

Земли памяти: Прошлое и политика в Восточной Европе (и не только)

Преподаватель: Екатерина Владимировна Клименко, кандидат культурологии, докторант Института Социологии и Философии Польской Академии Наук.

Био:

Я получила степень кандидата культурологии в 2010 году. Мои научные интересы – этничность и национализм, нацистроительство и национальная идентичность, политическое использование прошлого; я специализируюсь на современной России. Я публиковала свои исследования на русском и английском языках; мои последние публикации: "Building the Nation, Legitimizing the State: Russia—My History and Memory of the Russian Revolutions in Contemporary Russia" в журнале *Nationalities Papers* и "Politically Useful Tragedies: The Soviet Atrocities in the Historical Park(s) "Russia —My History"" в журнале *Problems of Post-Communism*. В разное время я была Wayne S. Vucinich Fellow в Стэнфордском университете, приглашенным профессором университета Градец Кралове (Чехия) и Uppsala Forum Fellow в университете Упсалы. В настоящее время я докторант Института Философии и Социологии Польской Академии Наук. Мой текущий проект – "Church, State and "Russia – My History": Narrating National History, Legitimizing Vladimir Putin's Regime" – получил грант Польского Национального Научного Центра.

E-mail: ekavlaklimenko@gmail.com

Phone +1 206 584 5446

Краткое описание курса

Как и что помнят общества? Что и почему они предпочитают забыть? Как политика сегодняшнего дня влияет на память о прошлом? Как память о прошлом определяет политику настоящего и будущего? Наконец, что такое трудное прошлое и нужно ли его помнить?

Все эти вопросы стали предметом оживленных общественных (и политических) дискуссий. Но это еще и вопросы, на которые пытается найти ответы одна из наиболее динамично развивающихся областей социального знания – исследования памяти.

Как из участника словесных баталий о прошлом превратиться в того, кто способен их анализировать? Как научиться видеть в этих баталиях предмет научного изучения? Как изучать память о прошлом? В этом поможет предлагаемый вашему вниманию курс.

Программа курса

Распад Советского Союза не стал, вопреки ожиданиям, «концом истории». Но он вызвал к жизни невиданный прежде интерес к истории. Многие, казавшиеся уже похороненными, воспоминания были вызваны к жизни, чтобы стать причиной (или поводом) для новых конфликтов: Между странами Балтии и Россией – по поводу оккупаций 1940-го и 1945-го годов и последовавшего политического террора. Между Россией и Украиной – по поводу Голодомора и наследия ОУН-УПА. Между Украиной и Польшей – снова по поводу наследия ОУН-УПА, а также Волынской резни. Между Польшей и Германией и Германией и Чехией – по поводу послевоенной депортации немцев, унесшей миллионы жизней. А в центре этого узла памяти оказался Холокост.

В странах Восточной Европы, как и в постсоветских государствах, трагедии недавнего прошлого стали политическими инструментами. Память о них была использована для обоснования легитимности новых (и вновь обретших независимость) государств и политических режимов. Она послужила оправданием для многих – в том числе весьма проблематичных – политических решений. Она стала строительным материалом для конструирования (политических) наций и формирования (национальной) идентичности. Она сыграла важную роль в международных отношениях. И пока правящие элиты продвигали пригодные для себя «официальные» версии прошлого, активисты от памяти бросали им вызов, строя собственную контр-память. Так прошлое – вернее память о нем – стало полем политической борьбы. Так возникла политика памяти.

Научиться понимать процессы, стоящие за превращением памяти о прошлом в реальную и мощную политическую силу настоящего – задача нашего курса. В первой части курса мы изучим основные теоретические подходы к изучению памяти и обсудим перспективы этой области исследований. Среди тем, которые мы обсудим: индивидуальная, коллективная и культурная память; память и идентичность; национальное прошлое: история, память, миф; память по ту сторону национального: универсальная,

космополитическая, глобальная; травмы прошлого и травматичное прошлое; трудное прошлое и демократический транзит. Во второй части курса мы используем полученные теоретические знания для того, чтобы проанализировать конкретные кейсы из области политики памяти. В центре нашего внимания будет Восточная Европа. Однако и другие страны и регионы станут предметом нашего изучения.

