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In our century, the historical conflicts, with the excessivenes of their form, give societies a tragic consciousness of their times. And this feeling contributes to a specific work of memory, among other psychological processes. We can observe the creation of a mass memory aimed at the development of collective responsability and of a sense of human rights defence. Such a memory process cannot only be treated at an individual or social level, but rathe as a mass phenomenon.

One of the peculiarities of our times may be that hazards produced by human mind and hand, become, due to their scale, "mass hazards". These hazards entail a new form of international solidarity, advocate a world-wide defence of humanity, thereby changing the mode of democratic and political functionning. An example of this process can be found in the nuclear risk which has engendered a mass type peace movement and a shift in political relations between blocks until now antagonistic. The same is valid for the development of international agencies, such as Amnesty International, intending to call attention on political oppression in all countries, or for the organization of mass conce to support victims of racism. The same trend is illustrated by the condamnation of crimes against humanity, the emblem of which is embodied in the Nazi crimes and The Holocaust. The evocation of Nazi crimes becomes the support for a mobilizing power against oppression, across borders.

I would like to stress how the collective memory is used in the case of Nazi crimes, as a means to give life and strength to mass solidarity and consciousness. My argumentation will be based on the examination of a recent court case held in France against Klauss Barbie, a S.S., responsible for the torture, deportation and death of hundreds of people and children, Jews and Resistants. This trial had a profound impact on international public opinion and media. The content analysis of pleadings, victims' testimonies, and press articles, gives evidence of the way in which a mass memory is constucted, in line with psychological processes of mass phenomena.

Before presenting this analysis, some issues related to the treatment of social memory and its ties with mass psychology deserve mention. This discussion will bear on the following points

- 1) the relevance of the study of memory for mass psychology;
- 2) the little attention paid to the topic of memory in social psychology;
- 3) the contribution of the study of social memory to the understand of social thinking and action.

Memory is a crucial matter in mass processes. Moscovici, in his book The age of crowd has shown that Mass psychology attributed to History a great weight in the way crowds think and are led, and considers the past "as a resource and memory without which nothing is possible". Moscovici has also stressed how mass thinking is addicted to the past, demonstrating the role of memory both at the level of mass mental functionning and at the level of mass mobilization and action.

As to the mental functionning of masses, its automatic character based on repetition and stereotyping, calls for vivid images evoking and marking memory. The world knowledge of masses is a representation where images and appearances are substituted for reality, where there exists a confusion between the internal and the external world, between the past and the present. This representation obeys a non-logical reasoning implying superimpositional projection of images whose strength comes from their roots in tradition and history.

Memory also plays an important part in the way masses are under the suggestion of leaders, are captivated by new ideas and affectively mobilized toward action. In order to have a psychological control over the masses the leaders must "speak"

to the old man". Thus, they unify in a same movement the unconscious foundations of the past and the proposal of new ideas. The triumph of ideas is conditioned by their capacity to take a form of belief which gives them a traditional character. "The dead are the cement of the language of the living". Beliefs and feelings preserved for centuries, constitute a common heritage, a historical underpinning which guarentee the present unity of the masses. Images recalled from the past ensure a feeling of sameness, of similarity, fullfilling an affective need of continuity.

Thus, Mass psychology seizes an important feature of memory its ties to thinking. It enlightens the role of memory in a nonrational mode of thinking where passions, interests, desires, imagination and beliefs come into play. But there is something amazing in this approach of mass memory and thinking : its accordan with what has been said, fifty years ago, by two major scientists in memory, Bartlett and Halbwachs. Both have stressed the active role of memory in cognition. Both have shown that remembering depends on an "image function" and that thinking implies an interweaving of abstracts ideas and concrete images refering to group life, tradition and history. They have isolated, at an individual and social level, thinking and memory properties which are consonar with those postulated by mass psychologists, insisting on the interelations between remembering, cognition, image and emotional investment. There is a sort of continuum between these different levels. And it seems as if mass phenomena were a polarisation of phenomena observed in social group settings. The psychological and affective dynamics of mass life carries these phenomena to an extreme form which renders the study of mass memory a usefull contribution to psychosociological approach.

This contribution may be all the more usefull since social psychology has acquired a scarce knowledge in the domain of memory. One must recognize that little attention has been paid to this topic, in spite of the recent emergence of a research trend on historical social psychology. Ignoring the past contribution of social psychologists and sociologists, we relie on the results of individual psychology, a proceeding which produces numerous shortcomings and which impedes us from exploring memory in the

entirety of its functionning.

