

Cambridge University Press

0521806100 - Memory and Power in Post-War Europe: Studies in the Presence of the Past

Edited by Jan-Werner Müller

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## Memory and Power in Post-War Europe

How has memory – collective and individual – influenced European politics after the Second World War and after 1989 in particular? How has the past been used in domestic struggles for power, and how have ‘historical lessons’ been applied in foreign policy? While there is now a burgeoning field of social and cultural memory studies, mostly focused on commemorations and monuments, this volume is the first to examine the connection between memory and politics directly. It investigates how memory is officially recast, personally reworked and often violently re-instilled after wars, and above all, the ways in which memory shapes present power constellations.

The chapters combine theoretical innovation in their approach to the study of memory with deeply historical, empirically based case studies of major European countries. The point of stressing memory is not to deny that interests shape policy, but, with Max Weber, to analyse the historically and ideologically conditioned formation and legitimation of these interests. The volume concludes with reflections on the ethics of memory, and the politics of truth, justice and forgetting after 1945 and 1989.

This ground-breaking book should be of interest to historians of contemporary Europe, political scientists, sociologists and anyone interested in how the political uses of the past have shaped – and continue to shape – the Europe in which we live now.

JAN-WERNER MÜLLER is a fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. He is the author of *Another Country: German Intellectuals, Unification and National Identity* (2000).

Cambridge University Press

0521806100 - Memory and Power in Post-War Europe: Studies in the Presence of the Past

Edited by Jan-Werner Müller

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

# Memory and Power in Post-War Europe

*Studies in the Presence of the Past*

---

*Edited by*

Jan-Werner Müller

*All Souls College, Oxford*



**CAMBRIDGE**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press  
0521806100 - Memory and Power in Post-War Europe: Studies in the Presence of the Past  
Edited by Jan-Werner Muller  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

---

PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE  
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS  
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK  
40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA  
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia  
Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain  
Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa  
<http://www.cambridge.org>

© Cambridge University Press 2002

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception  
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,  
no reproduction of any part may take place without  
the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2002

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

*Typeface* Plantin 10/12 pt    *System* L<sup>A</sup>T<sub>E</sub>X 2<sub>ε</sub> [TB]

*A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library*

ISBN 0 521 80610 0 hardback  
ISBN 0 521 00070 X paperback

Cambridge University Press

0521806100 - Memory and Power in Post-War Europe: Studies in the Presence of the Past

Edited by Jan-Werner Muller

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

For as at a great distance of place, that which wee look at, appears dimme, and without distinction of the smaller parts; and as Voyces grow weak, and inarticulate: so also after great distance of time, our imagination of the Past is weak; and wee lose (for example) of Cities wee have seen, many particular Streets; and of Actions, many particular Circumstances. This *decaying sense*, when wee would express the thing itself, (I mean *fancy* itselfe,) wee call *Imagination*, as I said before: But when we would express the *decay*, and signifie that the Sense is fading, old, and past, it is called *Memory*. So that *Imagination* and *Memory*, are but one thing . . .

Hobbes, *Leviathan*

## Contents

---

<i>List of contributors</i>	page ix
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xii
Introduction: the power of memory, the memory of power and the power over memory JAN-WERNER MÜLLER	1
<b>Part 1 Myth, memory and analogy in foreign policy</b>	
1 Memory of sovereignty and sovereignty over memory: Poland, Lithuania and Ukraine, 1939–1999 TIMOTHY SNYDER	39
2 Myth, memory and policy in France since 1945 ROBERT GILDEA	59
3 The power of memory and memories of power: the cultural parameters of German foreign policy-making since 1945 THOMAS BERGER	76
4 The past in the present: British imperial memories and the European question ANNE DEIGHTON	100
5 Europe's post-Cold War remembrance of Russia: <i>cui bono?</i> IVER B. NEUMANN	121
6 Memory, the media and NATO: information intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina MONROE E. PRICE	137

Cambridge University Press

0521806100 - Memory and Power in Post-War Europe: Studies in the Presence of the Past

