoing collection acquisitions. Choices will have to be made on the factual, contextual, and interpretative considerations laid out here. Developed by four work groups, these considerations can be grouped into three broad themes:²⁹

- A historical approach to terrorism
- The voice of victims
- Societies facing terrorism

A. A Historical Approach to Terrorism ³¹

A detailed description of this first major theme in the permanent exhibition can be found in appendix 1. The following is an outline and summary.

The first theme of the permanent exhibition covers the history of terrorism, through a selection of events that provide a broad and even exhaustive understanding of the phenomenon throughout the period in question. It also lays out the main forms of terrorism in France, Europe, and around the globe. The narrative is organized chronologically and distinguishes different forms of terrorism. It is divided into eight parts:

1. Introduction: Retrospective and Definitions
2. Panorama of Terrorism Since the Late 1960s
3. Global Nationalist and *Anti-Imperialist* Terrorism (late 1960s-1980s)
4. The Years of Lead (late 1960s-1990s)
5. Regionalist Terrorism (since the 1960s)
6. State Terrorism (Iran and Libya in the 1980s)
7. Islamist Terrorism Since the 1990s
8. Far-Right Terrorism Since the 1990s

31.

See charts in appendix 1. A fourth theme on memory was initially planned in the March 2020 report, but it ended up being included in the three other parts.

1. Introduction: Retrospective and Definitions

The exhibition begins with an introduction, guiding the visitor into the experience with a brief retrospective on the main historical moments of terrorism and an overview of how the definition of terrorism—at times uncertain and unstable—has evolved. Visitors are directly confronted with the subject through a series of questions designed to pique their interest: what is terrorism? When did it start? Why? By whom?

Some of the key dates in this retrospective are listed here.

- 1794: the invention of the term by Babeuf, to refer to Robespierre supporters
- 1800: attack against Bonaparte, precursor to the car bomb
- 1858: attempted assassination of Napoléon III by the nationalist Orsini
- 1890s: anarchist terrorism
- 1930s: nationalist terrorism
- 1942-1943: *terrorism* according to Vichy and the Nazis
- 1954-1962: the Algerian War

This introduction on the long history of terrorism gives way to two working definitions of terrorism, giving visitors some tools for understanding: the current legal definition of terrorism in France—"an individual or collective enterprise whose objective is to gravely disrupt public order through intimidation and terror"—and a broader, more open scientific definition.

⊕ Detailed description
in the appendix,
p.125

2. Panorama of Terrorism Since the Late 1960s

In this section, visitors will be provided with different levels of information in a synthetic and visual form (infographics, data design, etc.):

- the general evolution of terrorism in the world;
- an overview of more than 201,000 acts of terrorism around the world since the late 1960s. While the Cold War was a period of intense activity, the number of attacks strongly increased starting in 2003, with the invasion of Iraq, before decreasing (at the global level) as of 2014. The geographic center of gravity for terrorist activity then shifted from Europe to the Middle East;
- a database of attacks on France and the French people;
- this database was developed as part of the preliminary project. It provides a review of all the attacks committed in France since September 15, 1974 (a choice explained in the introduction), and of attacks in which French people have been killed or injured abroad, over the same period. This review seeks to be as exhaustive as possible. It echoes the list of victims on the memorial. All visitors affected by an attack in France since 1974, and all French visitors affected by an attack since the 1960s, should be able to find information on a specific event here. It is a vital part of the museum since visitor experiences will not be able to cover all of these attacks in detail.

An overview of terrorism in France since the early 1970s

In its current form, the database cited above gives a provisional overview in numbers of terrorism in France:

- since the early 1970s, there have been more than 4,300 attacks in France;
- these attacks have killed more than 444 people and wounded thousands of people both physically and mentally;
- at least 304 French people have died in 170 attacks abroad;
- at least 413 French towns from all over France have been affected.

3. Global Nationalist and *Anti-Imperialist* Terrorism (late 1960s-1980s)

This part describes the genesis of modern terrorism, starting in the late 1960s. The wars of decolonization, the Cold War, and societal tensions in 1968 fostered the emergence of revolutionary ideologies within intellectual and student circles. These ideologies were also encouraged by some state actors (Algeria, Libya, Cuba, the USSR, China, Korea, and so forth). That was the situation in which international terrorism arose, particularly with networks surrounding Carlos. Groups united around a shared purpose—targeting popular uprisings to further independence, social, and political objectives—and around the need to share logistics and experience against a common enemy: Western imperialism. The internationalization of the Palestinian cause also played an important role. This type of terrorism was particularly salient in France, with a slew of anti-Semitic attacks in Paris (*Rue Copernic* on October 3, 1980, and *Rue des Rosiers* on August 9, 1982). Anti-Semitism remains a structural constant in modern terrorism, spanning the entire period. As such it would be worth addressing in and of itself.

⊕ Detailed description in the appendix, p.128

⊕ Detailed description in the appendix, p.130

4. The Years of Lead (late 1960s-1990s)

This section is closely linked to the previous one since it stems from the same ideological context, but the focus here is on far-left and far-right terrorist groups acting in their own countries. These groups use a *strategy of tension*, with the aim of forcing authorities into violent reactions so as to generate further support for their causes and against democratic regimes. Far-left terrorism spread particularly in countries where American influence was imported after 1945, and where the legacy of Nazism and fascism weighed heavily on younger generations. That legacy became used in propaganda for these movements (Italian Red Brigades, the German Red Army Faction). To a lesser degree, this deadly political violence also impacted France in the 1970s and 1980s (Action Directe). Impelled by anti-communism, xenophobia, and anti-Semitism, far-right violence also reemerged during this period.

➤ Detailed description in the appendix, p.131

5. Regionalist Terrorism (since the 1960s)

This form of terrorism stems from local politics and history, mostly in Corsica, and the French and Spanish Basque Country. Terrorism in Corsica has been the cause of the vast majority of attacks on French soil (nearly 2,800 of 4,000 total), ten of which included casualties. Meanwhile, Basque terrorism, which is more prevalent in Spain, has been very active and deadly, first under Franco's regime, and then under democratic governance.

➤ Detailed description in the appendix, p.132

6. State Terrorism (Iran and Libya in the 1980s)

The term *state terrorism* is polysemic and the source of some confusion. It can designate terror practiced by states to subdue a population. These situations have been so common to the twentieth and twenty-first centuries that covering them would mean explaining large swaths of modern history over the seven continents. We have therefore made the choice to keep this question for the rest of the cultural programming and temporary exhibitions, which will be able to address issues like fascism, Nazism, communist systems, and Latin-American military dictatorships.

➤ Detailed description in the appendix, p.133

State terrorism also designates policies in some states that systematically—not episodically—support terrorist groups acting across the globe, as part of their strategies of power and influence. This was the case in Eastern Bloc countries, with *anti-imperialist* terrorism; it has also been the case in recent decades in countries striving to impose themselves on the international stage. Two such countries include Libya and Iran, both of which are covered here since they were particularly impactful in France.

We could have classified Iran with the Islamist terrorism described in the following paragraph. Indeed, 1979 was the year of the Iranian Revolution and the start of Islamist terrorism. As Gilles Kepel writes, "Islamist terrorism was born in Afghanistan", following the invasion of the country by Soviet troops in December 1979.³² The Iranian Revolution supported a form of terrorism at the intersection of state terrorism, political terrorism from past decades, and Islamist terrorism, which emerged then. As Olivier Roy writes, "On the international stage, the Iranian Revolution was an anti-imperialist, Third-Worldist revolution."³³ However, we chose to cover this question as a case of state terrorism due to the motivations that led Iran to orchestrate these attacks against France, via Lebanon's Hezbollah movement (created in 1982 during the civil war and the invasion of southern Lebanon by Israel).

Gilles Kepel, "Le terrorisme islamiste est né en Afghanistan", *L'Histoire*, December 2004.

Olivier Roy, *Le Djihad et la mort* (Paris: Seuil, 2016), pg. 122.

32.

Gilles Kepel, "Le terrorisme islamiste est né en Afghanistan", *L'Histoire*, December 2004.

33.

Olivier Roy, *Le Djihad et la mort* (Paris: Seuil, 2016), pg. 122.



7. Islamist Terrorism Since the 1990s

This part covers a vital component of modern terrorism: Islamist groups that enact deadly violence, often blindly, in the name of a fundamentalist conception of Islam which they seek to impose everywhere they are active—in Muslim Arab countries (where they have been most deadly) and in the rest of the world, particularly Western countries. Here, the focus is on the activities of Algerian Islamist terrorists, al-Qaeda, and the Islamic State (ISIL). France in particular has been a target of these movements since the 1990s, and even more so since 2012-2015, due to ties to North Africa and the Middle East. Groups also seek to intimidate French society and some of its core values, like secularism and freedom of expression, including a right to criticize religion and even blaspheme, a right which can be exercised in the media (caricatures in *Charlie Hebdo*), schools (the assassination of Samuel Paty), and elsewhere.

This section is laid out as follows:

- The impact of the Black Decade in Algeria (1991-2002);
- The rise of al-Qaeda (since 2001);
- The Arab Spring and war in the Levant (2011-2012);
- The rise of the Islamic State and evolutions in Islamist terrorism (since 2015).

8. Far-Right Terrorism Since the 1990s

Far-right terrorism is also a recurring phenomenon, often embedded in a long history. White supremacist terrorism in the United States, for instance, goes back to the nineteenth century and the Ku Klux Klan. Fascists groups in France can be traced back to the 1930s (the *Cagoule*). And neo-fascists find roots in the Algerian War (the OAS). This type of terrorism was an important component of political radicalization in the 1970s and 1980s, notably during the Years of Lead in Italy (a point discussed above), and it experienced a resurgence starting in the 1990s and 2000s. Although this form of terrorism is very deadly, the actions taken are more diverse and less structured than in the cases of far-left and Islamist terrorism. In contrast to these latter, far-right terrorism has rarely reached a global scale—until recently, that is, as we can now observe a form of internationalization: the author of the Oslo and Utøya attack (2011) made reference to the Oklahoma City bombing (1995) and was himself cited by the people behind Christchurch (2019). This form of terrorism is mainly motivated by xenophobia, racism, anti-Semitism, and anti-Muslim hate.

⊕ Detailed description in the appendix, p.135

⊕ Detailed description in the appendix, p.136

B. The Voice of Victims

This part is divided into five sections:

1. What Do We Mean by *victim*?
2. During the Attack: Initial Chaos and Experience of *War* in Peacetime
3. After the Attack: Trauma, Memory, and Resilience
4. A Community of Fate
5. Reaffirming Humanity: Care, Creation, Justice

Victims of terrorism are threefold. First, they are those on the front lines of a form of on-going and episodic war-like violence in times of peace. They are the first to confront the dread of repetition and the unpredictable nature of terrorism. Second, although this violence may be targeted, it is also often blind, with the sole aim of creating a large-scale spectacle of violence. Those impacted therefore go beyond the immediate victims to include anyone who could have been in the wrong place at the wrong time. Finally, a dread of repetition means that attack victims do not simply belong to the past: they are also embedded in a present and future temporality. The permanent exhibition must therefore consider both past victims and potential victims in the future.

Exhibition designers should then configure the space in such a way as to account for the singular fate of victims and the collective care of survivors and victims by society and its institutions. Coverage of attacks should begin with the chaos of the first moments and proceed through the organization of resilience (by associations, medical workers, the legal system, and memorial initiatives), reconstruction, and reparation. This process is not smooth or linear. Its reconstitution should take the form of a wave, oscillating back and forth in successive ricochets. The dread of repetition is the feeling that an event can happen again, in a similar but different fashion.

1. What Do We Mean by *Victim*?

The term can be appropriated, invoked, claimed, or rejected in myriad ways. Today, the notion of victim is the subject of considerable attention and sometimes suspicion, or at least reservation. What is a victim? Who is a victim? Here it is important to draw the public's attention to what is at stake behind recognitions of who is or who is not considered a victim, and to the ways in which victims of attacks define themselves, including those who reject this term.

Victims are subjects, within a community they subscribe to or recognize, who have been injured or subjected to violence (here of a terrorist nature) that has left perennial bodily, mental, or material traces, or that has modified their perception of self, even without apparent wounds, a perception that in part depends on the perception of others. This situation presents different characteristics, including a loss of one's bearings, or even questions on the meaning of existence.

To a lesser degree, this also applies to the rest of society. The fallout of terrorist violence does not only concern survivor victims and mourning families. It also affects those supporting them: fire fighters, police officers, and care workers. More broadly speaking, the impact extends to all those subjected to this violence, even in the form of images circulated of the attacks, particularly since the creation of 24/7 news outlets and social media. Anyone plugged into a screen (listeners, spectators, internet users old and young) is exposed to this violence.

This part should also take into account the important role played by advocates, often initially in isolation, evolutions in legal definitions and compensation procedures, changes in behavior, and shifts in our societies' perceptions of victims, particularly in France, which is at times a reference in this matter, compared with other countries, notably in Europe.

2. Initial Chaos and Experience of *War* in Peacetime

The first effect of an attack on a population is shock. Its unpredictable violence rips through everyone's life, provided, that is, they have heard the news. Even if first responders arrive quickly to the scene of the attack, the first impression is always one of chaos: dead and wounded victims, bloody and mutilated bodies, first responders overwhelmed with evacuating the wounded, police sirens, and ambulances. For the victims, this is a moment when their lives are forever changed. As many have described it, this is the end of life as they have known it.

The start of this section is then an image of this scene, as if time has stopped. Here it is impossible to conceive of what has happened other than to cling to the number of victims. This initial moment is also for first reactions, early assistance, and acts of solidarity. To illustrate the scene, the current and anticipated MMT collections provide many resources, particularly through objects from attacks: Goldenberg restaurant menus (1982 attack), debris from UTA Flight 772 (1989), toys of the children killed in the Toulouse attack (2012), clothing from the victims of the Bardo attack (2015) and the Nice attack (2016). Testimonies, images, videos, and sounds (including silence) will also be featured to capture the scene after first responders have left, bodies have been removed, and devastated sites have been cleared.

Next comes a time of compassion for victims, which is the other side of shock. It will take the form of the public outpouring of *ad hoc* tributes and *makeshift memorials* with messages and flowers. This is a time of extreme identification: "And what if it had been me? Or someone I care about?"; "I could have been there"; "Next time, who and where?". The media play an important role in this process, communicating personal stories and portraits: "Portraits of Grief" in the *New York Times* on 9/11 or "Mémorial" in *Le Monde* on 11/13.

A rhetoric of war has emerged within society and become particularly salient in language used by public authorities since 2001, with the American concept of a *war on terror*. This rhetoric was rare in response to earlier terrorist attacks. Politicians now speak of the idea that we are "at war". Images of attacks are presented and discussed by the media as "images of war". Care for the wounded is described as "battlefield medicine". In France, under the impetus of Françoise Rudetzki in 1990, victims have also been granted the status of *civilian victims of war*, and children of French victims or child victims themselves are now considered wards of the nation, a concept that was created in 1917 during the First World War. The two are therefore covered by the *Office national des anciens combattants et victimes de guerre* (national bureau for veterans and victims of war – ONACVG). The perception of terrorism as an act of war within a peacetime society is an important point to cover with respect to victims and public perception; use of this rhetoric also raises many political and legal issues.

3. After the Attack: Trauma, Memory, Resilience

While terrorism strives to create a climate of fear within a given population, a distinction should be made between the relatively abstract fear of seeing new terrorist attacks occur within one's country and the very concrete feeling of potentially being personally affected. This sense of vulnerability is particularly accentuated for victims, generally taking the form of trauma—a certain sound, smell, or sight can produce an uncontrollable panic attack. Although such post-traumatic stress can be observed in people who have experienced events remotely (through the media), it is primarily

characteristic of the *post-attack* experience of survivors and mourners. Beyond the unique character of their individual experiences, they all express an altered relationship to collective spaces, a temptation to confine themselves, fragility, and even lasting mistrust of human relations and behavioral problems. The exhibition will include a space for this victim experience, through audio, video, and written testimonies. It will explore the irreducibly singular task faced by survivors and grieving families as they strive to rebuild their lives. The challenge here for the museum is to show the singularity of the lives that have been destroyed, of people striving to rebuild but who must forever live with the scars of violence.

At the same time, we will show the individual and collective resources available to victims as they face this hardship. The aim will be to show the sources of their resilience, but without concealing other ways of dealing with shock—anger, denial, silence, or voluntary forgetting. The question of the relationship between trauma and memory is crucial here. Memory for victims and for society is not one and the same. Victims, who are often told to “move on” or “look to the future”, can feel misunderstood and silenced. The exhibition will show how learning to live with trauma, rather than trying to erase the experience, can help victims recover. Talking about their experiences is a way for victims to work through the event and the emotions it has produced. The trauma created by the experience of a terrorist attack means that victims’ memories are rarely linear. Some aspects and sensations remain raw, while others get suppressed. Generally, memory shifts over time, as victims speak with other victims and interact with the rest of society. Sharing experiences between individuals and at a more collective level—through books, reporting, televised documentaries—helps fill in any *gaps* in memory and allows individuals to appropriate their experiences. In this way, individual and collective memories are inextricably linked. It is up to the MMT to emphasize that point, in keeping with the latest research in this field, like what is coming out of the *Programme 13-Novembre*.

4. A Community of Fate

Terrorism targets all facets of society, often impacting society as a whole. It seeks to shatter the sense of trust between members of the target group. It attacks individual people, randomly or specifically. Specific members are attacked to injure an entire community. Blind strikes on public gathering spaces target everyone indifferently. A community of fate emerges after an attack, through policies of recognition at a national scale, embodied by the creation of special statuses, rights, and compensation for victims of terrorism. This is the result of attention brought to victims in general over the last third of the twentieth century, thanks in part to the efforts of some figures and associations.

In addition to material reparations, attention has been given to symbolic reparations and public policies for remembrance. These policies reflect attempts to strike a balance between celebrating heroic figures (a tradition of French policies in the past, until the 1990s) and caring

for victims (the point of focus in more recent policies on terrorism). The exhibition will therefore present landmark moments in the history of terrorism remembrance, as mentioned in Chapter II.

