

Scientific Report – Traces of Oblivion: Identity, Heritage and Memory in the Wake of a Nationalistic Turn

The Research Project *Traces of Oblivion: Identity, Heritage and Memory in the Wake of a Nationalistic Turn* started 2019 for a period of three years, until 2021. The project gathered three Researchers: Project leader Marcia Sá Cavalcante Schuback (Philosophy), Tora Lane (Slavic Languages and Literature) and Johan Hegardt (Archeology with orientation in Cultural heritage studies). During the first year, a series of seminars were organized by Tora Lane and took place at CBEES, with researchers of several disciplines and universities. The seminars had as focus the transformation of the concept and practice of fascism “in the Wake of a Nationalistic Turn” today. There were reading seminars but also guest lectures, as for instance with Professor Avital Ronell (New York University and European Graduate School) and Professor Peter Trawny (Wuppertal University). In the seminars main theories about fascism and its new forms as well as ideological documents of the new right movements were discussed. The decisive role of digital practices and culture also became a central theme in the discussions as a main perspective to develop a concept of the new form of fascism growing today. 2019, a conceptual workshop on oblivion was also organized gathering young scholars from Brazil and Spain under the title “Remembering Oblivion”. Schuback, Lane and Hegardt published articles and participated in colloquia and forums for discussions during this first year devoted to theoretical studies and approaches. The years of 2020 and 2021 were definitively marked by the pandemics. In 2020, when presential activities became impossible, new digital forms of discussions, meeting and interactions were developed all over the world. Schuback traveled to Brazil to teach some courses and to present her thoughts on “the fascism of ambiguity”, a concept she worked on during the first year of seminars. Unfortunately, pandemics interdicted her to fly back to Sweden. She remained in Brazil almost 7 months in a severe lock down bearing witness for a politics of genocide and disruption of democratic grounds conducted by Bolsonaro’s misgovernment. During these months many discussions, debates, on-line courses took place. Other planned activities were postponed to 2022 and 2023. The world situation of becoming a world in lockdown rendered necessary a constant reflection of the new condition of the contemporaneous world as well as the shortcoming of the theoretical tools commonly at hand. The problem of fascism and new-right politics became even more clear with the pandemics. The number of activities that can be observed from the attached list of publications, participations and discussions testifies to the efforts to seize and grasp conceptually what was happening. Even if the project leader was in Brazil, the research group had continuous work meetings. The contingency of having to stay a longer period in Brazil, something that wasn’t planed before, and considering that Brazil become one epicenter of the new form of fascism growing in the globalized world, offered the possibility to put in dialogue between us these two regions, Brazil/Latin America and the Baltic Sea Region and Eastern Europe. This rendered even more nitid the need to enlarge the question about new forms of fascism by addressing more closely the problems related to cultural heritage, politics of memory, identity politics, nationalism, and racism, in their diverse ways of being enacted and politicized.

Following what we have called “the traces of oblivion”, the project has focused on three main conceptual challenges: how to characterize and conceptualize the new form of fascism today? In which way politics of memory and oblivion are performed as a question of cultural heritage? What kind of critical praxis and resistance is needed in a world situation of artificial intelligence governance, where global capitalism cannot be dissociated from techno-mediatic-economy? The most important results of the research concern three key questions: the question of fascism, the question of the relation of memory and oblivion in cultural heritage, and the question of meaning and values. The research resulted in the formulation of 1) a concept of the new form of fascism as *fascism of ambiguity*. The main thesis expressed in this concept is that today’s fascism is a politics of rendering senses and values empty of sense and of value through a continuous politics of exacerbation and exaltation of meanings which should be conceptualized considering the new digital era. Rather than merely relying on the phenomena of fake-news and post-truth, the concept points toward a deeper dismantling of ontological, political, and existential dynamics of sense making as the ground for the “nationalistic turn”. The theoretical approach enabled by this concept contributes not only to clarify the conceptual confusion about how to define the new forms of authoritarianism growing today which became a question in the frontline of research on the subject but also to shed a new light on the relation between fascism and globo-techno-finance capitalism, from the view point of the destruction of meanings and values, a perspective that is missing in the frontline of research. 2) A second result regards the way politics and wars of memory taking place particularly in the former countries of Eastern bloc perform a politics of oblivion, suppression, repression, attesting both that past conflicts resurge as conflicts over the past and that the rise of interest in politicizing history is a result of the death of the grand narratives of political ideologies. Creation and maintenance of identities formed by history in a globalized world become a more powerful form of mobilization than through ideology. Remembrance and cultural heritage, working together with ideological differences, become a weapon for political mobilization and manipulation. The research showed how “cultural heritage” becomes a weapon but also how the very concept is politicized through political