Курс будет проходить в форме семинаров. Занятия будут построены вокруг чтения и обсуждения академических текстов по теме курса. Курс включает 12 занятий.

Требования к слушателям:

Интерес к предмету курса.

Базовые знания в области социальных наук.

Знание английского языка на уровне, достаточном для чтения и понимания академических текстов по теме курса.

Для записи на курс желающие должны написать мотивационное письмо (500 – 1000 слов).

Итоговая оценка строится на основании участия в семинарах (40 %) и финального эссе (60%). Эссе (3000 слов, плюс библиография) может быть посвящено разработке одной из теоретических тем курса, или анализу кейса из области политики памяти, релевантного теме курса.

Программа курса

Занятие 1. Введение в предмет.

Обязательная литература:

Judt, Tony. 1992. "The Past Is Another Country: Myth and Memory in Postwar Europe." *Daedalus* 121 (4): 83–118.

Дополнительная литература:

Assmann, Jan. 1997. *Moses the Egyptian: The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism*. Cambridge, MA and London, UK: Harvard University Press. Chapter 1, Mnemohistory and the Construction of Egypt (pp. 1-22).

Burke, Peter. 1997. "History as Social Memory," in Peter Burke. *Varieties of Cultural History*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. Pp. 43-59.

Cubitt, Geoffrey. 2007. *History and Memory*. Manchester, UK and New York, NY: Manchester University Press. Chapter 1, History and Memory: An Imagined Relationship (pp. 26-65).

Nora, Pierre. 1989. *Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire Representations* no. 26: 7-24.

Poole, Ross. 2008. *History, Memory, and the Claims of the Past Memory Studies* 1 (2): 149–166.

Terdiman, Richard. 1993. *Present Past: Modernity and the Memory Crisis*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Занятие 2. Память: индивидуальная, коллективная, культурная.

Обязательная литература:

Halbwachs, Maurice. 1992. *On Collective Memory*. Edited, translated, and with an introduction by Lewis A. Coser. Chicago, IL and London, UK: The University of Chicago Press. Pp. 46-53 and 84-119.

Assmann, Aleida. 2008. "Canon and Archive," in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*. Edited by Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter. Pp. 97-107.

Assmann, Jan. 2008. "Communicative and Cultural Memory," in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*. Edited by Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter. Pp. 109-118.

Дополнительная литература:

Connerton, Paul. 1989. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Cubitt, Geoffrey. 2007. *History and Memory*. Manchester, UK and New York, NY: Manchester University Press. Chapters 2, Memory and the Individual (pp. 66-117), and 3, Remembering in Society (pp. 118-174).

Olick, Jeffrey K. 1999. *Collective Memory: The Two Cultures Sociological Theory* 17 (3): 333-48.

Olick, Jeffrey K., and Joyce Robbins. 1998. Social Memory Studies: From 'Collective Memory' to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices *Annual Review of Sociology* 24: 105-40.

Занятие 3. Память и идентичность.

Обязательная литература:

Gillis, John. 1994. "Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship," in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*. Edited by John Gillis. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Pp. 3-24.

Zerubavel, Eviatar. 1996. Social Memories: Steps to a Sociology of the Past *Qualitative Sociology* 19 (3): 283-299.

Дополнительная литература:

Davis, Eric. 2005. *Memories of State. Politics, History, and Collective Identity in Modern Iraq*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Luckmann, Thomas. 1983. "Remarks on Personal Identity: Inner, Social and Historical Time," in *Identity: Personal and Socio-Cultural*. Edited by Anita Jacobson-Widding. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities. Pp. 67-91.

Megill, Allan. 2007. "History, Memory, Identity," in *Historical Knowledge, Historical Error: A Contemporary Guide to Practice*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Pp. 41-62.

Zerubavel, Eviatar. 2012. *Ancestors and Relatives: Genealogy, Identity, and Community*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Занятие 4. Национальное прошлое: история, память, миф.