Finally, the community of fate extends beyond France’s borders. Terrorism has produced victims around the globe, meaning that the community of victims is transnational. It includes men and women, people of all religious persuasions, from all cultures, and all commitments. The space for victims should also be an occasion to emphasize that point, again through testimonies (books, videos, audio) and in different languages (with translations). That is the most impactful way to pay tribute to the wide community of victims and to fulfill the MMT’s universal mission.

5. Reaffirming Humanity: Care, Creation, Justice

This is the final section of this part of the exhibition. If we speak of *re-affirming*, it is because humanity is affirmed as soon as violence strikes, as people work to confront it. Humanity is present in the very first attempts to assist others, with the arrival of the police to secure the scene, or in the many acts of solidarity, including between the victims themselves. Its expression is three-fold.

First, it can be found in the care given to victims by medical teams over the long, painful, and arduous path to recovery. Violence does not get the last word, thanks to the men and women who devote themselves to this task. It does not get the last word, since victims are not alone; they are not abandoned. It does not get the last word, since society equips itself with tools to help victims find their voices in the face of a violence that has sought to silence them.

Humanity can then be found in the unique creative responses striving to oppose the spectacle of violence and destruction with a counterweight or counternarrative, even in the face of intense despair. These responses take the form of literary, musical, pictorial, poetic, theatric, and photographic works.

Finally, humanity is in the work of the legal system and the trials which give victims back their voices in the form both of testimony (which only they can give) and the power of a performative act. To speak here is to substitute the fatal time of terrorism (cut off from the future and from hope) with the transitional and restorative time of justice (open to the future). Testimony is the main source of light here, and the permanent exhibition should feature it prominently.

C. Societies Facing Terrorism

This part is divided into five sections:

1. The Media, a Key Player in Terrorist Events
2. All Facets of Society Impacted
3. Individual and Collective Reactions of a Democratic and Pluralistic Society
4. Insight from Trials
5. Memorializing Attacks

Here visitors will be exposed to the plurality of social impacts created by terrorist attacks and explanations of this fallout. The aim is two-fold:

- Encourage visitors to develop a critical view of terrorist attacks and their social impact, and to question a certain number of received ideas and false doxa, using recent findings in social science research and the distance inherent to thinking historically;
- Build a pluralistic space where bonds and dialogue can be reestablished, as a counterforce to terrorism, which strives to sow tension and discord. In this part of the exhibition, all visitors should be able to make sense of their experiences of a terrorist attack. At the same time, they can try to get out of themselves to understand that other reactions are not only possible but *normal* in a democratic and pluralistic society like French society.

Here in particular, the aim is to encourage visitors to shed the prefabricated opinions and authoritative arguments that saturate the media when it comes to terrorist

attacks and their social impacts, giving them an opportunity to consider a more informed and nuanced perspective. A better-informed public of the effects of an attack on a society should be more lucid and less vulnerable to the perverse effects of these extraordinary moments in public life. The goal is to contribute to a better *collective intelligence* for post-attack situations and to reinforce our capacities of resilience and resistance when confronted with these ordeals.

1. The Media: A Key Player in Terrorist Events

An attack cannot be reduced to the facts alone (number of victims, attacker identities, circumstances, etc.). The ways in which the media cover the attack, in terms of volume and content, play a vital role. Journalists can seem *caught in a trap* by terrorists, and the media can seem like an *echo chamber* of terrorist violence, which is crucial to an attack's social impact. That has been the case at least since the anarchist attacks of the late nineteenth century. And it is even more so today, with journalists even being the direct targets of attacks.

A link can be made between different phases of the media's history and terrorism's different eras to track the resonance and social impact of attacks over time: the golden age of print media, the arrival of audiovisual media, the rise of 24/7 news, and the development of the internet and social media.

This idea will be included in the exhibit thanks to audiovisual archives from the INA (radio, television, filmed news, web), as well as media archives at the BNF, around a handful of representative cases:

- Anarchist attacks published in print media in the nineteenth century (Café Terminus in 1894);
- The Munich Massacre during the Summer Olympics on television and over the radio (1972);
- The 9/11 attacks covered live over 24/7 news channels, or the photo of journalists held in Lebanon appearing at the start of all televised news programming;
- The 2015-2016 attacks over social media (archives of reactions on Twitter).

2. All Facets of Society Impacted

Terrorist attacks have a totalizing effect on society. When they become events (which is not always the case, and is dependent on media attention), their impact can be felt across all sectors: interpersonal relations, economic and public life, and over the short and long terms.

The exhibition will emphasize the effects of regulatory measures on the lives of citizens. For instance, starting in 1995, the *Vigipirate* program transformed the French urban landscape: fencing at schools starting in 1995, schemes to prevent bags from being placed under seats on public transportation, elimination of opaque trash cans on the street (to prevent bombs from being planted in them, as happened in 1985 and 1995), and so forth. The *Vigipirate* program, and later *Opération Sentinelle*, positioned armed military personnel within some public spaces (soldiers patrolling train stations). The border between notions of security and defense was completely redefined within the national space, and the deployment of armed forces in foreign operations to prevent terrorism (in Afghanistan after 2001, *Opération Épervier* in Chad from 1986 to 2014, *Opération Serval* in Mali from 2013 to 2014, and *Opération Barkhane* in the Sahel since 2014) is a continuation of this trend.

As previously described, the social response to the event is a process that follows a specific timeline, divided into different phases. There is an initial shock and first reactions. Then comes a phase of social turmoil, when extreme reactions can occur: copycat attacks, retaliations, panic, false alarms. That is then followed by a slow return to normal life, which, however, does not mean a return to *life before*, since some attacks have lasting and persistent effects. Then comes a phase of remembrance and forgetting, where scars can be measured through cultural output (books, films, series, works of art) and personal memories.

This part of the exhibition should show the different ramifications and the temporality of an attack's effect on society. However, it should avoid emphasizing only some attacks (the most recent, for instance) over and above others. Here, the aim is to create a synoptic museum experience of the ramifications and timeline. This way, visitors will be able to grasp the phenomenon and its complexity at a glance, and then explore specific features in further detail at their leisure, through different historical cases (and not just one representative attack like September 11th or November 13th), which can be updated. One idea would be for each synoptic display to guide visitors to a station where they can choose from a database of historical examples (like the one mentioned above) to examine a specific case more closely.

To complement to this design scheme, the social impact of attacks could also be shown materially through objects or documents that tell the impact of an attack from the perspective a specific sector: a description of the security procedures in airports before and after September 11th, a Vigipirate poster, the original text of a presidential speech, obituaries, blood drives for victims, and so forth.

3. Reactions of a Democratic and Pluralistic Society

Acts of terrorism put a strain on the social fabric. But while they may enhance tensions—which is their goal—they also elicit acts of kindness. This part of the exhibition will touch on the reactions and large-scale demonstrations, like the one held on January 11, 2015. It will also feature reactions that have been less covered by the media, providing the public with a wider and more accurate view of society's reactions to attacks. For instance, with respect to the major Islamist attacks of the early twenty-first century, emphasis will be made on reactions from immigrant populations (and not just Muslims) who seize on these situations to confirm their attachment to their host country, as shown in street tributes to victims, which were collected, for instance, in Madrid after the attacks of March 11, 2004, in Paris after the attacks of November 13, 2015, and in Nice after July 14, 2016.

This section relies on different materials from the MMT's own collections or from loans from other heritage institutions (the Archives de Paris, the Musée Carnavalet, Harvard's Charlie Archive, and the INA). The aim is to exhibit materials collected in these situations, in contrast with the past, when efforts to preserve them were rare. The exhibition may include a reconstitution of street memorials, a selection of street art works, messages on social media, signs from gatherings. We would also like to show solidarity gatherings, like the marche républicaine of January 11, 2015—an extraordinary event. Cultural output (books, cartoons, films, songs) could also be used in conjunction with pieces from the MMT collections. We could also add public opinion polls, to help track shifts in individual and collective reactions (CREDOC surveys), and surveys from schools, using the many drawings and materials made by students (Archives de Paris) and the testimonies of teachers and staff (Programme 13-Novembre).

4. Insight from Trials

Trials are a crucial stage in how a terrorist event is remembered in the collective consciousness. While a trial's primary target is one of justice, it also plays a role in reestablishing the social order undermined by an attack. A trial lays out the facts, providing a reliable narrative (completed over time through research) and dispelling *alternative* accounts and conspiracy theories, common to this subject. Trials also reestablish a balance. The trial for the attacks of November 13, 2015, still ongoing at the time of writing, have shown the extent to which debates, depositions, and testimonies can modify the prevailing public perception of an event: here, the other scenes of attack—not just the Bataclan theater—have been given their due. This last section of the permanent exhibition can thus highlight the role played by trials in shaping the collective memory.

Some trials, like the ones for the recent attacks, also play a cathartic role. Covered extensively by the media, trials of major attacks are experienced as *historic*—and therefore memorable—events. As such, they are a source for myriad museum materials to help understand the workings of an act of terrorism and of subsequent reactions, from a different perspective to that shown in other parts of the exhibition.

Exhibiting a trial in a museum setting allows us to take distance and examine different aspects of counterterrorism—challenges, successes, and failures—in a single time and place. It can explain the work of foreign and domestic intelligence agencies, which tends to remain invisible, particularly in terms of attack prevention. It is also a place to show work performed by investigators (police and gendarme), forensic police, specialized departments, and magistrates. Finally, here is the space to explain more generally how a trial works—another example of how the museum goes beyond the question of terrorism.

5. Memorializing Attacks

At the level of society, there is a continuum between immediate reactions to a terrorist attack and longer-term memorial processes. The candles, flowers, messages, drawings, and myriad objects paying *ad hoc* tribute to victims are indeed *memorials*, or a first way for society to signal that the remembrance of a deadly attack matters, that the lives lost deserve to be remembered. This initial form of memorialization at the societal and collective level is then expanded via memorial policies established by public authorities, commemorative events organized by victims' associations, and all cultural and media output (fiction and literary writing, comics, artistic and musical creations, films and televised series, reporting and documentaries, etc.) dealing with a given terrorist attack.

However, not all attacks leave the same impression on the collective memory. Some events stand out, others do not, and this hierarchy can shift over time, as many sociological studies, particularly those by CREDOC for the *Programme 13-Novembre*, have shown.³⁴ Here, we will also be sure to reflect on the reasons for memorializing other types of historic events, like wars. More broadly, we will invite visitors to reflect on how events are memorialized and communicated, at times in ways that distort reality. For instance, why do we in France tend to reduce the attacks of November 13, 2015, to the massacre at the Bataclan theater? And the attacks of September 11, 2001, to the double attack on the World Trade Center? Why is it that what we remember for some attacks is the date, for others the place, and still for others, the name of one of the protagonists (perpetrator or hero)? This choice results from mental and social mechanisms that can be explained to visitors. The museum and memorial complex is precisely the space where forgotten aspects can be remembered and shared with visitors.

34.

<https://www.memoire13novembre.fr/content/les-attentats-du-13-novembre-2015-un-marqueur-de-la-memoire-collective>

D. Exhibition End: A Space to Decompress and Reflect

1. Current Events Room

The plan is to include a current events room to cover new attacks, or any event or news related to the topic at hand, so as not to remain frozen in a framework of despair and silence for the present and future. This space can therefore use different media to communicate legal news (arrests, trials), prevented attacks, the latest research findings, commemorations, initiatives by associations or partner museums, etc.

An idea has also been floated to commission a piece by an artist on the theme of keeping watch for future attacks, either including documentation (media monitoring) or giving the artist carte blanche. The aim would be to symbolize the unfortunate situation of the reproducibility of these attacks.

2. A Space to React

A space at the end of the exhibition will be provided for visitor reactions. This will not be an annex to the exhibition, but an integral component of the museum experience. It could be a simple empty space. Or a place for dialogue and interaction between visitors of different generations, sensitivities, and horizons—people with different experiences and reactions. Or it could be more interactive, with writing or drawing workshops, or a multimedia experience for visitors to provide their own testimony. The point would be to provide visitors with space to breathe at the end of the exhibition.



VII.

Temporary Exhibitions and Cultural Programming

Temporary exhibitions and cultural programming are vital to modern museums, particularly museums of history and society. They attract a broad public and therefore represent a crucial part of the MMT's strategy.

A. Preliminary Exhibitions

A series of events are planned between now and 2027 to introduce the public to the MMT before its inauguration. As part of the MMT's mission to build a national museum, in the full sense of the term, many of these events will take place outside of Paris. The MMT is creating a network of partners and antennae throughout France, particularly with towns directly impacted by acts of terrorism. Two preliminary exhibitions have been planned and will act as pilots for the museum, as the MMT reaches out to target audiences.

The first exhibition is being studied as part of an agreement with the RMN-GP. Running from 2023 to 2025, it would be a travelling and modular exhibition that would present the MMT and its participative mission to different towns. It would test out different museum and presentation formats, as well as continue to pursue and support a collection drive.³⁵

Perhaps in the form of a *museum box*, this exhibition would measure 150 square meters, and include three sections, each featuring different media and artistic creations:

- **Understanding:** this section would use images to explore the history of terrorism and explain why an initiative like the MMT is so important; the idea of a commission from an artist for drawings and comics has been floated here;
- **Memory:** this section would provide a sound environment specially designed to communicate the emotional weight of objects in the MMT collection;
- **Resilience:** this space would feature a video commissioned from an artist to open the debate, encourage discussion, and foster public interaction.

Other interactive media could also be included: tactile tables giving access to different types of content; sound and/or video booth to leave a message, reaction, or testimony; seating that can be taken out or put away to suit particular needs (educational workshops, gatherings, and debates).

A diverse selection of four or five towns would be chosen, in collaboration with the *Association des maires de France*, and will include towns that have been impacted by terrorism or radicalization in recent years. Exhibitions could be implemented in cultural structures for a timeframe ranging from a few weeks to several months, depending on what would be feasible for partner towns.

35.

Reflections on these exhibitions include initial data from the exhibition program designed by the Louvre and the RMN-GP, titled "Arts of Islam: A Past for a Present", with eighteen exhibitions implemented in eighteen different towns, from November 20, 2021, to March 27, 2022.
www.expo-arts-islam.fr



The second preliminary exhibition is the one designed in partnership with middle and high school students, previously described in Chapter III. This exhibition will act as an ambassador for the project with schools. It will take a digital form in 2022, and a material form (in schools, upon request) in 2023.

B. Programming After Inauguration

The thinking behind the temporary exhibitions and cultural programming (lecture series, film festivals, conferences) is to organize events either in connection with current events in the realms of politics (commemorations), culture (film releases), or science (publications), or as a complement to issues featured in the permanent exhibition. Given the subject and its ramifications, this last point demonstrates that the general programming such as it appears here (as of early 2022 or five years before the slated inauguration) is very much subject to modulation and change.

The themes indicated here, some of which were already mentioned in the March 2020 report, are provided as an example; they are not currently representative of concrete plans:

- Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Anarchist Terrorism
- Terrorism During the Algerian War
- Terrorism: Revolutionary and Guerilla Wars
- State Terror and Terrorism
- Terrorism and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict
- Violence and Terrorism in Northern Ireland
- Violence and Terrorism in Latin America
- Freedom and Security in Counterterrorism
- Radicalization, Deradicalization, and Prevention
- Victim Care Within the European Union
- Resilience
- Urgent Care
- Grassroots Memorials (New York, Madrid, Manchester, Paris)
- Terrorism in Series
- Modern Art Exhibitions

VIII.

search

The MMT is a museum of history and society with a direct connection to multi-disciplinary innovative research in human and social sciences as well as cognitive sciences. Given the nature of these topics, which often relate to emerging and stabilizing fields, research plays an essential role. Research is directly connected to the themes covered by the MMT's programming and curation.

Given the MMT's commitments, it can launch or join research programs dealing not only with terrorism but also with broader themes: political violence in general, forms of radicalization, individual and collective memory, trauma, and law and justice. This list is by no means restrictive. As previously mentioned, the nature of the collections, particularly as pertain to court evidence and objects from victims or grieving families, raise many ethical, legal, and technical questions. Such questions may inspire other research topics related to museum handling of sensitive objects or the heritage status of items not clearly identified in the literature. Or they may venture into other disciplines like criminology.

Initially, prior to designing its own research center, the MMT intends to be a resource and meeting space.

A. A Resource Center

The MMT plans to create an in-house resource center that will be an integral part of the institution. It should be designed not just as a library or media library in the usual sense of the term but as a place where anyone can come to access and consult information. Among other things, the center should provide comfortable conditions for accessing information, with expert guidance on the subject at hand, particularly targeted at schools, and featuring multiple digital resources: on MMT collections, the INA, and on terrorism, like the databases that track terrorism worldwide and that have been used to develop the MMT's own database (described in the previous chapter).³⁶

Subject to special authorization, the resource center should also provide on-site access to resources that are not available to the public and that will require advance preparation. We are thinking in particular of the bank of a thousand testimonies collected as part of the aforementioned *Programme 13-Novembre*, on the 2015 attacks.³⁷ These filmed testimonies will be classified as public archives as of 2028, just after the inauguration of the MMT, and will be available for consultation, within prescribed media formats, for research, educational activities, and trainings.

B. Supporting Research

The presence of educators/researchers in residence is vital to the life of the research center. One or two staff members from university or major institutions (CNRS, INSERM,

36.

<https://www.fondapol.org/en/study/islamist-terrorist-attacks-in-the-world-1979-2021/>

International Terrorism: Attributes of Terrorist Events (ITERATE), Duke University, since 1968:
<https://library.duke.edu/data/sources/iterate>

RAND Database of Worldwide Terrorism Incidents, State Department, since 1972:
<https://www.rand.org/nsrd/projects/terrorism-incidents.html>

Global Terrorism Database (GTD), University of Maryland, 1970-2019:
<https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/>

37.

<https://www.memoire13novembre.fr/>

etc.) can be seconded or made available for three to five years, rotating, to run the center, in connection or with the support of their home institution.