The treatment of memory processes cannot be one-sided. By its very temporality, memory is a dynamic concept relating past present and future. Whatever is studied under this concept, be it function, aptitude, process or content, it is always approached along different perspectives. One perspective goes from the present to the past, focusing on the influence of the present with the reconstruction of recall. An second perspective goes from the past to the present, looking how the past works in the present under the mask of forgetting, or in material and cultural traces, and in reminiscences. In cases of rapid environmental change, of social moving, diaspora, the search of past history serves to feed the present, give back to it an identity. The third perspec tive is centered on conflicts between past and present, for example conflicts and compromises between novelty and tradition; past inertias empeding progress, as in the cas of mentality which the French Historian Braudel calls "prisons of the long time". Among these conflicts there is also the risk run by the present or the future, due to oblivion of the past as can be seen in commemorative events such as the Barbie trial which points at the problem of struggle of the present against the past and the return of the repressed in consciousness and knowledge.

These perspectives are interdependant and often overlap. The result of which is a certain fuzziness in the definition of the object and process under study. These are seen either as reactualized contents used in present, or as a capital encapsuled in habits, rituals, discourses and material culture, or else as a mental activity of information storage and retrieval. The first two points of view are encountered in social sciences, the third in psychology. But they cannot be desintangled and social psychological has to integrate them and cope with an aspect of memory often laid fallow: the creativity of memory in the present. This problem of a "living memory" and its links to knowledge appears as a central, but neglected, object for social psychology.

Yet, the relation of memory to cognition is a basic postulate, evidenced in psychology as well in the social sciences. Memory

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receives a predominant function in theories on social ideation from Durkheim and Mead, to Berger and Luckmann and Moscovici. Halbwachs articulates social remembering and group interests to explain cognitive bias, "in accord with modern analyses of ideological forgetting, structural amnesia, and theoretical blind-spots in sciences" as states Mary Douglas. Lastly, cognitive psychology, language and communication studies are also engaged in a theory of memory when they intend to account for the construction of knowledge and for the production or intelligility of meaning.

When compared in their details -what is impossible to do within the framework of this communication- the cognitive and social approaches present complementarities and congruences which allow social psychology to formulate the outline of a global conception of memory. Thus, the theory of social representations enlightens the interaction of remembering and cognitive activities in the construction and maintenance of shared versions of reality To advance in this direction, it suffices to overpass the difficuties due to the narrrowness of a cognitive perspective centered on intraindividual processes. A perspective which isolates memory in the solipsism on an internal world and cannot explain its role as symbolic mediation between individuals and their social and material environment.

In this perspective we should recognize the social dimension implied in psychological conception of memory. In so far as they beyond a pure learning process, as do, for example, semantic memo trends, they are led to integrate this social dimension in their construct of cognitive processes and long term memory structures. These structures based on language, form a knowledge which, particularly, is already something social. But according to one's view of the structure formation and functionning, the construct will be closed on individual or open to society.

Structural models of knowledge and memory are located at the junction of the computational study of articificial intelligence and the perspective originated in Bartlett's theory of rememberin The accentuation of the first or second trend gives rise to

different conceptions of memory that we can designate by two metaphores : the granary and the generator. In the granary model, long term memory is seen as a warehouse where information from past experiences are stored. Thinking processes are identifid with mnemonic ones. Knowledge appears as a static recording of external inputs. The memory itself, even if considered as schematic structure, is an inert set of discrete elements. The generator model gives an equal importance to long term memory in cognition, but conceives it as an active structure working on present experience in the line of Bartlett's conception of "schema" as "active developping patterns", "actively doing something all the time". Thus remembering is treated as "an imaginative reconstruction, built out of the relation of our attitude towards a whole active mass of organised past reactions or experiences, and to a little outstanding detail which commonly appears in image or in language". This perspective stresses the creative aspect of memory structure seen as a generative system related to other mental processes and giving the possibility to cope with novelty. This system supposes an organization of past actions and experiences reactivated to confer meaning to any new information, the individual being able to search in its stored knowledge what is relevant to cope with its present situation. The complex network of anterior knowledge is the basis of cognitive strategies.

In these two models, memory thus receives, two status which evoke its paradoxical aspects. In the first case the idea of traces, inertia, reproduction of fixed contents dominate. In the second case, the organizing power of past experience, the dynamics and creativity of remembering prevails. The progress implied by the generator model, making memory an active structure which allows the individual to manipulate the past in order to interpret the present, is evident.

