



Summer School 2021

# DEALING WITH TROUBLED HERITAGES. ETHNO-NATIONALIST CONFLICTS AND RECONCILIATION

23.07. - 31.07.2021 at Friedrich-Schiller-University of Jena

Dr. Carolina Rehrmann

## Summary

The idea of nationalism and its related vision of a sovereign people in a clearly confined territory has been the driving force of modern times and the foundation of today's international order. Whilst the original idea – sparked by the American and French Revolutions – was an inclusive, revolutionary and political one, throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century, it increasingly became a retrograde, exclusivist force featuring conceptions of ethnic purity and culture, laying the foundation for racisms, exclusion and suppression, and serving as rationale for colonialist expansions. For its double-faced nature Nairn called nationalism the “modern janus”, Anderson underlined how arbitrary many of the constituted borders were and how they nevertheless turned into “imagined communities” with a strong collective identity, while Hobsbawm drew attention to the strongest pillar of this identity, the common heritage – even though this heritage has often been an “invented tradition”.

Many of the current conflicts over borders and territories, over minority rights, power sharing balances or the acknowledgement of past injustice in present day societies have to be seen in their ethno-nationalist dimension. The continuous tensions between Turkey and Greece, the Cypriot division, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the wars following the dissolution of Yugoslavia, and the newly sparked conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan over Nagorno Karabakh have been called nationalist conflicts based on exclusive ethno-religious identities and competing prerogatives of interpretation over contested heritages. All of them can be called intractable conflicts to a larger or smaller degree. For they are rooted in decades of simmering tensions with entire generations raised in their spirit. Dominant discourses of educational systems, museums, media and politics are to a based on mutually exclusive narratives of the conflict history. Some have been frozen for decades, like Cyprus, some characterized by daily dynamics of confrontation and outbreaks of violence, like Israel-Palestine. Yet others have undergone a political transition and classified as “resolved”, or “post-conflict” like former Yugoslavia and South Africa's apartheid. The latter, in fact, has been considered by many as text-book example of reconciliation with regard to comprehensive reappraisal, acknowledgement and compensation for committed injustices. Others – and that appears to be representative for many post-conflict settings – point out the shortcomings of



sustainable transition from the conflict structures referring to the still existent political, and socio-economic cleavages and diverging perspectives.

In view of the above-mentioned, how can contested, sensitive heritages, how can human rights violations and trauma in intractable conflicts and post-conflict settings be sustainably addressed and reconciled?

Drawing on theories of nationalism, intractability and reconciliation, the summer school will discuss these and related questions in a series of case studies. It will shed light on the relevance of collective memory, national identities, and vested interests – particularly regarding disputed territories – for unfavorable intergroup dynamics and confrontational politics and seek methods for rapprochement and reconciliation.

Based on secondary literature, key-notes by accomplished experts and practitioners from the respective fields and primary sources taken from education, media and politics the summer school puts a special emphasis on peace activism, peace-educational material and peace-oriented trans-border, respectively trans-ethnic activism in an attempt to define best practices of reconciliation. Each day will be composed of theoretical expert input and interactive workshops guided by related research questions and concluded by a comparative discussion of the results.

**Time Schedule:** Each day starts at 10 am and ends at 6 pm, including lunch times and selected cultural activities.

**Credit Points:** 10

**Type of Exam:** Beyond active participation in the summer school the overall grade will be based on a paper to be handed in after the summer school. The paper will be based on a self-chosen topic which is either theoretically or empirically related to one or more of the summer school's theories, concepts or case studies.