The MMT also intends to support research in the following ways:

- three scholarships: master's, doctorate, and post-doctorate;
- two residencies for foreign researchers who can be housed on-site to work on topics in line with the MMT or its collections;
- a prize for doctoral dissertations and master's theses, both endowed, particularly with assistance toward publication, to award original work that makes a major contribution to understanding terrorism and its effects. These prizes could be launched for the 2022-2023 school year;
- an MMT label granted to research projects financed elsewhere.

To this end, the preliminary project team has already made contact with several institutions and research programs:

- the Memory and Resilience platform, created in 2021 by the *Institut des sciences humaines et sociales* at the CNRS, under the coordination of the sociologist Sandrine Lefranc;³⁸
- the cluster *The Pasts in the Present*, an interdisciplinary program bringing together scientific teams and cultural institutions working on memory, heritage, museums, and presentations of history in the digital era;³⁹
- the *Université Paris-Lumières* (Paris 8, Paris 10, CNRS,) with the *Institut des sciences sociales du politique* (ISP), and the *Institut d'histoire du temps présent* (IHTP);
- the *Université de Nantes*;
- the *Programme 13-Novembre* co-directed by Francis Eustache, a neuroscientist and member of the scientific and cultural board at the MMT, and Denis Peschanski, a historian and associate member of the MMT;
- the initiative for *Justice et pénalité sous l'influence du terrorisme contemporain* (JUPITER), at the *Université de Normandie*, coordinated by Antoine Mégie, a political scientist, and funded by the *Mission Droit et Justice*;
- the initiative for *Victimes et associations de victimes dans les procès des attentats de janvier et novembre 2015*, piloted by Sylvain Antichan and Sarah Gensburger, an associate member of the MMT, also funded by the *Mission Droit et Justice*.

As part of the preliminary strategy, two research seminars were developed by members of the team, in collaboration with universities, for the 2021-2022 academic year:

- *Les musées-mémoriaux, ou la patrimonialisation de la mémoire vive* [museums and memorials, or living memory as heritage], in partnership with the *École du Louvre*, the *Institut national du patrimoine*, and the University of Quebec in Montreal, coordinated by Jacqueline Eidelman (member of the MMT's permanent team), Anik Meunier, and Mathias Blanc.

This seminar covers museum and memorial complexes, studying the history of the present time and its heritage status around the world. With the dual ambition of being museums and memorials, these sites question the relationships between history, social memory, and individual memory. The seminar is global in scope, with examples from

38.

<https://www.inshs.cnrs.fr/index.php/fr/appel-manifestation-dinteret-plateforme-memoire-et-resilience-inshs-2021>

39.

<http://passes-present.eu/en>

Europe, North America, South America, Africa, Asia, and Oceania. It also contributes to the MMT project, in cooperation with the *École du Louvre*.⁴⁰

- *Terrorisme, anti-terrorisme et sciences sociales* [terrorism, counterterrorism, and the social sciences], in partnership with the *Université Paris Lumières*, coordinated by Gérôme Truc (member of the MMT's permanent team), Vanessa Codaccioni, and Emmanuel Cayre.

This seminar will be launched in 2022. It seeks to become a forum for discussion and exchange on the state of research on terrorism and counterterrorism in the social sciences, in France and abroad. Discussion topics will include current research (e.g., on the trials) and recent publications, with the aim of getting beyond disciplinary borders and creating dialogue between different fields of research: terrorism studies, critical approaches, studies on the social impacts of terrorism, analyzing counterterrorism public policies, and so forth.

40.

<https://musee-memorial-terrorisme.fr/agenda/evenement/les-musees-memoriaux-et-la-patrimonialisation-de-la-memoire-vive>



IX.

The Digital Strategy

Digital strategies impact different facets of twenty-first century museums: administration, documentation, collections, managing works, communications, experience development, and so forth. An interdepartmental vision will therefore be vital in the hiring of digital professionals, the provision of adequate equipment, and organization (shared resources, digital programs, the creation of local databases). To that end, the MMT has planned for a dedicated IT and digital communications department, keeping in mind that this is a rapidly changing field. Three facets of this strategy are described or redescribed here: the website, digitization of collections, and visit experiences.

A. The Website

The website (www.musee-memorial-terrorisme.fr) is the project's main tool of communication developed by the preliminary project team. It presents the genesis and development of the MMT, responds to basic questions raised by this initiative (why? how? when? and who are the players behind the MMT?). It also shows that this initiative was designed in cooperation with the public and partners. Finally, it gives the MMT a space to exist prior to its inauguration. Here, the MMT can communicate on the progress of the site's construction and the different preliminary events.

1. Communication, Information

The website performs different functions: controlling the MMT's institutional image, bringing the MMT national and international visibility, providing a space to describe the stakes of the project and its objectives, and monitoring news. The public targeted by the website is by definition broad. It addresses a French-speaking public, even if it seeks to expand its visibility very soon thanks to a full English translation, and then in another language after the GIP has transitioned into a public institution (to comply with the law of August 4, 1994). The website includes a statistical reporting tool—Matomo—which gathers data on site visibility, user behavior, and user profiles, but preserves the confidentiality of personal data and private life. The MMT intends to review statistics six months after opening, and then annually after that to understand user traffic and work to improve the presentation.

2. Production

The website is hosted by the RMN-GP, a public institution. It went live on November 18, 2021. It is physically hosted by Oxyd, SARL, a single member company, and designed by Nodevo. The graphic identity was created by Graphéine, which also designed the MMT's visual identity (see Chapter XI).

In terms of digital security and cybercrime prevention, the host (RMN) has established a protection policy that includes securing physical equipment, regular data saving, protection from viruses and intrusions, and secure access to the system. In addition, it includes a service resilience plan: saving, service relaunch, crisis management system, etc.

The chosen platform highlights news and events, which are visible on the home page. It facilitates page sharing over social media and other web services. It immerses

viewers thanks to large images posted on all of the site's pages. These different features give the project a dynamic image that is anchored in the present.

The website features a menu with six headings and twenty-six subheadings that break down the major aspects of the project: place of remembrance, place of understanding, place of learning; the cross-disciplinary dimensions, news, and the universalist ambition of offering a space for sharing.

The choice of images and videos, the writing, and the graphics have all been made to address a broad public. The website adheres to the same principles guiding the permanent exhibition and programming, which are outlined in the ethics charter described in Chapter V: respecting sensibilities, taking distance, and handling violence with special care.

B. Digital Collections

Digital plays a central role in object conservation, restoration, distribution, and appreciation. This can be seen in most *Musées de France* institutions, and it will also be the case for the MMT.

1. Tools and Processes

Flora-Musées by Decalog (described in Chapter IV) is the software chosen for inventory, documentation, and collection management. Access will be managed by an administrator and granted for different user profiles (curator, administrator, coordinator, researcher). It is hosted on an OVH server which will ensure data are saved every two weeks.

For collection indexing, the MMT uses the thesaurus from the *Musées de France*, which we can update regularly to cohere with collection specificities. All data—the bibliography (links with other catalogs), archives, documents, and transfers with one hundred potential branches—are created in connection with the objects.

Flora-Musées will be operational with other databases: Joconde and the Pop platform for heritage and museums, the BNF, and different archive centers. An inquiry has been made on whether or not data from Flora can be operational in conjunction with the France Archives database. Data standards are currently being finalized, with a deadline planned for February 2022. Members of the collection acquisitions team (including interns from the *École du Louvre*) and researchers have received training in database use.

For the time being, and as has been mentioned above, a choice has been made to classify all objects as research materials until decisions can be made by the MMT acquisitions committee as to their statuses. The acquisitions committee will comply with the curation procedure laid out in the law of March 2022 for *Musées de France* institutions.⁴¹ The curator responsible for collection acquisitions will be responsible for approving scientific and administrative data.

Data standards will help determine input profiles, mandatory fields, the number of fields, themes, etc. In addition to textual documentation, data can include video, sound, and image documentation. The collection acquisitions process includes a photograph cover that is entirely digital and directly integrated in the Flora-Musées database.

41.

Text updated in the law of July 7, 2016, Création-Architecture-Patrimoine.

2. Virtual Collections

Online virtual collections reach audiences outside of museum walls, providing an immediate, free experience for people interested in the collections, and particularly people who cannot physically visit the space due to geographical, physical, or other constraints.

They also offer the possibility of displaying interesting objects that do not cohere with museum exhibitions or cannot be shown for other reasons (as in the case of some fragile pieces). Digital collections are also a marketing tool that may entice people into coming to the MMT. In addition, they foster interactions with objects via different media: video, sound, images, texts. Finally, the online catalog is a research tool that makes it possible to view the collections from different angles.

The publication of select data from the collection inventory relies on functions within Flora-Musées and its specialized indexing software for heritage collections, which includes a system for managing profiles and authorized users that lets us limit access to all or part of the collections based on criteria we can define (creating a profile, case by case authorization requests, etc.).

At the same time, the website will allow us to create theme-based and educational presentations of our collections using an album format. An album is itself a *collection* that can be divided into different *periods*. Each *period* contains *collection objects*. The advantage of this presentation format is its focus on select objects. Moreover, it should allow us to introduce users to our permanent collections and thereby fulfill the MMT's objectives of remembrance, emphasis on the unique lives of victims, and providing information.

In view of the special nature of the collections at the MMT, our virtual collections and the decision to grant free access to them, particularly over social media, will adhere to the ethical charter and will respect the wishes of donors and victims' associations, as expressed in advisory sessions.

C. Digital Services: Visit and Experience

Through the aforementioned *phygital* strategy, a cross between digital and human experiences, a wide array of digital services will be available to visitors to help them plan their visit, navigate exhibitions, and extend their experience.

The MMT will feature a virtual ticketing service and a digital reservation system. For group visits, the MMT will be sure to favor online reservation platforms that respect standards for professional guides.

Digital experiences will be included in the permanent exhibitions: digital posts (tactile interfaces with multiple voices and different levels of reading), sound and confessional bubbles (emphasis on individual listening), and interactive experiences (digital tables with or without contact). Remote digital services will let visitors plan their visits using downloadable applications. This will give them an opportunity to personalize or share their experience. Podcasts will also play a special role, particularly for existing oral archives (like the INA archives or testimonies at the BNF) and the production of the MMT's own *native podcasts*. *Narrative portraits* are also a possibility, like the ones produced by the INA.

The MMT will use virtual guided visits for school children.⁴² Interactions with guides will be encouraged during the visit, followed by a guided activity that will help provide depth to the subjects covered in the visit. Virtual visits on the website will also be designed for adult visitors; their success during the pandemic has compelled us to develop them. The MMT will also begin reflections on the design of a digital educational toolbox, inspired by other recent examples, particularly the toolbox created by the *Musée d'art et d'histoire du judaïsme* (MAHJ) and the *Institut du Monde Arabe* (IMA).⁴³

The MMT will participate in MuseumWeek, an annual virtual event, and will reach out to the Museomix community to test digital experiences before and after the inauguration.⁴⁴ The MMT may also host webinars, similar to those held by the 9/11 Memorial and Museum in New York, notably for school age children and university students.⁴⁵

42.

www.club-innovation-culture.fr/tour-monde-visites-scolaires-virtuelles

43.

www.mahj.org/fr/la-mallette-numerique-cultures-en-partage-du-mahj-et-de-l-ima

44.

www.museum-week.org et www.museomix.org/msx_edition/2021-2

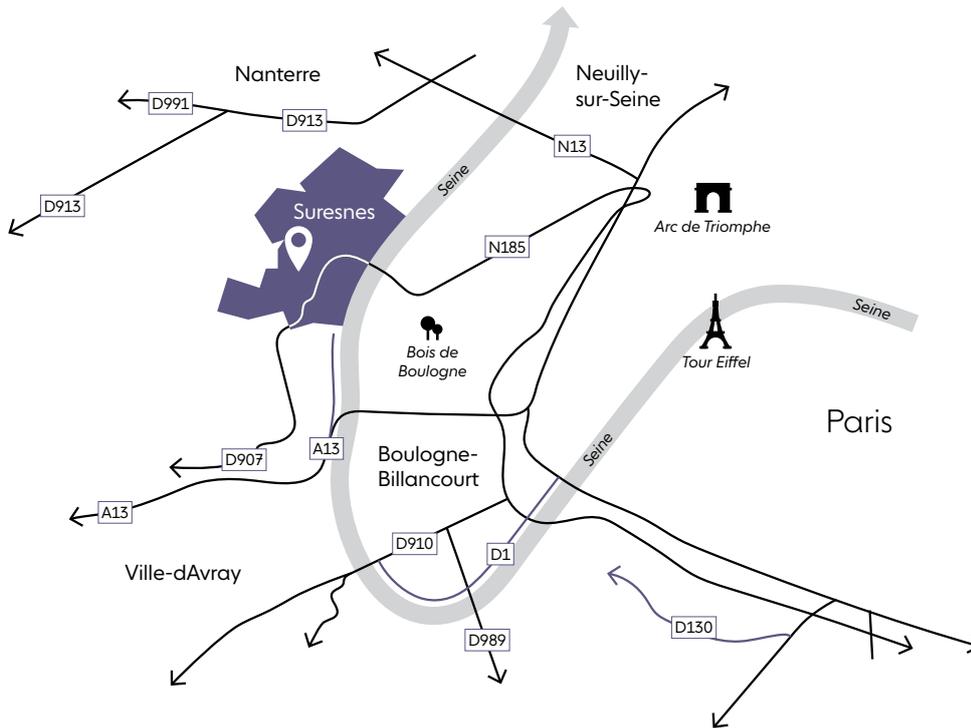
45.

www.911memorial.org/learn/students-and-teachers/anniversary-schools-webinar

X.

The Location and the Building

On May 11, 2021, the French president announced that the *École de Plein Air* of Suresnes, on Mont-Valérien, had been chosen to house the MMT. The new museum will be located in some of the current offices of the *Institut national supérieur de formation et de recherche pour l'éducation des jeunes handicapés et les enseignements adaptés* (INSHEA), which will change locations between now and 2024.



A. An Exceptional Location

1. A Special Location That Is Full of Meaning

The symbolism of this location highlights two of the main features of this initiative: resilience and resistance. Resilience is reflected in the initial purpose of this location, which was designed for ailing children in the 1930s. Resistance comes from its proximity to the *Mémorial de la France combattante*, a memorial to French fighters of the Second World War.

The site is located in west Suresnes, in the Hauts de Seine (92), just six kilometers from Paris. Situated in the mostly residential *Plateau Ouest* district of the town, the building stands in the northern part of the site and is currently used by the INSHEA. The site is made up of two parcels: in the north, parcel 000 AK 3, measuring 15,709 square meters, where the former *École de Plein Air* sits, and parcel 000 AK 76, measuring 7,722 square meters in the south, where annex buildings were built in the 1950s which stand at the current site entrance; the historic entrance is located in the northern part of the site at 104 *rue de la Procession* and 15 *chemin de la Motte*.

Located on the southern slope of Mont Valérien, the site enjoys exposure to the sun and a dominant position.

Economically speaking, the site is located in a suburb west of Paris, along the Seine riverbank, and therefore benefits from the attractiveness of Suresnes, just outside of Paris and near economic hubs: La Défense, Boulogne-Billancourt, Vélizy, Issy-les-Moulineaux, etc. In addition to its location west of Paris, Suresnes is part of the Greater Paris scheme and many urban initiatives. It abuts an *Opération d'Intérêt National* (OIN), a special urban planning scheme with strong urban and economic potential, known as La Défense and Massy-Saclay-Versailles-St-Quentin-en-Yvelines.

2. An Urban and Natural Experience for Heritage and Remembrance

The former *École de Plein Air* is part of a twentieth-century city tour offered by the town of Suresnes and the *Musée d'Histoire et urbaine et sociale* (MUS). The tour introduces visitors to the town's rich history, particularly on the social commitments of its former mayor, Henri Sellier, in the 1930s. The site's inclusion in this experience is a real asset which the MMT hopes to enhance by offering future visitors the opportunity to access the upper patio of the main building, where they will be treated to an exquisite view of western Paris.

The MMT will also be part of a remembrance tour, thanks to its proximity to the *Mémorial de la France combattante*, a memorial to French fighters of the Second World War which receives approximately 20,000 visitors per year (the MMT has contacted its trusteeship—the *Office national des anciens combattants et victimes de guerre*), the American Cemetery of Suresnes, and *La Contemporaine* at the *Université de Nanterre*, which has just reopened and which the MMT should contact.

Finally, the site features a remarkable natural setting, thanks to 1.57 hectares of lush, wooded grounds, its proximity to the Parc des Langes (29.2 hectares), a popular place for walkers, and the nearby *Tour du Mont-Valérien* walking path—an ecological destination within greater Paris.

The site's water features are also worth noting, with pools throughout the grounds, notably at the foot of the octagonal pavilion, that can be revitalized.



Aerial views of the site (source: Google Earth)

3. A Destination

The choice of this site makes the MMT a destination unto itself since it will be farther afield from the major tourist hubs within Paris. The MMT should therefore provide services for a longer visit. Visitors will not come upon the MMT by chance, and this can be an asset.

Although Suresnes can be reached easily by public transportation, the last leg of the trip, between the Suresnes-Mont Valérien (SNCF, lines L and U) and Suresnes-Longchamp (T2) stations, at the southeast foot of Mont-Valérien, is more difficult. Indeed, this long stretch (800 meters-1 kilometer) includes an incline (80 meters) that visitors will have to climb before reaching the former *École de Plein Air*. A bus can be taken to get to the southern part of the site, but its schedule is limited. It will be worth thinking about increasing bus frequency and extending the line to the northern part of the site. There is a station planned to open in 2025/2030 for line 15, at Rueil-Suresnes Mont-Valérien, or 800 meters to the west of the site, over relatively flat terrain. This will help increase site accessibility.

Road accessibility is typical of residential areas (apartment complexes and single-family homes), with standard lane widths. Roads leading to the MMT also include steep inclines. Tour buses could be accommodated in the upper part of the site, with parking available in the nearby *Abbé Franz Stock* parking lot. Given the limited parking available on site for personal vehicles, spaces should be reserved for personnel; visitors will be able to find street parking.

