

PLS361

Memory Politics in East Asia

Spring 2022 | MWF 16:00-16:50 | Online

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Course Description

The 20th century history of East Asia experienced numerous conflicts both internally and externally. Although decades of time have passed since the last major war in the region, the wounds of conflicts from the last century remain strong in the memories and emotions of Asian countries and people. In this course we will address the issues evolving around the question of how past events affect the present and the future politics among nations and people. For the theoretical framework to tackle the question, the course relies on two main bodies of literature: *apologies in international politics* (Lind, 2008) and the *politics of memory* (Wang, 2018). Students will learn theories of apologies and memory in the context of political conflicts. Cases to be discussed in the class are mainly from past conflicts of South Korea, including comfort women, civilian massacre in Vietnam, memorialization of Korean War, history textbook controversies with Japan and China, and human security issues with North Korea.

Course Format and Pre-requisites

It is recommended that students, who have taken PLS295 (PLS195), should change with another course since this course is updated from PLS295.

All students enrolled in this course are expected to engage actively in reading, writing, and discussion throughout the semester. Readings in this course include a wide range of topics across multiple disciplines, including philosophical debates over forgiveness, restorative justice and reconciliation, political apologies, and memory politics. Writing assignments are in two types: (1) students must complete all assigned readings and submit reflection memos on a bi-weekly basis; (2) students write a term paper using theories and concepts learned in this course. Finally, students are required to participate in class discussions.

This course has two pre-requisite courses: PLS210 *and* PLS150 with the grade of C- or above.

Course Learning Objectives

By the end of this course, students will be able to:

- Understand and demonstrate knowledge on the historical cases of conflict in East Asia (PLO1)
- Develop a critical evaluation of ongoing and/or past issues of collective memory in East Asia (PLO2)
- Write their own evidence-based arguments (PLO3)
- Apply relevant concepts and theories to explain international relations in East Asia (PLO4)
- Listen to and be tolerant of different ideas (PLO5)
- Use appropriate methods of collecting, organizing and interpreting evidence for their original arguments (PLO 6)

Textbooks

This course requires serious readings about both theoretical and empirical works across multiple disciplines, including political science, history, philosophy, and psychology. Each module gives required readings from journal articles and/or book chapters, as well as recommended readings for those interested in the topic. The followings books are frequently cited throughout the course:

- Lind, J.M. (2008) *Sorry States: Apologies in International Politics*, Cornell University Press (ISBN: 9780801476280).
- Wang, Z. (2018) *Memory Politics, Identity and Conflict: Historical Memory as a Variable*, Palgrave Macmillan (ISBN: 9783319626215). [[e-book at NU library](#)]
- Halbwachs, Maurice. (2020). *On Collective Memory*, University of Chicago Press (ISBN: 9780226774497). [[e-book at Scribd](#)]
- Philpott, D. (2012) *Just and Unjust Peace: An Ethic of Political Reconciliation*, Oxford University Press (ISBN: 9780199827565).

Course Requirements

A research paper (35%) All upper-level PSIR courses (300s and 400s) are writing intensive courses, meaning that students are required to submit a final term paper. This term paper should be an original research paper that tackles a question about memory politics in East Asia (here, northeast and southeast Asian countries are covered). Each segment has a deadline, by which students should submit via Moodle. The instructor will give feedback on them, but not to be graded, except the final draft. For details, see the *Guidelines for Research Paper Assignment*.

- 1) Topic and research question (4 February, 17:00)
- 2) Research proposal (18 February, 17:00)
- 3) Literature review (18 March, 17:00)
- 4) Final draft (22 April, 17:00)

For all the segments of the research paper assignment, students are expected to demonstrate basic understanding of political science research (argument building, research hypothesis, testing strategies, empirical analysis) and academic writing.

Two short essays (20+20%) Students must submit two short essays as instructed in the Guideline. In both essays, students must demonstrate their own thoughts and critics on the given questions. For details, see the *Guidelines for Review Essay Assignment*.

