

Human Rights, Holocaust, Genocide: The Politics of Remembrance**M.A. Program in Holocaust Studies****Haifa University**

Lecturer: Dr. Lea David

Spring course, Wednesdays, from 16-19:30

Overview:

The question of how to remember past atrocities and genocides has become a crucial one during our time - not only because the Human Rights regime has produced new standards of moral claims, but more importantly, because such recognition has clear economic, political and societal implications. The main goal of this class is to discuss multiple relationships between the Holocaust remembrance and memorialization of other genocides and to further explore the side effects of such intertwining. The aim is to familiarize students with the main concepts of memory politics in post-conflict and post-genocide environments, with the role the Human Rights regime plays in those settings, the types of commemorative practices various mnemonic groups produce, the trade-offs and dilemmas they face and the ways Holocaust memory is being brought to the fore as a platform for articulating national interests. The course is designed to address and analyze themes of memory and denial; mechanisms of justice and redress, including the role international laws on genocide play in claiming particular rights and benefits.

Based on examples mainly from the former Yugoslav states and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, but not restricted to them, this course will examine many of the key questions that frame the debate on memory politics in post-conflict societies. What is meant by “collective memory” and how does such remembrance figure in constructing identities in the present? How and why do sites of collective memory (historic places, textbooks, museums, commemorations) acquire emotional and political importance? What moral choices are involved in representing past events as “genocides” as opposed to “ethnic cleansings” or “mass-murders”? In what particular post-conflict settings is the Holocaust remembrance activated and why? Is the Holocaust a single universally shared memory or the template through which other genocides and historical traumas are perceived, presented or shuttered? Does the Holocaust really have the capacity to serve as a universal memory and to replace other traumatic memories around the globe or does it merely enable a language for their articulation and thus create a wider context that provides a reframing of the past?

A variety of case studies and different theoretical approaches will be used to examine memory as an active, value-laden process of symbolic and real recognition in which multiple stories about the past contend for acknowledgment, moral judgment, and emotional impact. The course will combine reading materials, documentary movies and discussions and is designed to direct students to choose and frame their research papers on their own, allowing them to pursue projects that extend their own interests and foster dialogue about contemporary issues of memory and memorialization and the impact the Holocaust has on memorialization of other genocides.

Course requirements:

- Obligatory attendance
- Keeping up with weekly reading assignments
- Active participation in all classes.

There are going to be two types of assignments according to the individual needs of each student.

- 1) Those who chose NOT to write a seminar paper, will need to submit and briefly present (5 minutes presentations) **5 response paper** during the entire semester.
 - Those who chose to write a seminar paper (approx. 20-25 pages long) will need to submit and present **2 response papers** during the course of the semester. They will also submit a **seminar paper** on any topic discussed in the class. For those writing a seminar paper a guidance will be provided during the course to determine and contextualize research objectives and to give precise explanations on how to write an academic paper.

Learning objectives:

- To introduce the class to selected theoretical and methodological approaches of memory studies in relation to post-conflict/post-genocide societies, and to address challenges, dilemmas and obstacles in claiming a “genocide”.
- To provide students with the different theoretical approaches of Holocaust and genocide memory and to discuss, through a variety of case studies, both commonalities and differences in the way different strategies of Holocaust remembrance are employed, embraced, instrumentalized, appropriated or denied by different segments in post-conflict societies.

Course plan**Week 1: March 8, 2017****Framing genocides in post-conflict societies**Required Reading:

- Staub Ervin (2000) Genocide and Mass Killing: Origins, Prevention, Healing and Reconciliation. *Political Psychology* 21(2): 367-382.
- Shaw Martin (2003) “Genocide as a Form of War” in Shaw (ed.) War and Genocide: Organized killing in modern society. *Polity Press* 34-57.

Recommended:

- Lemkin Raphael (2005 [1944]) “Genocide.” In Axis Rule in Occupied Europe. The Lawbook exchange: Clark, New Jersey. Ch. IX 79-94.

Available at:

<http://www.preventgenocide.org/lemkin/AxisRule1944-1.htm>

- Joyce Apsel and Ernesto Verdeja (2013) "Introduction." In *Genocide Matters: Ongoing Issues and Emerging Perspectives*. Joyce Apsel and Ernesto Verdeja (eds.) Abingdon and New York: Routledge 16-41.

Week 2: March 15, 2017

Human Rights, genocides and memory politics

Movie screening:

- "Watchers of the Sky", documentary, 120 min

Required Reading:

- Levy Daniel and Sznajder Natan (2006) "Sovereignty transformed: A sociology of human rights." *British Journal of Sociology* 57(4): 657-676.
- Goodale Mark (2006) Toward a Critical Anthropology of Human Rights. *Current Anthropology* 47(3): 485-511
- Blustein Jeffrey (2012) "Human Rights and the Internationalization of Memory." *Journal of Social Philosophy* 43(1): 19-32.

Recommended:

- Misztal Barbara (2005) "Memory and Democracy." *American Behavioral Scientist* 48: 1320-1338.
- Borer A. Tristian (2003) "A Taxonomy of Victims and Perpetrators: Human Rights and Reconciliation in South Africa." *Human Rights Quarterly* 25(4): 1088-1116.