Обязательная литература:

Bell, Duncan S.A. 2003. Mythscapes: Memory, Mythology, and National Identity *British Journal of Sociology* 54 (1): 63-81.

Coakley, John. 2007. "Mobilizing the Past: Nationalist Images of History." *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 10 (4): 531-560.

Olick, Jeffrey K. 1998. Memory and the Nation: Continuities, Conflicts, and Transformations *Social Science History* 22 (4): 377-387.

Дополнительная литература:

Alonso, Ana Maria. 1988. The Effects of Truth: Re-Presentations of the Past and the Imagining of Community *Journal of Historical Sociology* 1 (1): 33-57.

Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso.

Boyarin, Jonathan. 1994. "Space, Time and the Politics of Memory." in *Remapping Memory: The Politics of TimeSpace*. Edited by Jonathan Boyarin. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press. Pp. 1-38.

Cruz, Consuelo. 2000. Identity and Persuasion: How Nations Remember Their Pasts and Make Their Futures *World Politics* 52 (3): 275-312.

Hutchinson, John. 2009. "Warfare and the Sacralisation of Nations: The Meanings, Rituals and Politics of National Remembrance" *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 38 (2): 401-417

Nationalizing the Past: Historians as Nation Builders in Modern Europe. 2010. Edited by Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Malinova, Olga. 2021. "Politics of Memory and Nationalism." *Nationalities Papers* 49 (6): 997 - 1007

Rigney, Ann. 2018. Remembrance as Remaking: Memories of the Nation Revisited *Nations and Nationalism* 24 (2): 240-257.

Schwartz, Barry. 1990. "The Reconstruction of Abraham Lincoln," in *Collective Remembering*. Edited by David Middleton and Derek Edwards. Newbury Park: Sage. Pp. 81-107.

Schwartz, Barry, Yael Zerubavel, and Bernice Barnett. 1986. The Recovery of Masada: A Study in Collective Memory *Sociological Quarterly* 27 (2): 147-164.

The Invention of Tradition. 1983. Edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Занятие 5. Память по ту сторону нации: универсальная, космополитичная, глобальная.

Обязательная литература:

Levy, Daniel and Natan Sznaider. 2002. Memory Unbound: The Holocaust and the Formation of Cosmopolitan Memory *European Journal of Social Theory* 5(1): 87-106.

Rigney, Ann. 2012 Transforming Memory and the European Project *New Literary History* 43 (4): 607-628.

Rothberg, Michael. 2009. *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press. Introduction.

Дополнительная литература:

Alexander, Jeffrey C. 2004. "On the Social Construction of Moral Universals: The "Holocaust" from War Crime to Trauma Drama" in *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*. Berkley, CA: University of California Press. Pp. 196-263.

Assmann, Aleida. 2010. "The Holocaust – a Global Memory? Extensions and Limits of a New Memory Community," in *Memory in a Global Age: Discourses, Practices and Trajectories*. Edited by Aleida Assmann and Sebastian Conrad. London and New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan. Pp. 97-117.

Assmann, Aleida. 2014. *Transnational Memories* *European Review* 22 (04): 546-556.

Confino, Alon. 2015. "The Holocaust as a Symbolic Manual: The French Revolution, the Holocaust, and Global Memories," in *Marking Evil: Holocaust Memory in the Global Age*. Edited by Amos Goldberg and Haim Hazan. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books. Pp. 56-69.

Jelin, Elizabeth. 2010. "The Past in the Present: Memories of State Violence in Contemporary Latin America," in *Memory in a Global Age: Discourses, Practices and Trajectories*. Edited by Aleida Assmann and Sebastian Conrad. London and New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan. Pp. 61-78.

Lim, Jie-Hyun. 2010. "Victimhood Nationalism in Contested Memories: National Mourning and Global Accountability," in *Memory in a Global Age: Discourses, Practices and Trajectories*. Edited by Aleida Assmann and Sebastian Conrad. London and New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan. Pp. 138-162.

Novick, Peter. 2015. "The Holocaust Is Not – and Is Not Likely to Become – a Global Memory," in *Marking Evil: Holocaust Memory in the Global Age*. Edited by Amos Goldberg and Haim Hazan. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books. Pp. 47-55.