A mini-lecture video (15%) Teaching is the best way of learning. By the end of March, students will form a team (3-4 students per team) and create a short video clip (10 minutes). In the video, followings should be presented: a main question or two related to the chosen topic; why the question matters (what's the real problem behind the question or observed phenomenon); what answers scholars and policy makers have made; critical assessments and discussion on those answers; and conclusion (lessons and take-aways from the presented contents).

Attendance (5%) Students must attend online sessions on *Fridays*. If missed a live session, the student must watch the recording of the missed session and submit a summary of the session and required readings (800+ words) by next Monday. All students are expected to participate in the class discussion actively and to turn on camera (unless notified beforehand). *Missing one third or more of live sessions will fail in the course.*

Peer-evaluation (5%) Each team for the mini-lecture assignment should submit peer-evaluations *individually* to the instructor on week 13. Details will be announced on the course Moodle.

Grading Policy

Final grade The final grade is determined by the student's overall performance of all course requirements. The final score is a weighted sum of each requirement score and will be rounded to the first decimal point (not to ones). All assessments should be completed before the final grade due. No extra assignments are allowed after the submission of the final assignment (i.e. final draft of your research paper). Your final grade is non-negotiable. Unless there is a mechanical error, changes to the final grade will not be made. Only under exceptional circumstances (e.g. a long-term hospitalization) a grade of incomplete (I) may be requested. Following the NU grade policy, the final letter grade will be given as follows:

Composition		Scale		
Research paper	35%		A 95.0 - 100.0	A- 90.0 - 94.9
Short essays	40%	B+ 85.0 - 89.9	B 80.0 - 84.9	B- 75.0 - 79.9
Mini-lecture	15%	C+ 70.0 - 74.9	C 65.0 - 69.9	C- 60.0 - 64.9
Peer evaluation	5%	D+ 55.0 - 59.9	D 50.0 - 54.9	
Attendance	5%	F < 50.0		

Late submission I do *not* accept late submissions under any circumstances. Missing a deadline is equally treated as a missed assessment (see below).

Plagiarism/cheating This will never be tolerated. Students must be familiarized with the NU Student Code of Conduct and the university regulations about academic misconduct.

Re-grading Students can request re-grading of their assignments within one week after it is graded. Such a request must be made by a written form and submitted to the professor's email with a full description of reasons for request. Note that the entire of the requested assignment, not a specific part(s), will be re-graded and that the new grade may be lower than the original one. There will be no re-grading of once re-graded assignments.

Missed assessments Students are responsible for all course assignments and assessments outlined in the syllabus, even if they have a legitimate excuse (i.e. medical emergency). Students who know they will miss a deadline for an assignment or an assessment, even if it is a School or University activity, must contact the professor before the deadline. If this is not possible, the professor must be contacted within 24 hours. Students must provide documentation for their missing deadlines. If a student fails to do so, the student may receive a zero for the assessment. If circumstances are so dire as to keep the student from making contact during this twenty-four-hour-window, then the student must provide substantial documentation corroborating the situation (a simple spravka will not suffice). If an assessment (e.g. a quiz or an exam) is missed, instructors can give a zero.

Academic Misconduct

Official documents Students must become familiarized with the NU Student Code of Conduct and Disciplinary Procedures, which is the official document outlining policies and procedures about academic misconduct. Here are links to important NU policies:

- Academic policies and procedures for undergraduate programs
- Student code of conduct and disciplinary procedures
- Undergraduate attendance policy and procedures

All academic misconduct in this course will be penalized by “failure in course” (read the NU Student Code of Conduct). If a student has previous record of misconduct, the SSH Disciplinary Committee will automatically increase the category of misconduct, which may raise the penalty up to the dismissal from the University (category C).

Cheating Any attempts to deceive the student’s original status of works, including cheating during any types of tests, forgery of documents, and fake attendance, will be punished as academic misconduct.

Plagiarism Read the “plagiarism” document carefully. In sum, you should give proper credit (i.e. citation) for using others’ ideas, words, and/or examples in your works. The Turn-It-In does not detect plagiarism but reports the similarity of your works against sources in its database. In general, a similarity above 20% should be flagged for closer investigations. However, the instructor may report plagiarism cases with low similarity percentages as well.