The former entrances to the *École de Plein Air* could be restored so that public access to the MMT could take the form of the site's initial layout.

4. Pioneering Architecture Promoting Health and a Social Cause

Open air schools were part of a movement in Europe that started at the beginning of the twentieth century to prevent tuberculosis. Their construction combined air and light to offer children a space to flourish, both physically and intellectually. The open air school in Suresnes was built between 1932 and 1935 under the impetus of Henri Sellier, who commissioned the architects Eugène Beaudouin and Marcel Lods to design the space.

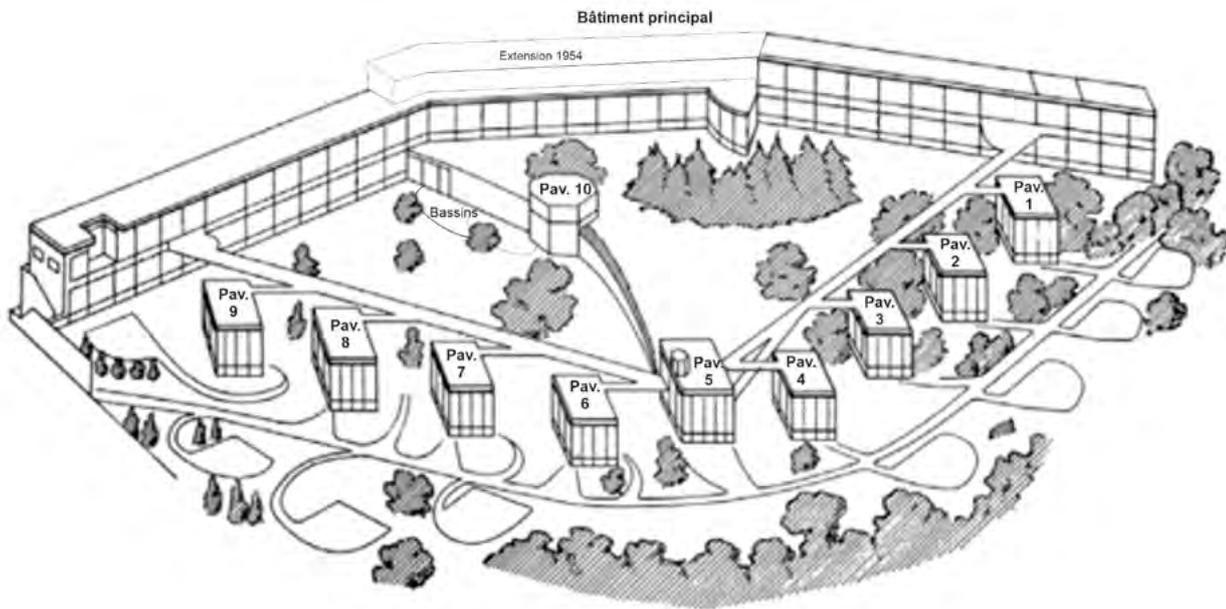
A globe measuring 5 meters feet in diameter, located at the entrance of the school, is a testament to the educational mission of this space and marks the high point of the site. It was restored in 2018 by the *Musée de Suresnes*, with the exception of the metal ramp encircling the globe, which had fallen into disrepair and was removed in the late 1990s.



(Source: *Musée d'histoire urbaine et sociale de Suresnes* – © MUS ADAGP)

Architecture Embedded in the Natural and Bioclimatic Environment

Beaudouin and Lods strove to respect the existing vegetation and original terrain, making no substantial changes to the topography and incorporating the two slopes that run north-south and east-west into their design. They leveraged the irregular parcel by placing a long building on the top of the slope to function as a barrier against the cold northern winds. This main building takes the shape of the terrain on which it sits, forming a 200-meter broken line made up of three parts that embrace the slope and open up onto the grounds' two levels.



Axonometric drawing, current state (source: see note 46 below)

The design by Beaudouin and Lods takes advantage of the site's orientation, with a main building featuring closed and mineral facades. The northern side is made up of Contex panels (concrete embedded with pebbles) and the southern side has windows and opens up onto the outdoors. The contrast between opaque facades and glass windows is a distinctive feature of this project. The design principle was also applied to the pavilions.

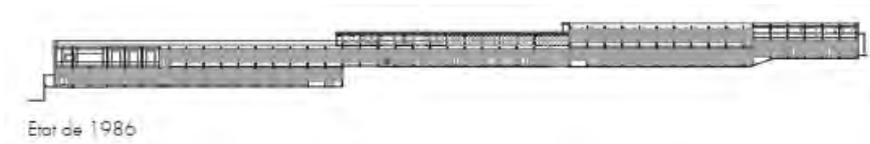
Northern facade in Contex concrete / Glass window facade



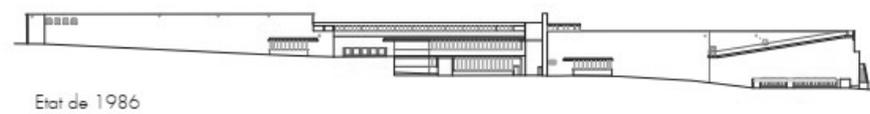
(Source: see note 45 below)

Site layout

Southern facades:



Northern facades:



(Source: see note 45 below)

Southern facades of the main building and a pavilion



Overview snapshots of the site (source: OPPIC)

5. The Space

Initially, the western part of the main building was intended for boys and the eastern part for girls. However, this gender-based separation was never applied. The central part housed the nursery school. Each of these three parts includes an entrance pavilion on the northern side that intersects the large opaque wall, pierced with openings. On the garden side, the building is almost entirely made up of glass windows opening onto the grounds.

Spread over the grounds, rectangular pavilions housed classrooms linked together via an upper runway. The runway is divided into two branches, extending from the eastern and western parts of the main building to the center of the garden. Each of these branches included four classrooms, with one pavilion located at the intersection of the two runways. The nine pavilions form a rectangle measuring 11 meters by 7 meters. They are spread out at regular intervals, with a gap measuring one pavilion's width between them. A larger, two-story octagon pavilion is located in the center of the courtyard and is directly linked to the main building thanks to a covered runway.

The building entrances are located on the north side, through small niches coming out of the main building. Initially, these niches were the only openings in the northern facade, with the garages located at the end of the western wing. In addition to featuring one of the entrances, the main pavilion also includes the maintenance station.

The main building is relatively low, with at most one or two levels above the ground. The building follows the slope of the terrain, featuring two levels on the western extremity (the lowest part), a single level in the central part (on the upslope), and two levels for the eastern part. The classroom pavilions are one story, and their roofs are accessible thanks to the runway linking them together. They were used as a solarium for the children. The pavilion located at the intersection of the two runways and the octagonal pavilion in the center of the grounds (in the space with the greatest variation in level) are the only to feature several stories. The intersection pavilion has two levels and a basement. The octagonal pavilion is anchored in the terrain, with a level giving onto the boys' courtyard (the lowest level) and a level opening onto the nursery school courtyard (higher up). The interior furnishings were selected with particular care, to which some familiar with the school can still attest, and as can be found in public collections.

Various modifications have been made over time, including the construction of an elevated extension on the main building's patio and annex buildings in the southern and eastern parts of the site in the 1950s. Some adjustments were also made on the grounds, for instance to the main building and pavilion spaces during a 1980s restoration campaign.

In addition to the buildings in the southern part of the parcel, the INSHEA currently occupies spaces in the *Ecole de Plein Air* which it uses for training spaces, dining facilities, offices, and staff housing. Approximately 20% of the space is not currently being used.

The site features approximately 4,300 square meters of usable space, divided into four levels and subdivided into 3,400 square meters of usable space in the main building—which is narrow but features high ceilings, lending itself to a museum space—and 900 square meters of usable space for the ten pavilions, which can be used for different purposes (gatherings, meetings, workshops, etc.).

6. Unique Outdoor and Indoor Circulation

Another defining feature is the circulation design, through interior and exterior ramps, which allow users to access different parts of the building, including the outdoor patios (from the main building and the pavilions) that originally served as a solarium: “to link all the constitutive parts of the Suresnes school, the architects opted for ramps

over stairs, which they believed broke up the rhythm and group cohesion. All the ramps are located in the main building, with the exception of one ramp, located on the northern side, which links the dining hall and the dormitory to the rooftop patio, on the boys' side." ⁴⁶ The runway linking the pavilions is part of a larger grouping and was designed to promote fluid circulation for the children throughout their day.

As previously mentioned, another specificity of this site is the concerted effort to integrate the buildings into their environment and open them onto the outdoors, with windows on the facades that can be folded or retracted (sliding, accordion, or sash windows). The initiative planned for green classrooms, and particular care was given to the design of the grounds. In particular, the architects preserved the trees existing on site prior to the construction of the school. Some of these trees are now classified as *arbres remarquables* [veteran trees].

7. Innovative Techniques

The design of this school was an opportunity for the architects to use innovative techniques for their era. In particular, they opted for a lighter metal framework and prefabricated concrete slabs. The exterior Contex paneling was also an innovation at the time. Similarly, the asphalt and pavement surface for the patios was still experimental. And so was the use of glass slabs in some spaces. Comfort when facades were open was ensured thanks to a system of air flow on the pavilion facades in particular. Other choices were more problematic, like the waterproofing of patios or the ease of use for window opening; and blinds were added to the facades.

8. Preserving a Heritage Site

The MMT will breathe new life into this space, both preserving and highlighting the architectural and scenic heritage of this historic monument. The building has suffered the ravages of time and has been subject to clumsy modifications and restorations. Today, the building presents contrasting sanitary, technical, and regulatory conditions that will necessitate significant restoration/renovation work. Many studies are underway to determine exactly what needs to be done in terms of heritage preservation and restoration, and in terms of technical, environmental, and regulatory renovations.

46.

François Rougeron, *L'école de plein-air de Suresnes*, Aboutissement d'une réflexion sociale, École polytechnique fédérale de Lausanne, 2017, some of this chapter comes from this book.



B. Preliminary Outline of Needs

In view of the initiative’s objectives and mission, a framework of program needs, in terms of activities, spaces, and surface areas, has been developed to optimize site use and potential. This *preliminary outline* is one of the components of the preliminary studies currently underway, as indicated in the calendar below. It is currently broken down as follows:

OUTLINE OF SPACE NEEDS	US	
	Outdoor	Indoor
Esplanade	X	
Garden	X	
Reception		235 m ²
Bookshop		120 m ²
Restaurant		170 m ²
Memorial (indoor space)		150 m ²
Mémorial (outdoor space)	300 m ²	
Permanent Exhibition		1350 m ²
Temporary Exhibition		
Learning center		265 m ²
Auditorium (with its lobby)		420 m ²
Seminar Rooms / Catering Space		195 m ²
Resource Space		180 m ²
Management / Internal Departments		370 m ²
Museum Logistics		220 m ²
	Subtotal =	3 675 m²
General Logistics		275 m ²
Total usable space, excluding outdoor spaces <small>(indoor usable space for activities, excluding circulation, technical spaces, walls, and partitions)</small>		3950 m²

This preliminary outline reflects the main aspects of the initial outline proposed in March 2020, with considerable emphasis placed on outdoor spaces that open onto the city but that can be secured easily. This duality is reflected in the organization of the site, with a building acting as a wall in the north and grounds that can be controlled easily.

→ Outdoor spaces

The grounds more than meet the criteria, with a high-quality green space and the presence of outdoor water features. Gatherings of 100-150 people during ceremonies, including the French day of remembrance on March 11th, could be planned in the garden or on the main building's patio.

→ Public entrances and services

The entrance spaces are a first transition between the outdoors and the indoors, and they play a crucial role in how this type of institution is perceived. They provide a transition between the city and the core of the initiative. They can take different forms, but should always strive to *prepare* visitors, while also giving them the freedom to have their own experiences. These spaces should avoid being intimidating. They should extend a gracious welcome to all visitors.

Given the environment of the site and the museum and memorial concept, we suggest offering related services, like dining and a bookshop/gift shop. We can imagine a range of dining choices to reflect different uses of the space and the time people will be spending here: a cafeteria in public areas, a bistronomie restaurant for fifty diners, and a food truck in the park in warmer seasons. The bookshop/gift shop will be a reference site, with the sale of relevant books, multimedia, and objects (posters, for instance) that cohere with the project.

Also related to the idea of welcome, the notions of inclusion and community embedded in the concept of a third place are part of the visitor mission at the future museum and memorial. To that end, one or several informal spaces should be planned where all visitors can spend a moment, by themselves or in small groups, for informal get-togethers or discussions, or to have some time alone in a space whose purpose is not predetermined, during or after the visit—or even unconnected to a visit.

→ Memorial

The memorial properly speaking could be an outdoor or indoor space, currently estimated at 450 square meters (including at least 150 square meters indoors).

→ Exhibitions

Given the scope of the project, the space for exhibitions should be extensive. A space measuring 1,350 square meters therefore seems appropriate for the scientific and museum project. It could be broken down in the following way:

- 950 to 1,000 m² for the permanent exhibition, where the museum themes could be complemented by a space for introducing the site and its history. It should be possible to update the museum experience, either partially or completely, over time; to facilitate such changes, we are imagining flexible spaces that can be adjusted, in a budget-friendly way, to accommodate evolutions in the exhibitions, and without posing any major technical difficulties;
- A module for temporary exhibitions measuring 250 m². Temporary exhibitions are crucial opportunities to develop special themes or current events. In addition, thanks to the specificities of the site, smaller capsule collections could be installed in the pavilions (+ 100 m² minimum).

→ Educational spaces

Educational spaces play a decisive role in this initiative. The same goes for welcoming special visitors (victims' associations, professionals). The museum and memorial should therefore feature at least two spaces, so two separate groups can be hosted at the same time, together with a picnic room where school groups can plan their visit or eat.

→ Gathering spaces

Like temporary exhibitions, gathering spaces (auditorium, meeting spaces, and seminar rooms) are vital to the MMT. An auditorium with potentially retractable seating for 120 people has been planned, along with fully equipped meeting rooms for 25-30 people.

→ Resource center

The resource center is another key component of the initiative. It could feature some seating for researching, web viewing stations, and a collection of 5,000 books, periodicals, and visual and sound documentation. In particular, this center will appeal to researchers, who will be provided with individual or small group workstations.

→ Internal departments and logistics

There will also be space for site management and logistics. In terms of tertiary spaces (offices) for the museum and memorial team, we should consider staff projections and the specificities of the EPA site. Logistics will include:

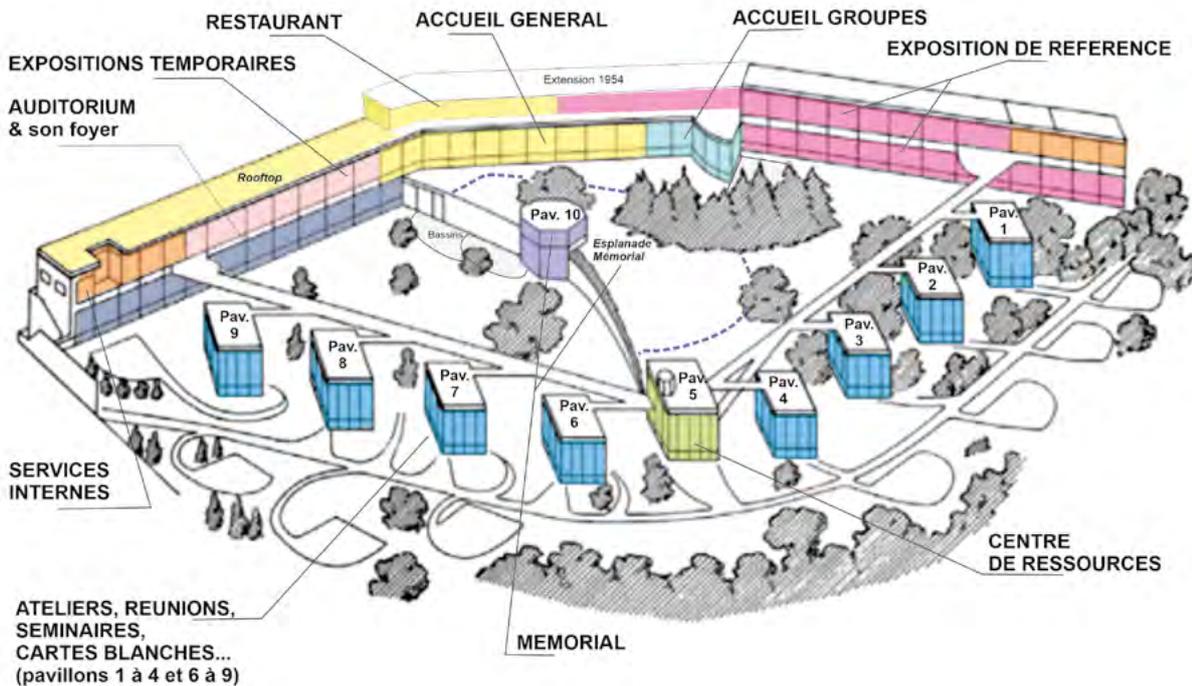
- Museum operations: mounting/dismantling/managing exhibitions, collection transfers. Collection conservation will not be done on site. It will most likely be externalized, which is common to many museum institutions; a shared collection storage space with another institution may also be planned;
- General logistics covering all the activities and spaces linked to using and maintaining the building and the site: technical transit, general storage, maintenance workshop, offices for custodial and maintenance services, staff offices, surveillance, security, fire, and safety office.

Overall, the usable space required for this initiative is estimated at approximately 3,950 square meters.

C. Installation Feasibility

A feasibility study is currently underway, for an expert assessment on adapting the site to the project needs, taking into account architectural, technical, economic, and temporal factors. At this time, we cannot provide a complete picture of all of these aspects, particularly for the budget and precise planning.

