

IR 499: Historical Memory, Identity, and International Politics

Fall 2024

Monday/Wednesday 3:30-4:50

THH 217

Dr. Douglas Becker

DMC 231C

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Office Hours: Monday/Wednesday 5:00-7:00 and by appointment

Resting firmly in the politics of the emotive and emotional, historical memory is a vastly growing field in international relations. Political actors cite historical events as justification for policies. This historical memory serves as an important guidepost for state identity, which is a concept firmly rooted in constructivist literature. This course examines the ways in which historical memory are created, cited, contested, redefined, and entrenched. It considers the role of multiple audiences, the process of legitimation of state action in a political community, and international relations as rooted in the social. It will introduce students to this growing area within the field, inviting them to consider the general impact of the historical and emotive in contrast (or in conjunction) with the traditional variables of material benefits and interests (within realism) and institutionalism and institutional settings (liberalism).

We will begin the course considering definitions of historical memory with a survey of literature in both sociology and historiography, as well as international relations. Constructivism is, at its core, the introduction of the social in the international sphere. But rather than take the variable of image as endogenous, this course will examine how images are created, altered, and contested as historical developments. Political actors will act based on this identity and their preservation of their sense of self, or what Brent Steele calls "Ontological Security." And actors are prepared to use force to counter any attempts to alter this identity, or what Maria Malksoo calls "Mnemonic Security." We will explore these conceptions of security in greater detail and examine the definition of security. This challenges realism, in their security-centric discourses, to engage in a greater empirical analysis of how states and states leaders conceptualize security. Then we will move to specific cases, travelling throughout the world to consider the impact of memory. In these cases, we examine how memories become contested. We examine the "inside-out" and "outside-in" contestations that create what Dovile Budryte calls "trauma dramas." We will demonstrate how theorizing about memory can enrich the empirical analyses of the specific cases of conflict worldwide. It will highlight how to conceptualize and operationalize memory as a variable in explaining conflict.

The goals of the course are as follows:

1. Understand the importance of identity in the formulation of foreign policy and state preferences internationally
2. Operationalize identity by demonstrating the role of history in identity formation
3. Demonstrate how history is malleable by exploring how contemporary actors alter histories to create narratives that fit current perceptions of identity
4. Explore how these narrative contestations can lead to specific conflicts, in particular in instances where an identity and a memory falls into existential threats and creating mnemonical insecurity
5. Consider the different methods for memory alteration, with an eye toward popular approaches such as film and literature and its impacts on domestic and global publics

- Analyze attempts at memory consolidation and the setting of memories as consistent and accepted by global publics, with consequences for attempts at alterations

The grades for this course are as follows:

2 short papers	15% each
Research paper	30%
final	30%
in-class presentation	5%
class participation	5%

Historical memory's greatest value is in its explanatory power over what might appear to be less than rational policies of states in driving conflict with its neighbors. Students will conduct research examining the impact of historical memory in a case of the student's choosing, in consultation with the instructor. They will consider how memory is invoked, contested, and altered in support of state policies. This 8,000 word paper is best considered a case study in historical memory, or in demonstrating a broader theoretical argument in understanding memory. I will give a more detailed paper prompt during the semester to provide greater guidance for the paper. All topics are subject to my approval. In lieu of a mid-term, students will write 2 short 2500 word papers. One of the topics is how memory entrepreneurs have attempted to alter historical memory (and the contestations attached to it). The other will focus on a case where media represents history and affects historical memory. Students each will take a class and lead us in the discussion. I intend this to be a roughly 10 minute synopsis of reading and then lead the discussions for the course meeting. The course also has scheduled an in-class final. The class participation grade has multiple components, including of course attendance. Students must also prepare readings before class, participate in each discussion, and demonstrate knowledge of the reading assignments. This is a seminar-style course, with its size. It will be conducted as such and requires active participation of each student. The penalty for all late work is 5 points a day (including weekends) so be on time with assignments. ONLY UNIVERSITY SANCTIONED EXCUSES WILL BE ACCEPTED FOR LATE WORK. Please consult the Trojan integrity Guide and the Undergraduate Guide for Avoiding Plagiarism (both can be accessed through the Student Affairs website) for guidelines. When in doubt, come in and talk with me about an issue.