Week 3: March 29, 2017

Remembering atrocities

Required Reading:

- Dragović-Soso Jasna (2010) "Conflict, Memory, Accountability: What Does Coming to Terms with the Past Mean?" in Petritsch Wolfgang and Džihic Vedran (eds.) *Conflict and Memory: Bridging Past and Future in [South East] Europe*. Baden-Baden: Nomos.
- Crocker David (1999) "Reckoning with Past Wrongs: A Normative Framework" *Ethics and International Affairs* 13(1): 43-64.
- Winter Jay and Sivan Emanuel (1999) "Setting the framework." in Winter Jay and Sivan Emanuel (eds.) *War and Remembrance in Twentieth Century*. Cambridge University Press 6-39.

Recommended:

- Subotić Jelena (2009) *Hijacked Justice: Dealing with the Past in the Balkans*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

- Mendez E Juan (1997) “Accountability for Past Abuses.” *Human Rights Quarterly* 19: 255-282.
- Hutchinson John (2009) “Warfare and the sacralisation of nations: the meanings, rituals and politics of national remembrance.” *Millennium - Journal of International Studies* 38: 401 – 417.

Week 4: April 5, 2017

Between genocide memorialization and genocide denial: The case of Srebrenica

Movie screening:

- “A cry from the grave” documentary, 105 min.

Required Reading:

- Duijzings Ger (2007) Commemorating Srebrenica: Histories of violence and the politics of memory in eastern Bosnia, *The New Bosnian Mosaic: Identities, Memories and Moral Claims in a Post-War Society*. Bougarel Xavier, Helms Elissa and Duijzings Ger (eds.) Aldershot: Ashgate. 141-166.
- Hayden M Robert (1996) “Schindler's Fate: Genocide, Ethnic Cleansing, and Population Transfers.” *Slavic Review* 55(4): 727-748.

Recommended:

- Pollack E Craig (2010) “Intentions of burial: mourning, politics, and memorials following the massacre at Srebrenica.” *Death Studies*. 27(2) 125-142.
- Obradovic-Wochnik Jelena (2009) “Knowledge, Acknowledgement and Denial in Serbia's Responses to the Srebrenica Massacre.” *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 17(1) 61-74.

Week 5: April 19, 2017

Srebrenica: A war over genocide

Required Reading:

- Hayden M Robert (2008) “Mass Killings and Images of Genocide in Bosnia in 1941-45 and 1992-95.” In Dan Stone (ed.) *The Historiography of Genocide*. Palgrave; Macmillan Ch. 19, 487-516.
- Dragovic-Soso Jasna (2012) “Apologising for Srebrenica: the declaration of the Serbian parliament, the European Union and the politics of compromise.” *East European Politics*, 28(2): 163–179.
- Miller B Paul (2006) “Contested memories: The Bosnian Genocide in Serb and Muslim minds.” *Journal of Genocide Research* 8(3): 311-324.

Recommended:

- Eastmond Marita and Johanna Mannergren-Selimovic (2012) “Silence as Possibility in Postwar Everyday Life.” *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 6(3) 502-524.
- Mannergren Selimovic Johanna (2013) “Making peace, making memory: peacebuilding and politics of remembrance at memorials of mass atrocities.” *Peacebuilding* 1(3): 334-348.
- David Lea (2015) “Critical Assessment of Human Rights: A Road Back to Nationalism?” Coalition for Recom

<http://www.recom.link/critical-assessment-of-human-rights-a-road-back-to-nationalism/>

Week 6: April 26, 2017

Negotiating Truth in Israel and Palestine

Required Reading:

- Litvak Meir and Webman Eshter (2003) Perceptions of the Holocaust in the Palestinian discourse.” *Israel Studies* 8(3)123-140.
- Bashir Bashir and Amos Goldberg (2014) Deliberating the Holocaust and the Nakba: disruptive empathy and binationalism in Israel/Palestine. *Journal of Genocide Research* 16(1): 77-99.
- Umut Koldas (2011) “The Nakba in Palestinian Memory in Israel.” *Middle Eastern Studies* 47(6) 947-959.

Recommended:

- Achcar Gilbert (2011) *The Arabs and the Holocaust. The Arab-Israeli War of Narratives.* Metropolitan Books: New York
- Goldberg Amos (2016) “Narrative, Testimony, and Trauma: The Nakba and the Holocaust in Elias Khoury’s *Gate of the Sun*.” *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies* 18(3) 335-358.