Edited by Jan-Werner Muller

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

viii Contents

**Part 2 Memory and power in domestic affairs**

- |    |   |     |
|----|---|-----|
| 7  | The past is another country: myth and memory<br>in post-war Europe<br>TONY JUDD   | 157 |
| 8  | The emergence and legacies of divided memory:<br>Germany and the Holocaust after 1945<br>JEFFREY HERF   | 184 |
| 9  | Unimagined communities: the power of memory<br>and the conflict in the former Yugoslavia<br>ILANA R. BET-EL   | 206 |
| 10 | Translating memories of war and co-belligerency<br>into politics: the Italian post-war experience<br>ILARIA POGGIOLINI                                  | 223 |
| 11 | Institutionalising the past: shifting memories<br>of nationhood in German education and immigration<br>legislation<br>DANIEL LEVY AND JULIAN B. DIERKES | 244 |
| 12 | Trials, purges and history lessons: treating a difficult<br>past in post-communist Europe<br>TIMOTHY GARTON ASH   | 265 |
|    | <i>Index</i>  | 283 |

Cambridge University Press

0521806100 - Memory and Power in Post-War Europe: Studies in the Presence of the Past

Edited by Jan-Werner Muller

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

## Contributors

---

THOMAS BERGER is an Associate Professor in the Department of International Relations at Boston University. He is the author of *Cultures of Antimilitarism: National Security in Germany and Japan* (1998) and has written extensively on international security, international migration and political culture. He is currently writing a book on the dynamics of national identity formation and its impact on politics in advanced industrial countries.

ILANA BET-EL was Senior Advisor on the Balkans in the UN Department of Political Affairs (1999–2000), and a senior political analyst with the United Nations missions in Bosnia-Herzegovina, both during and after the war there (1995–7). She holds a Ph.D. from the University of London, has lectured in history at Tel Aviv University and was a Fellow of the Reuters Foundation Programme, Green College, Oxford. She has written a number of papers on history and collective memory in Israel and the UK; her book on the imagery of conscripts in the First World War, *Conscripts: Lost Legions of the Great War*, was published in 1999.

ANNE DEIGHTON is Lecturer in International Politics at the University of Oxford, and a fellow of Wolfson College. She has written extensively on British foreign policy and on European integration.

JULIAN DIERKES is finishing his dissertation in sociology at Princeton University while on a fellowship at the Japan Centre at the University of Cambridge. His dissertation, entitled 'Teaching National Identity – Education in Germany and Japan, 1945–1995', examines the construction of the nation in post-war history textbooks for secondary schools in Japan, the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic. He is also continuing work examining the organisational structure of large US corporations since the 1960s.

Cambridge University Press

0521806100 - Memory and Power in Post-War Europe: Studies in the Presence of the Past

Edited by Jan-Werner Muller

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

x List of contributors

TIMOTHY GARTON ASH is a fellow of St Antony's College, Oxford. His most recent book is *History of the Present: Essays, Sketches and Despatches from Europe in the 1990s* (1999).

ROBERT GILDEA is fellow and tutor at Merton College, Oxford. His most recent books are *The Past in French History* (1994) and *France since 1945* (1996).

JEFFREY HERF teaches modern European and German history at the University of Maryland at College Park, with a focus on the intersection of political, intellectual and international history. His books include: *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanys* (1997). The manuscript was awarded the Fraenkel Prize for 1996 by the Institute of Contemporary History and the Wiener Library in London. The book won the 1998 George Lewis Beer Prize of the American Historical Association as the best book by an American citizen dealing with European international history since 1890. His other books include *War by Other Means: Soviet Power, West German Resistance and the Battle of the Euromissiles* (1991) and *Reactionary Modernism: Technology, Culture and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich* (1984), also published in Italian, Japanese, Portuguese, Spanish and Greek editions.

TONY JUDD is Erich Maria Remarque Professor of European Studies and Director of the Remarque Institute, New York University. His most recent book is *The Burden of Responsibility: Blum, Camus, Aron, and the French Twentieth Century* (1998).

DANIEL LEVY is Assistant Professor in the sociology department at SUNY Stony Brook. His publications revolve around issues of political culture, collective memory studies and the comparative sociology of immigration. His most recent book, *Erinnerung im globalen Zeitalter: Der Holocaust* (with Natan Sznaider), is a comparative study of mnemonic cultures in Germany, Israel and the United States, focusing on how processes of globalisation have affected collective memories in these countries.

JAN-WERNER MÜLLER is a fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. He is the author of *Another Country: German Intellectuals, Unification, and National Identity* (2000).