The books for this class are as follows:

Jelin, Elizabeth. **State Repression and the Labors of Memory**. University of Minnesota Press, 2003, ISBN: 9780816642847

Schivelbush, Wolfgang. **The Culture of Defeat: On National Trauma, Mourning, and Recovery**. Picador, 2004, ISBN: 978-0312423193

Plus numerous readings on Brightspace

Part 1:

Introduction

August

26: Introductions, Hand out syllabi

28: **Historical Memory: An Introduction**

Dovile Budryte and Erica Resende, "Introduction" from Trauma and Memory in International Relations p 1-13, **Brightspace**

Douglas Becker, "Memory and Trauma as Elements of Foreign Policy" from Trauma and Memory in International Relations p 57-73, **Brightspace**

Pierre Nora. "Between History and Memory: Les Lieux de Memoire." Representations, No. 26, Special Issue: Memory and Counter -Memory (Spring, 1989), pp. 7-24 **Brightspace**

Maria Malksoo "The Politics of Memory" Handbook of Memory Chapter 1, pgs 1-16 **Brightspace**

Kathrin Bachleitner, Collective Memory in International Relations. "Introduction", "Memory and State Behaviour" Chapter 4, pgs 1-11, 87-119 **Brightspace**

September

2: No class, Labor Day

Part 2:

Historical Memory in International Relations Theory

4: **Foundations of Ontological Security**

Brent Steele, Ontological Security in International Relations: Self-Identity and the IR State. Pgs 1-25 (Introduction), **Brightspace**

Jelena Subotic and Brent Steele, "Moral Injury in International Relations." **Journal of Global Security Studies**, Volume 3, Issue 4, October 2018, Pages 387–401 **Brightspace**

Ted Hopf "The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations" International Security, 1998, pgs 71-100 **On Blackboard**

Filip Edjus. "Ontological Security and the Politics of Memory in International Relations." Handbook of Memory Chapter 3, pgs 31-45 **Brightspace**

Kathrin Bachleitner, "Ontological security as temporal security? The role of 'significant historical others' in world politics." International Relations (2021) 1-23, **Brightspace**

9: **Fighting to Defend Memory: Mnemonic Security**

Maria Malksoo, "Memory Must Be Defended: Beyond the Politics of Mnemonic Security." Security Dialogue. Volume 46, Number 3, (2015) 221-237 **Brightspace**

Dovile Budryte, Erica Resende, and Douglas Becker. "Defending Memory:" Exploring the Relationship Between Mnemonic In/Security and Crisis in Global Politics." Interdisciplinary Political Studies Journal. 2020, pgs 5-19 **Brightspace**

Susan Banki. "Contesting Memories in and of Bhutan: Diaspora Radio as a Mnemonic Challenge." **Defending Memory in Global Politics: Mnemonic In/Security and Crisis (Forthcoming) Brightspace**

Seinenu M. Thien-Lemelson. "When Memory Is *Not* Defended: Precarity and Political Imprisonment in Burma" **Defending Memory in Global Politics: Mnemonic In/Security and Crisis (Forthcoming) Brightspace**

11: **Memory as Trauma and Trauma as Identity**

Jenny Edkins, "Introduction" and "War Memorials and Remembrance" Trauma and the Memory of Politics, pgs 1-19, 57-110, **Brightspace**

Adam Lerner "Theorizing Collective Trauma." From the Ashes of History: Collective Trauma and the Making of International Politics pgs 25-63 **Brightspace**

Adam Lerner "The Politics of Trauma and Victimhood" Handbook of Memory. Chapter 10, pgs 147-162 **Brightspace**

Part 3: **The Agents and Techniques of Memory**

16: **Memorialization and Memory**

Jay Winter, "War Memorials and the Mourning Process." Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning" pgs 78-116 **Brightspace**

Radonic, Ljiljana. "The politics of commemoration and memorialization" Handbook of Memory Chapter 9, pgs 130-146 **Brightspace**

Charlotte Heath-Kelly. "Memorial sites: siting and sighting memory" Handbook of Memory. **Brightspace**

Akiko Takenaka "Introduction" and "Institutionalizing Grief" Yasukuni Shrine: History, Memory, and Japan's Unending Postwar. Pgs 1-22, 94-120 **Brightspace**

18: **Memory and Film**

Pierre Sorlin "How to Look at an Historical Film" Historical Film pgs 25-49 **On Brightspace**

Robert Rosenstone, "The Historical Film: Looking at the Past in a Postliterate Age." Historical Film. pgs 50-66 **Brightspace**

Alison Landsberg "Film, television, and the politics of memory in post-postracial America" Handbook of Memory **Brightspace**

