

THE POLITICS OF MEMORY

GOVT 81.02

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From Israel to the Balkans, from Germany to Japan, at the core of a group or state's identity are the heroes and villains, mistakes and triumphs that it chooses to commemorate. These memories are often incompatible with or antagonistic toward the way others remember similar events. Scholars argue that remembrance of past violence affects domestic political stability and democratization. They also argue that memory is a potentially powerful cause of wars. This course examines the politics of memory within and between several different countries, including South Africa, the Balkans, Japan, Germany, Israel, France, and the United States.

Readings

Readings are drawn from academic journals, the popular press, and book excerpts. Readings are available on Blackboard and in two assigned books (available on reserve at Baker Library or at Wheelock Books):

Jeffrey Herf, *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanys* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997).

Peter Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1999).

Requirements

Students are required to do the readings for each class, to attend class, and to participate in class discussions. Each student will be assigned a class for which he or she is responsible for leading class discussion. In one session, students will be divided into groups to argue alternate sides of a debate. At the end of the course, students do a short presentation about their papers to their classmates.

The major requirement for the course is a research paper. I assume students have either a country interest or a theoretical interest that will guide them as they select paper topics; I provide some suggested topics below. The paper is a substantial project that requires weeks of research and careful analysis, and weeks of careful writing and editing. Students are required to begin working on the paper at the beginning of the term. There are four deadlines that students must meet: 1) a proposed paper topic; 2) a literature review; 3) a well-developed, detailed outline; and 4) the final paper (due December 5). For your papers, be vigilant to avoid plagiarism. See <https://www.dartmouth.edu/~sources/index.html>.

The research paper (and preparatory assignments) will be worth 50 percent of your grade; class participation (including the debate and presentations) is worth 50 percent.

Class Meetings and Office Hours

The class meets in the 3A timeslot, Mondays, 3:00pm-4:50pm and Thursdays, 4:00-5:50pm. Students are required to be available for the X-hour (Mon 5:00-5:50pm). We will frequently meet during the X-hour for a long class on Mondays (4-5:50pm). In such weeks, there will be no Thursday meeting. Office hours are Thurs, 1:30-3:30pm in 203 Silsby.

Assignment Due Dates

Proposed paper topics	Thurs Oct 5
Literature Review	Thurs Oct 19 (no class that day; due in Lind box in Silsby 5pm)
Detailed paper outlines	Thurs Nov 9
Student Presentations	Mon Nov 20 and Mon Nov 27
Research Paper	Tues Dec 5, due in Gov't Department office (by 5pm)

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Course Schedule and Reading List

(* denotes Monday class held with X-hour, 3-5:50pm)

I. INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

THURS, September 21

**Introduction to Course
Theories, Paradigms, and Levels of Analysis**

Stephen Walt, "International Relations: One World, Many Theories," *Foreign Policy* (Spring 1998), pp. 29-47.

***MON, September 25
3-5:50pm**

Identity: Primordial or Constructed?

Robert D. Kaplan, "A Reader's Guide to the Balkans," *New York Times Book Review*, April 18, 1993.
Noel Malcolm, "Seeing Ghosts," *National Interest* (Summer 1993), pp. 83-88.
V.P. Gagnon, "Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict: the Case of Serbia," *International Security*, Vol 19, No. 3 (Winter 1994/95), pp. 130-166.
Benjamin Valentino, *Final Solutions* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), pp. 43-46.

In class: watch and discuss PBS Frontline Documentary: "A Class Divided"
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/divided/etc/view.html>

**MON, October 2
3-4:50pm**

Memory, Identity, and Patriotism

John Bodnar, "Public Memory in an American City," in John R. Gillis, ed., *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1994), pp. 74-89.
Robert Gildea, "Echoes of the Occupation," in *France Since 1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), Chapter 3 (pp. 56-72).
Wilcomb E. Washburn, "The Smithsonian and the Enola Gay," *National Interest* (Summer 1995).
Lynne V. Cheney, "The End of History," *Wall Street Journal*, October 20, 1994, p. A22
"History Lessons," *The Economist*, November 3, 2001.