The installation scenario provided by the study has generally confirmed the adaptability of the site, its qualities, and unique features to the MMT's needs, in terms of surface area and configuration, both indoors and outdoors. Special attention nevertheless should be paid to optimizing the spaces in such a way that respects the original architecture. The plan for investing the space, currently under examination, seeks to use the current spaces, without any extensions expected, and recapture the original configuration as best we can. The intention is to respect the spirit of this place by using the original design by Beaudouin and Lods to configure the various aspects of the preliminary program. The 1950s level 4 extension to the main building will nevertheless be preserved and repurposed to meet the needs of the museum and memorial. Installation and intervention guidelines have been developed to cohere with this interplay between the site and the MMT's planned use of space:



Axonometric drawing of the potential scenario proposed by the preliminary project team (Source: OPPIC)

In the main building:

- On the lower ground floor (level 1), general logistics and museum functions, main technical offices (echoing the original functions);
- On the upper ground floor (level 2), the auditorium and its lobby, which open onto the lower level of the park, enjoying restricted access from the road side;
- On level 3, general and group entrances, the bookshop/gift shop, temporary exhibitions, the first part of the permanent exhibition, offices on the far west in one of the current residences;
- On level 4, the restaurant in the 1950s extension, including the large patio (can be used as a rooftop venue and space for hosting larger group events), the second part of the permanent exhibition, offices on the far east, in one of the current residences.

In the single-story rectangular pavilions (1 to 4 and 6 to 9 in the plans):

- Educational workshop activities, meetings, seminars, small exhibitions, open programming, etc. One of these pavilions could provide a reconstitution of the original site and/or feature a museum module on the site and its history.

In the octagon pavilion (10):

- Located in the center of the architectural ground plan, at the intersection between the main building, which will house the permanent exhibition, and the nine other pavilions (whose purpose will be defined over time), this space and its topography, surface, and architecture offer ideal conditions for the memorial;
- In the upper level, the indoor part of the memorial opens onto the large esplanade, with easy access to the public entrance area;
- In addition, the upper level of this pavilion is large enough to accommodate indoor and outdoor gatherings (approximately 80 square meters). It can be opened on all sides thanks to its system of sliding windows, which is one of the unique features of the former *École de Plein Air* (conditional on the forthcoming diagnostic report);
- The lower level of this pavilion, due to its configuration and low ceilings, can offer a space for reflection, or a kind of crypt.



Overview of the octagon pavilion (left), view of the upper part (center), view of the octagon pavilion and pool (right) (photographs by Julien Thomast)

In the multi-level rectangle pavilion (5):

- It could house the resource center, which would then sit at the center of the site (it is already home to a library).

Grounds:

- This is one of the most exquisite aspects of the site, and it provides many opportunities. Temporary or permanent works of art—plastic arts, photographs, musical pieces—can be displayed here. Victims' associations have been particularly supportive of that idea. The symbolism of trees can also be emphasized here. Trees are a universal element which can be found on many memorial sites—on the Island of Utøya, near Oslo, for instance. This often takes the form of an olive tree, where messages from victims' families and visitors can be hung. The symbol of water, another feature that is common to memorials (Oklahoma City, New York, Oslo), can also be highlighted, thanks to the pools of water on the site.

The spaces provided on site generally cohere at this stage with the program framework and will facilitate smooth operations for all of the MMT's functions.

D. Calendar

As mentioned in the report submitted to the prime minister in March 2020, this type of initiative typically unfolds over several stages:

- A pre-preliminary phase with a general concept (March 2020 report);
- A preliminary phase, in which this document, and the scientific and cultural program it details, represents a key step (March 2022);
- An inauguration planning phase and, in parallel, an operational phase for designing and implementing a real estate project;
- Public inauguration.

1. Preliminary Phase and Preliminary Studies

The project is currently in the preliminary phase, which includes preliminary studies. During the inter-ministerial meeting of July 19, 2021, it was decided that the GIP would entrust the OPPIC with performing preliminary studies necessary for creating specifications for future designers. These preliminary studies began in September 2021. After a year's time, they will make up a comprehensive file, including diagnostic studies of the site, the definition of a program, an estimated budget, and an estimated schedule.

These studies include two major phases:

- A preliminary situational analysis and first feasibility study for the creation of the museum and memorial on the site (for early 2022);
- More in-depth feasibility, after complementary diagnostics and technical surveys on the site (for summer 2022).

Preliminary studies strive to provide expert insight into the project and all aspects of its feasibility. They will deal with questions related to heritage, operations, technical issues, the environment, public safety and security, and the budget and schedule. The aim is to produce relevant specifications for future museum and memorial designers on the Suresnes site.

2. Next Stages of the Project and Provisional Timetable

A review of the timetable set out in March 2020 and a description of how the project will unfold (preliminary events planned from now until 2027 are also covered):

Provisional timetable for the creation of the museum and memorial

TIME FRAME	LOGISTICS	BUILDING PROJECT	PRELIMINARY EVENTS
<i>March 2022: Scientific and cultural program submitted to the French president</i>			
2022	Preliminary stage	Finalization of preliminary studies. Stabilization of provisional budgets for building project investment (summer 2022)	Educational exhibition (1) Digital version (Summer 2022)
Year 0 (2022 ou 2023)	Preliminary stage Budget mobilization and contracting authority, site launch	Launch of building project, review and selection of lead contractor	Traveling educational exhibition (2), outside of museum walls (September 2023)
Year 1	Pre-inauguration planning	Site and renovation studies (>12-18 months)	Preliminary traveling modules (under consideration)
Year 2		Tendering	
Year 3 - 5		Renovation/construction (timeline to be determined)	
Year 5 - 6	Inauguration, public opening		

Now that the site of the MMT has been selected, the launch of the building project can begin once it has been approved by the administration and once the current occupants have vacated the premises (late 2023). The creation of a contracting authority and a commitment to provide the necessary budget are prerequisites to this launch.

Another parameter that may affect the project timeline is the selection of one or multiple contractors to work with the *architecte en chef des monuments historiques* (ACMH). Contractors must be competent as to the local specificities of the site (contractor designated for the works on the *École de Plein Air*, which is a historic monument belonging to the state). The selection process for this/these contractor(s) (architects, landscapers, production designers, etc.) may have an impact on the timetable (between eight months and one year).

Given the current condition of the site and its special features, the provisional timeline for the site renovation should be reasonable. Beyond the need for extensive architectural and landscape renovations, building components (structure, covered enclosures) raise interesting and rare questions for renovators, particularly with respect to the adjustable glass window facades and the walls in pebble-incrusted concrete. Moreover, studies are currently underway to determine if building structures need reinforcement for renewed use.



Le choix d'une ou plusieurs équipes de maîtres d'œuvre en complément de l'architecte en chef des monuments historiques (ACMH) territorialement compétent (maître d'œuvre désigné sur les parties classées de l'ancienne École de plein air, monument historique appartenant à l'État) sera aussi l'un des paramètres pouvant jouer sur la durée de l'opération. Le mode de désignation de ce ou de ces maîtres d'œuvre (architectes, paysagistes, scénographes...) peut influencer sur le planning (de 8 mois à plus d'un an).

L'état actuel et les caractéristiques du site nécessitent d'être prudent sur la durée prévisionnelle des travaux. Outre la nécessité d'une rénovation architecturale et paysagère lourde, les éléments constitutifs des bâtiments (structure, clos couvert) soulèvent des questions de restauration passionnantes mais rarement traitées, en particulier pour ce qui concerne tous les éléments de façade vitrés et mobiles ou encore les parements de béton incrusté de galets. La nécessité de renforcer la structure des bâtiments au vu des nouveaux usages est par ailleurs en cours d'expertise.

XI.

The Institution

The purpose of this Scientific and Cultural Program is to provide decision-making tools on the legal status of the future institution and on the investment and operations budgets. It also seeks to outline aspects affecting its communication strategy and inclusion in the local community. These are the issues covered in this next part.

A. Legal Framework

The agreement laying out the scope of the GIP provides a term of two years, which can be renewed once via a general meeting vote, extending the term until February 1, 2025. If the option to renew is indeed taken, that is the date by which a determination will have to be made as to whether or not the GIP should give way to a new institutional form. The next four years will therefore be decisive for configuring such a structure, to meet the missions of the MMT. In any event, questions of governance and project management fall under the purview of inter-ministerial decision-making, and decisions have not been made as of the time of writing.

B. Economic Model

The MMT performs a public service in the full meaning of the term, and this is reflected in its mission, the reasons for its creation, and its ethical commitments. It has been designed for the community as a means of representing fundamental values on a sensitive issue. The economic model should reflect this mission. As the initiative advances, it will rely on having the budget and the means to implement the memorial, cultural, national, and international mission. This is reflected in the three budget priorities: investment, annual level of financing, and human resources.

1. Investment Budget

The aforementioned agreement between the GIP and the OPPIC stipulates that the budget and timeline should be determined based on preliminary site studies, which are scheduled for summer 2022. However, an earlier estimation was made, in late January 2022, since the submission date for this program precedes the end of these studies. This estimation is for informational purposes only. A more accurate budget cannot be made until the conclusions of the preliminary studies have been obtained.

The estimate only covers renovation costs for the largest section, with the restoration work for the historic monument representing nearly three quarters of the budget, the interior design, outdoor landscaping, scenography, and signage. It comes to 37-40.7 million euros, excluding tax, in the currency value of January 2022, and assuming single-phase performance.

If renovations are not done in separate batches, but as a general project, to meet tight deadlines, a 15% surcharge should be anticipated. If we add two other variables—unforeseen costs, which should be estimated at 15-20% for this type of project, and the annual discount rate, which is currently rising—the total cost of the building project in today's euros would be about 85 million euros.

In addition, there are costs related to furnishing the premises, equipment, collection management, multimedia content, the 1% *artistique*, or around 7-10 million euros total.

Keeping in mind the margins of uncertainty, we would place the total cost of the project around 92-95 million euros, over seven years (2022-2028, for a 2027 inauguration). That number will have to be adjusted in the coming months. Here again, this financing will be the subject of inter-ministerial decisions.

2. Operating Budget

The annual level of public financing should cover the MMT's operating costs, with a high level of security for this sensitive site, and the development of its resources. For instance, the MMT's operating budget has initially been estimated at 8 million euros. This will allow it to hire vital staff and develop its activities. This budget, which mainly comes from public-sector funding made available by relevant ministries, will cover the institution's operating costs: staff capped at 50%; acquisition budget, implementing a security policy, visitor and collection policies, equaling 50%. This division of funds will also depend on the proportion of activities handled by the museum directly versus those that will be entrusted to third-party vendors.

The MMT's in-house revenue stream (hypothetically projected at 10% of the budget) will be three-fold:

- Ticket sales from a museum that is accessible to all. The pricing scheme should include free access to the memorial, park, and permanent museum spaces. Paid features should include the temporary exhibitions, guided visits and educational programming, auditorium programming, and different workshops. Basing itself on similar museums, the MMT estimates the site will receive 150,000 visitors per year (park included);
- Space rental (the auditorium) and money collected from concessions (restaurant/cafeteria, bookshop/gift shop). The financial contributions here will be limited in scope;
- Corporate sponsorship (this point is covered below in the communications strategy).

Operating costs will be impacted by security for the site. Expenses include collection acquisitions, maintaining expansive green spaces, and operating applications and software (digital applications, virtual ticketing, etc.), as well as site protection and enhanced security to prevent risks associated with a place of this nature. Secured access to the museum, a video surveillance system, a team dedicated to screening and protecting the site and monitoring spaces, secured entrances, and intrusion detection, are indispensable in a place that deals with the theme of terrorism. Security features will allow the MMT to offer the public a secure and peaceful space.

3. Human Resources

While the GIP is able to operate with very limited human resources, the same will not be true for the future institution. Staffing at the MMT should cohere with the project's ambitions. It is too soon to set out an organizational chart, but we can nevertheless

offer some broad strokes. Based on similar museums, the MMT could be organized into five main staffing areas, with forty to fifty full-time employees:

1. Administration and finance (10-12)
2. IT and security (12-14)
3. Collections and exhibitions (8-10)
4. Visitors and experiences (6-8)
5. Research and resources (4-6)

C. Communications Strategy

1. Objectives

The communications strategy strives to familiarize the public with the project and present the MMT as an institution of reference on terrorism, its victims, and its social impact. To do this, it will have to answer many questions raised by such a project, as well as anticipate and react to recurring objections: on the definition of terrorism adopted here, on the chronology, and even on the institution's name. It should be convincing on the cultural and social utility of such a space. Finally, and in coherence with the general preliminary strategy, it should help make the MMT exist prior to its inauguration.

More specifically, this strategy will show that the MMT is just as concerned with understanding, education, and culture, as it is with commemoration. This is a crucial part of the communications strategy, which will involve building a viable image for the museum component of the project. The museum has raised the most questions. By contrast, the design of a national memorial for victims of terrorism has been less controversial since it reflects a political and general will for French and European memorials.

The strategy should also consider what would be the best rollout schedule, given the nature of the preliminary project. After taking over from the *Comité mémoriel de la délégation interministérielle à l'aide aux victimes*, the GIP has worked to build relationships with the media—both print and audiovisual—while pursuing a relatively discreet communications strategy. Discretion has been deliberate, as the team has worked to lay the foundations of the project. Just a handful of major steps have been widely covered in the media: the French president's announcement of the idea to create a museum and memorial of terrorism in September 2018; the submission of the first preliminary report and the French president's announcement of the project launch on March 11, 2020; the creation of the GIP and its leadership bodies in February 2021; the decision on the institution location, in Suresnes, in May 2021; and most recently the launch of the website in November 2021. The submission of the Cultural and Scientific Program, as part of the March 11, 2022, commemoration is also likely to generate interest and greater visibility.

2. Means

The MMT already has several tools currently or imminently at its disposal to help build its image and visibility.

Name

The current choice of the name for this institution—the Museum and Memorial of Terrorism (acronyms: MMT or MUMET)—has been the subject of much discussion. It is the result of a choice that has been made in several phases. The French president was the first to use this expression, spontaneously in his speech announcing the initiative on September 19, 2018.⁴⁷ For its part, the memorial committee had suggested, *Museum and Memorial of Societies Facing Terrorism*. The team behind the first preliminary project, launched in February 2019, used a similar name, *Museum and Memorial of Societies Facing Terrorism*. Although this expression underlines one of the initiative's points of focus, it does not exactly roll off the tongue.

The current choice, which is still subject to change, was based on a few simple principles. It was important to avoid names that were too complicated and that would be difficult to remember or identify. It was also important to be direct in communicating the topic covered at the MMT; namely, terrorism in all its dimensions. And, while the idea of a *museum of terrorism* could raise eyebrows, a *museum and memorial complex* was of another nature entirely. As we have shown in Chapter I, this expression, which is fairly new in France, is an apt reflection of the philosophy behind this initiative.

Concretely speaking, it is worth recalling that many museums and memorials dedicated to criminal acts refer to those acts directly in their names, and they do so unproblematically. Visitors to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington D.C., the *Mémorial de la Shoah* in Paris, and the Kigali Genocide Memorial never entertain the idea that they are somehow glorifying the perpetrators of atrocities. They understand these to be places of recognition for victims. The same will be true for the MMT.

Visual Identity

The MMT established a visual identity in October 2021, including a graphic charter, a logo, and typography, created by Graphéine. The logo was subject to long debate, taking its definitive form after the location of the site was determined (Suresnes). The logo is understated and relatively light, illustrating a step back from the violence inherent to this subject. The three monoliths making up the main part of the logo seem to rise up from the ground, reflecting the initiative's missions of resistance and resilience in the face of terrorism. Graphéine also created the website's graphic charter, another major tool in the communications strategy, which has already been discussed in Chapter IX (on the digital strategy).

Media Relations

The MMT aims to work with journalists covering the arts, culture, and education, as well as those working on investigations and terrorist trials. This strategy should include enhancing contact with regional reporters so as to highlight the project's mission to appeal to all of France—and not just Paris and its outskirts. It is also important to reach out to international media outlets, which the MMT has already done, thanks in part to the museums and memorials on the advisory committee: the National September 11 Memorial and Museum, the 22 July Center in Oslo, the Victims of Terrorism Memorial Center in Vitoria-Gasteiz, and the Oklahoma City National Memorial and Museum.

Social Media

The MMT was not very present on social media prior to March 2022. The submission of the scientific and cultural program and the beginning of the construction phase have ushered in a new stage for this initiative. In time, the MMT will create an Instagram account (a relatively neutral image-based medium) and a Facebook account. It has recently created a [LinkedIn account](#) (more professional in scope, particularly for culture and education). A Twitter account may be opened (for journalists and

47.

<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>

politicians, very fast-acting and difficult to control), but not until the MMT is more stable and better known.

The impact of social media accounts will be felt over the long term. This strategy could include sponsored posts with carefully selected influencers to best target our potential audience.

Media Partnerships

Different media partnerships can be forged to create buzz at a global scale. For the most part, these partnerships would be free and an exchange of visibility. In addition to named MMT partners like the INA and the RMN, the following outlets may also be interested in the issue of terrorism: Arte, Phenix Digital, France Médias Monde, France TV, Radio France, and so forth. Partnerships involving technical fees are also possible as a means of expanding our communications reach and obtaining more visibility for a modest sum (with *20 minutes*, *Inset*, RATP, etc.). Finally, campaigns have been planned for specialized media outlets, in the fields of history, geopolitics, defense and security, and the humanities in general.

Private Sponsorship

The MMT has already begun consulting with the *Fondation de France* on the question of sponsorship as part of funding for the initiative. Sponsorship will be part of the communications strategy. Several types of corporate sponsors can be targeted: major companies in the security and defense industry; banks working in the fight against funding for terrorism, and which would be interested in communicating their commitment to that fight; major digital corporations, which are increasingly committed to fighting terrorism online, and particularly their French branches; companies specialized in risk (major insurance companies).

D. Multitiered Outreach

The MMT's outreach strategy is local, national, and international in scope. Discussions with external partners are already underway, some aspects of which have been mentioned above.