But the idea of conservation of traces reactivated to answer the problems of a present situation, raises a new question What are the processes underlying the reactivation of a definite schema. One must call for a principle of energizing. This notion of energizing which has to be elaborated, is crucial

to account of memory in dynamics terms and not only as a repetitive reproduction. Bartlett himself was obliged to approximate such a perspective to explain which elements of the schema are appropriate to a present situation. He formulates the hypothesis that the emergence of specific elements depends on the interests or ideals of the individual. These interests or ideals demand a "reshuffling of the mass of organized experience", This reshuffling "is dependent upon that very same capacity to turn around upon one's own 'schemata' required by the constructive character of remembering", and upon consciousness. The conscient manipulation of past is based on energizing drives attitudes, interests, ideals which themselves are determined by group membership and social learning. So as regards the process by which memorised structures are recalled to understand and answer the present world experience, Bartlett is obliged to refer to socially based organization and retrieval of schema, and to consciouness and psychological investment of individual.

This point of view is closed to Halbwachs' one. Just as Bartlett's process of "conventionalisation" according to which recall is filtered by cognitive categories dominating in the group to which the individual pertains, is very close to Halbwach' theory of social frameworks of memory. Social membership ensures the grids and stable foundation of individual memory. In both authors we find a common preoccupation to isolate the stable schema or structure of memory and knowledge together with the preoccupation of accounting for their dynamic intervention in actual individual and social life. This intervention refers to interests, desires, emotional investments linked to group participation.

When one wants to study memory as something else than an inert trace or a storage capacity, one cannot ignore its ties with other aspects of psychic life, especially affectivity, thinking and action and with individual setting in society. The same is valid for collective memory dependent on group life, interests, identity and values as well as linked to social thinking processes, as stated by Halbwachs. Going a step further

we can raise a new question: how mass memory functions, when individuals are melted in a same whole, loosed from their group bounds. Using Bartlett's distinction between the "matter of recall" whose contents are socially determined, and the "manner of recall" which implies a psychological dependence on social membership, we can formulate an hypothesis. Mass memory using the contents of collective memory adresses individual feelings, values and interests. Active mass memory manipulate individual feelings and moral standards relying on mass thinking process.

One can be dubious about the possibility of such a process. I would like to give an illustration of it, refering to a personal remembrance that goes back to my childhood in Algeria. During the Second World War, U.S. Army officers occupied my home. They used to share with my family their military food, especially their canned K. rations. I was struck by a strange detail of the label on the cans they brought. While the contents of the cans (beans, marmelade, meat, etc..) were indicated on a very small part of the label and in very small letters, the rest of the space was filled up by the warning "Remember Pearl Harbour". In this part of North Africa where, at the moment, there was no war, where the weather was fine and the social atmosphere pleasant and cool, "Remember Pearl Harbour" was a way of maintaining the drive to fight. Manipulating memory was used to enhance anger, reopen wounds of national pride, and to insure against any loss of army morale.

Thus we can observe in the reactivation of Nazi crimes remembering, a similar process intending to create a mass conscience. The symbolic use of historical facts, using the publicity of medias and a staged trial, as in the case of Barbie trial, is a way of adressing mass conscience by eliciting affective feelings and an emotional state in everyone.

The Barbie case court is a French affair which has been universalized, massified, in the name of the guilt of forgetting, and of being unconscious of the meaning of historical events. We can speak of mass conscience because the staging of the

trial intended to elicit a similar feeling in a whole nation and across other nations. The concrete demonstration of nazi horror by its victims' narration was also a means to render evident and tangible the meaning of murderous oppression. Before illustrating this, I will present rapidely the setting of the trial and introduce its actors.

The Barbie affair has been initiated and pursued to the end of its legal phase by a "leading group" animated by the will to fight against oblivion. Barbie has been discovered in his Bolivian hiding-niche by Beate and Karl Klarsfeld. The latter, appropriately denominated "militant for memory" has stressed the necessity to use "symbolic violence" to maintain in life the memory of The Holocaust. He wanted to organize in France a case court of Nazis accused of having killed children. Together with the lawyers of the prosecution, they constitute what Canetti has called a "mass crystal", that is to say, a small, rigid, and persistent group which serves to set the masses in motion.

