Dear members and friends of ASEN,

We are happy to present the Autumn 2012 issue of *The Ruritanian*. In this issue you will read about our featured book, *Cyprus and the Politics of Memory* by Yiannis Papadakis and Rebecca Bryant. You will also find a list of recently released books, upcoming conferences, announcements and a profile of new ASEN co-chair, Kristin Hissong. Members will also read an article on national myths in modern-day geopolitics in East Asia by Prof. Yinan He. As always, please let us know if you have any conferences or upcoming books of interest, or any comments or suggestions about the newsletter in general.

–THE NEWSLETTER TEAM
Anastasia Voronkova, Editor
Aameer Patel, Associate Editor

Autumn 2012

**Featured Book**

*Cyprus and the Politics of Memory* by Yiannis Papadakis and Rebecca Bryant

The island of Cyprus has been bitterly divided for more than four decades. History-writing in the island has been dominated by the two main communities, Greek and Turkish Cypriots, who have constructed very different versions of the past. History has been a victim of this conflict legacy and a weapon used by both sides, becoming an obstacle to resolution. Cyprus and the Politics of Memory re- orients history-writing on Cyprus from a tool of division to a form of dialogue, asking new questions about the writing of history that focus not only on ‘official’ and ‘unofficial’ histories, but also on the relationships between history and memory and between trauma and truth. This book explores how new ways of thinking about the past may be productive for the future of conflict resolution in the region.

Yiannis Papadakis is an Associate Professor in the Department of Social and Political Sciences, University of Cyprus.

Rebecca Bryant is the A.N. Hadjiyiannis Senior Research Fellow at the Hellenic Observatory, LSE.

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**IntroductIon**

1. *Modalities of Time, History and Memory in Ethnonational Conflicts* – Rebecca Bryant and Yiannis Papadakis
2. *A Critical Comparison of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot Official Historiographies (1940s to the Present)* – Mete Hatay and Yiannis Papadakis
3. *Beyond the History Textbook Debate: Official Histories in Greek Cypriot Geography and Civics Curricula* – Stavroula Philippou
4. *Hegemony, Permissible Public Discourse and Lower Class Political Culture* – Andreas Panayiotou
5. *The ‘Left-overs’ of History: Reconsidering the ‘Unofficial’ History of the Left in Cyprus and the Cypriot Diaspora* – Evropi Chatzipanagiotidou
7. *Imagining Homelands: Poetics and Performance among Cypriot Armenians* – Susan Pattie
8. *The Fractures of a Struggle: Remembering and Forgetting Erenköy* – Rebecca Bryant
9. *Correcting the Record: Memory, Minority Insecurity and Admissible Evidence* – Peter Loizos
10. *On the Need to Belong to a Non-Cypriot History* – Mehmet Ratip
11. *Truth, Memory and the Cypriot Journey towards a New Past* – Catia Galatariotou

This newsletter contains the contributions from writers who are experts in their fields but whose views do not necessarily represent those of ASEN.
The year 2012 has seen surging waves of island disputes in East Asia, including those between China, Taiwan and Japan in the East China Sea, between Japan and South Korea in the Sea of Japan, and in the South China Sea between China and several other claimants including Vietnam and the Philippines. Almost all of the disputed islands are tiny and at best, barely inhabitable. The natural resources surrounding the islands, though not trivial, are hardly indispensable to the parties involved and bear no comparison to the huge payoffs of their economic interdependence and political collaboration. Yet the disputes have resulted in standoffs between government ships, the recalling of diplomatic representatives, suspension of high-level meetings, economic sanctions and mass protests.

The scale and intensity of the tensions cannot be fully explained without understanding the long-standing psychological and political battles in East Asia over historical memory. As suggested by social memory studies, memory is an image of the past socially constructed in the present. National memory formation does not have to be a disingenuous process, but when politicians are historians, due to their high stake in political struggle, memory tends to follow interests. The products of elite manipulation of history are national myths, which are “subjective, one-sided, egregiously incomplete” stories about the origins, identity and purpose of a nation (Paul Cohen, History in Three Keys, 1997). By presenting a picture of the shared past that can evoke the deepest emotional resonance from the populace, national myths constitute an integral part of the ideological foundation for national identity and nationalism.