1. Local Level

The MMT's location of Suresnes, a town near Paris, provides it the opportunity to develop cultural activities for the town of Suresnes and greater Paris more generally, thanks to the presence of other museums and memorials: the *Mémorial de la France combattante*, a memorial to French fighters of the Second World War (the MMT has already contacted its trusteeship—the *Office national des anciens combattants*), the *Musée de Suresnes*, the American Cemetery of Suresnes, *La Contemporaine* at the *Université de Nanterre*, and so forth.

2. National Level

The MMT is a museum for all: all citizens and all victims. Its chosen location in the greater Paris area, where there have been no recent acts of terrorism, reflects its national mission. In addition, the MMT has developed preliminary exhibitions (slated for 2023) that will travel throughout France, and particularly to places affected by

attacks. These exhibitions should be coordinated with local educational authorities, the *directions régionales des affaires culturelles* (DRAC), and the *Association des maires de France*, whose president serves as an ex officio member of the MMT's advisory committee. Finally, the MMT plans to join the network of *Musées de France* as well as professional associations dealing with issues related to the work of museums of history and society.

3. International Level

The MMT is part of a network of terrorism museums, which it helped establish, with the assistance of a pioneer in this type of institution—the 9/11 Memorial and Museum in New York—by inviting museum heads to sit on its advisory committee. In addition, thanks to the members of that committee, the MMT has already reached out to many international organizations: Victim Support Europe, the European Union's Radical Awareness Network (RAN), the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, and NGOs like Amnesty International. As part of the International Council of Museums (ICOM), the MMT will take part in initiatives by the International Committee of Memorial Museums in Remembrance of the Victims of Public Crimes (ICMEMO).

Conclusion

Born out of a public policy of memory for the victims of terrorism, the Museum and Memorial project is now shaping up to be a space of national tribute and commemoration as well as a bold design for a museum of history and society that strives to reflect all the hallmarks of an innovative twenty-first century museum. The memorial and cultural mission is coupled with a heritage mission, through the renovation of an exceptional building and site that cohere perfectly with the ambitions of this institution. This unique and innovative space is unparalleled in the world.

The object of this new space—terrorism—might have deterred these ambitions. Instead, it has been a driving force behind its creation. Indeed, the institution does not sidestep the complexities of this reality: how do we define terrorism? How do we delimit it? How should it be exhibited in a museum context? How can we avoid all the ethical and technical pitfalls associated with such a sensitive topic? And because it confronts this reality, the museum and memorial should continue to motivate actors so it can grow, share its questioning widely, and become a landmark of history and remembrance.

The Public Interest Group extends a warm thanks to all those who have provided assistance over the past eighteen months, with their advice, expertise, testimonies, and scientific, legal, and administrative contributions.



Appendices

Appendix 1: A Historical Approach to Terrorism (detailed description of the first theme in the permanent exhibition)

The first theme in the permanent exhibition covers the history of terrorism through contextual information and events that have been selected based on specific criteria: they provide an overview of the period in France, Europe, and the world, and also reflect the main forms of terrorism; major events and lesser-known attacks are featured; they show the nature of reactions to events (demonstrations, creation of associations, memorials, museums, trials, etc.).

The history of terrorism has been told chronologically, but in such a way as to differentiate the different forms of terrorism. It is divided into eight parts:

1. Introduction: Retrospective and Definitions
2. Panorama of Terrorism Since the Late 1960s
3. Global Nationalist and *Anti-Imperialist* Terrorism (late 1960s-1980s)
4. The Years of Lead (late 1960s-1990s)
5. Regionalist Terrorism (since the 1960s)
6. State Terrorism (Iran and Libya in the 1980s)
7. Islamist Terrorism Since the 1990s
8. Far-Right Terrorism Since the 1990s

1. Introduction: Retrospective and Definitions

1794: The Invention of the Term

Terrorist comes from the Latin verb *terrere*, to *frighten*, which is the primary intention of any form of terrorism: to elicit extreme fear, beyond the targets of violence. The adjective appeared for the first time during the French Revolution, coined by Gracchus Babeuf, a journalist and revolutionist, on September 11, 1794, to designate Robespierre supporters. But opponents to the Reign of Terror, under the Directorate, were the ones to give the term its pejorative meaning. Initially referring to a style of

government, the term evolved to designate, for the most part, actions taken against the state, even if state terrorism has of course always existed.

1800: The precursor to the car bomb

A royalist assassination attempt against Napoleon Bonaparte took place on December 24, 1800, in *rue Saint-Nicaise*, Paris, using an explosive in an “infernal machine” for the first time. The attack resulted in collateral victims and had a profound impact on public opinion, which saw this as a “new form of war”. A police inquiry followed as well as a trial that heard testimonies from victims.

1858: The first repressive measures

On January 14, 1858, Felice Orsini launched an assassination attempt on Napoleon III, resulting in 8 dead and 150 wounded. This nationalist attack sought to import the question of Italian unity to France, to “bring attention to the cause”, which is a constant refrain in acts of terrorism. This attack was the impetus behind the 1858 law for general public safety known as the *loi des suspects*.

The 1890s: anarchist terrorism

On June 24, 1894, Sante Geronimo Caserio assassinated Marie François Sadi Carnot, the French president. On December 12, 1894, Émile Henry threw a bomb into the Terminus Saint-Lazare café in Paris, resulting in 1 dead and 15 wounded. This type of terrorism attacked political targets and victims at random. As Henry put it during his trial, “there is no such thing as an innocent bourgeois”. This trend developed throughout Europe, Russia, and the United States. It led to targeted crackdowns, with France’s *lois scélérates* [villainous laws] in 1893-1894 and the first international conference against terrorism (November 24-December 21, 1898).

The 1930s: nationalist terrorism

Nationalism is a major motivation behind terrorism. The attack in Sarajevo on June 28, 1914, for instance, is an illustration of Raymond Aron’s definition: a violent action whose psychological effects are disproportionate to its purely physical impact. On October 9, 1934, an attack in Marseille perpetrated by the Ustaše killed King Alexander I of Yugoslavia, Minister Louis Barthou, and two other victims. This was the first attack to be filmed live, inspiring a first international definition of acts of terrorism by the League of Nations: “criminal acts directed against a state and intended or calculated to create a state of terror in the minds of particular persons or a group of persons or the general public.”

1942-1943: terrorism according to Vichy and the Nazis

The term *terrorism* is often used to designate political enemies, who are themselves victims of state terror. This perverse usage can be seen in the *laws* under the Vichy regime which sought to fight the Resistance: the law of June 5, 1943, against “Communist, anarchist, terrorist, and subversive activities”, and that of January 20, 1944, which targeted anyone arrested “in obvious offense for assassination or murder, attempted assassination or attempted murder, committed using arms or explosives, to benefit a terrorist activity”. These usages echoed Nazi rhetoric, which used and abused the word *terrorist*. This is an important point to keep in mind, given the MMT’s proximity to Mont-Valérien, where many Resistance fighters, accused of *terrorism*, were executed.

1954-1962: terrorism during the Algerian War

Terrorism and a policy of state terror were structural components of the Algerian War, which was a colonial and civil war. The aim here is to speak of the fate of civilians and some representative attacks, like the one on September 30, 1956, by FLN militants at the Algiers Milk Bar or the one at the Château-Royal by the OAS against six members of educational social centers on March 15, 1962. Terrorism at this time, like colonization and decolonization more broadly, deeply affected the public psyche. It generated strident debate on legitimate or illegitimate uses of violence at the UN, the Arab League, other international organizations, and in intellectual and academic circles more broadly.

To cap off this historical overview, the exhibition will provide two definitions for the public to consider: the penal definition of terrorism currently in force in France and a broader, more open scientific definition.

1986: France's first counterterrorism law

In response to the deadly attacks in France committed by Hezbollah under Iranian Shiite command in 1985-1986, a first law on terrorism was enacted on September 9, 1986: "an individual or collective enterprise whose objective is to gravely disrupt public order through intimidation and terror". This law was completed by the law of July 22, 1992, introducing a new qualification in the penal code.

2022: An open definition

There is no universal legal definition of terrorism. That is due to the support of some states for terrorist organizations as well as to divisions on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The diversity and mobility of terrorist organizations are also too wide in scope. Moreover, nearly all such groups reject this label, preferring instead *combatants* or *revolutionaries*. And the term is often instrumentalized by non-democratic regimes to justify force used against opponents. However, it is possible to identify some constant features:

- The use or threat of extreme violence that is intentional and disproportionate, leading to the destruction of life, infrastructure, or information;
- An intention to intimidate or undermine an existing system, state, society, human or political groups, to force it to act against its will;
- A shocking dimension that seeks the limelight: "propaganda through action", as theorized by anarchists;
- Direct targets, often chosen at random, to put pressure on indirect targets (states, public opinion, a particular group);
- An organized movement with a professed political, religious, or social ideology, even if the act itself may be performed by a single actor.

An interactive experience will help display other definitions: the Arab League (April 22, 1998), the UN resolution (February 2, 2000), the framework decision by the European Union (June 13, 2002), and so forth.

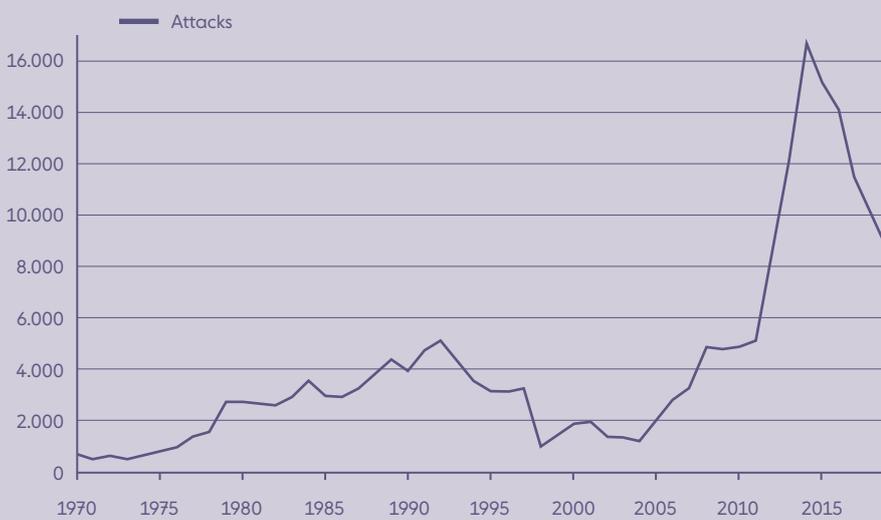
2. Panorama of Terrorism Since the Late 1960s

In this part, visitors will be able to access different levels of information in a visually synthetic form, via infographics and data design, for instance.

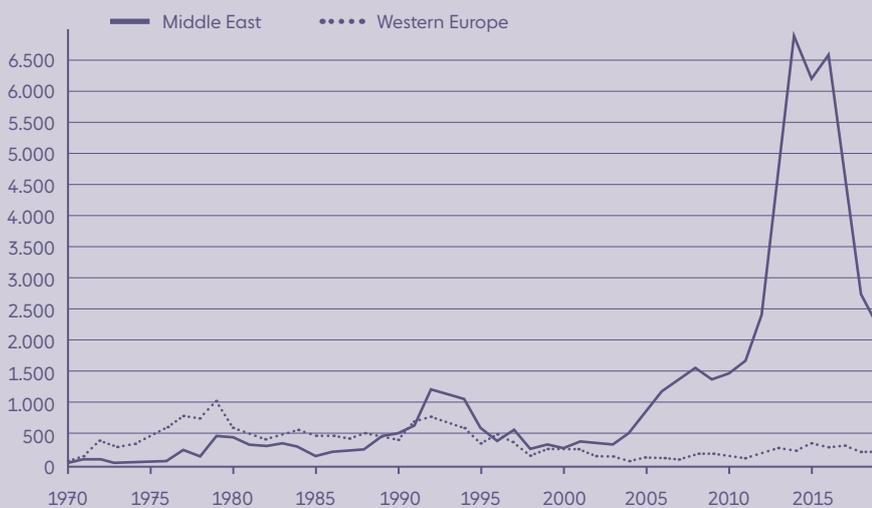
General Evolution of Terrorism in the World

The Start GTD Database at the University of Maryland has gathered data from more than 201,000 terrorist attacks in the world since the 1970s (Graph 1). While the Cold War was a period of intense activity, the number of attacks rose sharply starting in 2003, with the invasion of Iraq, before declining as of 2014. In parallel, the center of geographic gravity for terrorist activity shifted from Europe to the Middle East (Graph 2) after the end of the Cold War.

EVOLUTION OF TERRORISM IN THE WORLD (1970-2020)



COMPARATIVE EVOLUTION OF TERRORISM IN WESTERN EUROPE, THE MIDDLE EAST, AND NORTH AFRICA (1970-2020)



Graphs made from data in the GTD-START Database.

Database of Attacks Affecting France and the French People

This is an evolving database created as part of the preliminary program. It covers all attacks that have been committed in France since September 15, 1974 (a choice explained in the introduction), and attacks in which French people have been killed or wounded abroad over the same period, as exhaustively as possible. It draws from different sources: international databases, academic work, legal and police sources, claims, and so forth. As part of this initiative, the Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Justice and the national counterterrorist unit, as well as victims' associations are regularly consulted.

To be included in the database, an attack must be mentioned in at least two sources, of which one, ideally, should be a legal decision (since the law of 1986) or a claim by a terrorist group, designated as such by the French authorities. All entries will include the date, place (city, department, country), target (distinguished here from victims), group claiming to have committed the act/being accused by the justice system, number of victims, total number of dead (distinguished from perpetrators), number of wounded, and weapons and methods used.

This database strives to be exhaustive. It echoes the list of victims on the memorial. All visitors affected by an attack in France since 1974, and all French visitors affected by an attack since the 1960s, should be able to find information on a specific event here. The database is a vital resource within the museum, which cannot provide extensive coverage of all of these attacks in its exhibitions.

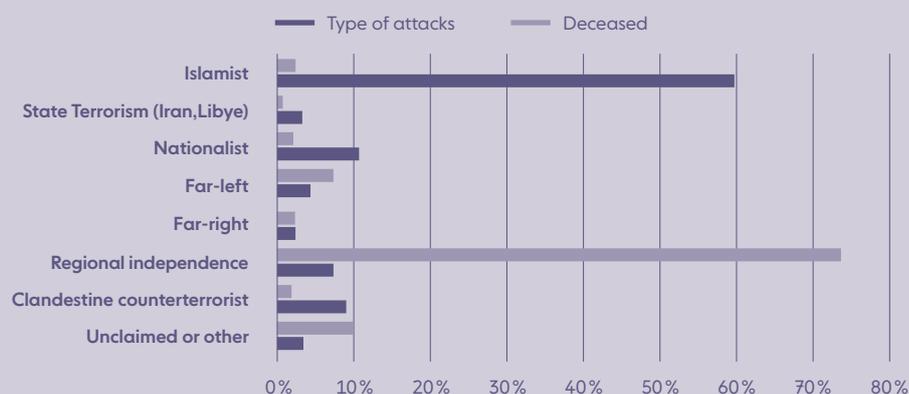
Overview of Terrorism in France since the Early 1970s

In its current form, the database gives a provisional overview in numbers of terrorism in France:

- Since the early 1970s, there have been more than 4,300 attacks in France
- These attacks have killed at least 444 people and wounded thousands of people both physically and mentally ⁴⁸

Segmented overview of attacks and victims killed in France since the early 1970s

TYPE OF TERRORISM	ATTACKS (%)	DEATHS (%)
Islamist	2	60
Nationalist	2	11
Clandestine counterterrorist groups	2	9
Regional independence movements	74	7
Far-left	7	4
State terrorism (Iran, Libya, etc.)	1	3
Far-right	2	2
Unclaimed or other	10	4



48. The perpetrators and victims of gang violence (about 33 events) have not been covered. Nor have those from counterterrorist groups (about 44 events). These categories require case-by-case examination.



These figures show Islamist terrorism to be the deadliest form of terrorism in France. That has been particularly true since 2012, with more than 88% of the total number of victims. Furthermore, attacks after 2012 represent nearly 87% of all Islamist attacks.

→ **304 French people have died in 170 attacks abroad**

Of these attacks, 39 were committed in Algeria and 70 in Lebanon.

→ **At least 413 French towns have been impacted**

Of this total, nearly two thirds are towns with fewer than 20,000 residents. And 20% are towns in Corsica.

3. Anti-Imperialist Nationalist Terrorism (late 1960s-1980s)

This section covers the genesis of modern terrorism, starting with the late 1960s and far-left groups reacting to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. France was particularly impacted, particularly by a spate of anti-Semitic attacks, sometimes described as *anti-Zionist*. This situation is still ongoing.

Context

Decolonization wars, the Cold War, and the social movements of 1968 fostered the emergence of revolutionary ideologies within intellectual and student circles. These ideologies were also encouraged by some states (Algeria, Libya, Cuba, the USSR, China, Korea, and so forth). That was the situation out of which an international terrorist nexus was born in the 1970s and 1980s. Groups united around a shared purpose—targeting popular uprisings to further independence, social, and political objectives—and around the need to share logistics and experience against a common enemy: Western imperialism.

The internationalization of the Palestinian cause played a significant role in this situation. After the Six-Day War in June 1967, and the occupation of West Bank by Israel, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) moved into Jordan, with a large number of refugees. From there, it launched raids against Israel. In parallel, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) organized its first airliner hijackings, in 1968. This situation strained relations between Palestinians and Jordanians. On September 17, 1970, the Jordanian army launched an assault against the camps of Palestinian refugees, causing an estimated 3,000 to 10,000 casualties.

Known as Black September, this event weakened the situation of Palestinians in the Arab world. The lack of solidarity from supposed allies set Palestinians on a quest for new support. The turn to Marxist leanings, together with the PLO discontinuing operations outside the Middle East, allowed them to align with the far left in Western Europe and meant they could rely on Soviet support. The Palestinian cause thus became a rallying point for an entire generation. It was upheld as a symbol of colonial and Western oppression. Palestinian nationalism, particularly within some dissident PLO groups, joined forces with an internationalist ideology, which attracted a fringe of militants looking for a cause, including a small minority who chose to take up arms.