The accused, Klauss Barbie, was, during the war, chief of the Gestapo in Lyon, center of the resistant movement. He was named the "Bucher of Lyon" because of the horrendous treatment he inflicted on his victims. After the war, he escaped Europe with the help of U.S. Counter Intelligence Service. He was sentenced in absentia for war crimes in 1953 and 1954. Discovered in 1972 in Bolivia, he was handed over the French justice in 1983 and incarcerated in the prison of Montluc, the same prison where he had himself locked up and tortured so many Jews and Resistants. On the third day of the trial, he decided not to be present. And his failure gave the trial its very character of commemoration of the past.

The Barbie's defence was insured by three lawyers engaged in anti-racist and anti-colonialist fighting. They wanted to use the trial as a tribune to expose western nations to public indignation.

On the accusing side, there were thirty-nine lawyers representing individual victims of Barbie, and also associations of veterans, ex-resitants, ex-deportees, as well as anti-racist and liberty defence movements. They wanted to focus the trial on the person and acts of Barbie, but have, in their majority, extended their pleading to all crimes against humanity.

The witnesses for the prosecution were Barbie's victims or their parents, in charge of recalling the tortures and mistreatments inflicted by him and witnesses of "general interest" in charge of recalling the period of Resistance or the life in deportation and extermination camps.

The trial was staged for T.V. in order to record it in its intirety. It was covered by numerous reporters of national and international presses. Fourteen books were published about it. It lasted two months, mobilizing a steady attention from public opinion. The staging of the trial was intended to impress people's minds and sensitivities and to provoke an emotional participation.

The trial had several stakes. I will develop three of them the cognitive and educative one; the conflict between history and memory; the ethical side of recall defence.

The indictment was drawn up for crimes against humanity. This count was retained because crimes against humanity are imprescriptible whereas war crimes were under time prescription. Another important reason for this choice is that it was the first time in France that a trial was set in the name of civil and Jewish victims of Nazism. Until then, the trial against Nazis, led in name of war crimes, set aside Jewish victims. And this gives an extraordinary importance to the Barbie trial. For the first time The Holocaust could be evoked in a justice court. New facts of Barbie's barbarity were brought to light, especially the deportation of forty one Jewish children, hidden in Izieu, a village near Lyon, the sending of six hundred and fifty people in the last train for extermination camps, and individual torture and deportation followed by death. The

The cognitive aim of the trial was to impose a conception of what must be considered as crimes against humanity, stressing the importance of the planning of inhuman crimes and persecutions by a State putting into practice a policy of ideological hegemony and also the adhesion to this ideology and its style. The legal form given to this definition was a way to strengthen its impact on mass opinion. It has been said that "The punitive sanction is usefull in order for people to understand the notion of crimes against humanity, so that this notion enters into our civilisation". In the same way a german lawyer has highlighted the importance of nazism's ideological style and of its language. Commenting the telex sent by Barbie to his superiors about the discovery of the children of Izieu, she said:

"The term "To track" here means that they have hunted down thieves, people that should be eliminated and are already labelled as such. The intention to perpetrate inhuman acts is blatant. Thus this trial allows us to certify the existence of a language typical of the Gestapo and the SS. I am only here to show my solidarity with humanity."

Such proceedings allowed an extension of the meaning of the trial to all political threats bearing on the world:

The Barbie trial does not bring life back, does not comfort. It is not an act of revenge but a warning. It is an appeal the defense of democracy, justice and liberty." It is "also urgent appeal to democratic Europe: Only its reunion will strengthen us against the risk of seeing power, in the hand of an active minority, leading a people to abjection."

The international community anxiously awaits the decision which you are about to make. By this decision, justice will not entirely be done considering the immensity of the crime but justice will be spoken. This is not an out-moded trial, you must pave the way for the future. You must remind all t Barbies of today and tomorrow that neither time nor their

"These hysterias have endured. Of course people are no longe overtly antisemitic but pamphlets are circulated and posted that deny what happened. Immigrants are blamed, Aids victimare ostracized. These are similar crimes and bear the same name."

"This trial should not end the reflection on what is unacceptable."

"Time did not change anything. The sentence remains necessa especially in the light of what is happening in the world a considering the fact that the criminal has not repented. Ca we tolerate that he be free? Can we accept the scandal of h impunity?"