decisions about its meaning. A meticulous analysis of how the concept of cultural heritage has been defined through decades in Swedish and European policies could demonstrate that the politics of cultural heritage is deeply connected with the revival of nationalistic practices and desires of identification and consumption of constructed memories, of figured past. Regarding the frontline of research of the huge field of memory and cultural heritage studies, the project brings a solid contribution when focusing rather on the question of the *culture of heritage*, showing how heritage as such becomes a culture, and the question to be further asked is the one about what it means to inherit a loss, a loss of culture, of tradition and of history. The intimate relation between the new form of fascism conceived as fascism of ambiguity and the mobilization due to the weapon of remembrance and the culture of heritage became during the research very clear and demonstrable. The third result relates to 3) the critical resource of memory and oblivion, to its power of resistance to the intricate relation between the fascism of ambiguity of all senses and values and the weapon of remembrance and cultural heritage. The study of post-soviet literature reveals through fiction how the very sense of reality founders. Neither the past, nor the present converge with any sense of historical-political reality. The complex ways literature “remembers” points toward other ways in which history is given to us, comes to us or haunts us, which are not solely anchored in the “images” stored by memories and the ways they can be erased, destroyed, and manipulated. Literature deranges and renders strange the economy of language at stake in ideological constructions and instrumentalizations that serve to assure the power over the present and the future. When critique is so quickly absorbed by what it intends to criticize, there is a need for a sense of how language works unveiled through literature as well which enacts the work of oblivion in memory and of memory in oblivion. This also represents a solid contribution to the huge field of memory studies and of memorial and testimony literature. Thus, to the new (mis)-reality we are now confronted, concepts and language are confronted to their shortcomings and to the need of a new theoretical language and path.

Through these results, the project has made a considerable contribution to the international heritage research and to our understanding of neo-fascism. The project has also shown to what extent the understanding of historical memory as promoted according to EU statutes, is problematic in the context of Eastern Europe, where history remains a conflictual and contested field, as evidenced by the disastrous war in Ukraine. In relation to the knowledge of the Baltic Sea Region and Eastern Europe, we could clarify how neo-fascist movements and political parties in Eastern Europe make use of heritage to legitimate their (illiberal) political decisions. Putin’s war is a good example.

The project led to further important questions: 1) One important issue is a future relationship between, heritage, neo-fascism, genetics and genocide. 2) Having explored the implications of this new understanding of neo-fascism within the fields of heritage and memory studies, the project shows that we need to further investigate into the conflictual nature of heritage and memory in the face of war. 3) after having organized in the realm of the project the 1 international conference on the pioneer work of Reiner Schürmann on “Broken Hegemonies”, the question of how to face the war for hegemony in the era of a satellited world appeared necessary to be further pursued. Is it possible to think of forms of governance that do not rely on the hegemony of principles? How are hegemonies broken?

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Schuback, Marcia Sá Cavalcante. *Time in exile, in conversation with Heidegger, Blanchot and Clarice Lispector*, (NY: State University of New York, SUNY, 2020)

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Hegardt, Johan & Anna Kallén. *The archeologist in-between: Olov R. T. Janse (1892-1985)*. Göteborg: Makadam Förlag (Inbunden. 504 sidor), 2021.

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