

Foreword. Beyond the nation? In search of global connections between traumatic memories

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During the last decade, many works exploring the role of memory in Eastern and Central European politics and societies were published (Bernhard and Kubik, 2014; Ilic and Leinartė, 2016; Mink and Neumayer, 2013; Aleksandravičius, 2014; Davoliūtė and Balkelis, 2012, and others). This growing body of literature has demonstrated the crucial importance of memory politics in nation-building projects and ethnic relations. Many of these works, however, were still embracing national frameworks and thus failing to capture the full extent to which global forces and non-state actors can influence complex processes of memory production. Recently there have been several attempts to escape this tendency to think about memory on the national level. For example, in *Memory and Theory in Eastern Europe* (2013), editors Blacker, Etkind and Fedor argued that their goal was to “operate on a consciously transnational scale” in re-thinking the role of memory in the region. Similarly, a growing body of literature in various fields, including history and political science, has attempted to conceptualize various projects to create a common European memory on the regional level (Leggewie, 2008; Mälksoo, 2014; Assmann, 2013; Snyder, 2013; Sierp, 2014; Sierpand Wüstenberg, 2015; and others). Recent work by Altinay and Pető (2015) sought to explore the ways in which feminist thinking can help to establish connections between gender, genocide and memory studies.

Following this way of thinking, this special issue draws on the emerging literature on memory and trauma in international relations to transcend the limits imposed by national frameworks and traditional ways of thinking about ethnic relations and identity politics. The uses of ethnic and national categories in analytical research on ethnic and international relations tend to normalize these divisions, thus contributing to the same problems that it wants to address. We believe that it is important to challenge such categories and transcend divisions imposed by thinking in static identity terms by switching to the study of relevant practices instead, as it is done in trauma and memory studies.

This new trend of scholarly interest in trauma and memory studies has yielded thought provoking discussions about practices of memorialization and remembrance (Gillis, 1994; Sturken, 1997; Winter and Sivan, 2000; Zehfuss, 2007), culture trauma (Greenberg, 2003; Alexander et al., 2004; Kaplan, 2005), collective and transnational memory (Caruth, 1996; Levy and Sznajder, 2010; Langenbacher and Shain, 2010), and witnessing and reconciliation (Hayner, 2001; Booth, 2006; Lind, 2008). While some of them engaged with different issues and applied different approaches, others were more firmly located in the field of International Relations (Edkins, 2003; Bell, 2006; Resende and Budryte, 2013; Auchter, 2014), they all have tried to bridge an existing gap regarding the role of trauma and memory in world politics, even going beyond the traditional focus on the Holocaust as the paradigmatic case of a global traumatic event to include other traumatic experiences, without erasing important historical differences between them.

Issues related to trauma, identity and memory (that are central in trauma and memory studies) are likely to be interesting to anyone studying Eastern and Central Europe and probably to most people who trace their roots to this region (as this is the case with one of the editors, Dovilė Budrytė). But, as with story of Erica Resende, the other editor of this special issue suggests, these issues can become appealing to anyone who pays attention to the escalation of violence in world politics and cares about it. Trauma can become the basis for connections between people from different cultures, regions, ethnic groups, generations; or, to use a relevant term from the literature on trauma and memory, the basis for “radical relationality” connecting individuals with very different backgrounds (see Husanović’s contribution in this special issue).

Erica Resende’s engagement with these topics started a while ago when she was a young adult backpacking in Europe in the early 1990’s; she visited a museum in Norway and saw Edvard Munch’s *The Scream*. The famous 1893 painting, depicting a distorted mummy-like figure against a stark landscape with a tumultuous, infinite orange, red-blood sky struck a chord deeply within her. Why was that figure screaming? Was it suffering and in pain? Was it calling for help? Help from whom? Why was its impact so deep? During that summer in Europe, watching daily reports about the escalation of violence and genocide in the Balkans, Resende felt like entering the canvas and taking that figure into her own arms. To this day, *The Scream* – more precisely, the unsettling feelings the painting stirred in her – is the background against which she reads and reflects about acts of violence in world politics.