Poole, Ross. 2010. *Misremembering the Holocaust: Universal Symbol, Nationalist Icon or Moral Kitsch? Memory and the Future: Transnational Politics, Ethics and Society*. Edited by Yifat Gutman, Adam D. Brown and Amy Sodaro. London: Palgrave Macmillan. Pp. 31-49.

Занятие 6. Травмы прошлого и травматичное прошлое.

Обязательная литература:

Alexander, Jeffrey C. 2012. *Trauma. A Social Theory*. Cambridge, MA: Polity Press. Chapter 1, *Cultural Trauma: A Social Theory* (pp. 6-30).

Giesen, Bernhard. 2004. *Triumph and Trauma*. London and New York: Routledge. Chapters 1 and 2.

Kansteiner, Wulf. 2004. *Genealogy of a Category Mistake: A Critical Intellectual History of the Cultural Trauma Metaphor* *Rethinking History* 8 (2): 193-221

Дополнительная литература:

Caruth, Cathy. 1995. *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Erikson, Kai. 1991. *Notes on Trauma and Community* *American Imago* 48 (4): 455-472.

Eyerman, Ron. 2001. *Cultural Trauma: Slavery and the Formation of African American Identity*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

LaCapra, Dominick. 2014. *Writing history, Writing Trauma*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Leys, Ruth. 2000. *Trauma: A Genealogy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Sztompka, Piotr. 2004. "The Trauma of Social Change: A Case of Postcommunist Societies," in *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*. Berkley, CA: University of California Press. Pp. 155-195.

Занятие 7. Трудное прошлое и демократический транзит: память в пост-тоталитарных и пост-авторитарных контекстах.

Обязательная литература:

Elster, Jon. 2004. *Closing the Books: Transitional Justice in Historical Perspective*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 4, *The Structure of Transitional Justice* (pp. 79-135).

Hayner, Priscilla B. 2011. *Unspeakable Truths: Transitional Justice and the Challenge of Truth Commissions*. Second Edition. New York, NY and London, UK: Routledge. Pp. 7-44

Дополнительная литература:

Arenhövel, Mark. 2008. *Democratization and Transitional Justice* *Democratization* 15 (3): 570–587.

Forsberg, Tuomas. 2003. "The Philosophy and Practice of Dealing with the Past: Some Conceptual and Normative Issues," in *Burying the Past: Making Peace and Doing Justice after Civil Conflict*. Edited by Nigel Biggar. Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press. Pp. 65-84.

Langenohl, Andreas. 2008. "Memory in Post-Authoritarian Societies," in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*. Edited by Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter. Pp. 163-172.

Nalepa, Monica. 2010. *Skeletons in the Closet: Transitional Justice in Post-Communist Europe*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Reconciliation, Justice and Coexistence: Theory and Practice. 2001. Edited by Mohammed Abu-Nimer. Lanham: Lexington Books, Lanham.

Taking Wrongs Seriously: Apologies and Reconciliation. 2006. Edited by Elazar Barkan and Alexander Karn. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Transitional justice in Balance: Comparing Processes, Weighing Efficacy. 2010. Edited by Tricia D. Olsen, Leigh A. Payne and Andrew G. Reiter. Washington D.C.: United States Institute for Peace.

Занятие 8. Холокост: память, идентичность, политика в Германии и Израиле.

Обязательная литература:

Olick, Jeffrey K. 2016. *The Sins of the Fathers: Germany, Memory, Method*. Chicago, IL and London: The University of Chicago Press. Introduction.

Ram, Uri. 2009. Ways of Forgetting: Israel and the Obliterated Memory of the Palestinian Nakba *Journal of Historical Sociology* 22 (3): 366-395.

Wüstenberg, Jenny, and David Art. 2008. "Using the Past in the Nazi Successor States from 1945 to the Present." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 617:72-87.

Zertal, Idith. 2005. Israel's Holocaust and the Politics of Nationhood. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 5 (pp. 164-208).

Дополнительная литература:

Assmann, Aleida. 2015. *Shadows of Trauma: Memory and the Politics of Postwar Identity*. Fordham University Press.