## Preliminary Programme

### 1. PROTRACTED ETHNO-NATIONALIST DIVISIONS – LESSONS LEARNED FROM YUGOSLAVIA

(23.07.2021)

**Key-note:** Prof. Rafael Biermann: *The Politics of Reconciliation in the Former Yugoslavia* (Institute for Political Science, Friedrich-Schiller University of Jena)

**Content:** The dissolution of Yugoslavia following the end of the Cold War era has come to typify both the inception and one of the most ferocious of other ethno-



nationalist wars to follow in the 1990es. How is that heritage been dealt with and remembered? How are inter-ethnic relations today? Much of the relevant literature on the quality of post-conflict transition between Serbs, Bosnians, Slovenes, and Albanians takes stock with a critical eye, claiming that interethnic cleavages and mutually exclusive narratives among the communities frame their attitudes towards the past until today. From official side, there have been almost no reconciliatory endeavors towards the former enemies. The collective memories (holidays, memorials, museums) of each community remain broadly confined to monolithic, self-whitewashing and other-maligning ingroup-perspectives. In that sense, the wounds of the past seem not healed, and inter-ethnic relations appear as peaceful co-existence at best than as new, inclusive national community.

Based on the key-note and the provided literature on nationalism, and post-conflict transition in the former Yugoslavia, we will discuss the frames and structures of ethno-nationalist identities and divisions from a gender-sensitive perspective, as well as analyze and compare selected memorials and memory-practices as representations of the existent divisions.

**Literature:**

- Anderson, Benedict (2006), *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, New York: Verso., chapter one
- Renan, Ernest (1990), What is a Nation?, in: H.K. Bhabha (Ed.), *Nation and Narration*, London: Routledge, pp. 8-22.
- Janinovic, Jovana (2020), "The Socialist Heritage of Tito's Yugoslavia: Memory between Disneyfication and Reconciliation", in: R. Biermann,, C. Rehrmann, and P. Tolliday (eds.), *Societies in Transition. The Caucasus and the Balkans between Conflict and Reconciliation*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 139-158.
- Kostic, R. (2012), "Transitional Justice and Reconciliation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Whose Memories? Whose Justice?", in: *Sociologica* 54:4, pp. 649-666.
- Cockburn, Cynthia (1999), *The Space between us. Negotiating Gender and National Identities in Conflict*, London: Zed Books.

**Further reading:**

- Biermann, Rafael (2020), „The Politics of Reconciliation in the Former Yugoslavia. Assessing Progress Across the Region“, in: R. Biermann,, C. Rehrmann, and P. Tolliday (eds.), *Societies in Transition. The Caucasus and the Balkans between Conflict and Reconciliation*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 69-101.



## 2. WHEN UNRESOLVED PAST BEAKS INTO THE PRESENT: GREEK-GERMAN RELATIONS AND WWII-DISPUTES IN THE FINANCIAL CRISIS

(24.07.2021)

Key-note: Prof. Miltos Pechlivanos (Center for Modern Greece, Free University of Berlin) & Charalampos B. Karpouchtsis (Jena Center for Reconciliation Studies, Friedrich-Schiller-University of Jena)

**Content:** In 2010, the year the Greek economic crisis started, a German news magazine titled “2000 Years of Decay. From the Cradle of Europe to Europe’s Backyard.” The author – later spokesman of populist party Alternative for Germany (AfD) – contemptuously juxtaposed the achievements and grandezza of the Hellenes with their modern successors stating with racist undertones that present-day Greece had no quality whatsoever, no culture, and a corrupt political and economic system. A Greek magazine furiously answered with an article tracing German Nazi atrocities and occupation in Greece and alleging that Germans are defined by their eternal fascist spirit. That was the prelude of what turned into a fierce (Boulevard) media mudslinging between the two countries. This has dramatically damaged their relations until today. The disputes have to be seen within the disparities of the European economic crisis, and Germany’s leading role in negotiating the terms for states threatened by bankruptcy – above all Greece. But most importantly, growing anti-German sentiments in Greece sparked what had for decades been a simmering resentment: the undischarged reparation claims for German occupation. Germany should not act up as morally superior, but pay its own debts, many claimed. Mirroring broader discourses within the Eurozone, these claims show how present-day crises can be aggravated by unresolved heritages. Analyzing the respective frames on past and present disputes between the two countries, we will discuss the trajectories of the German-Greek crisis with an emphasis on discursive devices (metaphors, slogans, images) in the construction of media frames and their impact on national identities.