Special notes for misconduct in online courses There was a sharp increase of the total number of misconducts in past years. Although I give my full respect for and confidence on my students, there will be strict rules for exams to prevent any misconduct:

- Two issues deserve your attention. First, students who share their work with others are also subject to an academic misconduct. If someone asks for a writing sample for this course, you should direct him/her to the instructor. Do not give your draft to other students in and outside of the course. Second, even if you didn’t cheat during an assessment, your plan to cheat constitutes misconduct as well. Your intension is not important in defining academic misconduct. Only the observed actions will be considered. Do not commit any suspicious actions before, during, and after any assessments.
- Moodle log file will be used and accepted as evidence of misconduct. In previous courses, students are caught for cheating online but not punished for insufficient evidence of such misconduct. From this semester, Moodle’s activity log file will be sufficient to prove a student’s online misconduct.
- There will be no exam or quiz type assessments in this course. Only writing and presentations (recordings) are used for evaluations. Also, students must be responsible for attending live zoom sessions. If there are any technical problems, students must notify the instructor immediately. Unnotified absence will not be excused.

Course Topics and Readings

Required readings are marked with •; schedules are subject to changes.

Week 1. Introduction

- 1) Studying East Asia “Why do we study East Asia?”
 - 2) Conflicts in East Asia “What has formed the present East Asia?”
 - 3) History as Imperative of East Asia IR “Why does past history matter for East Asian countries?”
- Johnston, Alastair I. (2012) “What (if anything) does East Asia tell us about IR theory?” *Annual Review of Political Science*, 15:53-78.
 - Rozman, Gilbert. (2014) “Historical memories and international relation sin Northeast Asia” in Chariot, Shin, and Sneider. eds. *Confronting Memories of World War II: European and Asian Legacies* (University of Washington Press), chapter 8.
 - [video] Heldmark, T. and Wrangert, R. (2016) *East Asia’s Surprising Peace*, Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University (available at YouTube: www.youtube.com/watch?v=PZLQ0vmxi68)
 - Kim, W. (2002) “Power parity, alliance, dissatisfaction, and wars in East Asia, 1860-1993,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 46(5): 654-71.
 - Gries, P.H., Zhang, Q., Masui, Y. and Lee, Y.W. (2008) “Historical beliefs and the perception of threat in Northeast Asia: colonialism, the tributary system, and China-Japan-Korea relations in the twenty-first century,” *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 9: 245-265.

Week 2. Apologies in International Politics

Research topic and question due on 4 February, 17:00

- 1) State apologies “What does apology mean for international relations?”
 - 2) Consequences of apologies “Remembrance and threat perception”
 - 3) Ontological security and state apologies “Why do states apologize their past?”
- Lind, J. (2009) “Apologies in international politics,” *Security Studies*, 18(3): 517-556.
 - Löwenheim, N. (2009) “A haunted past: requesting forgiveness for wrongdoing in international relations,” *Review of International Studies*, 35(3): 531-55.
 - Kampf, Zohar and Löwenheim, Nava. (2012) “Rituals of apology in the global arena,” *Security Dialogue* 43(1): 43-60.
 - Field, N. (1997) “War and apology: Japan, Asia, the fifties, and after,” *Positions*, 5(1): 1-49.
 - Avruch, K. and Wang, Z. (2005) “Culture, apology, and international negotiation: the case of the Sino-US “Spy Plane” crisis,” *International Negotiation*, 10: 337-53.
 - Corntassel, J. and Holder, C. (2008) “Who’s sorry now? Government apologies, truth commissions, and indigenous self-determination in Australia, Canada, Guatemala, and Peru,” *Human Rights Review*
 - Weyeneth, R.R. (2001) “The power of apology and the process of historical reconciliation,” *The Public Historian*, 23(3):9-38.