Catherine Masud and Armen Sarsoobian "The Power of Personal Archives in Witnessing, Teaching, and Visual Storytelling: The Armenian Memory Project." Journal of Human Rights Practices. (2023) pgs 1-16 **Brightspace**

23: **Truth Commissions, Public Apologies and State Identity**

Priscilla Hayner, Unspeakable Truths chapters 1, 6 10, 12, p 1-9, 72-85, 154-169, 183-205 **Brightspace**

Elazar Barkan, The Guilt of Nations Chapter 10-11, 232-282 **Brightspace**

Erin Wilson and Roland Bleiker, from Trauma and Memory in International Relations "Performing Political Apologies" p. 42-56 **Brightspace**

25: **Who is responsible for memory: the role of the Memory Entrepreneur**

Elizabeth Jelin, chapters 1-3, 7, conclusion pgs 1-45, 89-105

Douglas Becker, "Memory Entrepreneurship and the Reagan Legacy Project: Partisanship, Misinterpretation, Manipulation" **Brightspace**

Laure Neumayer. "Agents of Memory Politics." Handbook of Memory. Pgs 116-129 **Brightspace**

Hajar Yazdiha, "Making Collective Memory" and "Mobilizing Collective Memory" The Struggle for the People's King pgs 20-72 **Brightspace**

30: **Memory through the Gendered Lens**

Elizabeth Jelin, Chapters 4-6, pgs 46-88

Elizabeth Jelin, Building a Research Field: Memory and Gender in Latin American Social Sciences. The Struggle for the Past. Pgs 37-53 **Brightspace**

Dovile Budrtye "Gender, War and Remembrance: "Heroic Subjects" in Lithuania's Fighting and Suffering Narratives" **Defending Memory in Global Politics: Mnemonical In/Security and Crisis (Forthcoming) Brightspace**

Esther Margarita Arias Cuentas. "Women and Historical Memory, Activism Instead of Silence." *Anale Universitatii Bucuresti Stiinte politice* 2018 Vol XX (2) p 105-122 **Brightspace**

Part 4:

The Lost Cause and the Culture of Defeat

October

- 2: Memory and Defeat: How do Losing Countries Craft War Stories
Wolfgang Schivelbusch, The Culture of Defeat p 1-36, 189-288

Paper 1 on Memory Entrepreneurs due

- 7: **The US Civil War in American Memory: Contestation and Renewal**

The American South: Vestiges of the American Confederacy
Wolfgang Schivelbusch, The Culture of Defeat, pgs 37-101

Gary Edgerton. "Ken Burns Rebirth of a Nation." Historical Film. pgs 303-315
Brightspace

Douglas Becker, "Memory Contestation and Violence: The Battle over the US Civil War Narrative and Contemporary Racial Discourse." **Defending Memory in Global Politics: Mnemonical In/Security and Crisis (Forthcoming) Brightspace**

- 9: **Remembering and Forgetting in the Balkans**

Orli Fridman **Memory Activism and Digital Practices after Conflict: Unwanted Memories** Chapter 1 and Chapter 5, pgs 37-70; 161-195 **Brightspace**

Radina Vučetić "Kosovo 1989: The (Ab)use of the Kosovo Myth in Media and Popular Culture" Comparative. Southeast European Studies. 2021; **69(2-3): 223-243. Brightspace**

Paul Cohen, "The Battle of Kosovo of 1389 and Serbian Nationalism." **History and Popular Memory: The Power of Story in Moments of Crisis**. Pgs 1-32
Brightspace

Part 5:

Memory Driving Conflict

- 14: The Shoah as Historical Memory
Mariam Bratu Hansen. "Schindler's List is not the Shoah." Historical Film. pgs 201-217 **Brightspace**

Tom Segev, The Seventh Million p 423-517 **Brightspace**

Jelena Subotic, Yellow Star, Red Star. Pgs 17-44 **Brightspace**

Jelena Subotic "The Holocaust and the Global Politics of Memory." Handbook of Memory. Pgs 321-333 **Brightspace**

16: **Israeli Independence Day and the Nakba**

Yael Zerubavel "Patriotic Sacrifice and the Burden of Memory in Israeli Secular National Hebrew Culture." Memory and Violence. Pgs 73-102 **Brightspace**

Gabriel Piterberg "Can the Subaltern Remember? A Pessimistic View of the Victims of Zionism." Memory and Violence. **Brightspace**

Nadia Abu El-Haj. "Archaeology, Nationhood, and Settlement." Memory and Violence. Pgs 215-234 **Brightspace**