### Literature:

- Assmann, Aleida (2015), *Shadows of Trauma. Memory and the Politics of Postwar Identity*, New York: Fordham University Press.
- Bickes, H.; E. Butulussi, T. Otten, J. Schendel, A. Sdroulia und A. Steinhof (2012), *Die Dynamik der Konstruktion von Differenz und Feindseligkeit am Beispiel der Finanzkrise Griechenlands: Hört beim Geld die Freundschaft auf? Kritisch-diskursanalytische Untersuchungen der Berichterstattung ausgewählter deutscher und griechischer Medien*, München: Iudicium – Excerpts in English
- Karpouchtsis, Charalampos (2018), “Greek Strategic Culture: Education, Symbols and Experiences”, in: *Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik* 11 (2), pp. 203–215.



- Klonowski, Michael (2010), „2000 Jahre Niedergang. Von der Wiege Europas zum Hinterhof Europas“, in: *Focus* 8/2010, pp. 132-136. – Excerpts in English

**Further reading:**

- Mazower, M. (2001), *Inside Hitler's Greece. The experience of occupation, 1941 – 44*, New Haven: Yale Nota Bene.
- Mazower, M. (Ed.) (2000), *After the war was over. Reconstructing the family, nation, and state in Greece, 1943-1960*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press
- Pelt, M. (2006), *Tying Greece to the West. US-West German-Greek relations 1949 – 1974*, Copenhagen, Univ., Diss., 2003. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press
- Tzogopoulos, G. (2016), *The Greek Crisis in the Media*, Abington: Routledge.

Sunday – 25.07.2020: Excursion to the Concentration Camp  
Buchenwald, Weimar

3. NARCISSISM OF MINOR DIFFERENCES: GEOPOLITICAL DIMENSIONS OF  
THE GREEK- TURKISH ENMITY

(26.07.2021)

**Key-note/Input:** Prof. Niyazi Kızılyürek (University of Cyprus and Member of the European Parliament) & online-session with Dr. Hercules Millas (University of Athens)



**Content:** In summer 2020 the announcement of President Erdoğan to drill for oil in the Eastern Aegean caused a de novo climax in the Graeco-Turkish dispute in the Mediterranean Sea. Chancellor Merkel reportedly intervened to avoid a military confrontation. The common border between the two countries is highly contested by both sides and has caused minor and major crises in the last decades. Whilst Greece invokes the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea to claim sovereignty over most of the Eastern Mediterranean, Turkey that has never ratified this convention refutes its neighbor's claims. On the basis of international continental shelf regulations, Greek territory stretches just a few miles away from the Turkish shore. To understand the current dispute, one has to look into the countries' troubled and deeply entangled heritage that is characterized by wars and mutual expulsion of populations, and a continuous territorial, cultural and political antagonism. That reaches back to Greece's War of Independence from the Ottoman Empire (1821), the Graeco-Turkish war of 1919-22, and the Cyprus crisis of 1963 and 1974. Drawing on the interweaving of geo-politics and nationalism, we will scrutinize how both countries' media and educational narratives construct mutually exclusive national identities based on founding myths that – as a witty observer once stated – have been built by violent confrontation with “the other”.

**Literature:**

- Aktar, Ayhan., Niyazi Kizilyürek und Umut Özkirimli (Hg.) (2010): *Nationalism in the Troubled Triangle. Cyprus, Greece and Turkey*, London: Palgrave.
- Heraclides, A. (2011): *The Essence of the Greek-Turkish Rivalry: National Narrative and Identity*, GreeSE Paper 51, London: LSE.
- Millas, Hercules (2005): “Tourkokratia. History and the Image of Turks in Greek Literature”, in: *South European Society and Politics* 11:1, pp. 47-60.

