

Memory and Conflict: Remembering and Forgetting in Divided Societies

Dr. Orli Fridman

Course Description

This course invites students to explore the study of conflict analysis and conflict transformation through a journey in the field of social memory studies. The course will focus on the role of social memory studies for peace and conflict studies scholars. More specifically, it will allow students to delve into the analysis of internal dynamics of societies in or after conflict by focusing on the way(s) they negotiate their pasts, presents and futures in the aftermath of war, conflict, repression, dictatorship, genocide and mass atrocities.

The course will introduce students to dynamics and frameworks allowing the social organization of memory, and modes in which entire communities (and not only individuals) preserve and remember the past, commemorate it, deny or obliterate it. Finally, the course will highlight practices related to memory work and memory activism in spaces of conflicts over the narratives and representations of the past.

In order to do so, students will be introduced to some underpinning concepts and theoretical frameworks in social memory studies and in conflict studies. Students will then apply this theoretical knowledge to a number of case studies, allowing them to further investigate the role of memory and memory activism in conflict analysis, and think comparatively about mnemonic processes in conflict and post-conflict transformation.

Course Structure:

- Theoretical introduction to social memory studies, conflict analysis and Conflict Transformation;
- Collective Memory and National Calendars: collective memory, community memory, social organization of national memory, commemorative events
- Memory Work and Memory Activism in and after conflict.

Case studies may include:

- The Memories of 1948 among Israeli & Palestinian Communities;
- Memory, Silence and Denial: The Memories of the Wars of the 1990s in Serbia;
- Memory Politics in Bosnia - Herzegovina: Nothing but Ethnonationalism and Divisions? *This case study will be taught by Dr. Nicholas Moll, who will join the course as a guest lecturer.*

Background readings:

This selected list of readings will help you prepare for the course and may be used as entry points to our week's discussions:

- Gillis, John R. "Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship," in John R. Gillis (ed.) *Commemorations*. Princeton, 1994.
- Lederach, John Paul. *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1997. Pp. 3-61, 73-85.
- Ramsbotham, Oliver, Woodhouse, Tom & Miall, Hugh. *Contemporary Conflict Resolution: The prevention, management and transformation of deadly conflicts*. Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2011. Chapter 9 (Peacebuilding); Chapter 10 (Reconciliation).
- Dragović-Soso, Jasna. "Conflict, Memory, Accountability: What Does Coming to Terms with the Past Mean?" in Wolfgang Petritsch and Vedran Džihic (eds), *Conflict and Memory: Bridging Past and Future in [South East] Europe*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2010.
- Touquet, Heleen, Vermeersch, Peter. "Changing Frames of Reconciliation: The Politics of Peace-Building in the Former Yugoslavia" *East European Politics and Societies and Culture* 30, 1, 2016. Pp. 55-73.
- Barsalou, Judy and Baxter Victoria. "The Urge to Remember: The Role of Memorials in Social Reconstructions and Transitional Justice." *Stabilization and Reconstruction Series* No. 5, United States Institute for Peace, January 2007.

Additional Recommended Background Reading:

- Olick, Jeffrey, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi and Daniel Levy (eds). *The Collective Memory Reader*. Oxford University Press, 2011. Introduction chapter.

One of the questions we will raise this week: Does collective remembrance of a troubled past impede reconciliation?

This links may help you in your preparation to discuss this question:

- ICTJ online Debate *Does collective remembrance of a troubled past impede reconciliation?* <https://www.ictj.org/news/online-debate-remembrance-reconciliation>
- Yehuda Elkana, "The Need to Forget," *Haaretz*, March 2, 1988. <https://muckrack.com/link/60I1/the-need-to-forget-by-yehuda-elkana>
- ICTJ Panel Discussion at NYU, April 27, 2016 <https://www.ictj.org/news/panel-discussion-denial-justice> [or a direct link to the panel <http://www.ustream.tv/recorded/85630514>]

- Course Outline by Day -

Tuesday June 28 (day 1)

Morning class:

10:00-11:00 Group introduction

Course introduction

11:15-12:30 **Theoretical Frameworks:** social memory studies, and its meeting points with conflict analysis & conflict transformation

Readings:

- Zerubavel, Eviatar. *Collective Memory and the Social Shape of the Past: Time Maps*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003. Introduction & Chapters 4, 5.