Nur Masalha, The Palestinian Nakba, pgs 88-120, 205-257 **Brightspace**

21: **The Memory of the Partition and Memory Politics in South Asia**

Pippa Virdee, From the Ashes of 1947: Reimagining Punjab. Preface, Chapter 1 and 10, pgs xv-xxi, 2-19, 208-231 **Blackboard**

Belkacem Belmekki "The Perpetuation of Muslim–Hindu Divide in British India Through the (Ab)Use of Historical Memory" Journal of Asian and African Studies. 1-15 **Brightspace**

Christiane Hartnack "Roots and Routes: The Partition of British India In Indian Social Memories." Journal of Historical Sociology. (2012) pgs 244-260 **Brightspace**

Shubh Mathur "Memory and Hope: New Perspectives on the Kashmir Conflict." Race and Class 2014, pgs 4-12 **Brightspace**

23: **Russian History and the "Memory Makers"**

Jade McGlynn, **Memory Makers: The Politics of the Past in Putin's Russia**. Chapters 2, 4 Pgs 29-50; 103-126, **Brightspace**

Kathleen Smith. Remembering Stalin's Victims: Popular Memory and the End of the USSR. Chapter 9, pgs 194-209 **Brightspace**

Ekaterine Haskins. "Remembering the war, forgetting Stalin's repressions: appeals to family memory in contemporary Russia" Handbook of Memory. Pgs 362-376. **Brightspace**

Douglas Becker, "The Rationality and Emotion of Russian Historical Memory: The Case of Crimea" in Crisis and Change in Post-Cold War Politics: The Case of Crimea. Pgs 43-68 **Brightspace**

28: Post-Soviet Cases and Ukraine
Jade McGlynn, Memory Makers: The Politics of the Past in Putin's Russia.
Chapter 3 pgs 51-102 **Brightspace**

Serhy Yekelchuk, "Soviet National Patriots" Stalin's Empire of Memory. Pgs 13-32 **Brightspace**

Ghosts of Periaslav

Serhii Plokhyy, "Introduction" and "Ghosts of Periaslav" Ukraine and Russia, pgs 19-65; 90-112 **Brightspace**

Part 6: **Memory and Conflict in East Asia**

30: **Strategic Remembering and Strategic Forgetting in China**

Zheng Wang, Never Forget National Humiliation: Historical Memory in Chinese Politics and Foreign Relations Pgs 1-70 **Brightspace**

Louisa Lim, The People's Republic of Amnesia p 157-212, **Brightspace**

Dominic Meng-Hsuan Yang. The Great Exodus from China: Trauma Memory and Identity in Modern Taiwan. Chapter 1, pgs 40-85 **Brightspace**

November 4: Strategic Remembering and Strategic Forgetting in Japan
John Dower, "An Aptitude for Being Unloved" Ways of Forgetting, Ways of Remembering pgs 105-135 **Brightspace**

John Dower, "The Bombed: Hiroshimas and Nagasakis in Japanese Memory." Ways of Forgetting, Ways of Remembering pgs 136-175 **Brightspace**

Alexander Bukh, "Japan's History Textbook Debates" Asian Survey p 693-704 **Brightspace**

Hiro Saito. The Politics of War Commemoration in East Asia. Introduction and Chapter 6, pgs 1-19, 155-177 **Brightspace**

6: Japanese Memory and Gender in Asia: The Comfort Women Discourses
Sino-Japanese Relations and Historical Memory

C. Sarah Soh. The Comfort Women. Chapters 4-6, 145-225 **Brightspace**

Elazar Barkan "Sex Slaves, Comfort Women and Japanese Guilt" The Guilt of Nations p 46-64 **Brightspace**

11: Veterans Day, No class

Part 7:

Memory in Europe

13: **Memory from the perspective of the perpetrator: The Case of Germany**
Maja Zehfuss, The Wounds of Memory p 1-31, 221-266, **Brightspace**

Kathrin Bachleitner, "Memory as Political Strategy." Collective Memory in International Relations Pgs 37-64 **Brightspace**

18: Nostalgia, Memory, and British Identity

Owen Hatherley **The Ministry of Nostalgia** Introduction and Chapter 1 pgs 1-42
Brightspace

Tom Bentley, 'Culture war': the contradictions of conservative representations in the mnemonic battle over the British Empire. Handbook of Memory pgs 334-348 **Brightspace**

20: **Strategic Remembering the Strategic Forgetting: The Modern Turkish State and the Armenian Genocide**