Week 3. Political Forgiveness and International Politics

- 1) Forgiveness in political contexts “What is political forgiveness?”
 - 2) Problems of Forgiveness “What are problems of applying forgiveness to politics?”
 - 3) Defining forgiveness in international politics “Can states forgive or be forgiven?”
- Diegeser, P.E. (1998) “Forgiveness and politics,” *Political Theory*, 26(5): 700-724.
 - Diegeser, P.E. (2004) “Forgiveness, the unforgivable and international relations,” *International Relations*, 18(4): 480-97.
 - Andrews, M. (1999) “The politics of forgiveness,” *International Journal of Politic, Culture, and Society*, 13(1): 107-24.
 - Newberry, P (2004) “The three dimensions of forgiveness,” *Philosophy in the Contemporary World*, 11(2): 73-79.
 - Zaibert, L. (2009) “The paradox of forgiveness,” *Journal of Moral Philosophy*, 6: 365-93.
 - MacLachlan, A. (2012) “The philosophical controversy over political forgiveness” in B.A.M. Stokkom et al. *Public Forgiveness in Post-Conflict Contexts* (Intersentia Press).

Week 4. Theories of Collective Memory

Research proposal due on 18 February, 17:00

- 1) Defining collective memory “What is collective memory and why does it matter?”
 - 2) History and memory “What is the relationship between history and memory?”
 - 3) Collective memory in politics “Why do collective memories matter in politics?”
- Olick, J.K. (1999) “Collective memory: the two cultures,” *Sociological Theory* 17(3): 333-348.
 - Assmann, A. (2008) “Transformations between history and memory,” *Social Research: An International Quarterly* 75(1): 49-72.
 - Verovsek, P.J. (2016) “Collective memory, politics, and the influence of the past: the politics of memory as a research paradigm,” *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, 4(3): 529-543.
 - Olick, J.K. and Robbins, J. (1998) “Social memory studies: from “collective memory” to historical sociology of mnemonic practices,” *Annual Review of Sociology*, 24, 105-140.
 - Roberts, R. (2000) “History and memory: the power of statist narratives,” *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 33(3): 513-22.
 - Russell, N. (2006) “Collective memory before and after Halbwachs,” *The French Review*, 79(4): 792-804.
 - Olick, J.K, Vinitzky-Seroussi, V. and Levy, D. (2011) *The Collective Memory Reader* (Oxford University Press), Introduction.
 - Luna, I. and Rosa, A. (2012) “Memory, history and narrative: Shifts of meaning when (re)constructing the past,” *Europe’s Journal of Psychology*, 8(2): 300-10.
 - Maurantonio (2017) “The politics of Memory” in Kenski, K. and Jamieson, K.H. eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Political Communication*, Oxford University Press.
 - Hilton, D.J. and Liu, J.H. (2017) “History as the narrative of a people: from function to structure and content,” *Memory Studies*, 10(3): 297-309.

Week 5. Historical Memory and Politics

Essay 1 due on 25 February, 17:00

- 1) Collective memory and national identity “How do collective memories work for the formation of national identity?”
 - 2) Historical memory and interstate relations “How do historical memories affect interstate relations?”
 - 3) Foreign policy making under collective memory “What are impacts of historical memory on foreign policy decision making?”
- Wang, Z. (2018) “Collective memory and national identity” in Wang, Z. (2018) *Memory Politics, Identity and Conflict: Historical Memory as a Variable*, Palgrave Macmillan.
 - Wang, Z. (2018) “The four dimensions of historical memory,” in Wang, Z. (2018) *Memory Politics, Identity and Conflict: Historical Memory as a Variable*, Palgrave Macmillan.
 - Bachleitner, K. (2019) “Diplomacy with memory: how the past is employed for future foreign policy,” *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 15, 492-508.
 - Markovits, A. and Reich, S. (1998) “Collective memory and dyadic relations: the different qualities of power in the interaction of democratic states and civil societies,” *New Political Science* 20(2): 185-203.
 - Qui, J. (2006) “The politics of history and historical memory in China-Japan relations,” *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, 11(1): 25-53.
 - Lebow, R.N. (2008) “The future of memory,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 617, 25-41.
 - Midford, P. (2008) “Challenging the democratic peace? Historical memory and security relationship between Japan and South Korea,” *Pacific Focus* 23(2): 189-211.
 - Choi, E.M. (2010) “Memory politics and international relations in East Asia,” *International Area Review* 13(2): 63-79.
 - Liao, N. (2013) “Presentist or cultural memory: Chinese nationalism as constraint on Beijing’s foreign policy making,” *Asian Politics & Policy* 5(4): 543-565.
 - Langenbacher, E. (2014) “Does collective memory still influence German foreign policy?” *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, 20(2): 55-71.
 - Wang, Z. (2018) “Historical memory as an omitted variable?” in Wang, Z. (2018) *Memory Politics, Identity and Conflict: Historical Memory as a Variable*, Palgrave Macmillan.