**Further reading:**

- Millas, Hercules (2011), *The Other Town* [Documentary], H. Millas, N. Dinç, C. Avetyan und G. Paker Mekik.
  - (2014): “Rethinking Greek-Turkish Relations: Conversations with my Greek and Turkish University Students”, in: V. Lytra (Hg.), *When Greeks and Turks Meet: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the Relationship Since 1923*, Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, pp. 65-82.



#### 4. CLASH OF CONSTRUCTED CIVILIZATIONS AND FROZEN MEMORY. THE CYPRUS CONFLICT

(27.07.2021)

**Key-note/Input:** Panel discussion with Marios Epaminondas, Süleyman Gelener, Alev Tuğberk, and Kyriakos Pachoulides (Association of Historical Dialogue and Research)

**Content:** In many respects, the Cyprus conflict can be considered a miniature of the troubled Greek-Turkish relations, given their negative communal identities and mutual representation claims over disputed territories. The country gained its independence from Britain in 1960 as consociational democracy with a power sharing model between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots. This political system, unfortunately, was built on a compromise that did not reflect either community's nationalist sentiments: The Greek-Cypriot majority aimed at union with Greece, while the Turkish-Cypriot minority aimed at partition of the island. Both sides caused tensions and violence during the 1960s that ended with an attempted coup d'état by the Greek junta and Turkey's occupation of the island's Northern part. Ever since negotiations to reunify Cyprus – including the last comprehensive attempt by the United Nations in 2004 – failed. Today the island is a curiosity under international law. De jure the Republic of Cyprus is part of the European Union, de facto this excludes the self-proclaimed "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" that is recognized only by Turkey.

The two communities of Cyprus in their majority live in two microcosms: Monuments, museums, history textbooks, and ritualized practices of one side demonize and delegitimize the other, their political relations defined by mutual non-recognition. Drawing on the theory of collective memory, we will juxtapose dominant representations of the Cypriot conflict history on both sides of the dividing line with trans-border peace activism and its multifold peace-educational material – such as the Association for Historical Dialogue and Research's complementary history textbooks to understand the interweaving of political positions and the cultural sphere.

**Literature:**

- Bar-Tal, Daniel, Y. Rosen und R. Nets-Zehngut (2009): "Peace Education in Societies Involved in Intractable Conflicts: Goals, Conditions and Directions", in: G. Salomon und E. Cairns (Hg.), *Handbook of Peace Education*, Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum, pp. 21-43.



- Bryant, Rebecca und Yannis Papadakis (2012), "Introduction: Modalities of Time, History and Memory in Ethnonationalist Conflicts", in: R. Bryant und Y. Papadakis (Hg.), *Cyprus and the Politics of Memory: History, Community and Conflict*, London: I.B. Tauris., pp. 1-26.
- Christou, Miranda (2007), "The Language of Patriotism: Sacred History and Dangerous Memories", in: *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 28:6, pp. 709-722.
- Papadakis, Yannis (2005), *Echoes from the Dead Zone. Across the Cyprus Divide*, London: I.B. Tauris.

**Further reading:**

- Papadakis, Yannis (2003), *Pyla. Living together Separately* [Documentary], Y. Papadakis: Ammosfilms.
- (1994), The National Struggle Museums of a Divided City, in: *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 17:3, pp. 400-419.
- Association for Historical Dialogue and Research (2020), [online] < <https://www.ahdr.info/> > [16.11.2020].
- CCMC (2020), [online] < <https://www.cypruscommunitymedia.org/> > [16.11.2020].
- Uludağ, Sevgül (2005), *Cyprus: The Untold Stories. A Reader*, Mannheim: Peleus.