Week 7: Nakba vs. Holocaust

Required Reading:

- Sa'di H. Ahmad (2008) “Remembering Al-Nakba in a time of amnesia.” *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies* 10(3): 381-399.
- Shaw Martin (2010) “Palestine in an international historical perspective on genocide” *Holy Land Studies* 9(1): 1-24.
- Shaw Martin and Bartov Omer (2010) “The question of genocide in Palestine, 1948: an exchange between Martin Shaw and Omer Bartov.” *Journal of Genocide Research* 12:3-4, 243-259.
- Anaheed Al-Hardan (2011) “The Arabs and the Holocaust: The Arab-Israeli War of Narratives.” *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 38(2) 284-286
- “Full text of Mahmoud Abbas’s speech to the UN” (2014)

<http://www.timesofisrael.com/full-text-of-abbas-speech-to-un/>

Recommended:

- Rashed Haifa (2014) “Nakba memoricide: genocide studies and the Zionist/Israeli genocide of Palestine.” *Holy Land Studies* 13(1): 1–23.
- Nets-Zehngut Rafi (2013). “Israeli approved textbooks and the 1948 Palestinian exodus.” *Israel Studies* 18 (3): 41-68.
- Docker John (2012) “Instrumentalising the Holocaust: Israel, settler-colonialism, genocide.” *Holy Land Studies* 11(1): 1–32.

Week 8: NO CLASS

Week 9: May 17, 2017

Quest lecture: Various types of inherited trauma – Dr. Gitta Baack

Required Reading:

- Alexander Jeffrey (2012) *Trauma: A Social Theory*. Polity Press, Cambridge, 6-31.
- Kidron Carol (2012) “Alterity and the Particular Limits of Universalism Comparing Jewish-Israeli Holocaust and Canadian-Cambodian Genocide Legacies.” *Current Anthropology* 53(6): 732-754

Week 10: May 24, 2017

Between the unique and universal: The Holocaust as a moral measurement

Required Reading:

- Levy Daniel and Sznaider Natan (2002) “Memory Unbound: The Holocaust and the Formation of Cosmopolitan Memory.” *European Journal of Social Theory* 5: 87-106.
- Stone Dan (2004) “The historiography of genocide: Beyond Uniqueness and Ethnic competition.” *Rethinking History* 8(1): 127-142.
- Levy Daniel and Sznaider Natan (2004) “The institutionalization of cosmopolitan morality: The Holocaust and human rights.” *Journal of Human Rights* 3(2): 143-157.

Recommended:

- Macdonald B David (2005) “Globalizing the Holocaust – a Jewish usable past in Serbian nationalism.” *Journal of Multidisciplinary International Studies* 2(2): 2-31.
- Levy Daniel and Sznaider Natan (2004) “The institutionalization of cosmopolitan morality: The Holocaust and human rights.” *Journal of Human Rights* 3(2): 143-157.

- Rosenfeld D Gavriel (1999) “The Politics of Uniqueness: Reflections on the recent polemical Turn in Holocaust and Genocide Scholarship.” *Holocaust Genocide Studies* 13(1): 28-61.

Week 11: June 7, 2017

Holocaust remembrance: multidirectional memory vs. screen memory

Required Reading:

- Rothberg Michael (2009) *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1-32.
- Levi Neil (2007) “No Sensible Comparison? The Place of the Holocaust in Australia's History Wars.” *History and Memory* 19(1) 124-156
- Freeman Lindsey, Nienass Benjamin and Melamed Lilav (2013) “Screen memory.” *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society* 26:1–7.
- Bernard-Donals Michael (2005) “Conflations of Memory; or, What They Saw at the Holocaust Museum after 9/11.” *The Critical Centennial Review*. 5(2):76-106.

Recommended:

- Živković Marko (2000) ‘The Wish to be a Jew: The Power of the Jewish Trope in the Yugoslav Conflict.’ *Cahiers de L’URMIS* 6: 69-84.
- Gilbert Shirli (2010) “Jews and the Racial State: Legacies of the Holocaust in Apartheid South Africa 1945-60” *Jewish Social Studies* 16(3): 32-64.
- David Lea (2013) “The Holocaust Discourse as a Screen Memory: the Serbian Case.” In Srđan Janković and Veran Stančetić (eds.) (Mis)Uses of History: History as a Political Tool in the Western CSDU: Belgrade. Vol.1. 63-87.
- Byford Jovan (2007) “When I say “the Holocaust” I mean “Jasenovac” – Remembrance of the Holocaust in contemporary Serbia.” *East European Jewish Affairs* 37(1): 51-74.

Week 12: June 14, 2017

Alternative frames of memory: the Far East

Required Reading:

- Karčić Hamza (2015) “Remembering by resolution: the case of Srebrenica.” *Journal of Genocide Research* 17(2): 201-210.
- David Lea (2017) “The Holocaust-Genocide Nexus in Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia, Israel and Palestine.” *Peacebuilding* 5(1) 51-66.
- Kidron Carol (2009) "Toward an Ethnography of Silence: The Lived Presence of the Past among Holocaust Trauma Descendants in Israel." *Current Anthropology* 50:1, 5-27.
- Schwartz Barry and Mi Kyoung Kim (2010) "Introduction: Northeast Asia's Memory Problem." In Mikyoung Kim and Barry Schwartz (eds.) *Northeast Asia's Difficult Past: Essays in Collective Memory*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan 1-27.

Recommended:

- Hashimoto Akiko (2015) *The Long Defeat: Cultural Trauma, Memory, and Identity in Japan*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Ch 1. 1-25, Ch. 5 119-143.