Indeed, as pointed out by Simeon and Abugel (2006), the imagery of *The Scream* has been most commonly linked to acute traumatic experiences, encompassing a palette of violent emotions from anxiety to despair, madness to hopelessness. All of them trying to signify human suffering resulting from experiences of “depersonalization, decentering, distortion and the void of one’s self” (p. 127). Acknowledging the influence of this particular painting, it is possible to identify the main themes that guide this special issue on the relation

between memory, trauma and identity in world politics. Traumatic events remind us of a key characteristic of the human condition in modern times: our existence as bare life, which we comfortably and promptly force ourselves to forget in order to continue living.

The aim here is not to exhaust the discussion on the relationship between traumatic memories, politics and ethics, but to offer some considerations on why the cry from *The Scream* resonates across time, places and communities. The impact of the mummy-like figure painted by Munch has much to do with the very experience of facing a traumatic event, of having been submitted to an “enforced encounter with death, violence, and brutality” that ultimately reveals the contingency of social order (Edkins, 2003: 3-5). Munch’s figure cries in helplessness because it realizes the unbearable truth of human condition in modern times: the subjection of life to the power of the *Sovereign* (broadly conceptualized as the power of the state), which allows for some to live and some to die, thus betraying our trust and expectations about how the world functions.

The notion of trauma, derived from the Greek word τραύμα, meaning “wound” or “injury”, was a key concept developed by Sigmund Freud,¹ the father of psychoanalysis, throughout his career. In his early works on the subject of hysteria, Freud argued that trauma was deeply connected to the idea of a violent shock capable of shattering the psychic apparatus that enables us to function. Psychic trauma occurred, he claimed, as a consequence of a major traumatic event or a temporal sequence of smaller temporal traumas that have impacted the psyche of an individual overrunning its protective barrier. Thus, Freud argued, traumatic events were capable of abruptly or progressively interfering with psychic processes.

The subject of traumatic events received greater attention by Freud later on. In his 1926 work *Inhibition, Symptom and Anguish*, he investigated the phenomenon even further by identifying the impact of experiences associated to losses of loved ones, breakdowns and dissolutions of family relations, death or loss of emotionally significant figures, etc. One aspect to be understood early on was not the traumatic event per se – such as the death of a loved one – but the way the event impacts on the psychic apparatus, i.e. how the individual processes and reacts to the event. This led Freud to highlight that how one reacts to a traumatic event depends on one’s individual psychic history, on memories inevitably mixed with fantasies of prior catastrophes, and on the particular cultural and political context within which a catastrophe takes place, especially how it is mediated and managed by institutional forces. Interestingly, recent literature on trauma theory highlight the importance of cultural and historical forces, and argues that it is important to find connections between traumatic experiences and paradigms “that must work in, and despite, different contexts” (Rothberg, 2013: xiii).

¹ Although Sigmund Freud is an inescapable figure in trauma theory, we do not contend he was the first or the definitive author on the subject. By quoting Freud we merely wish to highlight how Freud’s ideas about hysteria and trauma belonged to a turn-of-the-century discourse on trauma that would anchor the debate for decades. See Leys (2000, especially chapter 1).

Traditionally, the study of trauma and of traumatic events originated in the context of treatment of war neuroses following World War I and II – under the clinic rubric of shell shock – and of research about the Holocaust. In both cases, their undeniable magnitude rightly authorized the use of a trauma vocabulary. However, the escalation of war, violence, conflict and abuse throughout the 20th century made it so that the concept of traumatic event has been extended to include other types of suffering terror, in various degrees and kinds of trauma (Kaplan, 2005: 1). In contemporary times, where war, conflict, disasters, famine, abuse, strife, and insecurity abound, a traumatic event has come to be generally understood as an event “defined by its intensity,” by the subject’s “incapacity to respond adequately to it” and by the “upheaval and long-lasting effects that it brings about in the psychical organization” of individuals (Laplanche and Pontalis, 1967: 465-9).