## 5. THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CONFLICT (I). ETHNO-RELIGIOUS CLEAVAGES

(28.07.2021)

**Key-note:** Dr. Dina Dajani (Jena Center for Reconciliation Studies) & Tim Bausch (Institute for Political Science, Friedrich-Schiller-University of Jena)

**Content:** The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is without doubt one of the best known and most intensely studied intractable conflicts of the last decades. As the Cyprus conflict, it is defined by mutual mistrust, ethno-national non-recognition and claims of sole representation over a disputed territory. Like Cyprus, the conflict it is also shaped by broader regional power relations and external influence. Unlike Cyprus that is frozen for decades, however, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is shaped by continuously changing geo-political realities on the ground and violent incidents, one of the latest being the fatal Gaza-protests in May 2018 following the United States' decision to move its embassy to Jerusalem. The latest peace plan launched by the Trump administration was rejected by a majority of Palestinians.

In view of the above mentioned, is peace, is a settlement of the conflict possible after all? In seeking an answer to these questions, we will first trace the cornerstones of the conflict. Divided in group-work, we will analyze primary and secondary sources covering the United Nations Partition Plan for Palestine (1947), the establishment of the State of Israel (1948) and the Palestinian "Nakba" as topics related to the origin





of the conflict. Then, we will shortly cover the geo-political repercussions of the six-day war (1967), as well as the related claims and discourses of the Intifadas, and round up with an analysis of content, reception and ultimate failure of the Oslo Accords. On that historical basis, we will compare the two communities' internal perspectives on their conflict history and their political goals by looking at how these are reflected in selected spaces and places of national imagery, such as Yad Vashem, and Banksy's walled-off museum in Bethlehem.

**Literature:**

- Bar-Tal, Daniel and Y. Teichmann (2005): *Stereotypes and Prejudice in Conflict. Representations of Arabs in Israeli Jewish Society*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bar-Tal, Daniel. und O. Neta (2004), "Conflict, Identity, and Ethos: The Israeli-Palestinian Case", in: Y.-T. Lee, C. McCauley, F. Moghaddam, & S. Worchel (Eds.), *Psychological Dimensions to War and Peace. The Psychology of Ethnic and Cultural Conflict*, Santa Barbara: Praeger Publishers/Greenwood Publishing Group, pp. 133-154.
- Hallward, Maya (2011): "Pursuing 'Peace' in Israel/Palestine", in: *Journal of Third World Studies* 28:1, pp. 185-202.
- Podeh, E. (2000): "History and Memory in the Israeli Educational System: The Portrayal of the Arab-Israeli Conflict in History Textbooks (1948-2000)", in: *History and Memory* 12:1, pp. 65-100.
- Ranstorp, M. (2006): "The Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process. The Strategic Art of Deception", in: E. Newman und O. Richmond (Hg.), *Challenges to Peace Building. Managing Spoilers during Conflict Resolution*, New York: United Nations Univ. Press, pp. 242-261.

6. ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CONFLICT (II). CROSS-BORDER RECONCILIATION  
(29.07.2021)

**Key-note:** Prof. Mohammed Dajani (AlQuds University East Jerusalem) & Bassam Aramin, Rami Elhanan, and Roby Damelin (The Parent's Circle)

**Workshop:** A broad number of critical scientists and trans-border activists have been and are still engaged in promoting human rights, intergroup dialogue and reconciliation between two communities that (in their absolute majority) hardly if ever meet one another. These activists operate in sensitive political and emotional territory, for their engagement is met with suspicion, if not open hostility by political circles and society. Particularly within the Palestinian community reconciliatory actions are discredited as "normalizing attempts" that weaken their common front against Israel. One of these activists is Mohammed Dajani, Professor for Political Science at AlQuds University. As part of a trilateral peace project in cooperation with Jena University in 2014 he organized a trip with Palestinian students to Auschwitz