THURS, October 5

How to Write a Paper

Due in class: paper topics
Read: Jennifer Lind, "Apologies in International Politics" (manuscript)

**MON, October 9
3-4:50pm**

Memory, Nationalism, and Conquest

Barry R. Posen, "Nationalism, the Mass Army, and Military Power," *International Security*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (Fall 1993), pp. 80-124.
Toshio Nishi, "An Overview of Prewar Japan," in Nishi, *Unconditional Democracy: Education and Politics in Occupied Japan, 1945-1952* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1982).

Stephen Van Evera, "Primed for Peace: Europe After the Cold War," *International Security*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (Winter 1990/91), pp. 7-57. Read introduction, "Hypernationalism and its Myths and Misperceptions"; and "German Aggression".

THURS, October 12

Memory, Liberalism, and Changing Norms

- John M. Owen, "How Liberalism Produces Democratic Peace," *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (Fall 1994), Excerpt, pp. 87-101.
- Stephen Van Evera, "Why States Believe Foolish Ideas: Non-Self-Evaluation by Government and Society," Unpublished Manuscript, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, January 2002.
- Chaim Kaufman, "Threat Inflation and the Marketplace of Ideas: The Selling of the Iraq War," *International Security*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Summer 2004), pp. 5-48.
- Edward D. Mansfield and Jack Snyder, "Democratization and War," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 74, No. 3 (May/June 1995), pp.79-98.
- Paul M. Kennedy, "The Decline of Nationalistic History in the West, 1900-1970," *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (January 1973), pp. 77-100.

II. CASE STUDIES

***MON, October 16**
3-5:50pm

German Memory of World War II

Read ONE of the following:

- Robert G. Moeller, "War Stories: the Search for a Usable Past in the Federal Republic of Germany," *American Historical Review*, Vol. 101, No. 4 (October 1996), pp. 1008-1047.
- Elizabeth Heineman, "The Hour of the Woman: Memories of Germany's 'Crisis Years' and West German National Identity," *American Historical Review*, Vol. 101, No. 2 (April 1996), pp. 354-395.

Read ALL of the following:

- Jeffrey Herf, *Divided Memory*, pp. 106-116, pp. 162-200 (East Germany)
- Jeffrey Herf, *Divided Memory*, pp. 334-372 (West Germany)
- W.E. Sebald, "A Natural History of Destruction," *The New Yorker*, November 4, 2002, pp. 66-77.
- Siobhan Kattago, "Representing German Victimhood and Guilt: the *Neue Wache* and Unified German Memory," *German Politics and Society*, Vol. 16, no. 3 (Fall 1998), 86-104.
- Josef Joffe, "Goldhagen in Germany," *The New York Review of Books*, November 28, 1996, pp. 18-21.

In Class: Video, "The Nasty Girl" (Das schreckliche Mädchen)

MON, October 23
3-4:50pm

Remembering and Forgetting in Japan

- John Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, pp. 443-484.
- Steven T. Benfell, "Why Can't Japan Apologize? Institutions and War Memory Since 1945," *Harvard Asia Quarterly* (Spring 2002).
- Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform, *The Restoration of A National History*.
- Saburo Ienaga, "The Glorification of War in Japanese Education," *International Security*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (Winter 1993/94), pp. 113-133.

THURS, October 26

The History Problem in East Asia

- Thomas Berger, "The Construction of Antagonism: the History Problem in Japan's Foreign Relations," in John K. Ikenberry and Takashi Inoguchi, *Reinventing the Alliance: U.S.-Japan Security Partnership in an Era of Change* (Palgrave, 2003).

Han Sung Joo, "Japanese Textbooks: Stop Being Offensive to Neighbors," *International Herald Tribune*, July 18, 2001.

Lee Joo-hee, "Japan's Textbook Changed for Worse," *Korea Herald*, April 2, 2005.

"Drawing Yasukuni's Sting," *Economist*, August 19, 2006, p. 10.