Me Bouaïta: "The Barbie affair has been in the headlines for more than two months. It is proper to speak of a real media sensation. But if in 1944 only the Jew could be the scapegoa in 1987 the scapegoat can only be Arab. I see no difference between a crematorium and a phosphorus bomb and I see no difference between the atrocities committed in Vietnam by the Americans or those committed in Lebanon by the Israelis." About Sabra and Chatila: "Israel encouraged them, to say the least, when it had the means to stop them. This is punishable in the same way as the material act is punishable according the Nuremberg trials."

"Along with Klaus Barbie you are about to pass judgement on his descendants, that is to say those who perpetuate an ideology of hatred and contempt, for, through them, all over the world, danger remains."

The location of the trial in France, a country seen as defender of human rights added a symbolic strenght to the defense of democraty:

M'Bemba (Congo): "So then, I am here to tell you that in this debate on the notion of crimes against humanity, it is good that France should be an essential participant. If you lag behind, you could not possibly keep your leading position in the defense of the rights of man. I am also here to ask you: Is your conscience clear to judge Barbie?"

The development of knowledge was also aimed at those who had no experience of nazi times, especially the French and German youth :

This trial will also help today's German youth, those who want to know. It will also help the German democracy."

"Whatever came into the open could only be summed up in one word: barbarity."

"There is no way you can learn everything."

"Memory is like a muscle that you have to keep in shape bu ignorance can also be cultivated. Our fathers knew that to They were taught to remember the heroism of WWI soldiers a of Alsace-Lorraine and were fed patriotic readings. Nowada: the memory of wars is fading away and it is paradoxical the Barbie trial, belated as it is, should bring back these memories. For better or for worse."

At this point, we encounter the problem of conflict between history and memory. As Halbwachs states, history begins when tradition ends, when social memory decays or dies down. History separates events from group life, does not allow to experience them as a concrete reality, pulling out their lived specificity and thus rendering them comparable to other events. History establishes a solution of continuity between the actors and those who read and learn it. More over, in the name of science and its scientific tools, History has the power to cast doubt over past events, and to formulate alternative interpretations. In the case of The Holocaust such a phenomenon exists with the revival of nazi movements supported by historians calles "revisionists" who deny the existence of extermination camps. This is also why Barbie trial was so important: it was the response of the victims to the denial of History:

"Forty years later this trial is still much needed in order prevent the falsification of History. Indeed some have tried to deny the reality of the gas chambers in an attempt to instil the idea of a presentable, acceptable Nazi doctrine. This trial was therefore necessary because Barbie has not changed and his mind remains imbued with Nazism, because hi victims forever bear the scars..."

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From a psychological point of view, the trial held memory alive, by the reactivation of emotions, fears, sufferings experienced by nazi victims. It gave people the opportunity to share them and identify with the victimized groups. In this sense, the staging of the process helped the creation of a mass feeling, going beyond the specific group bearing in their body the memory of the drama. This process can be seen as a mass process. Halbwachs has shown that collective memory are plural, linked to group life, identity, perpetuating its feelings, images and thinking. In the case of the Barbie trial, the work of memory concerns everybody and all groups. In order. to create this mass recall, it had to adopt a precific form, presenting to the public the vivid images of testimonies and the concretness of the victims. The manner of recall appears as a mass process which supersedes the contradictions of history and the pecularities of the victimized groups.

"But all of us here are the Jews, terrorists, communists w Nazism intended to destroy. Therefore we want to speak aboveryone and everything."

"At this point the title I claim is not that of the prosect but that of the defender of history, memory, truth, and the future. Do you not agree that this defense is as legitimate that of the accused?"

In this enterprise, the moral side of the trial receives a unique role. Forgetting is tantamount to a social sin. Forgetting is opposed to justice. To oppose a psychological process to a legal notion, confers to it a moral status which, balancing the moral attitude of forgiveness, becomes its contrary: a guilty denial. The necessity of establishing the guilt of forgetting gets across the whole trial. Pleaders, witnesses, reporters carped at forgetting and appealed at justice:

A crime against humanity is a crime against innocence and hope. The Izieu children and the Resistants alike were the victim of an enterprise of bararity whose design was some sort of communal death. Today, the whole of humanity is prosecuting in this trial."

for those who have lived the tragedy, forgetting is an insult to the dead. The recall of the facts appears as a duty commanded by the dead's memory:

"I hesitated for a long time before I decided to come here. I kept remembering all those people to whom I had tried to t about the incredible things that happened at Auschwitz. The kept saying: Stop talking about it, it is really too sad, is unbearable. I had also reached the point where I though what is the use? But I finally decided that for the sake of the dead I had no right to remain silent."

