

האוניברסיטה העברית בירושלים
THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM



מכון ון ליר בירושלים
THE VAN LEER JERUSALEM INSTITUTE
معهد فان لير في القدس

אוניברסיטת תל אביב
UNIVERSITY
The Stephen Roth Institute
for the Study of Contemporary Antisemitism and Racism

NATIONALISM IN THE HISTORY OF THE HOLOCAUST, GENOCIDE, AND MASS VIOLENCE

At the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the Van Leer Jerusalem Institute

Monday-Wednesday, 10-12 July 2017

Many scholars have considered Nazism as a political phenomenon that far exceeded classic national ideologies; that has begun to change in the last decade. The insight that much of the Nazi rhetoric, including its violent imperial component, drew on traditional German national conservatism and even nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-century liberal rhetoric, now helps explain the support that the Nazi party and its political projects, including genocide, garnered in German society. Moreover, in many states – France, Hungary, Romania, Slovakia, and others – the Holocaust unfolded in large part due to the visions, interests, and policies of local governments. In these cases, nationalism played a significant role, far greater than that of Nazi ideology. Furthermore, anti-Jewish violence in these states figured as part of the more comprehensive wartime policies of ethno-national “homogenization” that targeted other groups and “internal enemies.” In some of the colonial and postcolonial genocides and cases of mass violence, the role of nationalism is even more evident, as, for example, in Rwanda. And one of the debates in the field focuses on the extent to which settler-colonialism – in many cases driven by nationalistic sentiments – is inherently genocidal.

This workshop aims to contribute to recent research on the complex links between the emergence of the international system of nation states and modern genocide and mass violence. This discussion is of particular importance in Israel, where national narratives of both Jews and Palestinians frame much of the public and scholarly discussion on the Holocaust and its links to modern genocide and mass violence, including in Israel/Palestine; looking beyond, above, and below these narratives remains an urgent task.

Some thirty scholars from around the world – including advanced graduate students, post-doctoral fellows, and senior scholars – will gather to discuss this central issue in Holocaust and Genocide Studies: nationalism and the nation state as analytical concepts in understanding genocides and mass violence (including the Holocaust) and the ways in which collective narratives about genocide and mass violence crystallize in competition, responding to and shaping one another, and, in some cases, framing exclusionary and violent political discourses.

Monday, 10 July 2017

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem | Mount Scopus Campus | Mandel Building | room 530

9:00-9:30 Reception and Refreshments

9:30-10:00 Opening Remarks

Yochi Fischer

Amos Goldberg

Raz Segal

10:00-12:30 Imagining Israel/Palestine

Chair: **Abigail Jacobson**

Alon Confino, What Would Palestine Look Like? Zionists Imagine Palestine on the Night of November 29, 1947

Areej Sabbagh-Khoury, The Zionist Left: The Settler Colonial Practices and the Representation of the Nakba in Northern Palestine/Israel

Efrat Even-tzur, The Israeli Social Unconscious and the Palestinian Nakba

12:30-14:00 Lunch Break

14:00-16:00 Reading Session: Making, Unmaking, and Remaking Societies: De-Nationalizing Research on Mass Violence

Moderator: **Raz Segal**

Reading Materials:

- Hannah Arendt, "The Decline of the Nation State and the End of the Rights of Man," in *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (Meridian Book, 1961)
- Liisa Malkki, "National Geographic: The Rooting of Peoples and the Territorialisation of National Identity among Scholars and Refugees," *Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. 7, no. 1: *Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference* (Feb. 1992), 22-44
- Max Bergholz, "Sudden Nationhood: The Microdynamics of Intercommunal Relations in Bosnia-Herzegovina after World War II," *American Historical Review*, vol. 118, no. 3 (2013), 679-707

16:15 Bus to the Van Leer Jerusalem Institute

17:30-19:30 Imploding Societies across the Twentieth Century

Public Session at the Van Leer Jerusalem Institute | conference hall

Chair: **Amos Goldberg**

Omer Bartov, The Use of Testimonies in Reconstructing Mass Violence in the Holocaust

Cathie Carmichael, War before Wars: Europe, 1912-14

Adel Manna, A Reading of the Nakba in Light of the Settler-Colonial Paradigm

20:00 Dinner at HaChatzer Restaurant

Tuesday, 11 July 2017

The Van Leer Jerusalem Institute | The Polonsky Academy Building | room 207

9:30-12:00 The Holocaust and the Idea of the State in Europe

Chair: **Daniel Blatman**

Ferenc Laczó, The Anti-Semitic Radicalization of Central and Eastern European States on the Eve of the Holocaust: Comparative and Transnational Perspectives

Yechiel Weizman, Material Ethnic Cleansing and the De-Judaization of Space in One Small Town in Poland after the Holocaust

Ljiljana Radonić, From Völkisch Collaborationist Regimes to Post-Communist Invocation of Europe

12:00-13:30 Lunch Break

13:30-15:30 Reading Session: Rereading Hitler: Nazism, Nationalism, Imperialism

Moderator: **Amos Goldberg**

Reading Materials:

- Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, intro: D.C Watt, trans. Ralph Manheim (Hutchinson of London, 1969), Vol I, chapter 11 ("Nation and Race") and Vol II, chapter 14 ("Eastern Orientation or Eastern Policy")
- Adolf Hitler, *Hitler's Secret Book*, intro: Telford Taylor (New York: Grove Press, 1983), chapter 7

