Course Description:
This course examines some of the ways that history affects international affairs, including how policymakers in the US and elsewhere "learn" from the past to inform their current policy decisions and how they and others politicize the past for current goals. It also examines a variety of ways countries go about dealing with difficult aspects of their past.

What is history? How is it portrayed? Who decides how it is portrayed? How can we learn from it? How does it affect international affairs? How do political leaders deal with difficult parts of their country's history? What are the kinds of lessons policymakers tend to learn from history and why? Do historical analogies help or hinder policymaking? These are some of the core issues we will study in this course.

We will examine the interconnections between history, collective memory, and identity looking at cases from the U.S., Armenia, Turkey, Germany, Russia, Latin America, Japan, China, and elsewhere. We will study different ways countries handle atrocities from their past. History and politics come together in complicated ways in monuments, memorials, history textbooks, war crimes tribunals, and in truth and reconciliation commissions.

One of the most common ways people "learn" from history is by making analogies, such as: "Slobodan Milosevic or Saddam Hussein or Vladimir Putin or Al Qaeda terrorists are like Adolph Hitler, so we should follow the same hard-line strategy against them as we did against Hitler." We shall see that sometimes the historical analogies we make are correct and useful, but sometimes they can be very misleading. Thus, following the strategy that worked for the historical case may not work with the current case. We will examine the analogies policymakers have drawn to Versailles, Munich, Vietnam, and 9/11.

Learning Outcomes:
As a result of completing this course, students will be able to:
1. Develop a healthy appreciation for history and its imprint on our present world
2. Understand how historical narratives are shaped by states, organizations, and individuals
3. Analyze the interaction between history and politics when following the news and in examining historical cases
4. Identify the historical roots of current issues
5. Recognize the importance and uses of history in international policymaking
6. Understand the legacy of the past as it affects the ways different nations regard and interpret international affairs
7. Comprehend how historical analogies and reasoning impact politics
8. Appreciate how issues of identity and memory factor into our historical understandings and how this can condition political decision-making
9. Write and speak in a convincing way about interactions between history and politics in international affairs
10. Look at a memorial or a museum exhibit in a critical way

Requirements and Grading:
30% participation (meaning attendance AND participation in class discussion)
30% for three 3-page papers (double-spaced), all due at the start of class as marked on the syllabus (Jan. 28, Feb. 9 & March 8) and based on the assigned readings
40% 15-page research paper (double-spaced) due by Wednesday May 14 at 5 p.m. in my office (hard copy and must include notes and bibliography). The paper must have at least 15 sources and these must include scholarly and primary sources and not just journalistic accounts. Your paper should also draw directly on the concepts we discuss and read in the course. A short topic proposal for your research paper is due in class on March 1. An outline and preliminary bibliography are due by Apr. 5 by e-mail. See style guidelines under Projects in Blackboard.

Class policies:
- Attendance is required in this class. You must contact me in advance if you are going to miss a class.
- Phones, Blackberries, etc. are not permitted to be used in the classroom. They distract the person using them and others nearby from concentrating on the class.
- A laptop is permitted only to take notes—not to be surfing the web, checking e-mail or anything else.

Academic Integrity:
All work that you hand in for this class must be the product of your own labors for this class. I personally support the GW Code of Academic Integrity. It states: “Academic dishonesty is defined as cheating of any kind, including misrepresenting one's own work, taking credit for the work of others without crediting them and without appropriate authorization, and the fabrication of information.” For the remainder of the code, see: http://www.gwu.edu/~ntegrity/code.html

Support for Students Outside the Classroom:
DISABILITY SUPPORT SERVICES (DSS)
Any student who may need an accommodation based on the potential impact of a disability should contact the Disability Support Services office at 202-994-8250 in the Marvin Center, Suite 242, to establish eligibility and to coordinate reasonable accommodations. For additional information please refer to: http://gwired.gwu.edu/dss/

UNIVERSITY COUNSELING CENTER (UCC) 202-994-5300
The University Counseling Center (UCC) offers 24/7 assistance and referral to address students' personal, social, career, and study skills problems. Services for students include:
- crisis and emergency mental health consultations
- confidential assessment, counseling services (individual and small group), and referrals
  http://gwired.gwu.edu/counsel/CounselingServices/AcademicSupportServices

**Security:**
In the case of an emergency, if at all possible, the class should shelter in place. If the building that the class is in is affected, follow the evacuation procedures for the building. After evacuation, meet in the park across the street on E Street or another assigned rendezvous location.

**6 Books, Required Reading for Purchase:**

There will also be assigned articles accessible on Blackboard or the internet. BB=Blackboard on syllabus. **Check the class site on Blackboard regularly.** I also recommend reading the newspapers regularly, since topics relevant to the course are featured almost daily. I encourage students to forward relevant newspaper and journal articles to the class via Blackboard.

If you miss class, you must notify me in advance and complete a one-page paper summarizing and analyzing the readings for the class you miss.