Western Europe thus became a theater for groups to perform premeditated political violence in civilian spaces. These groups—Lebanese Armed Revolutionary Factions, the German Red Army Faction, and the Japanese Red Army—sought to bring war to places believed to be at peace.

Events

- July 23, 1968: rerouting of a Rome-Tel Aviv flight to Algiers, first strong media coverage of a hijacking of an international flight
- February 19-28, 1972: hostage crisis at a mountain lodge below Mount Asama, near Karuizawa in Japan, by the United Red Army, a far-left organization created in July 1971 and dismantled shortly after the crisis
- May 30, 1972: Lod Airport Massacre in Israel. This event symbolizes the international turn of terrorism: a commando opened fire on the passengers of an Air France flight from Paris; of the 26 victims, 17 were Puerto Rican, 8 Israeli, and 1 Canadian;⁴⁹ for their part, the terrorists were three Japanese members of the Japanese Red Army working on behalf of a Palestinian group, the PFLP
- September 5, 1972: the Munich Massacre during the Summer Olympics
- September 15, 1974: attack at the Drugstore Publicis, Boulevard Saint-Germain in Paris and other attacks in France by Carlos affiliates, as well as the trials beginning in 2011
- October 3, 1980: attack on a synagogue on *Rue Copernic* in Paris
- August 9, 1982: *Rue des Rosiers* attack, at the Jo Goldenberg restaurant
- July 15, 1983: ASALA attack at Orly Airport, at the Turkish Airlines counter
- During the same period, many French people were victims of terrorist attacks abroad that were part of other nationalist and independence movements, including in the Djibouti-Loyada hijacking of February 3-4, 1976, on the Somalian border.

4. The Years of Lead (late 1960s-1990s)

This section is a logical follow-up to the one above because it stems from the same ideological situation. Here, however the focus is on far-left and far-right terrorist groups acting within their own countries. These groups use a *strategy of tension* with the aim of provoking authorities into repressive action and garnering popular support for their cause against democratic regimes.

Context

The visit of the Shah of Iran to West Berlin in 1967 led to violent protests, from which small groups of radicalized students emerged. Their first anti-capitalist or anti-imperialist acts were relatively benign but highly symbolic: arson in two Frankfurt stores on April 2, 1968, by Andreas Baader, one of the founders of the Red Army Faction, with Ulrike Meinhof. An analogous situation was happening in Italy and Japan, the two great losers of the Second World War, with radicalization among the youth as well.

These movements operated in countries where American influence had been particularly salient since 1945. They arose out of situations where the memory and heritage of Nazism and fascism weighed heavily on younger generations, becoming a watchword in the propaganda for these movements.

This form of deadly political violence also appeared in France during the 1970s and 1980s, but to a lesser extent.

⁴⁹.

We have made the decision not to mention the name of deceased victims here (except in special cases); they will all be included in the memorial.

This era also saw the emergence of sporadic terrorist violence from far-right movements motivated by anti-Communism, xenophobia, racism, and reactions to far-left terrorism.

Events

- December 2, 1969: attacks in Rome and Milan (likely far-right)
- March 2, 1975: attacks by the far-right Charles Martel Group in Toulouse and Lyon against Air Algeria.
- October 8, 1977: assassination of Hans-Martin Schleyer by the Red Army Faction
- May 9, 1978: assassination of Aldo Moro in Rome by the Red Brigades
- August 2, 1980: neofascist attack at the Bologna Centrale train station (85 dead)
- November 17, 1986: assassination of George Besse by Action Directe

5. Regionalist Terrorism (since the 1960s)

This chapter discusses regionalist terrorism, which is linked to local politics and history, mostly in Corsica, and the French and Spanish Basque Country. Terrorism in Corsica has been the cause of the vast majority of attacks on French soil (nearly 2,800 of 4,000 total), ten of which included casualties. Meanwhile, Basque terrorism, which is more prevalent in Spain, has been very active and deadly, first under Franco's regime, and then under democratic governance.

Context

A generation of left-leaning regionalist militants and parties emerged in the 1960s, in contrast to Collaborationists of the 1930s and 1940s. Against the backdrop of decolonization, regionalism became a political cause unto itself, aiming to combat *domestic colonization* and *linguistic colonialism* as well as to defend *national minorities in France*. A radical fringe minority adopted the vocabulary and methods of liberation movements, becoming progressively violent between 1965 and 1975.

In Brittany, on the night of March 6th, 1966, three young men from St. Nazaire took down and burned several French flags. The Breton Liberation Front and the Breton Revolutionary Army committed more than 200 attacks between 1966 and 1999.

Basque nationalism reemerged earlier on the Spanish side than it did in France, with the creation of the ETA (*Euskadi Ta Askatasuna* [Basque homeland and liberty]) under Franco's dictatorship. The violence quickly spilled over to the French side, where militants took refuge and where the Spanish government sent counterterrorist commandoes. Unable to break into elections on the French side of the border, some militants established a new movement: IK (*Iparretarrak* [northerners]). In the same year, the ETA installed its logistic apparatus in France as a means of dodging Spanish authorities, with the support of IK militants.

The Spanish Basque Country was recognized as an autonomous community in December 1977. In the subsequent 1980 elections, moderate nationalists triumphed, leading to a radicalization of the ETA. This organization fought the democratic regime with just as much ardor—if not more—than it had under Franco, burying, it would seem, once and for all the chances for independence. On French soil, the ETA committed nearly 450 attacks between 1973 and 2017.

After the Algerian War, many Pieds-Noirs families (often with Corsican roots) returned to Corsica, where they were viewed as economic competition and as pawns in a French *colonial* initiative. Their arrival inevitably created tension. The turn toward political violence occurred in the 1970s. On October 9, 1973, the *Fronte paisanu corsu di liberazione* (FPCL) took credit for three simultaneous attacks, from Bastia to Ajaccio. It would commit a hundred or so in four years, in a history studded with internal conflicts and divisions. The debate between partisans for autonomy and militants for independence became a rivalry that would lead to increasing radicalization on both sides. The events in Algeria, from August 21st through 24th, 1975, and the armed confrontation that led to the death of two gendarmes, provoked a strong crackdown. This brought attention to the Corsican nationalist cause on the island and beyond, and particularly to the FLNC, which was responsible for many attacks perpetrated over several decades, in Corsica and on mainland France.

Events

- February 6, 1998: assassination of Prefect Èrignac and the 2011 trial
- December 1, 2007: assassination of two Spanish civil guards in Capbreton by the ETA and the 2013 trial

6. State Terrorism (Iran and Libya in the 1980s)

The term state terrorism is polysemic and the source of some confusion. It can designate terror practiced by states to subdue a population. These situations have been so common to the twentieth and twenty-first centuries that covering them would mean explaining large swaths of modern history over the seven continents. We have therefore made the choice to keep this question for the rest of the cultural programming and temporary exhibitions, which will be able to address topics like fascism, Nazism, Communist systems, and Latin-American military dictatorships.

More strictly speaking, state terrorism also designates policies in some states that systematically—not episodically—support terrorist groups acting around the globe, as part of their strategies of power and influence. This was the case, as we have seen, in Socialist Bloc countries, with anti-imperialist terrorism; it has also been the case in recent decades in countries striving to impose themselves on the international stage. Two such countries include Libya and Iran, both of which are covered here since they were particularly impactful in France.

We could have classified Iran with the Islamist terrorism described in the following section. Indeed, 1979 was the year of the Iranian Revolution and the start of Islamist terrorism. As Gilles Kepel writes, “Islamist terrorism was born in Afghanistan”, following the invasion of the country by Soviet troops in December 1979.⁵⁰ The Iranian Revolution supported a form of terrorism at the intersection of state terrorism, political terrorism from past decades, and Islamist terrorism, which emerged then. As Olivier Roy writes, “On the international stage, the Iranian Revolution was an anti-imperialist, Third-Worldist revolution”.⁵¹ However, we chose to cover this question as a case of state terrorism due to the motivations that led Iran to orchestrate these attacks against France, via Lebanon’s Hezbollah movement (an organization created in 1982 during the civil war and the invasion of southern Lebanon by Israel).

50.

Gilles Kepel, “Le terrorisme islamiste est né en Afghanistan”, *L'Histoire*, December 2004..

51.

Olivier Roy, *Le Jihad et la mort*, Paris, Seuil, 2016, p. 122.

Context

Against a backdrop of social tension, the revolution undertaken by the Shiite clergy in Iran brought the Ayatollah Khomeini to power on February 1, 1979. Iran became an Islamic republic, inspiring the emergence of armed Shiite groups. The Iranian Revolution and the Iran-Iraq War (1980-1988) also generated the appearance of new sacrificial forms of combat which opened the door to suicide attacks by Shiite terrorist groups. This was a notable shift in operations.

The Lebanese Hezbollah movement was created in 1982 in the context of a civil war that had been devastating Lebanon since 1975, and the invasion of southern Lebanon by Israel in 1982. In 1983, this Shiite organization unleashed a series of attacks against foreign institutions (the American embassy in Beirut on April 18th, an American military base and French patrol on October 23rd). Overall, it was the cause of 276 attacks on Lebanese soil between 1983 and 2000. Moreover, its activities were spread internationally, with 341 attacks around the globe, killing 1,100 people, including 14 attacks in France between 1985 and 1986.

In Libya, Muammar Gaddafi came to power in 1969 through a military coup. He created the Libyan Arab Republic. He also funded and armed guerillas around the world in the name of anti-imperialism and revolution. Most Western intelligence services place him behind the main terrorist attacks of the 1970s and 1980s. Libya, for instance, generated the passports used by the Abu Nidal group during the OPEC hostage crisis in December 1985 in Vienna. There were so many groups assisted by Libya that it is difficult to provide an exhaustive list: the IRA, the Red Army Faction, the Red Brigades, the Japanese Red Army, the PFLP, the Haddad Organization in Sudan, the Polisario, and revolutionary movements in Thailand, Panama, Eritrea, and the Philippines.

Events

- October 23, 1983: the Drakkar attack in southern Beirut killing 58 French parachutists and many Lebanese civilians

Sequence of fourteen attacks in France, primarily in Paris, from December 1985 to September 1986, 13 dead and at least 303 wounded, in retaliation for France's support of Iraq:

- December 7, 1985: Galeries Lafayette and Printemps (more than 43 wounded)
- February 3, 1986: Galerie Claridge (more than 8 wounded)
- February 3, 1986: Eiffel Tower (aborted attempt)
- February 4, 1986: Gibert Jeune bookstore (more than 5 wounded)
- February 5, 1986: Fnac Sport at the Forum des Halles (more than 22 wounded)
- March 17, 1986: TGV 627 Paris-Lyon (more than 9 wounded)
- March 20, 1986: Galerie Point Show on the Champs-Élysées (2 dead and more than 29 wounded)
- March 20, 1986: RER A (aborted attempt)
- September 4, 1986: RER A (aborted attempt)
- September 8, 1986: post office in the Hôtel de Ville (1 dead and more than 21 wounded)

- September 12, 1986: Casino cafeteria at La Défense (more than 54 wounded)
- September 14, 1986: Pub Renault, *Rue Marbeuf* (2 police officers killed and at least 1 wounded)
- September 15, 1986: Police Prefecture (1 dead and more than 56 wounded)
- September 17, 1986: Tati, *Rue de Rennes* (7 dead and more than 55 wounded)
- Trials in April and October 1992
- In addition to this series of attacks in France, we can add the parallel practice by Hezbollah and its satellites of kidnappings and hostage takings, particularly of journalists, diplomats, and researchers from France and Lebanon. The sociologist Michel Seurat is one example. He was kidnapped on May 22, 1985, and died in detention.
- September 19, 1989: attack on the UTA Brazzaville-Paris flight, which exploded above the Ténéré Desert, killing 170 people, including 54 French nationals; investigation opened on September 23, 1989, and trial in absentia in 1999.

7. Islamist Terrorism Since the 1990s

This chapter covers an essential component of modern terrorism: Islamist terrorism, which is a deadly form of violence committed in the name of a radical conception of Islam. Proponents seek to impose their vision everywhere they are active, both in Arab/Muslim countries (where their casualty count is the greatest) and in the rest of the world, particularly Western countries. This part is focused on Islamist Algerians, al-Qaeda, and the so-called Islamic State (IS). These movements have targeted France in particular since the 1990s, and even more so since 2012-2015, due to the country's ties to North Africa and the Levant, and to disdain for its fundamental values of secularism and freedom of expression (including the critique of religions and blasphemy), and the exercise of that freedom in the media (caricatures of Mohammed in *Charlie Hebdo*), instruction (the assassination of Samuel Paty), and other fields. These groups have targeted soldiers, police officers, journalists, Catholics, and Jews, as in the attacks of 2012 and January 2015, as well as blind targets, such as during the series of attacks in 1995 and the massacres of November 13, 2015, and July 14, 2016.

This section is broken down into four parts:

- The impact of the Black Decade in Algeria (1991-2002);
- The organization of al-Qaeda (since 2001);
- The Arab Spring and war in the Levant (since 2011-2012);
- The organization of the Islamic State and evolutions in Islamist terrorism (since 2015).

Context

Until the mid-1970s, Arab nationalism—under the leadership of Nasser or Boumediene, and in movements like the Ba'ath Movement in Syria and Iraq—used force to control the main Islamist movements in the Middle East and North Africa. But in 1979,

a conjunction of several events—Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, the Iranian Revolution, and the Iran-Iraq War—propelled Islamist movements to the international stage.

In Afghanistan, jihadism was initially supported by the United States, Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan. Meanwhile, other states like Algeria and Egypt encouraged their Islamist opponents—now *Mujahideen*—to join Afghanistan. Once they got there, Abdullah Azzam organized these combatants, and Osama bin Laden created what would become al-Qaeda starting in 1987. The withdrawal of the Red Army from Kabul on February 15, 1989, would be a starting point for their global struggle. Crowned in victory, the Mujahideen left Afghanistan and returned to their original countries to spread Salafi-Jihadism.

The 1990s was also a decade in which the Israeli-Palestinian conflict took an Islamist turn. The Marxist-leaning Palestinian groups of the 1970s and 1980s were shunted by the Hamas, an Islamist movement born in 1987 at the beginning of the first Intifada. Hamas would slowly take over from the PLO. Under its direction and that of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ), suicide attacks proliferated in Israel, which further enhanced the religious dimension of the conflict.

8. The Impact of the Black Decade in Algeria (1991-2002)

Context

In Algeria, the victory of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) in the 1990 municipal elections and the 1991 legislative elections, followed by a military coup by the Algerian general army that cancelled the elections and forced President Chadli Bendjedid to resign, led to the Black Decade. Military and Islamist groups battled in a deadly civil war. More than 1,300 attacks were carried out between 1990 and 1999, resulting in approximately 200,000 deaths. Many French nationals were victims of this new Algerian civil war, which had a direct impact on France, where the Armed Islamic Group (GIA) committed a series of attacks in 1994 and 1995. This was due to the historic, economic, and demographic ties between the two countries.

Events

- December 24-26, 1994: hijacking of Flight AF 8969 between Algiers and Paris by the GIA; 3 passengers were executed by the 4 terrorists, who were then killed during the GIGN operation at Marignane airport

Series of GIA attacks in France (1995)

- July 25, 1995: attack on the RER at the Saint-Michel station in Paris (8 dead and more than 117 wounded).
- August 17, 1995: attack at Place Charles de Gaulle in Paris (at least 16 wounded)
- August 26, 1995: attempted attack on a TGV line
- September 3, 1995: attempted attack at the market on *Boulevard Richard Lenoir* in Paris
- September 4, 1995: attempted attack at *Place Charles Vallin* in Paris
- September 7, 1995: attack on the Jewish school in Villeurbanne (at least 14 wounded)

- October 6, 1995: attack at the Maison-Blanche metro station in Paris (at least 12 wounded)
- October 17, 1995: attack on the RER between the Orsay and Saint-Michel stations (at least 30 wounded)
- March-May 1996: assassination of seven French Trappist monks in Thibirine, near Algiers
- 2002-2009 series of trials

9. Al-Qaeda since 2001

Context

When Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait on August 2, 1990, Osama bin Laden made an offer to Saudi Arabia's sultan prince and minister of defense to defend the region with former volunteer fighters from Afghanistan. Saudi authorities rejected this offer, calling instead on a coalition led by the United States for assistance. This event marked a break in relations between bin Laden and the Gulf monarchies. After that, many declarations made by bin Laden focused on the presence of foreign troops in Islam's holy lands. Bin Laden first took refuge in Sudan, which he was forced to leave in May 1996, and then in Afghanistan, together with approximately 150 followers. This was a turning point in the history of al-Qaeda. Now, terrorism was the organization's *modus operandi*. On August 23, 1996, bin Laden communicated a "declaration of Jihad against the Americans occupying the land of the two holiest sites". This was the beginning of a wave of al-Qaeda attacks: against American embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam (August 7, 1998); so-called millennium attacks that were either thwarted or aborted in Amman, the Los Angeles airport (in December 1999), and against USS The Sullivans in Aden (January 3, 2000); attack against USS Cole, also in Aden (October 12, 2000); bombings of churches in Indonesia (Christmas 2000); attacks in Manila (December 2000); a planned attack on the Strasbourg Christmas market (December 2000); the attacks of September 11, 2001; a planned attack on the American embassy in Paris (2001); an attempted attack via a shoe bomb on a Paris-Miami flight (December 2001); attacks of Madrid and London (2004-2005); etc.

The American reaction to September 11th, forced al-Qaeda to change its tactics. Terrorism had been its main method between 1996 and 2001. But when Afghanistan and Iraq became the centers of gravity in the *global war on terrorism*, Jihadists began opting for other means of action. The Americans and their allies were thus confronted with insurrections in what were called *irregular* or *asymmetrical* conflicts. Jihadist combatants used an array of combat techniques in conflicts that would become synonymous with *irregular warfare*, first in Afghanistan and Iraq, and later in Libya, Syria, and Mali. The first direct effect of the American intervention in Iraq, starting on March 20, 2003, was an exponential increase in attacks. Not only were they increasingly numerous, but they also became more deadly. The second direct effect: international terrorism is now mostly Islamist, and its impact can especially be felt throughout the Middle East. From then on, the majority of its victims have been Muslim.