Week 6. Case Study 1: The Comfort Women Movement

- 1) Historical background “Who are comfort women?”
 - 2) Remembrance “The Comfort Women Movement”
 - 3) Apologies and after “Japanese apologies and South Korean responses”
 - 4) Politics of memory “Controversies over memory of comfort women”
- Min, P. (2003) “Korean “comfort women”: the intersection of colonial power, gender, and class,” *Gender & Society* 17(6): 938-957.
 - Park, Y. (2013) “How we should consider the comfort women issue based on discussions between Ikuhiko Hata and Yoshiaki Yoshimi”

- Sand, J. and Sand, J. (1999) “Historians and public memory in Japan: the “comfort women” controversy,” *History and Memory*, 11(2): 116-28/
- [video] The ‘comfort women’ scene from *The City of Life and Death*, a film written and directed by Lu Chuan (available at www.youtube.com/watch?v=YzOgk32g8dk)

Week 7. Case Study 2: Diverging Memories of the Vietnam War in South Korea

Literature review due on 11 March, 17:00

- 1) Historical background: South Korea’s decision to the Vietnam War
 - 2) Commemoration of the Vietnam War in South Korea
 - 3) Civilian massacre in Vietnam by South Korean soldiers
 - 4) The role of civil society in reconciliation: “Sorry, Vietnam” Movement
- Armstrong, C.K. (2001) “America’s Korea, Korea’s Vietnam,” *Critical Asian Studies*, 33(4): 527-40.
 - Do, H. (2020) “The forgotten history of South Korean massacres in Vietnam,” *The Diplomat*
 - Ashplant, T.G., Dawson, G. and Roper, M. (2000) “The politics of war memory and commemoration: contexts, structures and dynamics” in Ashplant, Dawson and Roper. eds. *Commemorating War*, Routledge.
 - [video] BBC News. (2020) “Ghost of the Vietnam War.” Available at www.youtube.com/watch?v=zixaHx0yPH8

Week 8. Case Study 3: The History Textbook Controversies and Reconciliation

Essay 2 due on 18 March, 17:00

- 1) Historical background: Why does a textbook matter?
 - 2) Changing perception of the past in Japan
 - 3) Comparing societal and governmental remembrance
 - 4) The role of experts and scholars in resolving history controversies
- Schneider, C. (2008) “The Japanese history textbook controversy in East Asian perspective,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 617, 107-22.
 - Shin, G. (2010) “Historical disputes and reconciliation in Northeast Asia: the US Role,” *Pacific Affairs*, 83(4): 663-73.
 - Beal, T., Nozaki, Y. and Yang, J. (2001) “Ghost of the past: the Japanese history textbook controversy,” *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies*, 3(2): 177-88.
 - Gries, P.H., Zhang, Q., Masui, Y. and Lee, Y.W. (2008) “Historical beliefs and the perception of threat in Northeast Asia: colonialism, the tributary system, and China-Japan-Korea relations in the twenty-first century,” *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, 9:245-265.
 - Han, U. (2015) *History Education and Historical Reconciliation in East Asia: Focusing on the History Textbook Dialogues between South Korea and Japan*, Northeast Asian History Foundation.