Brent Sasley, "Remembering and Forgetting in Turkish Identity" from Trauma and Memory in International Relations p 138-152 **Brightspace**

Taner Akcam A Shameful Act p 303-348 **Brightspace**

Taner Akcim The Young Turks. Pgs 373-447 **Brightspace**

David Leupold. Embattled Dreamlands: The Politics of Contesting Armenian, Kurdish, and Turkish Memory. Introduction, Chapter 1, Conclusion, pgs 1-30, 224-240 **Brightspace**

Paper #2 on Media and Memory Due

Part 8:

Post-Colonial Resistance and Memory

25: Military Rule and Resistance in Latin America

Erica Resende and Izadora Xavier do Monte, "Speaking for the dead in Brazil: how the subaltern defend the memory of the dead in a militarized context of law enforcement" **Defending Memory in Global Politics: Mnemonical In/Security and Crisis (Forthcoming)** **Brightspace**

Henrique Tavares Furtado. "From the 'victim societies' to the 'societies of victimisation': the memory of military atrocities in South America." Handbook of Memory. Pgs 377-389 **Brightspace**

Elizabeth Jelin. "Victims, Relatives, or Citizens? Whose Voices Are Legitimate Enough?" The Struggle for the Past pgs 137-154 **Brightspace**

Michael J Bustamante "Anniversary Overload? Memory Fatigue at Cuba's Social Apex" Cuban Memory Wars. Pgs 155-178 **Brightspace**

27: Thanksgiving, no class

December 2: **Post-Colonial Memory in Africa**

Sakiru Adebayo, Continuous Pasts: Frictions of Memory in Postcolonial Africa (African Perspectives) pgs 1-47, 96-125 **Brightspace**

Mohamed Hajii Ingiriis "Southern Somalia's "Glorious Days Are Our Nightmare": The Performance of Political Memory and Contestations of Commemoration in Northern Somalia (Somaliland). The Politics of Historical Memory and Commemoration in Africa. Pgs 107-140 **Brightspace**

Casper Anderson "A "Quest for Relevance": The Memory Politics of UNESCO's General History of Africa." The Politics of Historical Memory and Commemoration in Africa. Pgs 47-73 **Brightspace**

Final Projects Due

4: Memory as Hauntology
Jessica Auchter, the Politics of Memory and Haunting in International Relations, chapters 1 and 3, pgs 1-15; 46-88 **Brightspace**

Susan Thomson "Everyday Resistance to National Unity and Reconciliation" Whispering Truth to Power. Pgs 156-188 **Brightspace**

David Rieff, In Praise of Forgetting. Chapter 4, 8, pgs 60-93; 127-145 **Brightspace**

9: Optional Review Session for Final

Final Exam: Monday December 16, 2-4 pm

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<http://www.suicidepreventionlifeline.org>

Relationship & Sexual Violence Prevention Services (RSVP) - (213) 740-4900 - 24/7 on call Free and confidential therapy services, workshops, and training for situations related to gender-based harm.

<https://engemannshc.usc.edu/rsvp/> Sexual Assault Resource Center

For more information about how to get help or help a survivor, rights, reporting options, and additional resources, visit the website: <http://sarc.usc.edu/>

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Academic Conduct USC seeks to maintain an optimal learning environment. Students are expected to submit original work. They have an obligation both to protect their own work from misuse and to avoid using another's work as their own. All students are expected to understand and abide by the principles of academic honesty outlined in the University Student Conduct Code (see University Governance, Section 11.00) of SCampus (www.usc.edu/scampus or <http://scampus.usc.edu>). The recommended sanctions for academic integrity violations can be found in Appendix A of the Student Conduct Code.

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Students with Disabilities USC is committed to making reasonable accommodations to assist individuals with disabilities in reaching their academic potential. If you have a disability which may impact your performance, attendance, or grades in this course and require accommodations, you must first register with the Office of Disability Services and Programs (www.usc.edu/disability). DSP provides certification for students with disabilities and helps arrange the relevant accommodations. Any student requesting academic accommodations based on a disability is required to register with Disability Services and

Programs (DSP) each semester. A letter of verification for approved accommodations can be obtained from DSP. Please be sure the letter is delivered to me as early in the semester as possible. DSP is located in GFS (Grace Ford Salvatori Hall) 120 and is open 8:30 a.m.–5:00 p.m., Monday through Friday. The phone number for DSP is (213) 740-0776. Email: ability@usc.edu