Afternoon class:

14:00-16:00 Collective Memory and National Calendars: time, memory and the nation

Readings:

- Zerubavel, Eviatar. "Calendars and History: A Comparative Study of the Social Organization of National Memory," in Jeffrey Olick (ed.) *States of Memory: Continuities, Conflicts, and Transformations in National Retrospection*. Durham: Duke University, 2003. Pp. 315-337.

Wednesday June 29 (day 2)

Morning class:

10:00-11:00 **Theoretical Frameworks continues:** Collective memory (silence/obliteration/denial); community memory; social organization of national memory; commemorative events, memory work & memory activism

Readings:

- Zerubavel, Yael. *Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and the making of Israeli National Tradition*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1997. Chapter 1 (Pp. 3-12).
- Gutman, Yifat. "Looking Backward to the Future: Counter-memory as Oppositional Knowledge-Production in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict," *Current Sociology*, 2015 (pp. 1-6)

Additional readings:

- Jelin, Elizabeth. *State Repression and the Labors of Memory*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003(chapter 3: Political Struggles for Memory).

11:00-12:30 **Film:** A film by Eyal Sivan: *Yizkor: Slaves to Memory* (1991) [98 minutes] [*watch part I only*]

Afternoon class:

14:00-16:00 Memory, Conflict and asymmetric Power Relations: Introduction to the protracted issues of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

- The creation of the states of Israel
- The Nakba
- Citizenship & mnemonic communities

Background Readings:

- Beinun, Joel and Lisa Hajjar. *Palestine, Israel and Arab Israeli Conflict Premier*, Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP). Available on http://www.merip.org/palestine-israel_primer/Palestine-Israel Primer MERIP.pdf

Thursday June 30 (day 3)

Morning Class:

- 10:00-12:30 The Hegemonic Memory of 1948 in Jewish Israeli society in Israel
- Official state commemoration practices
 - Alternative commemorative events & Memory Activism
 - Memory Laws: The law on the Nakba

Readings:

- Zerubavel, Yael. *Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and the making of Israeli National Tradition*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1997. Chapter 2 (pp. 13-36).
- Gutman, Yifat. "Looking Backward to the Future: Counter-memory as Oppositional Knowledge-Production in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict," *Current Sociology*, 2015.
- Zerthal, Idith. *Israel's Holocaust and the Politics of Nationhood*. Cambridge University Press, 2005. Chapter 1.

Additional Recommended Reading

- Azoulay, Ariella. *Constituent Violence, 1947-1950: A visual genealogy of a regime and the transformation of the catastrophe into "a catastrophe from their point of view"*. English translation of Hebrew text, Resling, 2009.

Film: A film by Yulie Cohen: *My Land Zion* (2004) [60 minutes]

Afternoon class:

- 14:00-16:00 The memories of 1948 in Palestinian societies (in diaspora, in Israel and Palestine)
- Commemoration as a form of political protest
 - Memory and minority majority relations
 - Memory in asymmetric conflicts

Readings:

- Abu-Lughod, Laila and Ahmad H. Sa'di. "Introduction: the Claim of Memory," in Laila Abu-Lughod and Ahmad H. Sa'di (eds.) *Nakba: Palestine, 1948, and the Claims of Memory*, Columbia University Press, 2007.
- Rochelle, Davis. "Mapping the Past, Re-creating the Homeland," in Laila Abu-Lughod and Ahmad H. Sa'di (eds.) *Nakba: Palestine, 1948, and the Claims of Memory*, Columbia University Press, 2007. Pp. 53-75.
- Sorek, Tamir. *Palestinian Commemoration in Israel: Calendars, Monuments & Martyrs*. Stanford University Press, 2015. Introduction Chapter.

Additional Recommended Reading:

- Abu-Lughod, Laila. "Return to Half-Ruins: Memory, Post memory, and Living History in Palestine," in Laila Abu-Lughod and Ahmad H. Sa'di (eds.) *Nakba: Palestine, 1948, and the Claims of Memory*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2007. Pp. 77-104.