Stolorow (2007) described similar situations as he characterized our age of an “age of trauma.” Modernity, he claims, has provided us with a range of tranquilizing illusions that has long allowed us to keep on living, to function socially. Today, however, we are forced to deal with globally threatening situations – such as climate change, world hunger, genocide, nuclear proliferation, terrorist attacks, finance and economic crisis, etc. – that produce collective trauma on a global scale as the very possibility of their occurrence thrusts us into a situation of existential anxiety due to the shattering of what Stolorow (2007: 16) calls “the absolutism of everyday life.” For Stolorow, the essence of psychological trauma lay in the experience of unbearable affect, which may not be explained in terms of the quantity or intensity of the pain inflicted by or as a result of a traumatic event. It has to be interpreted in regards to the failing of mechanisms we counted on to assist us when processing a traumatic event.

Normally, whenever we refer to “a traumatic” event, we think of something out of the ordinary, outside the flow of History itself, that may have occurred. For example, the events of 9/11 have effectively altered our perception of time and space. Besides the great loss of life and financial losses, 9/11 brought about the experience of the impossible. The acts witnessed that day made it impossible for people to just go about one’s daily business. September 11th, 2001 became 9/11, a traumatic event.

If it is true that 9/11 constitutes a fine example of a traumatic event in the age of trauma that Stolorow talked about, it stands by no means alone. A decade later, a catastrophe involving nuclear leakage following an earthquake and a tsunami in Japan, with the subsequent release of radioactive material, triggered similar feelings of a traumatic nature. On March 11, 2011, a nuclear meltdown at the Fukushima I Nuclear Power Plant produced what is today considered the largest nuclear disaster since Chernobyl of 1986. At the first anniversary of the nuclear disaster, Prime Minister Yoshihiko Noda said that officials had been blinded by a false belief in the country’s “technological infallibility,” which sat the heart of a “safety myth” regarding nuclear power. Arguing that all would have to “share the pain of the responsibility,” Noda claimed that Fukushima represented “the end of Japanese illusions” (Funabashi, 2012).

It is precisely in this sense – in the end of illusions – that both 9/11 and Fukushima produced their traumatic effects. When the impossible and the

unthinkable happened, people's sense of being safe and secure in regards to their expectations about the order of things imploded. 9/11 and Fukushima produced a collective global trauma because they were responsible for "violently and irrevocably introducing horror into the world of things that exist" (Levi, 1987: 96). Faced with the need to emotionally cope with the unbearable – as well as to mourn the loss of dear ones – anxiety and angst emerge. The "eventness" quality of both 9/11 and Fukushima leads us to recognize their quality as traumatic events. In the context of Eastern and Central Europe, Fukushima's disaster probably brought instant memories of Chernobyl, thus creating an "affiliative" structure of memory, bridging different experiences and different cultures.

Curiously, the sense of shock, despair and hopelessness experienced at those two particular contexts of trauma yielded very similar representations of angst. Inspired by Munch's *The Scream*, American painter Reza Sepahdari and Canadian cartoonist André-Philippe Côté attempted to express through art what then could not quite be understood, processed, rationalized and put into words, yet felt. This is another example of radical relationality, bridging different cultures and mapping traumas.



Illustration 1: Reza Sepahdari's 'Scream 9/11' (2001)²

² Rights to reproduction kindly released by the artist.