Art, David. 2006. *The Politics of the Nazi Past in Germany and Austria*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Bartov, Omer. 1996. *Murder in Our Midst: The Holocaust, Industrial Killing, and Representation*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press. Chapter 6.

Giesen, Bernhard. 2004. "The Trauma of Perpetrators: The Holocaust as the Traumatic Reference of German National Identity," in *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. Pp. 112-154.

Klar, Yechiel, Noa Schori-Eyal, Yonat Klar. 2013. The "Never Again" State of Israel: The Emergence of the Holocaust as a Core Feature of Israeli Identity and Its Four Incongruent Voices *Journal of Social Issue* 69 (1): 125-143.

Levy, Daniel. 1999. The Future of the Past: Historiographical Disputes and Competing Memories in Germany and Israel *History and Theory* 38 (1): 51-66.

Lustick, Ian S. 2017. The Holocaust in Israeli Political Culture: Four Constructions and their Consequences *Contemporary Jewry* 37 (1): 125-170.

Masalha, Nur. 2012. *The Palestine Nakba: Decolonising History, Narrating the Subaltern, Reclaiming Memory*. London: Zet Books Ltd.

The Holocaust and the Nakba: Memory, National Identity and Jewish-Arab Partnership. 2015. Edited by Bashir Bashir and Amos Goldberg. Jerusalem: Hakibbutz Hameuchad Publishing House.

Yablonka, Hanna and Moshe Tlamim. 2003. The Development of Holocaust Consciousness in Israel: The Nuremberg, Kapos, Kastner, and Eichmann Trials *Israel Studies* 8 (3): 1-24.

Young, James E. 1993. *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.

Zerubavel, Yael. 1994. The Death of Memory and the Memory of Death: Masada and the Holocaust as Historical Metaphors *Representations* no. 45: 72-100.

Занятие 9. Испания: память и/или забвение

Обязательная литература:

Aguilar, Paloma. 2003. "Institutional Legacies and Collective Memories: The Case of the Spanish Transition to Democracy," in *States of Memory: Continuities, Conflicts and Transformations in National Retrospection*. Edited by Jeffrey K. Olick. Pp. 128-160.

Encarnación, Omar G. 2008. Reconciliation after Democratization: Coping with the Past in Spain *Political Science Quarterly* 123 (3): 435–59.

Ryan, Lorrein. 2016. “Memory, Transnational Justice, and Recession in Contemporary Spain.” *European Review* 25 (2): 295–306.

Дополнительная литература:

Aguilar, Paloma and Leigh A. Payne. 2016. *Revealing New Truths about Spain’s Violent Past: Perpetrators’ Confessions and Victim Exhumations*. London and New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Aragüete-Toribio, Zahira. 2017. *Producing History in Spanish Civil War Exhumations: From the Archive to the Grave*. London and New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Baer, Alejandro and Natan Sznajder. 2015. Ghosts of the Holocaust in Franco’s Mass Graves: Cosmopolitan Memories and the Politics of “Never Again” *Memory Studies* 8 (3): 328–344.

Bevernage, Berber, and Lore Colaert. 2014. History from the Grave? Politics of Time in Spanish Mass Grave Exhumations *Memory Studies* 7 (4): 440–456.

Encarnación, Omar G. 2014. *Democracy without Justice in Spain: The Politics of Forgetting*. University of Pennsylvania Press.

Ferrándiz, Francisco. 2019. Unburials, Generals, and Phantom Militarism Engaging with the Spanish Civil War Legacy *Current Anthropology* 60 (19): 62–76.

Renshaw, Layla. 2016. *Exhuming Loss: Memory, Materiality and Mass Graves of the Spanish Civil War*. London and New York, NY: Routledge.

Resina, Joan Ramon. 2017. *The Ghost in the Constitution: Historical Memory and Denial in Spanish Society*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Rubin, Jonah S. 2018. How Francisco Franco Governs from beyond the Grave: An Infrastructural Approach to Memory Politics in Contemporary Spain *American Ethnologist* 45 (2): 214–27.