Friday July 1(day 4)

Morning class:

10:00-11:15 Introduction the Break-Up of Yugoslavia and the Wars of the 1990s;
Post-Milošević Fragmented/contested Memories of the 1990s in Serbia

Background Readings YU breakup:

- Dejan, Jović. "The Disintegration of Yugoslavia: A Critical Review of Explanatory Approaches," *European Journal of Social Theory*, vol. 4 (1), 2001.

11:30-12:30 Memories of the 1990s in Post- Milošević Serbia: Beyond Transitional Justice

- Mnemonic communities & and mnemonic battles in Serbia [WW2 and the 1990s];
- The Memories of the 1999 NATO Bombing
- Memory Activism in Serbia: Remembering Srebrenica as a Genocide in Belgrade

Readings:

- Gordy, Eric. "Tracing Dialogue on the Legacy of War Crimes in Serbia." In Dubravka Žarkov & Marlies Glasius (Eds.), *Narratives of Justice in and Out of the Courtroom*. New York: Springer, 2013.
- David, Lea. "Mediating international and domestic demands: mnemonic battles surrounding the monument to the fallen of the wars of the 1990s in Belgrade." *Nationalities Papers*42(4), 2014.
- Fridman, Orli. "Memories of the 1999 NATO Bombing in Belgrade, Serbia." *Südosteuropa Journal for Policy and Society*, (Forthcoming 2016).

Additional Recommended Readings:

- Stanley Cohen, *States of Denial: Knowing about Atrocities and Suffering*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001. Preface and chapter 1 (pp. xi-xiv, 1-20).
- Kuljić, Todor. "Remembering crimes—proposal and reactions," In: Vujadinović D and Goati V (eds) *Between Authoritarianism and Democracy, volume III Serbia at the Political Crossroads*. Belgrade: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung and Centar za demokratsku tranziciju, 2009. (pp. 197–212).

Lunch break out of the classroom observation activity

Afternoon class:

14:00-15:00 Return from observation activity and discussion

15:00 Memory Activism in Serbia

Guest Lecture:

The Batajnica Memory Initiative: **Sandra Orlović**, Executive Director of the Humanitarian Law Center [HLC]

Readings

- Fridman, Orli. "Alternative Calendars and Memory Work in Serbia: Anti-war activism after Milošević." *Memory Studies* 8(2), 2015.

17:00 Optional: Afternoon Memory Walk of Belgrade

Saturday July 2(day 5):

This day classes will be taught by Dr. Nicolas Moll

Memory Politics in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Nothing but Ethnonationalism and Divisions?

Morning Class:

10:00 – 12:30: Ethnonational memory politics in Bosnia and Herzegovina

- The specific situation of Bosnia and Herzegovina
- Parallel Memory Politics within a shared and divided political space
- Antagonistic perceptions of the 1992-1995-war and of the Second World War

Afternoon Class:

14:00 – 16:00: Beyond and against ethnonational memory politics in Bosnia and Herzegovina

- Practices of contestation of the dominating narratives
- Attempts to build bridges between different memory narratives
- Blurred frontiers between nationalist and non-nationalist memory approaches?
The memory of Srđan Aleksić

Readings:

- Moll, Nicolas. "Fragmented memories in a fragmented country: Memory Competition and Political Identity-Building in Today's Bosnia and Herzegovina." *Nationalities Papers*, Volume 41/6, 2013, 910-935.
- Pauker, Iva. "War through other means, examining the role of symbols in BiH." In Olivera Simić, Zala Volčič, Catherine R. Philpot (Eds.): *Peace Psychology in the Balkans: Dealing with a Violent Past While Building Peace*. New York: Springer, 2012, 109-128.
- Moll, Nicolas. "A positive hero for everyone? The memorialization of Srđan Aleksić in post-Yugoslav countries." *Contemporary Southeastern Europe* 2016, 3(1), 1-31

Sunday July 3(day 6)

Morning Class:

10:00-12:30 Students presentations & discussions

Afternoon class:

14:00-15:00 Course closure

15:15-16:00 Closing ceremony of the Summer School