Lexis-Nexis Search on Yasukuni Shrine

In class: Debate: Japan and the Yasukuni Shrine

***MON, October 30** **Constructing Holocaust Memory**
3-5:50pm

Alex Sagan, "An Optimistic Icon: Anne Frank's Canonization in Postwar Culture," *German Politics and Society*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (Fall 1995), pp. 95-107.

Peter Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1999).
Chapters 4 and 5
Chapter 6 (pp. 112-123)
Chapter 7 (pp. 128-134)

In Class: PBS Frontline Documentary: "The Trial of Adolph Eichmann"

MON, November 6 **Transitional Justice**
3-4:50pm

M. Cherif Bassiouni, "Searching for Peace and Achieving Justice: the Need for Accountability," *Law and Contemporary Problems*, Vol. 59, No. 4 (1997), pp. 9-28.

Elizabeth Kiss, "Moral Ambition Within and Beyond Political Constraints: Reflections on Restorative Justice," in Robert I. Rotberg and Dennis Thompson, eds. *Truth v. Justice: the Morality of Truth Commissions* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 68-98.

Jack Snyder and Leslie Vinjamuri, "Trials and Errors: Principle and Pragmatism in Strategies of International Justice," *International Security*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (Winter 2003), pp. 5-44.

Samuel P. Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), pp. 211-231.

THURS, November 9 **Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa**

Michael Ignatieff, "Digging Up the Dead," *New Yorker*, November 10, 1997, pp. 84-93.

In-Class Video followed by discussion: "A Long Night's Journey into Day"

Due In Class: Detailed Paper Outlines

Week of November 13: ****Student meetings (no class)****

MON, November 20 **Student Presentations**
3-4:50pm **How to Write a Paper (#2)**

THURS, November 23 ****Thanksgiving Holiday (no class)****

MON, November 27 **Student Presentations**
3-4:50pm

SAMPLE PAPER TOPICS

1) Explain the evolution of remembrance within a given country. What factors made a country more or less willing to confront its past?

a. Offer a theory that explains the evolution of remembrance, and present evidence for your theory.

**Important: deal with competing explanations for your case.

OR

b. Test two or more hypotheses against one another: for example, has remembrance in the state been most influenced by domestic political forces, or by international forces? By changes in a country's threat environment or by changing international norms?

2) Does mythmaking or nationalistic/patriotic remembrance in one state alarm other states (or groups)? And conversely, does truth-telling serve as a confidence-building measure that reduces fears in other states or groups?

3) Calls for justice (truth commissions, legal prosecutions, apologies, reparations) have grown more frequent around the world since the mid-20th century. The writing of history has grown less nationalistic and more oriented toward truth rather than raw nationalism. How widespread is this trend? What caused it?

4) Explain the domestic political economy of memory within a given state (Japan, USA, Germany, etc.). Who are the powerful blocs of voters, and what kind of remembrance do they favor? Do they always get their way? If not, under what circumstances?

5) Using evidence from previous cases, write a report to the United Nations advising it about what we know about when and if truth commissions should be held, and how they should be structured.

6) Write a briefing for President Bush advising him on how to handle the issue of justice in postwar Iraq. Your analysis should discuss policies related to legal prosecutions, the writing of history textbooks, commemoration, reparations, etc.

7) Does mythmaking or nationalistic/patriotic remembrance or propaganda make war-fighting more ferocious, more lethal? (Test against competing explanations for greater ferocity.)

8) As a state mobilizes for war, how does remembrance of past violence factor into domestic political propaganda?

a. Identify common themes/myths and show how different states use them to mobilize their populations.

OR

b. Compare recent examples (Falklands War, Persian Gulf I and II) with earlier cases (British propaganda before WWI; propaganda in Nazi Germany). Do you see differences in the use of propaganda based on differences in time (WWII versus today) or type of state (democratic vs. authoritarian)?

9) Is mythmaking less common within democratic states? What is the deductive logic and empirical evidence linking candid remembrance to the democratic peace?