"Therefore I have come to testify without hatred in a tria that means for me neither revenge nor forgiveness for the survivors. I believe that forgetting would be wrong... It also in the name of my fellow prisoners that I would like say these words to today's youth: If there should be a "ne again" in their minds it has got to be "never that again".

For those who were exterior but contemporaneous to the tragedy, forgetting is a political fault, recalling a claim for solidarity a means of picking up the torch of the fight they could not join in, of identifying with a destiny which they had escaped. Recall is a survivor's duty:

Jacubowicz: "I want my defense to become a prayer for all those who were gassed, cremated, drowned, slaughtered, for those who died without burial, whose last humiliation was t dissipation of the furnace smoke in the wind."
"Only the victim can grant forgiveness, provided forgivenes be sought. Such was not the case. As to forgetting, which i the wearing away and eventually the abolition of memory, it could only come after forgiving. You are not here to either forgive or forget: You are here to judge."

Thus releiving the abstents, they fullfill a humanistic duty : educating the masses :

"This trial touches me deep in my heart. This trial is precisely for those of us who have not lived throug this period so that we become the present guardians of memor For the witnesses whom you have heard will disappear and future generations will only have books and documents. We are not here to judge Nazism or Vichy France. We are here to judge one Nazi according to these testimonies." "Not to do it would be contrary to the law which states that crimes against humanity are imprescriptible. Not to do it would be tantamount to discrediting justice and to being in collusion with any recurrence of these crimes. This trial is for the future. You all know that when some of your loved on die you still have the memory of who they were. Just like an individual, a people must have its memory. The people of France have not given it up, neither have the Jewish people; am here to claim this double memory, that of the Jewish peop because it is mine, that of the French people because it is also mine. Do not think that these words take me away from t Barbie case. For this memory and this history both appeared

Memory becomes a mass phenomenon adressing both those who survive and have for duty not to forget, and those who follow and have for duty to remember. Justice, as opposed to social sin, possesses the power to legitimize the appeal at mass consciousness, and its generalization to present history. this power is all the stronger since it strikes sensitivity. Emotion serves as a basis for understanding the significance of political crimes and supporting revolt against them. The staging of the trial favors this active work of memory which commands mass consciousness by eliciting emotional states and identification with the victims. Mass memory and its vivid images thus becomes a weapon against the deceitfull and soporific power of History.

In the Barbie trial, the evocation of children murdering was the acme of this work of memory.

"Will you ever be able to look at rows of children coming of school, hand in hand, without being reminded of those oth children who, hand in hand, walked toward the gas chamber, just because a madman had decided that Jews should be exterminated? This trial, having shown what Nazism was, is already won."

Let me end by a quotation from the last pleading in which we can observe another mass process: the formation of a mass symbol which is, according to Canetti, a symbolic representation of the masses, consisting in non-human elements perceived as mass. This mass symbol using the image of the shroud calls the invisible mass of the dead to trigger the will for justice and purity.

"In my country the custom was that a dead child should be buried in a white shroud, because white is the symbol of innocence and because the death of a child is always a tragedy for humanity. This is the message that you must spread far ... beyond our own borders. It has to reach South Africa where children are imprisoned and threatened, to the Near East where they are frightened by bombs, to Argentina where the Mothers of the May Plaza claimed in vain their kin. We will probably walk out of here just as we walked in. In a few days, and like everybody else, you will naturally think of your vacation. Why is it though that for several weeks I have not been able to look at children coming out of school as I used to? Therefore I ask you to leave a blank page in your agenda for July 3rd, 1987 which will be the date of your decision. This blank page will stand for the purity of your judgment and when someone later inquires about he meaning of this white page, you can simply answer: This is the shroud of the Izieu children."

In its concluding comments of <u>The age of the crowd</u>, Moscovici argued that the limits of mass psychology should be overcome and that it should be applied in a positive direction. The challenge of our times which have entered into a "planetary age of crowds", is to protect and restore democraty, finding a substitute for mass power. This substitute has to guarantee the same effects on the psychological level, and use the same means to mobilize people for action and government.

The manner of leading the Barbie trial is an example of the transformed use of mass psychology. A leading group, fighting for justice and the defence of human rights, has spontaneously elaborated a strategy which echoes mass psychology principles, in order to maintain a world-wide ethical consciousness and sense of democracy.