concentration camp and was harshly criticized for this amongst his community. Other organizations like B'Tselem report human rights violations in the Palestinian territories, while Rabbies for Human Rights or Musalaha approach justice and reconciliation from a religious and ecumenical perspective. Broadly referred to by international media, The Parents' Circle unites bereaved family members from Israel and Palestine that engage in the re-humanization of the often stereotyped "other", raising public awareness on the price that the bloody conflict has imposed on everyone involved. Among them are Bassam Aramin and Rami Elhanan, a Palestinian and an Israeli father who have both lost their daughters in the conflict. Their curricula and struggles, as well as their promotion of multi-perspectivity, empathy and political transition to both sides' benefit are in many respects representative of a significant portion of Israeli and Palestinian thinkers and activists who try to overcome the current state of continuous escalation and political polarization. Tracing their engagement and perspectives, we will compare dominant, and alternative narratives of the conflict and discuss prospects of constructive change.

#### **Literature:**

- Hermon, Shelly (2012): *Within the Eye of the Storm* [Documentary], S. Hermon und N.: Firefly Pictures and Nisansun Productions.
- Kalman, M (2014), "Palestinian Teaches Tolerance via Holocaust", in: *The New York Times*, [online] <<https://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/21/world/middleeast/palestinian-teaches-tolerance-via-holocaust.html>> [17.09.2020].
- B'Tselem (2020), [online] <<https://www.btselem.org/>> [16.09.2020].
- Musalaha (2020) <<https://musalaha.org/>> [16.09.2020].
- Rabbies for Human Rights (2020), [online] <<https://rhr.org.il/eng/>> [16.09.2020].
- The Parent's Circle (2020), [online] <<https://www.theparentscircle.org/en/pcf-home-page-en>> [12.06.2020].

#### **Excursus**

7. UNITED IN DIVERSITY? THE *NEW GERMANY* AND GDR-HERITAGE  
(30.07.2021)

**Key-note/Discussion:** A representative of the group "Dritte Generation Ost" (DGO) and Jana Hensel, author of "Zonenkinder"

**Content:** The fall of the Berlin wall and German reunification have become a most glaring, powerful symbol of the end of the Cold War. Berlin's *lieux de memoir*, such as the *East Side Gallery*, the *Stasi Museum*, the *GDR-museum*, or the *Gedenkstätte Berliner Mauer* have become international tourist attractions as well-known reference



points of East German history and (pop) culture. Underneath this level, the process of reunification of West and East Germany has been a controversial one until today, tackling issues of political culture, economic harmonization and, above all, dealing with the human rights violations and the cultural heritage of GDR. The asymmetry of this latter process (regarding only the East German community) together with the leading role of West Germany in implementing the political, social and economic transition of the Eastern states into the Federal Republic of Germany has also sparked resentment and alienation between the two communities. Whilst, according to statistical data, many West Germans regarded East Germans as “different”, “backward” and attested a lack of gratitude for their economic upswing since the 1990es, a significant portion of East Germans felt estranged and under obligation of accountability as representatives of a “flawed system”. They accused the “West” of an arrogant winner-of-history-mentality. Thus, the process of “uniting what belongs together” (Willy Brandt) has produced tensions in approaching and evaluating the past. This touches disparities in history textbook between West and East Germany, the evaluation the GDR heritage, as well as the process of transitional justice regarding particularly the removal of GDR authorities from state responsibility (lustration, vetting) and questions of identity and belonging for a majority of East German citizens. Being inspired by the Third-Generation East, a somewhat hybrid generation of East Germans that grew up in reunified Germany, we will discuss the divergent perspectives, identities and needs of central actors that shaped and shape the East-West German discourses on the past and German identities until today.