IVER B. NEUMANN is a researcher at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs. His latest books are (co-edited with Ole Wæver) *The Future of International Relations: Masters in the Making?* (1997) and *Uses of the Other: 'The East' in European Identity Formation* (1998).



Cambridge University Press

0521806100 - Memory and Power in Post-War Europe: Studies in the Presence of the Past

Edited by Jan-Werner Muller

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

List of contributors

xi

ILARIA POGGIOLINI is Professor of the History of International Relations at the University of Pavia. She has been a Fulbright Fellow, a Fellow at the Center for International Studies at Princeton University and a British Council Fellow at St Antony's College, Oxford. She is the author of numerous publications on the origins of the Cold War in Italy and on the transition from war to peace in Europe and Asia after the Second World War. She is currently working on a project on the history of European regionalism.

MONROE E. PRICE is Professor of Law at Cardozo Law School in New York and co-director of the Programme on Comparative Media Law and Policy at the Centre for Socio-Legal Studies, University of Oxford. He is the author of *Television, the Public Sphere and National Identity* (Oxford University Press, 1995).

TIMOTHY SNYDER is an assistant professor in the History Department at Yale University. His first book, *Nationalism, Marxism, and Modern Central Europe: A Biography of Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz (1872–1905)* was published by the Ukrainian Research Institute in 1997. He is presently completing a study of Poland's relations with its eastern neighbours since 1939, in which the central issue examined is the relationship between memory and policy.

Cambridge University Press

0521806100 - Memory and Power in Post-War Europe: Studies in the Presence of the Past

Edited by Jan-Werner Muller

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## Acknowledgements

---

The editor wishes to thank the Warden and Fellows of All Souls College, Oxford, for giving permission to hold a conference on 'Memory and Power in Post-War Europe' at All Souls on 26–7 June 1998. Especially warm thanks are due to Sir Julian Bullard and Robert O'Neill as co-directors of the All Souls Foreign Policy Studies Programme for intellectually and financially supporting this project throughout. The college staff and Julie Edwards in particular were unfailingly helpful with logistics. For stimulating comments at the conference, thanks to Erica Benner, Kathy Burk, Richard Crampton, Alex Danchev, Michael Ignatieff, Yuen Foong Khong, Ernest May, Jeffrey K. Olick, Alex Pravda, Peter Pulzer and Gesine Schwan. For useful remarks on the manuscript as a whole, thanks also to a number of anonymous readers. Finally, support from Tony Judt, Jair Kessler and the staff at the Remarque Institute of New York University during the conclusion of the project is very gratefully acknowledged.

Material in Jeffrey Herf's chapter first appeared in his *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanys* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997). Thanks to Harvard University Press for permission to use this material here. Some of the material in Timothy Garton Ash's chapter has previously been published in his *History of the Present: Essays, Sketches and Despatches from Europe in the 1990s* (London: Allen Lane, 1999). Thanks to Penguin for permission to use this material. Copyright © Timothy Garton Ash, 1999.

Memory and Power in Post-War Europe: Studies in the Presence of the Past, ed. Jan-Werner Müller (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004). Mintz Alan, Popular Culture and the Shaping of Holocaust in America (Seattle & London: Washington University Press, 2001). Nora Pierre, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," *Representations* 26 (1989): 7-24. Oushakine Sergey, "Remembering in Public: On the Affective Management of History," *Ab Imperio* 1 (2013): 269-302. Petrone Karen, *The Great War in Russian Memory* (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2011). War and Memory in Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus, eds. Julie Fedor & Markku Kangaspuro & Jussi Lassila & Tatiana Zhurzhenko (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017). 9. At the Soviet War Memorial in Berlin's Treptower Park, residents lay flowers on the 75th anniversary of the surrender of Nazi Germany. Here, too, there is no large-scale event, and instead social distancing and protective masks during the coronavirus pandemic. When Vladimir Putin came to power he took a new tack, unofficially making Victory Day the nation's most important public holiday. From that point, the parade saw ever more soldiers participating, as well as the presentation of the country's most advanced military hardware. World War II memorials around the globe. RAF Bomber Command Memorial in London, UK. The sculpture depicts a Bomber Command crew and is dedicated to the 55,573 Allied aircrew killed in World War II.