In many East Asian countries, the history of ancient glories and conflicts, as well as the trauma sustained during modern wars and colonization, have been a valuable tool for political elites to meet their practical needs. The goal can be to push for a certain national security policy, or to address domestic political concerns such as regime legitimacy, social mobilization, and factional and organizational survival. National myths typically inflate the nation virtue and competence while downplaying its wrongdoings, and they tend to denigrate other nations as inferior, culpable or evil. While mainly produced for domestic consumption, myths of different countries can pit them against one another over historical interpretation, especially on the responsibility for conflicts and suffering in their past encounters, and can elicit visceral mutual antipathy and mistrust.

In South Korea, for instance, nationalist sentiments based on the grievances about Japanese
colonialism in the early twentieth century are powerful influences that politicians often tap into. Many see President Lee Myung-bak's visit to the disputed Takeshima/Dokdo Islands in August 2012, with simultaneous escalation of diplomatic pressure on Japan to resolve over the “comfort women” issue (women who were forced or coerced into prostitution by Imperial Japanese soldiers), as a clever use of symbols of colonial trauma to restore his popularity at home. But Japan reacted outrageously with outrage, as its people have long held their colonial legacy in Korea to be positive, complete with its own myths. In Vietnam, the state formed an ethnocultural national identity largely in opposition to China, both to resist the penetration of Chinese influence and to buttress the nationalist credentials of the Communist regime. Vietnam's repugnance to China in the South China Sea disputes is exacerbated by centuries-old legends about anti-Chinese resistance as well as new myths narrating more recent confrontations with China. But Beijing fails to comprehend the historical roots of the anti-Chinese sentiments and fears Vietnam because oppression or aggression against its neighbouring countries are strictly excluded from Chinese historical narrative that portrays itself as the benevolent Central Kingdom presiding over a harmonious world in pre-modern East Asia.

The pernicious effect of national mythmaking on regional politics is also crystalized by the case of Sino-Japanese relations. After a traumatic war with Japan in 1937–1945, China initially downplayed the history of the war in order to court Japan diplomatically, as part of its balancing strategy, first against the United States, and later the Soviet Union. In an effort to salvage the weakened legitimacy of the communist regime, however, patriotic propaganda emphasizing Japanese wartime atrocities and heroic Chinese resistance have replaced the tired communist ideology since the 1980s. Decades of nationalist preaching have fuelled victim consciousness as well as a sense of entitlement toward Japan among the Chinese that were both in vivid display in this year's Diaoyu/Senkaku Island disputes.

In post-war Japan, the United States, eager for its former enemy to serve as a bulwark against communism, also failed to demand a full accounting of the wartime past from Japan. Japanese conservative politicians wilfully went along, preferring to remember Japan as the victim, not the perpetrator, in the war. With its economic miracle stunted and political reform stagnating in recent decades, Japan has suffered a serious morale degradation. Many Japanese politicians choose to play to nationalist groups to boost national confidence and win popular votes. While pacifism and the war guilt formerly restricted anti-Chinese nationalism to the margins, the old culture has gradually faded, particularly due to anxiety about an increasingly powerful and assertive China.

The spiral of crises is continuing in the East China Sea. On December 13, after sending government ships to patrol the disputed islands regularly for three months, a Chinese aeroplane entered what Japan considers its airspace for the first time. It was also the 75th anniversary of the Nanjing Massacre, an icon of Chinese national victimhood in official history. A Chinese Foreign Ministry spokes man rebuked Japanese protest the air intrusion and told Japan to “take history as a mirror for the future.” But echoes are few in Japan, with political parties campaigning on ever hawkish platforms in the recent general elections. The mirror of history in East Asia is rarely an innocent and objective reflection of the past. As long as xenophobic nationalism fed on historical myths enjoys strong political currency, territorial disputes and other international troubles will continue to grow out of proportion and threaten the region's future development toward stability and prosperity.