Ryan, Lorraine. 2010. Memory, Power and Resistance: The Anatomy of a Tripartite Relationship *Memory Studies* 4 (2): 154–169.

Занятие 10. Память в Польше: между Варшавой, Катынью, Вольной и Едвабне.

Обязательная литература:

Jasińska-Kania, Aleksandra. 2007. Bloody Revenge in "God's Playground": Poles' Collective Memory of Relations with Germans, Russians, and Jews *International Journal of Sociology* 37 (1): 30–42.

Nowak, Andrzej. 2013. “Murder in the Cemetery: Memorial Clashes over the Victims of the Soviet-Polish Wars,” in *Memory and Theory in Eastern Europe*. Edited by Uilleam Blacker, Alexander Etkind, and Julie Fedor. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. Pp. 149–172.

Zhurzhenko, Tatiana. 2013. “Memory Wars and Reconciliation in the Ukrainian–Polish Borderlands: Geopolitics of Memory from a Local Perspective,” in *History, Memory and Politics in Central and Eastern Europe: Memory Games*. Edited by Georges Mink and Laure Neumayer. Palgrave Macmillan. Pp. 173–192.

Zubrzycki Geneviève. 2013. “Narrative Shock and Polish Memory Remaking in the Twenty-first Century,” in *Memory and Postwar Memorials: Studies in European Culture and History*. Edited by Marc Silberman and Florence Vatan. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan. Pp. 95–116.

Дополнительная литература:

Chrobaczyński, Jacek and Piotr Trojański. 2015. “Auschwitz and Katyn in Political Bondage: The Process of Shaping Memory in Communist Poland,” in *Memory and Change in Europe: Eastern Perspective*. Edited by Małgorzata Pakier and Joanna Wawrzyniak. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books. Pp. 246–263.

Hewer, Christopher J. and Kut, Małgorzata. 2010. Historical Legacy, Social Memory and Representations of the Past within a Polish Community *Memory Studies* 3 (1): 18–32.

Kapralski, Sławomir. 2006. The Jedwabne Village Green?: The Memory and Counter-Memory of the Crime *History and Memory* 18 (1): 179–194.

Kobielska Maria. 2016. “Endless Aftershock. The Katyń Massacre in Contemporary Polish Culture,” in *Traumatic Memories of the Second World War and After*. Edited by Peter Leese and Jason Crouthamel. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. Pp. 197–220.

Kosicki, Piotr H. 2015. Forests, Families, and Films: Polish Memory of Katyń, 1943–2015 *East European Politics and Societies: and Cultures* 29 (4): 730–760.

Niżyńska, Joanna. 2010. The Politics of Mourning and the Crisis of Poland’s Symbolic Language after April 10 *East European Politics and Societies* 24 (4): 467–479.

Ochman, Ewa. 2013. *Post-Communist Poland – Contested Pasts and Future Identities*. London: Routledge.

Polonsky, Antony and Michlic, Joanna. 2004. "Introduction," in *The Neighbors Responded: The Controversy over the Jedwabne Massacre in Poland*. Edited by Antony Polonsky and Joanna Michlic. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Pp. 1–43.

Wolentarska-Ochman, Ewa. 2006. Collective Remembrance in Jedwabne: Unsettled Memory of World War II in Postcommunist Poland *History and Memory* 18 (1): 152-178.

Занятие 11. Память на Балканах: от памяти к войне и от войны к памяти.

Обязательная литература:

Bădescu, Gruia. 2019. Between Repair, Humiliation, and Identity Politics: Religious Buildings and Memorials in Post-War Sarajevo *Journal of Religion and Society* no. 21: 19–37.

McConnell, Taylor. 2018. Memory Abuse, Violence and the Dissolution of Yugoslavia: Theoretical Framework for Understanding Memory in Conflict *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research* DOI: 10.1080/13511610.2018.1508334

Moll, Nicolas. 2013. Fragmented Memories in a Fragmented Country: Memory Competition and Political Identity-Building in Today's Bosnia and Herzegovina *Nationalities Papers* 41 (6): 910–935.