Events

- September 11, 2001: series of attacks in the United States (3,624 dead and 7,000-25,000 wounded)
- March 11, 2004: Madrid attacks (196 dead and nearly 2,000 wounded)
- July 7, 2005: London attacks (56 dead and more than 700 wounded)

10. The Arab Spring and War in the Levant Starting in 2011

Context

When Mohamed Bouazizi, a young street vendor, set himself on fire in Sidi Bouzid, Tunisia, on December 17, 2010, it was a catalyst for the Arab Spring. Initially, these protests were a source of hope, but by the middle of the decade, counter-revolutionary measures had created a situation in which Islamist movements could flourish.

The failure of the Syrian Revolution and the resulting civil war offered fertile ground for the expansion of Jihadist movements affiliated with al-Qaeda and for the extension of the Islamic State into Syria, starting in 2012. The Islamic State had first emerged during the Iraqi Civil War, gaining consistency between 2003 and 2011. After being restructured in 2006, it changed its name three times, each time in step with an expansion outside of its Iraqi place of origin: initially the Islamic State of Iraq (2006-2013), it became the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (or DAESH, 2013-2014), and, finally, the Islamic State (as of June 2014).

Like Afghanistan in 1979, this battlefield has attracted fighters from around the globe. This is where the Islamic State hosts, leads, arms, and sends back fighters to commit attacks in their home countries. On Syrian territory, the rivalry between the Islamic State and al-Qaeda has become an armed struggle between two terrorist organizations. But in the rest of the world, their rivalry has engendered a form of competition that has translated into an uptick of terrorist activity.

Events

- March 11-19, 2012: Montauban and Toulouse massacres (7 dead and at least 6 wounded) and trial of April 9, 2019
- September 19, 2012: Sarcelles attack, dismantling of the Cannes-Torcy cell on October 6, 2012, and trial of June 22, 2017
- June 22, 2013-April 18, 2014: four French journalists taken hostage in Raqqa by the Islamic State

11. The Islamic State and Evolutions in Islamist Terrorism Since 2015

Context

A new chapter in the history of Islamist terrorism began in June 2014, when the Islamic State proclaimed itself to be a caliphate. An unprecedented rise in global attacks was recorded (see graph above). The Islamic State now used several tactics: guerilla warfare in Iraq and Syria, where it sought to build a society that reflected its ideology, and complex attacks internationally, in a kind of projection of power. The internet became a formidable cross-border tool of propaganda and recruitment. It helped bring the movement to an international scale and make it more *personal*, thanks to virtual outreach that is difficult to monitor. Through such outreach, it has encouraged individuals to take action, leading to a greater number of diffusely organized attacks. A future attacker can become radicalized remotely, and plan and implement an attack on their own, without having to belong to a terrorist group in particular, even if they can then claim the attack in the name of the Islamic State.

The 2015 attacks in France were a turning point. In January, the Kouachi brothers, who claimed to be members of al-Qaeda and the elder of whom, Chérif, trained in camps

in Yemen, acted in coordination with Amedy Coulibaly, who, for his part, claimed to be acting in the name of the Islamic State. Working from the Syrian-Iraqi region, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi's organization carefully planned the November attacks, training commandoes who were then sent to Europe to strike. Belgium was also impacted on March 22, 2016. In both cases, these were attacks that had been organized and piloted from abroad, with meticulous planning—which has been shown in the trial that began in September 2021.

After the attack in Nice on July 14, 2016, the Islamic State adopted another strategy, what is sometimes called the *thousand cuts*. The chronic knifings and vehicle rammings are part of a deliberate strategy that has been theorized and organized to exhaust an adversary over time and overcome its capacity of resilience. It was conceived in 2004 by Abu Moussab al-Souri, for al-Qaeda. The aim was to substitute the top-down, pyramid organization of al-Qaeda with a system made up of autonomous actors, who would be more difficult to identify from an external perspective and who could act using rudimentary tactics. This tactic was described in detail in September 2014 by a spokesperson for the Islamic State, the emir al-Adnani, in a message communicated in several languages, including French, that encouraged followers to use “any means” to kill “unbelievers” and “citizens of countries that have entered into a coalition against the Islamic State”. This strategy also reduces attack logistics to propaganda. Each attack fans the flames of fanatics, creating a self-perpetuating system. The objective to terrorize the population seems nearly attained since the threat of terrorism has become ubiquitous and everyone is a suspect. And this could have created fractures in society and the national community, but that is not how everyone reacted.

The evolution of this strategy helped bring the movement to an international scale and make it more *personal*, thanks to virtual outreach that is difficult to monitor. This outreach has encouraged individuals to take action, leading to a greater number of diffusely organized attacks. Globalization has also been the result of the emergence of many groups around the globe claiming to be Islamic State affiliates.

In Africa, part of the Boko Haram group, founded in Nigeria in 2002, pledged allegiance to the Islamic State in 2015, multiplying attacks in Nigeria, Cameroon, Niger, and Chad. The Islamic State in Afghanistan, created in 2015, is currently active in Afghanistan, with attacks against Westerners and Taliban members, as part of the rivalry between the Islamic State and al-Qaeda in Syria and Iraq. Another group with ties to the Islamic State is the National Thowheeth Jama'ath, which took credit for the attacks committed on Easter 2019 in Sri Lanka. Chaotic geopolitical situations offer these organizations myriad opportunities for expansion.

Events

- January 7, 8, 9, 2015: assault rifle attack on *Charlie Hebdo* in Paris; attack in Fontenay-aux-Roses; fatal shooting of a police officer in Montrouge; attack on a Hyper Cacher in Paris; hostage crisis in Dammartin-en-Goële (17 dead, 11 wounded) – the January 2015 terrorist acts were tried in September 2020
- February 3, 2015: knife attack on military personnel in Nice (2 wounded)
- February 14-15, 2015: shootings in Copenhagen on a cultural center where the French ambassador was present, and at the Great Synagogue (2 dead and 5 wounded)
- March 18, 2015: shooting at the Bardo Museum in Tunis (22 dead, including 4 French nationals, at least 47 wounded) – the trial took place in February 2019
- April 19, 2015: fatal shooting in Villejuif (1 dead)

- June 26, 2015: knifings and a bombing in Saint-Quentin- Fallavier (Isère) (1 dead and 2 wounded)
- August 21, 2015: shooting in a Thalys train (3 wounded)
- November 13, 2015: explosions in front of the Stade de France in Saint-Denis, assault rifle attacks on outdoor seating at Paris bars and eateries and at the Bataclan (130 dead, more than 500 wounded) – the trial began in September 2021
- March 22, 2016: explosion at the Brussels-Zaventem airport and at the Maelbeek subway station in Brussels (32 dead, including 1 French national, more than 340 wounded)
- June 13, 2016: knifing at a police officer couple's home in Magnanville (2 dead)
- July 14, 2016: truck attack in Nice (86 dead, more than 450 wounded) and trial forthcoming
- July 26, 2016: hostage taking and deadly knife attack on Father Hamel, a priest at the Saint-Étienne-du-Rouvray church (1 dead, 4 wounded)
- September 4, 2016: explosions near Notre-Dame in Paris
- September 4, 2016: attack on two prison guards at the Osny prison (Val-d'Oise)
- February 3, 2017: knife attack on military personnel at the Louvre in Paris (2 wounded)
- April 20, 2017: shooting of a police van on the Champs-Élysées (1 dead, 2 wounded)
- July 28, 2017: car attack on military personnel in Levallois-Perret (6 wounded)
- October 1, 2017: knife attack the Saint-Charles train station in Marseille (2 dead)
- January 11, 2018: knife attack on prison guards in Vendin-le-Vieil (3 wounded)
- March 23, 2018: shootings and hostage situations in Carcassonne and Trèbes (4 dead)
- May 12, 2018: knife attack in the Opéra district in Paris (1 dead, 4 wounded)
- December 11, 2018: shooting at the Christmas market in Strasbourg (5 dead, 11 wounded)
- October 3, 2019: knife attack at the Prefecture of Police in Paris (4 dead, 2 wounded)
- April 4, 2020: knife attack in Romans-sur-Isère (2 dead, at least 5 wounded)
- August 9, 2020: Shooting in Koure, Niger (8 dead, including 6 French nationals)

- September 25, 2020: knife attack in front of the former offices of *Charlie Hebdo*
- October 16, 2020: deadly knifing in Éragny of Samuel Paty, a teacher at Conflans-Sainte-Honorine
- October 29, 2020: knife attack in the Notre-Dame Basilica in Nice (3 dead)
- April 23, 2021: knife attack on the Rambouillet police station (1 dead)

12. Far-Right Terrorism Since the 1990s

Far-right terrorism is also a recurring phenomenon that is often embedded in a long history, like the terrorism of white supremacists in the United States against African Americans, which dates back to the nineteenth century (Ku Klux Klan), or the actions of fascist groups in France in the 1930s (the Cagoule), or those of neo-fascists since the Algerian War (OAS). This type of terrorism formed an important component of political radicalization in the 1970s and 1980s, particularly during the Years of Lead in Italy (described above), and it experienced a resurgence of activity starting in the 1990s and 2000s. Often very deadly as well, the tactics used are more heterogeneous and less structured than those of the far left or Islamist terrorism. It has rarely reached the same global proportions as these other forms, although very recently a kind of internationalization has been observed: the author of the Oslo and Utøya attack (2011) referred to the Oklahoma City Bombing (1995), and was himself cited by the perpetrators of Christchurch (2019). These actions are primarily motivated by xenophobia, racism, anti-Semitism, or anti-Muslim hate.

Events

- April 19, 1995: Oklahoma City Bombing (168 dead and at least 850 wounded) on a federal building
- 2000-2006: series of attacks on banks, racist crimes, and xenophobic attacks (against Turks), as well as bombings in Germany (particularly in Cologne), by the Nationalsozialistischer Untergrund (National Socialist Underground) (at least 10 dead) and trial in Munich in May 2013
- July 22, 2011: Oslo attacks (77 dead and at least 48 wounded) on a government building and on the island of Utøya on the labor party's youth camp
- June 17, 2015: shooting in an Episcopal church in Charleston, South Carolina, targeting the African American community (9 dead)
- January 29, 2017: attack on the Great Mosque of Quebec (6 dead and at least 8 wounded)
- October 27, 2018: neo-Nazi attack on the Tree of Life synagogue in Pittsburgh (11 dead and many wounded)
- March 15, 2019: attacks on the Christchurch mosques in New Zealand (51 dead and at least 49 wounded)

Choices in this historical part can be modulated and changed to reflect the latest research (on radicalization, a topic that has generated considerable debate within the scientific community), current investigations (on financing for terrorism), and current events (the question of people returning from Syria or families of detained terrorists).



Appendix 2: GIP Organizational Chart

Team

PERMANENT TEAM (7 EMPLOYEES
AND 3 SERVICE PROVIDERS)

Henry ROUSSO

Chair, historian, emeritus director
of research at the CNRS

Élisabeth PELSEZ

General director, magistrate,
Inspector General of the Ministry of Justice

Rachid AZIZI

Secretary general, division commander
of the French national police

Kamila SMAÏL

Administrative and financial director,
chief administrative officer

Julien COUTANT

Educational adviser, literature teacher

Jacqueline EIDELMAN

Museum coordinator, general
curator of honorary heritage

Jenny RAFLIK

Higher education adviser, historian,
university professor

Marie SOULLIER

Communications and website officer

Gérôme TRUC

Research adviser, sociologist,
researcher at the CNRS

Hélène VASSAL

Collections adviser, heritage curator

INTERNS (4 IN 2021-2022,
COLLECTIONS ACQUISITIONS)

Anaïs BACQUET

École du Louvre (2021)

Anne-Zoé LE GAL

École du Louvre (2021)

Doriane BAUTISTA

Université de Nanterre (2021-2022)

Claire LARTIGUE

École du Louvre (2022)

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS (13)

Stéphane AUDOIN-ROUZEAU

Historian, director of studies
at the EHESS, History WG

Isabelle CHAUDIEU

Neurobiologist, research fellow
at the INSERM, Victims WG

Marc CRÉPON

Philosopher, director of research
at the CNRS, professor at ENS, Victims WG

Séverine DESSAJAN

Sociologist, senior research
engineer, Université de Paris

Sarah GENSBURGER

Sociologist, director of research
at the CNRS, Memory WG

Diana KOLNIKOFF

Psychotherapist, psychoanalyst,
Victims WG

Pierre LEFÉBURE

Political scientist, lecturer
at the Université de Paris 13,
Societies WG

Denis PESCHANSKI

Historian, director of research
at the CNRS, head of the Memory WG

Adeline RISPAL

Adviser, architect/scenographer, member
of the Académie d'Architecture

Denis SALAS

Magistrate, president of the French
Association for Legal History, Victims WG

Claire SÉCAIL

Historian, research fellow
at the CNRS, Societies WG

Esther SHALEV-GERZ

Artistic adviser, plastic artist, Memory WG

Brigitte SION

Anthropologist, Rothschild Foundation
Hanadiv Europe (London), Memory WG

(WG: Working group)

Emmanuelle IARDELLA-BLANC

History professor, secondment from
September 2020 to July 2021

General Assembly

JUSTICE

Henry ROUSSO

Emeritus director of research
at the CNRS, tenured, chair

Dominique FERRIERE

Honorary first chair of the court of appeals

EUROPE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Delphine BORIONE

Ambassador for human rights

Florent CHEVAL

Project officer, deputy member

NATIONAL EDUCATION, YOUTH, AND SPORT

Édouard GEFFRAY

General director of education (DGESCO)

Charles-Jaques MARTINETTI

Research officer (DGESCO)

INTERIOR

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Magistrate, legal adviser
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Mélusine BINDER

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CULTURE

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General director of heritage and architecture

Françoise BANAT-BERGER

Director of the Archives de France,
an inter-ministerial department

HIGHER EDUCATION, RESEARCH,
AND INNOVATION

Nicolas NGO

Department head of connections
between science and society (DGRI)

David FIALA

Humanities and Social Sciences officer (DGRI)

REMEMBRANCE AND VETERANS

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Assistant to the bureau head of Associations and Remembrance (DPMA)

Grégory AUDA

Chief government administration officer

NATIONAL CENTER FOR SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

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Sandrine LEFRANC

Director of Research at the CNRS

NATIONAL AUDIOVISUAL INSTITUTE

Agnès CHAUVEAU

Delegate general director of the INA

Antoine BAYET

Department head of digital publishing at the INA

FOUNDATION TO SUPPORT VICTIMS OF TERRORISM

Olivier GRÉMONT

President of the FAVT, vice president

Alexandra KURKDJIAN

Head of health and medical research at the Fondation de France

Scientific and Cultural Board**Michel WIEVIORKA**

Sociologist, director of studies at the EHESS, chair

Levent ALTAN

International expert, executive director of Victim Support Europe

Rachid AZZOUZ

Inspector general of education, sport, and research

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Annette BECKER

Historian, emeritus university professor, University of Paris-Nanterre

Ghaleb BENCHEIKH

Islamic studies scholar, president of the Foundation for Islam in France

Nathalie BONDIL

Museologist and art historian, head curator of patrimony

Jean-François CLAIR

Honorary inspector general of the National Police, former assistant director of the DST

Christian DELAGE

Historian, university professor, director of the IHTP (CNRS)

Laura DOLCI

Member of the EU Center of Expertise for Victims of Terrorism

Francis EUSTACHE

Neuropsychologist, director of studies at the École pratique des hautes études

François FELTZ

Honorary magistrate, president of the College of Ethics for Civil Servants (Justice)

Gilles FERRAGU

Historian, lecturer, University of Paris-Nanterre

Marc HECKER

Director of research and communications of the IFRI

Nicolas HÉNIN

Journalist, international expert, European Commission, UNESCO

Gilles KEPEL

Political scientist, professor at the ENS and at the University of Paris, Science and Literature

Charlotte PIRET

Journalist, France Inter, Justice department

Lise-Eilin STENE

Researcher at the Center for Violence and Traumatic Stress Studies (Oslo)

Jeanne SULZER

Attorney, head of International Justice Commission, Amnesty International-France

Advisory Committee**François MOLINS**

Public prosecutor for the Court of Cassation, president

Arthur DÉNOUVEAUX

President of Life for Paris

Marie-Claude DESJEUX

President of the FENVAC

Philippe DUPERRON

President of 13Onze15: Fraternité – Vérité

Jean-Claude HUBLER

Co-president of Life for Nice, une voie des enfants: 14 juillet 2016

Maryse LE MEN RÉGNIER

President of France Victimes

Anne MURRIS

President of Mémorial des Anges

Mokhtar NAGHCHBAND

President of Strasbourg – Des larmes au sourire

Samuel SANDLER

Board member of the Association française des victimes du terrorisme (AFVT)

Françoise VERNET

President of the Association of the Victims of the Attack on the Bardo Museum

David LISNARD

President of the Association of French Mayors

Pauline BEBE

Rabbi of the Communauté Juive Libérale, Île-de-France

Clifford CHANIN

Executive vice president of the National 9/11 Memorial and Museum (New York)

Brigitte CHOLVY

Theologist, university professor at the Catholic University of Paris

François CLAVAIROLY

President of the Protestant Federation of France

Florencio DOMINGUEZ IRIBARREN

Director of the Centro Memorial de las Víctimas del Terrorismo (Vitoria-Gasteiz)

Lena FAHRE

Director of the 22 July Information Center (Oslo)

Simon FIESCHI

Director of the print department, Charlie Hebdo

Jacques FREDJ

Director of the Shoah Memorial (Paris)

Chems-eddine HAFIZ

Attorney, Rector of the Grand Mosque of Paris

Patrick PELLOUX

Emergency physician

Françoise RUDETZKI

Vice president of the Fédération Alter – Lien Trauma et Résilience

Kari WATKINS

Executive director of the National Memorial and Museum (Oklahoma City)

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