

Mnemonic Battles and Memory Activism in and after Conflict

Dr. Orli Fridman

Course Description

This course invites students to approach the study of conflict analysis and conflict transformation through a journey into the field of Social Memory Studies. The course will focus on the role of social memory studies for peace and conflict studies scholars and allow students to delve into the analysis of internal dynamics of societies in or after conflict and the way they negotiate their pasts, presents and futures in the aftermath of war, conflict, repression, genocide and mass atrocities.

The course will explore 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 (Jelin, 2003).

In order to do so, students will be introduced to some underpinning concepts in social memory studies and in conflict studies. Students will then apply this 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 processes of conflict transformation.

Course Structure

- **Theoretical frameworks:** social memory studies, conflict analysis and Conflict Transformation
- **Case studies:** We will devote our in-class discussions to the following main case studies:
 - Collective Memory and National Calendars: collective memory, community memory, social organization of national memory, commemorative events, memory activism
 - Memory, history and asymmetric power relations: the memory of 1948 in among Israelis and Palestinians
 - Memory and Denial: the memories of the wars of the 1990s in Serbia
 - Memory and State-building in Kosovo

Background readings

- Gillis, John R. "Memory and Identity: the History of a Relationship," in John R. Gillis (ed.) *Commemorations*. Princeton, 1994.
- 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.
- 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).

Additional Recommended Background Reading

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

- Course Outline by Day -

Monday June 29 (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.

Tuesday June 30 (day 2)

Morning class:

10:00-12:30

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).

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 and mnemonic communities

Background Readings

- Rogan, Eugene L. and Avi Shlaim (eds). *The War for Palestine: rewriting the History of 1948*. Cambridge University Press, 2001. Introduction.
- Beinun, Joel and Lisa Hajjar. *Palestine, Israel and Arab Israeli Conflict Primer*, Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP). Available on http://www.merip.org/palestine-israel_primer/Palestine-Israel_Primer_MERIP.pdf
- Said, Edward. "Afterword: the Consequences of 1948," in Eugene L. Rogan and Avi Shlaim (eds). *The War for Palestine: rewriting the History of 1948*.

Additional readings

- Khalidi, Rashid. "The Palestinians and 1948: the underlying causes of failure," in Eugene L. Rogan and Avi Shlaim (eds). *The War for Palestine: rewriting the History of 1948*.

Wednesday July 1 (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

Background 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, Postmemory, 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.
- Shehadeh, Raja. *Strangers in the House*. Selected chapters.

Thursday July 2 (day 4)

Morning class:

10:00-11:15

Introduction the Break-Up of Yugoslavia and the Wars of the 1990s;

11:30-12:30

Beyond the 'Dealing with the Past' framework: Anti-War Civil Society and Memory Post- Milošević Fragmented/contested Memories of the 1990s in Serbia
Activism in Serbia

- Mnemonic communities in Serbia
- 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." A paper presented at the workshop *The 1999 NATO Bombing: Memories, Narratives and Histories*. Center for Comparative Conflict Studies at the Faculty of Media and Communications (FMK), Singidunum University. February 27, 2015.

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.

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).

Afternoon class:

14:00-16:00

Beyond the 'Dealing with the Past' framework: Anti-War Civil Society and Memory Activism in Serbia [continues]

Guest Lecture

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

Background Readings

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

Friday July 3 (day 5):

This day classes will be taught by Dr. Nita Luci from the University of Prishtina

Morning Class:

10:00 – 12:00

Histories and memories of Kosovar independence movements

- Tradition, nation and gender
 - Politics of culture
 - Ethnography of violence
- Luci, Nita. "Chapter 3: Blood-Feud Reconciliation: Intellectuals Make Memory, Women Make Politics. In *Seeking Independence: Making Nation, Memory, and Manhood in Kosova*. PhD Dissertation: University of Michigan, 2014.
 - Gusia, Linda. *Silence Versus Recognition of Survivors of Sexual Violence in Kosovo*. *Njohja* 2014 (3): 139-148.

Afternoon Class:

14:00 – 16:00

Post-War State Building

- International interventions
- The remaking of public space: art and commemoration

- Krasniqi, Vjollca. "Imagery, Gender and Power: The Politics of Representation in Post-War Kosovo." *Feminist Review* 86 (July 2007): 1-23.
- DiLellio, Anna, and Stephanie Schwandner-Sievers. *The Legendary Commander: The Construction of an Albanian Master-Narrative in Post-War Kosovo*. Vol. 12(3) *Nations & Nationalism*, 2006.
- Ströhle, Isabel. "Pristina's "Martyrs' Cemetery" - Conflicting Commemorations." *Südosteuropa* 54 (2006): 404-426.

Additional Recommended Reading:

- Krasniqi, Vjollca. "The Topography of the Construction of the Nation in Kosovo" in Pål Kostø (ed.) *Strategies of Symbolic Nation-Building in South Eastern Europe*, London: Ashgate, 2014.
- Luci, Nita. "Un/welcomed Guest: Interventions in Kosova." In *Responsibility to Protect: Cultural Perspectives from the Global South*. Edited by Thomas Weiss and Rama Mani. New York: Routledge, 2011.
- Luci, Nita and Linda Gusia. "Our men will not have amnesia": Civic Engagement, Emancipation, and Gendered Public in Kosovo. In *Civic and Uncivic values in Kosova: Value Transformation, Education, and Media*, edited by Sabrina P. Ramet, Albert Simkus, and Ola Listhaug, Central European University Press, 2014.
- Schwandner-Sievers, Stephanie. *The Bequest of Illegalja: Contested Memories and Moralities in Contemporary Kosovo*. *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity* (2013): 1-

Saturday July 4 (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