Дополнительная литература:

Bădescu, Gruia. 2019. Traces of Empire: Architectural Heritage, Imperial Memory and Post-war Reconstruction in Sarajevo and Beirut *History and Anthropology* 30 (4): 366-381.

Bet-El, Ilana R. 2004. "Unimagined Communities: The Power of Memory and the Conflict in the former Yugoslavia," in *Memory and Power in Post-War Europe: Studies in the Presence of the Past*. Edited by Jan-Werner Müller. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 206-222.

Kataria, Shyamal. 2015. Serbian Ustashe Memory and Its Role in the Yugoslav Wars, 1991–1995 *Mediterranean Quarterly* 26 (2): 115-127.

Majstorovic, Steven. 1997. Ancient Hatreds or Elite Manipulation? Memory and Politics in the former Yugoslavia *World Affairs* 159 (4): 170-182.

Obradović, Sandra. 2016. Don't Forget to Remember: Collective Memory of the Yugoslav Wars in Present-day Serbia *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* 22 (1): 12-18.

Pavlaković, Vjieran. 2013. Symbols and the Culture of Memory in Republika Srpska Krajina *Nationalities Papers* 41 (6): 893-909.

Rivera, Lauren A. 2008. Managing 'Spoiled' National Identity: War, Tourism, and Memory in Croatia *American Sociological Review* 73 (4): 613–634.

Sokol, Anida. 2014. War Monuments: Instruments of Nation-Building in Bosnia and Herzegovina *Politička Misao* 51 (5): 105–126.

Занятие 12. Заключение. Память и война в России и Украине: война памяти?

Обязательная литература:

Edele, Mark. 2017. "Fighting Russia's History Wars: Vladimir Putin and the Codification of World War II." *History & Memory* 29 (2): 90-124.

Malinova, Olga. 2017. "Political Uses of the Great Patriotic War in Post-Soviet Russia from Yeltsin to Putin." In *War and Memory in Russia, Ukraine and Belarus*, edited by Julie Fedor, Markku Kangaspuro, Jussi Lassila, and Tatiana Zhurzhenko, 43–70. Pallgrave Macmillan.

Yuliya Yurchuk Reclaiming the Past, Confronting the Past: OUN–UPA Memory Politics and Nation Building in Ukraine (1991–2016) In *War and Memory in Russia, Ukraine and Belarus*, edited by Julie Fedor, Markku Kangaspuro, Jussi Lassila, and Tatiana Zhurzhenko, 107-140. Pallgrave Macmillan.

Zhurzhenko, Tatiana. 2015. "Shared Memory Culture? Nationalizing the 'Great Patriotic War' in the Ukrainian–Russian Borderlands," in *Memory and Change in Europe: Eastern Perspectives*. Edited by M. Pakier and J. Wawrzyniak. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Дополнительная литература:

Dreyer, Nicolas. 2018. "Genocide, Holodomor and Holocaust Discourse as Echo of Historical Injury and as Rhetorical Radicalization in the Russian-Ukrainian Conflict of 2013–18." *Journal of Genocide Research* 20 (4): 545–564.

Kasianov, Georgiy. 2015. How a War for the Past Becomes a War in the Present *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 16 (1): 149–55.

Kasianov, Georgiy. 2015. "History, Politics and Memory (Ukraine 1990s-2000s)," in *Memory and Change in Europe: Eastern Perspective*. Edited by Małgorzata Pakier and Joanna Wawrzyniak. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books. Pp. 193-211.

Shevel, Oxana. 2011. The Politics of Memory in a Divided Society: A Comparison of Post-Franco Spain and Post-Soviet Ukraine *Slavic Review* 70 (1): 137-164.

Siddi, Marco. 2017. "The Ukraine Crisis and European Memory Politics of the Second World War." *European Politics and Society* 18 (4): 465-479.

Wylegała, Anna. 2017. Managing the Difficult Past: Ukrainian Collective Memory and Public Debates on History *Nationalities Papers* 45 (5): 780-797.

Zhurzhenko, Tatiana. 2011. 'Capital of Despair': Holodomor Memory and Political Conflicts in Kharkiv After the Orange Revolution *East European Politics and Societies* 25 (3): 597-639.