Please come to each class with the readings for that day and prepared to discuss them.

**Jan. 12**  Introduction

**Jan. 19**  The Uses and Abuses of History

In class viewing of "Hiroshima: Why the Bomb Was Dropped"--ABC News documentary, narrated by Peter Jennings and aired on July 25, 1995, for the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II.

Hand-out of questions to be answered on the documentary.

**Jan. 28**  Hiroshima and the Enola Gay: The History and the Planned Smithsonian Exhibit of 1995 for the 50th Anniversary of the End of World War II
Karen de Witt, "Smithsonian Scales Back Exhibit Of Plane in Atomic Bomb Attack,"
Edward T. Linenthal and Tom Engelhardt, eds., History Wars: The Enola Gay and Other Battles for the American Past, Introduction, Ch. 1, and Ch’s 4-7.
Gar Alperovitz, "Hiroshima: Historians Reassess," Foreign Policy, No. 99 (Summer 1995), pp. 15-34. (access on-line via Gelman library’s Aladin database)

1st 3-page paper due at the start of class: Write a paper about how you would have exhibited the Enola Gay, justifying your planned exhibit. Also discuss your view of what you think is the duty of a museum in this case, considering historical vs. commemorative motives. Please do NOT recount for me what happened in the Smithsonian case; tell me how YOU would have handled the exhibit. Describe clearly what your exhibit would include, what you would “select” (concept from Davies’ article). Refer to the readings (just using parentheses with the author’s name is fine). The main part of your paper must be a description of your exhibit. See more guidelines on BB.

Feb. 2 Analogical Reasoning
Cases: Munich, Hitler, the Cold War, Stalin, Korea, Vietnam, 9/11, 2011 Arab Spring, Putin and the Crimea in 2014
Questions on the readings. BB
Neustadt and May, Thinking in Time, Ch's 1-5.
Articles on Iraq in 2002/03 & the analogy with the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962. BB
Articles on historical analogies for the 2011 Arab Spring. BB
Articles on analogy between Putin taking over the Crimea in 2014 and Hitler taking over the Sudetenland in 1938. BB

Feb. 9 Learning from History
2nd 3-page paper due at the beginning of class. Assignment up on BB.
Neustadt and May, Thinking in Time, Ch's 6-14.

Feb. 16 Russia and the Past, 1985-91, 2014
David Remnick, Lenin’s Tomb, Preface, Ch’s 1, 3, 4, 8, 9, 10, 15, 18, 20, 26, 27, and pp. 505-530 of Part V, and the Afterword, 531-542.
Chronology on Soviet/Russian history. BB
Questions on the readings. BB
Mikhail Gorbachev’s “history speech” of Nov. 2, 1987. BB
March 17, 1990 letter from Yegor Ligachev to Gorbachev, in Ligachev’s memoirs, Inside Gorbachev’s Kremlin (Pantheon Books, 1993), pp. 114-117. BB
Material on the May 2014 Russian law on the historical memory of World War II. BB
President Vladimir Putin’s speech referring to the historical justification for the Russian take-over of the Crimea, March 18, 2014. BB

**Feb. 23 China and the Tiananmen Square Massacre, 1989**
Chronology. BB
Questions on the reading. BB

**March 1 German Unification, 1989-90, and Lessons of History**
1-paragraph research paper topic proposal due in class.
Chronology of German unification. BB
Questions on the readings. BB
Philip Zelikow and Condoleezza Rice, *Germany Unified and Europe Transformed: A Study in Statecraft* (Harvard University Press, 1997), p ix. on what "lessons of history" Zelikow and Rice drew from the experience of working on German unification. BB

**March 8 Turkey and Armenia and the Events of 1915: Genocide or Not?**
3rd 3-page paper due at start of class. The assignment is up on BB.
Articles on Day of Remembrance and Turkey, 2014. BB
Materials from discussions and votes in the House of Representatives in fall 2000 and spring 2014 on a Congressional resolution on the Armenian genocide. BB
Articles on Armenia and Turkey. BB
Chronology on Turkish-Armenian relations and the US and on the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. BB

**March 22 Japan, Korea, China, and the legacy of the 1930s and World War II**
Guest lecture by Prof. Daqing Yang of GW
Questions on the readings. BB
Shuko Ogawa, “The difficulty of apology: Japan’s Struggle with Memory and Guilt.”
Harvard International Review, Fall 2000. (access on-line)
Newspaper articles from 2001-2010 and from 2010-2012 on the conflict between Japan, China, and Korea over the past, textbooks and the Yasukuni Shrine. BB
See also the Memory and Reconciliation website of the Sigur Center for Asian studies: www.gwu.edu/~memory