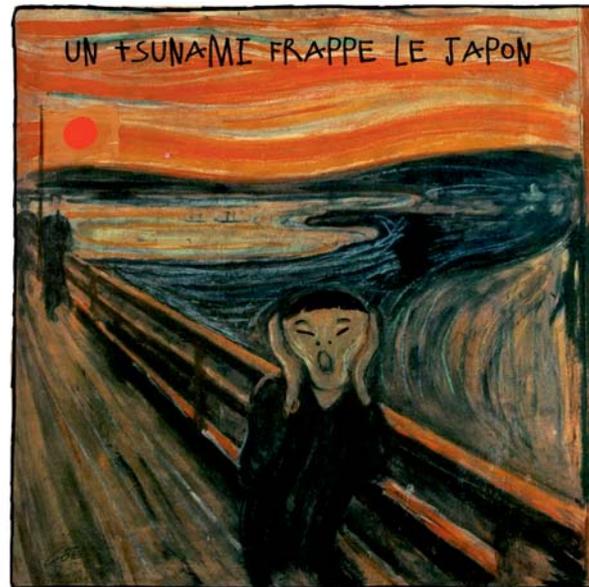


Illustration 2: André-Philippe Côté's 'Un tsunami frappe le Japon' (2011)³

For Caruth (1996: 11), “trauma describes an overwhelming experience of sudden or catastrophic events, in which the response to the event occurs in the often delayed, uncontrolled and repetitive appearance of hallucinations and other intrusive phenomena.” It is, quite simply, something that lies beyond the realms of normal experience, outside the frontiers of language or normal comprehension, on the “limit of writing,” as elsewhere argued by Blanchot (1995: 7). Trauma expresses the momentary incapacity of language to describe reality: an exposure to such a disturbing and destructing event that our system of references for reality is shaken to the core. Recent critiques of the conceptualizations of trauma as articulated by Caruth and her followers (e.g., Trezise, 2013: 2-3) point to the importance of making sure that the voices of the victims who have experienced trauma are not silenced by imagining trauma as “an overwhelming experience” that defies any articulation using language as well as making sure that history about traumatic events is not obscured when the indescribability of these events is underlined.

Jenny Edkins admits that it may be impossible to adequately describe trauma; however, she feels that it is possible to map the places where it has occurred. In addition, she holds that trauma makes people feel betrayed in their expectations about the order of things. “It brings to the surface existential questions which at least in the modern world we prefer to keep submerged,” she observes (Edkins, 2002: 245). This is why trauma always implies in recognizing realities and limits

³ La Presse Montreal, March 14th, 2011. Rights to reproduction kindly released by the artist.

“that most of us have not begun to face” (ibid). The human mind is incapable of processing trauma in the same way it processes any normal event. Standing “outside the ordinary experience,” trauma does not slot into the framework of normal social reality, which is why there is no language for it or any other tools which one would normally rely on to make sense of the world.

And this is where the paradox lies: trauma is felt but not understood; it is memorized and recalled, but not necessarily experienced; it defies language but insists on being communicated; it refuses to be incorporated into normality but goes on perpetuating itself in memory; it is triggered at a specific moment in time, but alters its linearity; it must be forgotten, but is always being recalled and relived. Trauma is a slayer of certainties, a shaker of truths: it irrevocably changes our spatial and temporal concept of the world and ourselves. As Edkins (2002) argues, trauma shatters our expectations, our understanding of how the world looks like. This is why a traumatic event literally “unmakes” our world, for it destroys “the metaphysical certainties that were normally taken for granted” (Edkins, 2002: 246), especially our own sense of security.

Trauma, then, becomes part of the experience of recognizing our mortality. Life can only be bearable if we buy into a kind of unwritten compact, especially in western culture, of willfully forgetting how tenuous our condition is. Trauma gives us a sudden, painful reminder of how useless and impossible such a compact actually is. We are mortal and we are vulnerable, and the idea of total security is no more than a device used to trick ourselves into believing we can escape death, relieving ourselves of the anxiety brought on by the recognition of our mortality.

This seems to fit perfectly with the circumstances of 9/11 and Fukushima, as well as the cases explored in this special issue, for they shattered life absolutes. Overnight, individuals realized that the world was not benevolent, and that their lives might not have been worthy of protection. In this sense, understanding and emphasizing with those who have experienced traumatic events helps us to focus on our common humanity.

