

## GOVERNMENT 81.2: THE POLITICS OF MEMORY

**DARTMOUTH COLLEGE**  
**SPRING 2005**

**PROFESSOR JENNIFER LIND**  
**209 SILSBY, 646-2026**

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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 three assigned books (available on reserve at Baker/Berry Library or at local or online booksellers):

Robert J. Art and Robert Jervis, eds., *International Politics: Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues*, 7<sup>th</sup> edition (New York: Longman, 2003).

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 one or two classes for which he or she is responsible for leading class discussion. In two sessions, students will be divided into groups to present alternate sides of a debate.

In addition to the class participation assignments, 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 quarter. There are four deadlines that students must meet along the path to complete their papers: 1) a proposed paper topic; 2) a literature review; 3) a well-developed, detailed outline; and 4) the final paper (due June 2). For your papers, be vigilant about avoiding plagiarism and respecting the Dartmouth Honor Code; for more information see <http://www.dartmouth.edu/~sources/>.

The research paper will be worth 50 percent of your grade; the preparatory assignments for the research paper are worth 15 per cent; class participation (including debates) is worth 35 percent.

### Class Meetings and Office Hours

The class meets in the 2A timeslot, Tu-Th 2:00pm to 3:50pm. X-Hour is Wednesdays at 4:15-5:05pm. We will occasionally meet during the X-hour, so be sure to leave that time slot open. I will hold office hours in 209 Silsby Hall on Wednesdays, 3:00-5:00.

### Assignment Due Dates

Tu April 14	Proposed paper topics due
Tu Apr 26	Literature Review due
Wed May 11	Detailed outlines due (X-hour session)
Th June 2	Research Paper due in Gov't Department office (5pm)

## GOVERNMENT 81.2: THE POLITICS OF MEMORY CLASS SCHEDULE AND READING LIST

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### I. INTRODUCTION

**March 29**            **Introduction to Course  
Theories, Paradigms, and Levels of Analysis**

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

**March 31**            **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>

**April 5**                **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.

*Also read ONE of the following:*

David B. Morris, "Bitburg Revisited: Germany's Search for Normalcy," *German Politics and Society*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (Winter 1995), pp. 92-109.

Holger Herwig, "Clio Deceived: Patriotic Self-Censorship in Germany After the Great War," *International Security*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (Fall 1987).

### II. CASE STUDIES

**April 7**                **Constructing Holocaust Memory**

VIDEO: PBS Frontline Documentary: "The Trial of Adolf Eichmann" (On reserve at Jones Media Center)

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)

**April 12            West German Memory**

- W.E. Sebald, "A Natural History of Destruction," *The New Yorker*, November 4, 2002, pp. 66-77.  
Jeffrey Herf, *Divided Memory*, Chapter 9, pp. 334-372.  
Yasemin Nuhoglu Soysal, "Identity and Transnationalism in German School Textbooks," *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (1998), pp. 53-61.

*Also 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.

**April 14            Memory in Unified Germany**

- Herf, *Divided Memory*, pp. 106-116; pp. 162-200.  
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.  
James E. Young, "Berlin's Holocaust Memorial," *German Politics and Society*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (Fall 1999), pp. 54-70.  
Josef Joffe, "Goldhagen in Germany," *The New York Review of Books*, November 28, 1996, pp. 18-21.

**April 19            Remembering (and forgetting) in Japan**

- John Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, pp. 443-484.  
Steven T. Benfoll, "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.

**III. PART THREE: MEMORY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**April 21            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, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1982), Chapter 1. (pp. 6-22)  
Elie Podeh, "History and Memory in the Israeli Education System: The Portrayal of the Arab-Israeli Conflict in History Textbooks (1948-2000)," *History & Memory*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Spring/Summer 2000), pp. 65-100.  
Ethan Bronner, "Israel's History Textbooks Replace Myths with Facts," *New York Times*, August 14, 1999.

**April 26            Remembrance and Threat Perception**

- John J. Mearsheimer, "Anarchy and the Struggle for Power," in Art and Jervis, pp. 50-60.  
Robert Jervis, "Offense, Defense, and the Security Dilemma," in Art and Jervis, pp. 180-199.  
Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy is What States Make of It," in Art and Jervis, pp. 61-69.  
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".



**May 17           \*\*NO CLASS: Student Meetings\*\***

**May 19           The Case for Amnesties**

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.

*In Class; How to Write a Paper (II)*

**May 24           South African TRC**

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"*

**May 26           In-Class Debate: Justice in Postwar Iraq**

Lexis-Nexis Search

Jon Lee Anderson, "Out on the Street," *New Yorker*, November 15, 2004, pp. 72-79.

Ian Buruma, "How Iraq Can Get Over Its Past," *New York Times*, May 9, 2003.

**May 31           Presentations and Discussions of Research Papers  
Summing Up**

## Sample Research Paper Topics

- 1) Explain remembrance, or 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 a country's strategic situation or by 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-20<sup>th</sup> 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) Do changes in international norms (actions of transnational networks, NGOs, United Nations, etc.) affect a country or group's willingness to pursue justice for human rights violations?
- 8) Does mythmaking or nationalistic/patriotic remembrance or propaganda make war-fighting more ferocious, more lethal? (Test against competing explanations for greater ferocity.)
- 9) 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)?
- 10) Is mythmaking less common within democratic states? What is the deductive logic and empirical evidence linking candid remembrance to the democratic peace?