March 29 Germans Dealing with the Historical Memory of the Wall

Questions on the readings. BB
Chronology on Germany dealing with the East German communist past and with the history of the Berlin Wall. BB
Polly Feversham and Leo Schmidt, The Berlin Wall Today: Cultural Significance and Conservation Issues (Bauwesen, 1999), excerpts. BB
Michael Cramer, Cycling, Skating, Hiking along the Berlin Wall Trail, Germany (Esterbauer, 2003), pp. 5-13. BB

Also look at these websites:
http://www.berliner-mauer-gedenkstaette.de/en/index.html  The Berlin Wall Memorial and Documentation Center at Bernauer Strasse in Berlin. Includes information on the historical events concerning the Wall, the memorial site, and victims of the Berlin Wall.
http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/denkmal/denkmaele_in_berlin/en/berliner_mauer/index.shtml about the Berlin Wall including the history, then and now pictures, maps to see what is left, monuments to victims of the Wall
Apr. 5 No class. By 7 p.m., please e-mail me your outline (at least 2 pages) and preliminary bibliography (1-2 pages) for the research paper.

Apr. 12 How to Deal with the Crimes of Past Regimes: Truth Commissions
    Guest speaker, Michael Evans, National Security Archive.
    Consult the website of the National Security Archive (located at GW) to learn about their work on truth commissions http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/ and particularly the work of Michael L. Evans with the Colombia Documentation Project http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/colombia/index.htm.
    Readings TBA.

Apr. 19 Conclusions

Wed. May 4 15-Page Research Paper Due by 5 p.m. in my office in hard copy and also uploaded onto Blackboard (must include notes and bibliography—see style guidelines on BB under Projects).
**Suggested Research Paper Topics**, using the information in the course on learning from history:

1. how having served in George H.W. Bush’s Administration (1989-92) at the end of the cold war may have affected the foreign policies of a policymaker in George W. Bush’s Administration (2001-9).

2. a case study of 1 country or a comparative study of 2 or 3 countries in their efforts to come to terms with the "criminal" past of their country and their officials. Among the possible cases are former communist countries such as (East) Germany, Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic, Russia, or other countries such as South Africa, Chile, Argentina, France, united Germany, Japan or the US.

3. the effect of the "Vietnam syndrome" on US policies in the Persian Gulf War and/or the wars in Somalia, Bosnia, Kosovo, Afghanistan or Iraq.

4. contested history and politics between Russia and Ukraine

5. a case of a foreign policy official in some country learning correctly or incorrectly from history

6. the politicization of history in a country on an issue

7. pick a current policy issue in the US or elsewhere and show how history could contribute to various ways of approaching the policy issue

8. discuss how a particular national memorial in the US or elsewhere depicts history--what it "teaches" and what it ignores and why

9. a case (like the Armenian genocide) of U.S. political involvement in a historical debate

10. how the opening up of historical facts under Gorbachev led to the collapse of the Soviet empire in Eastern Europe and then the collapse of the Soviet Union itself

11. lessons of history and the Arab spring

12. another topic approved by the professor

A short topic proposal for your research paper is due in class on **Oct. 14**. An outline and preliminary bibliography are due by e-mail on **Nov. 4**. The final paper is due on Mon. **Dec. 15** by 5 p.m. in my office. The paper must have at least 15 sources and these must include scholarly and primary sources and not just journalistic accounts. Your paper should also draw directly on the concepts we discuss and read in the course.
Some relevant websites:

- **www.ictj.org** International Center on Transitional Justice (NY), covers activities concerning transitional justice (truth commissions, tribunals, etc) around the world.
- **www.usip.org** United States Institute of Peace (DC), has many relevant events and publications.
- **www.gwu.edu/~memory** Memory and Reconciliation in the Asia-Pacific Project of the Sigur Center for Asian Studies at the Elliott School, covers Japan, South Korea and China.
- **www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/** National Security Archive at GW (7th floor of Gelman), has documents and information on truth commissions in Indonesia/East Timor, Guatemala, Chile, Honduras, and Colombia. The Archive has played a crucial role in obtaining US government documents for truth commissions.
- **www.iraqmemory.org/en/index.asp** The Iraq Memory Foundation (DC and Baghdad) deals with unearthing the Ba’thist past.
- **www.memo.ru/eng/index.htm** Memorial, the Russian organization, is dedicated to educating about and preserving the memory of the victims of the Soviet regime and also keeping a spotlight on human rights violations in contemporary Russia.
- **http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/** This has much information on the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission which was a model for many others.
- **http://www.memoryatwar.org/** “Memory at War” at Cambridge University examines current debates over history and memory in Poland, Russia, and Ukraine.

There is a massive and growing body of literature on the intersection of history and politics, dealing with the subject in general and with regard to specific countries and issues. Here are some related books (that are not required) that may be of interest to you, including for your research paper:


Max Paul Friedman and Padraic Kenney, eds., *Partisan Histories: The Past in Contemporary Global Politics* (NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005). Includes chapters on Germany, Japan, Korea, Chile, Spain, Armenia, Kazakhstan, India, Pakistan, Israel, Palestine, Nigeria, and the US.