Drawing on case studies of traumatic experiences not only from the Global North, but also from the Global South, we hope to demonstrate how theoretical concepts such as hauntology (Auchter’s contribution), displacement (Davoliūtė’s and David’s essays), unresolved genocide (Boykin’s contribution), aporia (Resende’s contribution), transitional justice (Dario’s essay), or witnessing to trauma (Husanović’s essay) can inform the study of trauma and memory by transcending ethnic and national borders and placing the experiences commonly associated with Eastern and Central Europe in a global context. The common denominator of all contributions is a traumatic event (displacement, genocide, a terrorist act, and a civil war); however, conceptualizing traumatic memory as a “sensitizing concept” (that is, a way to attract our attention to various representations of the past instead of treating it as a measurable phenomenon) helps to make sure that important historical and cultural differences separating these events are respected.

Inspired by Rothberg's (2009, 2013) concept of "multidirectional memory" and Hirsch's (2012) concept of "post-memory," this volume attempts to develop its own connective approach to the study of traumatic events and related memories. Michael Rothberg's prism ("multidirectional memory") suggests a way to globalize the European memory debate by including insights from postcolonial studies. He proposed to expand the geography of memory by not merely shifting from "Paris to Warsaw" (that is, shifting the focus in memory studies from Western Europe to the East) but thinking Paris *with* Warsaw (that is, exploring connections between these two different regions), along with a number of other localities, such as Atlanta, Gaza City, and Istanbul. Rothberg's multidirectional memory mandates the inclusion of interdependence and "free and coerced flows of people, goods, and ideas that accompany colonial expansion" into theorization about memory, thus adding dynamism and a global lens to the equation. Rothberg proposes a revolutionary thinking about memory, arguing for "deconstruction of a straight line that is assumed to connect collective memory and group identity" (2013: 86). According to him, memory is capable of both assembling and dissecting identities. At the same time, exploring dialogical relations between memories as diverse as slavery, colonialism and the Holocaust will allow to transcend competitive relations between different memory communities and empower groups with traumatic experiences to obtain resources to voice their "claims for recognition and justice" (Rothberg, 2013: 87).

As conceptualized by Hirsch (2012), "post-memory" is a term describing the feelings and the relationship that the "generation after" has established with the trauma experienced by their parents and relatives. Post-memory is shaped by stories, images and behaviors; however, these experiences can be so powerful that they are capable of constructing new images and new stories, or "memories in their own right" (p. 5). For trauma to be transmitted from the people who experienced it to others (in this case, the next generation), "affiliative structures" must be in place, and these structures are constructed by stories, images and behaviors, thus developing connections between individuals with different experiences. In this way, Hirsch's approach helps to theorize about connections in the processes of transmission of traumas.

Drawing on Rothberg and Hirsch, we hope to demonstrate that search for similarities in various cultural contexts can be emancipatory—if nothing else, it inspires imagination which is a powerful way of resisting domination of national dogmas and state-sponsored memorializations. At the same time, the warnings of emerging critical multidirectional memory studies (e.g., Sanyal, 2015) about dangerous "collisions and confluences" in the global traffic of memory when traumatic memories are misrepresented and misused are valid. It is important to respect historical specificity of traumatic events, and it is crucial to remember that there is a crucial distinction between surviving a trauma and receiving its memory. As argued by Sanyal (2015: 8), "the overwhelming focus on victimhood in the reception of such [traumatic] memory can lead to appropriation of stories that are not our own and can even become alibis for the perpetration of violence." Listening to a story about a traumatic event and feeling compassion is not (and should not be)

the same as appropriating this trauma and using it for political needs. Consequently, when studying the ways in which traumatic memories are transmitted, the questions about misuse, perhaps for pragmatic goals, and inappropriate appropriation of such memories are as important as the creation of affiliative structures.