Week 9. Spring Break

Week 10. Case Study 4: Perceptions of North Korea among South Koreans

- 1) Historical background “The post-war history of South Korea”
 - 2) Legitimation of authoritarian government “Anti-Communism in South Korea”
 - 3) Embracing the northern neighbor “Changing perception of North in South”
 - 4) Division within South “Politics of division along diverging memories”
- Ku, Y. “Inter-Korean relations and reunification” in Ku, Yangmo, Inyeop Lee, and Jongseok Woo. eds. *Politics in North and South Korea: Political Development, Economy, and Foreign Relations*, Routledge.
 - Park, Y.H. (2014) “South and North Korea’s views on the unification of the Korean Peninsula and inter-Korean relations,” *KRIS*, 1-21.
 - Oberdorfer, D. (2001) “Where the wild birds sing,” *The Two Koreas: A Contemporary History*, Basic Books.
 - Chung, C. (2003) “Democratization in South Korea and inter-Korean relations,” *Pacific Affairs* 76(1): 9-35.
 - Armstrong, C.K. (2005) “Inter-Korean relations in historical perspective,” *International Journal of Korean Unification Studies*, 14(2): 1-20.
 - Ko, N.C. (2018) “South Korea’s collective memory of past human rights abuses,” *Memory Studies*, online.

Week 11. Case Study 5: China’s Rising Power and Historical Narratives

[Mini lecture video due on 8 April, 17:00](#)

- 1) Historical background “The Chinese scenes in modern history of East Asia”
- 2) Historical memory and China “How does historical memory (re)shape China’s foreign policies?”

Required readings will be distributed in class.

- Cai, R. 2013. “Restaging the revolution in contemporary China: Memory of politics and politics of memory,” *The China Quarterly*, 215: 663-681.
- Chen, N. and Zhong, Z. 2020. “Historical memory and brand preference,” *unpublished manuscript*
- Guoqi, X. 2002. “Historical memories and China’s changing views of East Asia,” *The journal of American-East Asian Relations*, 11(1): 41-57.
- Xu, B. and Ru, X. 2010. “Dynamic statism and memory politics: A case analysis of the Chinese war reparations movement,”

Week 12. Student Presentations

[Peer evaluation due on 15 April, 17:00](#)

Live sessions will be held to watch students’ presentations. Details will be announced in the class.

Week 13. Conclusion: For Reconciliation in East Asia

Research paper due on 22 April, 17:00

- 1) Reconciliation as justice “Is reconciliation compatible with justice?”
 - 2) Complexity of reconciliation “Why is reconciliation difficult?”
 - 3) From conflict resolution to reconciliation “How to build peace through reconciliation?”
- Philpott, D. (2012) *Just and Unjust Peace: An Ethic of Political Reconciliation* (Oxford University Press), chapters 3, 4, 5, and 10.
 - Auerbach, Y. (2004) “The role of forgiveness in reconciliation” in Bar-Siman-Tov, Y. ed. *From Conflict Resolution to Reconciliation*, Oxford University Press.
 - Cohen, R. (2004) “Apology and reconciliation in international relations” in Bar-Siman-Tov, Y. ed. *From Conflict Resolution to Reconciliation*, Oxford University Press.
 - Eisikovits, N. (2004) “Forget forgiveness: On the benefits of sympathy for political reconciliation,” *Theoria: A Journal of Social and Political Theory*, 105: 31-63.
 - Kriesberg, L. (2007) “Reconciliation: aspects, growth, and sequences,” *International Journal of Peace Studies*, 12(1): 1-21.
 - Philpott, D. (2012) *Just and Unjust Peace: An Ethic of Political Reconciliation*, Oxford University Press.
 - Cahan, J.A. (2013) “Reconciliation or reconstruction? Further thoughts on political forgiveness,” *Policy*, 45(2): 174-97.
 - Wu, C. and Yang, F. (2016) “Reconciliation and peace building in international relations; an empirical analysis of five cases,” *Chinese Political Science Review*, 1: 645-669.

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