#### **Literature:**

- Assmann, Aleida (2015), *Shadows of trauma: Memory and the politics of postwar identity*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- (2013): *Das neue Unbehagen an der Erinnerungskultur. Eine Intervention*, München: C.H. Beck. (excerpts in English)
- Assmann, J. & Czaplicksa, J. (1995), “Collective memory and cultural identity”, in: *New German Critique* 65, pp. 125-133.
- Bauerkämper, A. (2014), “The twisted road to democracy as a quest for security: Germany in the Twentieth century”, in: *German History* 32:3, pp. 431-455.
- Hensel, Jana (2008), *After the Wall: Confessions from an East German Childhood*, New York: Public Affairs.
- Hacker, Michael., S. Maiwald, J. Staemmler, J. Enders, A. Lettrari, H. Pietzcker, H. Schober and M. Schulze (Ed.) (2012): *Dritte Generation Ost. Wer wir sind, was wir wollen*, Berlin: Ch. Links. (excerpts in English)



8. SOUTH AFRICA. A ROLE-MODEL OF POST-CONFLICT RECONCILIATION?  
(31.07.2021)

**Key-note:** *Dr. Fanie du Toit: Political Transition in South Africa* (Georgetown University, Institute for Justice and Reconciliation CA)

**Content:** More than twenty-five years have passed since South African Apartheid was ousted in a democratic transition under the new leadership of Nelson Mandela. Coming to terms with the past and laying the foundation for a common future required to tackle the racist exclusion and bloody suppression of the black majority of the preceding decades. In this light, the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission* (TRC) and figures such as Archbishop Desmond Tutu and clinical psychologist Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela became glaring representations of truth seeking, victims' empowerment and forgiveness both from an ethical, a spiritual and a psychological perspective. However, there has also been substantial critique regarding the shortcomings and failures of retributive and restorative justice in the post-Apartheid era, and a perceived lack of acknowledgement and material compensation for the structural human rights violations of the regime. Some even say that while Apartheid was abolished constitutionally, it still shows in the country's socio-economic cleavages along ethnic lines. Following a prominent insider's assessment on the current state of affairs, we will take stock of South Africa's democratic change with a special focus on the tensions and contradictions of transitional justice.

**Literature:**

- Du Toit, Fanie (2018), *When Political Transitions Work: Reconciliation as Interdependence*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gobodo-Madikizela, Pumla (2006), *A Human being Died that Night: Confronting Apartheid's Chief Killer*, London: Portobello Books.
  - (2004), *A Human Being Died that Night: A South African Story*, [online] <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E1-01dPT1bk> [18.09.2014].
- Vora, J. A. und E. Vora (2004), "The Effectiveness of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission: Perceptions of Xhosa, Afrikaner, and English South Africans", in: *Journal of Black Studies* 34: 3, pp. 301-322.
- Rehrmann, Carolina (2020), „Reconciliation. Challenges, Prospects and inherent Contradictions“, in: R. Biermann,, C. Rehrmann, and P. Tolliday (eds.), *Societies in Transition. The Caucasus and the Balkans between Conflict and Reconciliation*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 17-51.



**Further reading:**

- Coleman, Peter T. (2000): "Intractable Conflict", in: M. Deutsch and P. T. Coleman (Ed.), *The Handbook of Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice*, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, pp. 428-450.
- Nadler, Arie, T. Malloy und J. D. Fisher (Ed.) (2008): *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Reconciliation*, New York: Oxford Univ. Press.
- Rehrmann, Carolina (2017): „Made for Goodness? Women, Conflict and Reconciliation“, in: M. Leiner und C. Schließer (Hg.), *Alternative Approaches to Conflict Resolution*, London: Palgrave, pp. 65-75.
- Reicher, S., Y. Jogd and C. Ryan (2015), Political Participation is Self-Interest...But Not In The Way You Might Think, in: N. Manning (Hg.), *Political (Dis)Entanglement: The Changing Nature of The 'Political'*, Bristol: Policy Press, pp. 217-237.
- Bar-Tal, Daniel und G.H. Bennink (2004): "The Nature of Reconciliation as an Outcome and as a Process", in: Y. Bar-Siman-Tov (Hg.), *From Conflict Resolution to Reconciliation*, Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, pp. 11-38.