15:30-16:00 Break

16:00-18:30 Post-Genocide Nation and State Building

Chair: **Adam Klin-Oron**

Sanjeevini Badigar Lokhande, Communal Violence, Forced Migration and Nationalism: Gujarat since 2002

Rotem Giladi, Reading the Genocide Convention: Competing Models of Jewish Nationalism

Mustafa Qossoqsi, Nakba, Nationalization of Suffering and Privatization of Memory

18:30-19:00 Break

19:00-20:30 4 x Sally – A Synoptic Portrait of Sally Perel, the Hitler Youth Salomon - A Panel

Open to the Public | The Polonsky Auditorium

Greetings: **Shai Lavi**, Director, The Van Leer Jerusalem Institute

Solomon (Sally) Perel
Friedemann Derschmidt
Shimon Lev



Wednesday, 12 July 2017

The Van Leer Jerusalem Institute | The Polonsky Academy Building | room 207

10:00-12:30 National Narratives of Trauma in Israel/Palestine

Chair: **Yochi Fischer**

Marzuq Al-Halabi, The Holocaust and the Nakba: From Display to Processing?

Michel Gherman, Between Nakba and Shoah: Political Uses of Catastrophe in National Narratives

Lea David, The Holocaust/Genocide Nexus and the "Proper Way of Remembrance"

12:30-14:00 Lunch Break

14:00-17:00 Holocaust Memory and the Limits of Belonging

Chair: **Manuela Consonni**

Roni Mikel Arieli, Holocaust on Trial in a Racial State: The Reception of the Eichmann Trial in South Africa in the Early 1960s

Yechiel Klar, In the Aftermath of a Genocide: Contradicting Legacies and Obligations for Current Group Members

Samira Alayan, The Holocaust in Palestinian Textbooks: Differences and Similarities in Israel and Palestine

Tom Lawson, Nationalism and Memory: Brexit and the Holocaust

18:00-20:00 Legislative Theatre of Holot

Open to the Public | The Polonsky Auditorium

A play by Holot - the Asylum Seekers' and Israelis' Theater Troupe, presenting the lived experiences of refugees in Israel, in relation to governmental policy and implementation of the 1951 Refugee Convention and international law. The Holot Legislative Theatre performance provides a democratic framework whereby legal issues can be critically examined and discussed with the audience, who are invited to actively imagine the possibility of policy and legal change toward asylum seekers in Israel. During the performance, which is based on personal testimonies of the participants, a new reading of the Refugee Convention will be offered, with the intention to inspire public discussion and social transformation.

List of Participants:

Marzuq Al-Halabi, The Van Leer Jerusalem Institute

Dr. Samira Alayan, School of Education, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem;
David Yellin College of Education

Dr. Sanjeevini Badigar Lokhande, Visiting Assistant Professor, Temple University

Prof. Omer Bartov, Department of History, Brown University

Prof. Daniel Blatman, The Institute of Contemporary Jewry, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Prof. Cathie Carmichael, School of History, University of East Anglia

Prof. Alon Confino, Department of History, University of Virginia; Department of General
History, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

Prof. Manuela Consonni, Department of Jewish History and Contemporary Jewry and
Department of Romance and Latin American Studies, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Dr. Lea David, Jonathan Shapira Postdoctoral Fellow, Department of Sociology and
Anthropology, Tel Aviv University

Friedemann Derschmidt, The Academy of Fine Arts Vienna

Efrat Even-tzur, PhD Candidate, School of Psychological Sciences, Tel Aviv University

Dr. Yochi Fischer, Academic Director, Advanced Studies Unit, The Van Leer
Jerusalem Institute

Dr. Michel Gherman, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro

Dr. Rotem Giladi, Faculty of Law, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Dr. Amos Goldberg, Chair, Department of Jewish History and Contemporary Jewry,
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Research Fellow, The Van Leer Jerusalem Institute

Dr. Abigail Jacobson, Academic Director, Mediterranean Neighbors Unit,
The Van Leer Jerusalem Institute

Prof. Yechiel Klar, The School of Psychological Sciences, Tel Aviv University

Dr. Adam Klin-Oron, The Van Leer Jerusalem Institute

Dr. Ferenc Laczó, Department of History, Maastricht University, Netherlands

Prof. Shai Lavi, Director, The Van Leer Jerusalem Institute

Prof. Tom Lawson, Department of Humanities, Northumbria University, Newcastle

Dr. Shimon Lev, Artist, Curator and Researcher; Department of Photographic
Communications, Hadassah Academic College

Dr. Adel Manna, The Van Leer Jerusalem Institute

Roni Mikel Arieli, PhD Candidate, Department of Jewish History and Contemporary
Jewry, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Solomon (Sally) Perel, Author

Dr. Mustafa Qossoqsi, Clinical Psychologist, The English Hospital, Nazareth

Dr. Ljiljana Radonić, Austrian Academy of Sciences; Department of Political Science,
University of Vienna

Dr. Areej Sabbagh-Khoury, Center for Humanities, Tufts University, Boston;
Mada al-Carmel - The Arab Center for Applied Social Research, Haifa

Dr. Raz Segal, Stockton University

Yechiel Weizman, PhD Candidate, Department of Jewish History, University of Haifa

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The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Mount Scopus, Jerusalem

Attending the workshop is by invitation only

Parking is not available at the VL Institute (metered parking is available on the neighboring streets).

Photographs taken at the event will be posted on the Institutes' websites and on social networks