The volume starts out with Jasmina Husanović's contribution, which establishes theoretical parameters for the study of traumatic memory that can transcend national and ethnic borders. By articulating a stringent critique of the strategies of management of trauma in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Husanović puts forward a compelling alternative to nationalism and liberalism. In her words: "An affirmative politics of witnessing to trauma does offer ways of identification and participation that are an authentic challenge to the ethnopopulist mobilisation of affect and passion on the one hand, and the aseptic liberal management of affect in white gloves and in the name of human rights, on the other." Such politics, drawing on feminist theories, demands a focus on real voices and real bodies and thus resists the erasure of traumatic experiences which can occur when traumatic memories are appropriated and commodified by local ethnonationalist groups or obscured by international actors, acting in the name of "transitional justice." The goal of such politics is to produce a "shareable story" by engaging in affective corporeal activities and ethical practices of remembrance. The author's own work becomes part of this shareable story as she documents her own engagement as a feminist writer and activist in activities of non-governmental groups working towards radical relationality.

Jessica Auchter's essay suggests another way to create a shareable story. Similarly to Husanović, bodies are central to her argument. Auchter's contribution seeks to explore the concept of haunting by examining two cases in which memorialization has proceeded very differently: Rwanda and Darfur. As argued by Alexander Etkind, who has used the concept of "hauntology" to describe the problems related to remembering in the post-Soviet Russian context: "If the suffering is not remembered, it will be repeated. [...] When the dead are not properly mourned, they turn into the undead and cause trouble for the living" (Etkind, 2013: 16-17).

As demonstrated by Auchter, Rwanda and Darfur provide two very different contexts for the study of memorialization of traumatic memories: in Rwanda, built memorials form key sites for memorialization and the display of human remains as evidence of atrocity, while in Darfur, there is ongoing conflict, no physical memorial sites, and the bodies of victims mingle with desert sands, yet oral testimonies persist as key ways deaths are memorialized. Both of these examples posit questions about lingering identities and the relationship between identity and physical memorial sites. Exploring tensions between how deaths and narratives about deaths are managed (or attempts to manage these) and the continuing competing narratives that persist at memorial sites allows Auchter to explore more fundamental questions of identity as it relates to who and what is memorialization, how memorialization proceeds, and what it might mean to be haunted by lives and deaths that have been silenced or coopted into particular memorial projects. Unlike

Etkind, who conceptualized haunting as the crux of “warped” (and, by extension, inadequate memory in Russia), Auchter argues that by allowing ourselves to be haunted, new avenues of politics open up that gesture towards a shared human vulnerability rather than a politics based on competing victimhood.

Erica Resende’s contribution also focuses on developing a global connective approach to the study of politics of memory and trauma. Drawing on what many analysts in International Relations consider to be a breaking point in the international system (9/11), which she characterizes as “an aporetic moment”, she makes several important observations about “the events that open us to another time”, that “alter our perception of time and space” in the global age. It is difficult to grasp exactly what happened, she argues; such traumatic events disrupt the flow of “normal” time and, despite the avalanche of visual representations, are impossible to “make sense of.” Yet, at the same time, 9/11 represents an unprecedented simultaneous global experience on many various levels—personal, visual, digital, virtual and global, thus transcending borders and creating instant affiliations among strangers. Resende’s analysis is an example of the impact of technology in memory making, and it illustrates the power of “connective memory” in identity construction. Collective narrative construction about a traumatic experience can be a source of comfort and a connector between individual and collective identities. At the same time, Resende’s article raises numerous questions about the construction of “global” trauma in a global age: What is the relationship between trauma, collective identity and security? How can traumatic experiences challenge power structures and inspire construction of new international norms?

Scott Boykin’s analysis of the Armenian genocide and its impact on the development of international norms sheds some light on these questions. He creates a concept of an “unresolved” genocide as “one for which there was no or little action taken to prosecute those responsible for committing the genocide and one the status of which as a genocide is disputed or not acknowledged by multiple states that are regarded as legitimate actors in the international community.” Acknowledging the constraints to human rights protection stemming from the current international system based on the sovereignty of states and the interpretation of “national” interests, Boykin nevertheless argues that transnational memory of genocides, both resolved and unresolved, has played a role in the emergence of an international norm against genocide and in the institutionalization of that norm. His essay analyzes the ongoing struggles regarding the recognition of the Armenian Genocide and the lack of any punishment for the Turkish government, highlighting the intersections between the “unresolved” genocide and the assertion of international expectations about “responsible complicity” (an expectation that responsible members of international community will recognize the crimes of the past). Boykin makes a case for the “intersubjective recognition of human rights abuses” and argues that such recognition can play a role in the development of international law.

Diogo Dario’s essay also addresses the international law by tracing the evolution of international norms related to the punishment of the crimes of previous regimes (transitional justice) and analyzing the ways in which these norms were applied

to the Colombian conflict. Dario describes the importance of strategies such as confessions that are designed to create a sense of unity and an intersubjective recognition of human rights abuses. His analysis suggests that (at least in the context of Colombia) it is very difficult to agree on who is a victim and how to develop effective policies addressing victimhood. Dario focuses on the Justice and Peace Law of 2005 and describes an instrumental use by the government of the ambiguity conveyed in the notion of victim. Emphasizing “reconciliation” and not reparation, the Colombian government succeeded in avoiding holding certain individuals responsible for the crimes of the past. In addition, using the narratives of victims to construct a usable political memory, the government avoided creating a truth commission and opted for a state-sponsored research commission who was charged with writing of an official history of the “post-conflict” Colombia. The reader will detect connections with the Baltic states (Pettai and Pettai, 2014), including Lithuania, where the narratives of victims (at least partially) were appropriated by official memory, and deep reconciliation and honest confrontation with multiple pasts has not yet taken place.

Questions about who can be considered a victim are also addressed by Isabel David’s case study of “retornados” (the white Portuguese living in the colonies who were forced to “return” to Portugal in early seventies). The term “retornados” is often seen in Portugal as having a pejorative connotation to describe the fate of approximately 800,000 Portuguese who experienced discrimination and marginalization in Portugal that was undergoing abrupt political and socioeconomic changes in early seventies. David analyzes links between social phenomena in the Portuguese society (including democratization) to the experiences of displacement and attempts at social integration. According to David, “Portugal provides an example of how a state decided to forget its colonial past and the visible remnants of that past – its settlers.” Such strategic forgetting was deemed as essential for democratic transition.

Strategic forgetting is also the core of Violeta Davoliūtė’s article about the Jewish memories of 1941 deportations from Soviet Lithuania. In the past, Lithuania’s experiences of Stalinist repressions and deportations were described as “genocide,” first by the Lithuanian diaspora in the West, and later by the Lithuanian nation-state. Davoliūtė traces how deportations are remembered by Lithuania’s Jews (who also experienced Stalinist deportations in 1941), thus opening a space for connective memory between the groups whose memories are often seen as competitive and diametrically opposing. Davoliūtė’s contribution also highlights the close personal connections between the deportees belonging to two different ethnic groups and describes cases of interethnic marriage between the deportees.

As a whole, this special issue opens what we believe are promising avenues for the study of memory and trauma in the global context. Instead of assuming that traumatic memories are sources of division in the “global marketplace of trauma” (Tomsky, 2011) the contributions suggest that it is possible to conceptualize them as part of “a shared human vulnerability” (Auchter’s term; see her contribution in this issue) or part of a “shareable story” (Husanović’s

term; see her contribution in this issue) that transcends national and regional borders. Several contributions suggest specific ways of developing theoretical connective approaches to the study of traumatic memory. Husanović's article highlights the importance of understanding resistance strategies to "securitization of life" by states through a feminist lens, especially in contexts affected by collective trauma (war), and the ways to develop "affective solidarity" against terror. Resende's essay points to the importance of technology in creation of "instant affiliations among strangers." Davoliūtė's contribution demonstrates the importance of resisting strategic forgetting and shows how discourses about displacement can connect different ethnic groups who are usually portrayed as embracing opposing traumatic memories. Hopefully, in the future, such connective approaches to the study of memory will challenge hierarchies embedded in the study of national memories and help to understand memory work pursued by non-state actors that have become increasingly important in producing local and transnational memories.

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