–Prof. Yinan He

Yinan He is an associate professor at the Whitehead School of Diplomacy, Seton Hall University. She is currently a Visiting Research Fellow at the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University. Professor He's research focuses on East Asian international security, Chinese and Japanese foreign policy, politics of memory and reconciliation, and national identity and nationalism in East Asia.
Everyday Arab Identity: The Daily Reproduction of the Arab World
Christopher Phillips, September 2012, Routledge

The Making of a Modern Greek Identity: Education, Nationalism and the Teaching of a Greek National Past
Theodore Zervas, October 2012, Columbia University Press

Contemporary Taiwanese Cultural Nationalism
A-Chin Hsiau, October 2012, Routledge

The Politics of Nationalism in Modern Iran
Ali M. Ansari, October 2012, Cambridge University Press

Creole Indigeneity: Between Myth and Nation in the Caribbean
Shona Jackson, October 2012, University of Minnesota Press

Nationalism, Ethnicity and the State: Making and Breaking Nations
John Coakley, November 2012, Sage

Regimes of Ethnicity and Nationhood in Germany, Russia and Turkey
Sener Aktürk, November 2012, Cambridge University Press

Waves of War: Nationalism, State Formation and Ethnic Exclusion in the Modern World
Andreas Wimmer, November 2012, Cambridge University Press

Muslim Nationalism and the New Turks
Jenny White, November 2012, Princeton University Press

Misha Glenny, November 2012, Granta Books

Architecture and Nationalism in Sri Lanka: The trouser under the cloth
Anoma Pieris, November 2012, Routledge

Our Land, Our Oil! Natural Resources, Local Nationalism and Violent Secession
Stefano Casertano, November 2012, Springer

The Performance of Nationalism: India, Pakistan and the Memory of Partition
Jisha Menon, November 2012, Cambridge University Press

Everyday Nationalism: Women of the Hindu Right in India
Kalyani Devaki Menon, November 2012, University of Pennsylvania Press

Citizenship after Yugoslavia
Edited by Jo Shaw and Igor Stiks, November 2012, Routledge

Before the Nation: Muslim-Christian Coexistence and its Destruction in Late-Ottoman Anatolia
Nicholas Doumanis, November 2012, Oxford University Press

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2012–13 ASEN Seminar Series
Ethnicity and National Self in Multicultural States

Multiculturalism, nationalism and ethnicity
Prof. Umut Ozkirimli
18:30–20:00 on 4 February 2013, Wolfson Theatre, LSE

Panel discussion of the recently published The Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalism, edited by John Breuilly
Chair: Prof. Craig Calhoun
18:30 on 13 March 2013, Hong Kong Theatre, LSE (followed by a drinks reception)

Multiculturalism, ethnicity and political anthropology
Prof. Thomas Hylland Eriksen
18:30–20:00 on 20 March 2013, S75 St Clement’s Building, LSE

Has multiculturalism failed? The importance of lay knowledge and everyday practice
Dr. Caroline Howarth
18:30–20:00 on 22 May 2013, S75 St Clement’s Building, LSE

What does the non-Territorial model of autonomy have to offer in normatively multicultural states?
Prof. Ephraim Nimni
May 2013 (time and venue to be confirmed)
National Identity and Sport in Post-Conflict/Fractured Societies  
*Loughborough University, UK, 3 July 2013*

This cross-disciplinary workshop looks at national identities and sport in post-conflict/fractured societies. We are particularly interested in the following questions: What is the role of sport in these societies? To what extent does sport shape national identities in societies that are divided by past conflict? What is the nature of these changes and what mechanisms bring about these changes? To what extent does sport help to overcome fractures, create obstacles in overcoming fractures, or enhance fractures? Or does it combine these elements, thereby pulling in different directions?

We would like to hear from scholars who would like to present a paper at the workshop on the theme of National Identity and Sport in Post-Conflict/Fractured Societies. More generally, we would also be interested in hearing from scholars who are interested in joining an international network on this theme for further research.

While this project builds upon existing knowledge, it aims to break new ground by looking at particular aspects of national identities and sport in post-conflict fractured societies from the perspectives of various disciplines, including history, sociology, politics, international relations and geography. Some contributions may focus on individual disciplines while others may be inter-disciplinary.

The project goes beyond existing studies that present selected country specific research and pursues genuine comparative analysis by bringing together experts who rethink the nature of sport and national identities, and are prepared to work with partners on a specific theme. This network seeks to create a forum for exchange and co-operation and to facilitate the process of finding partners with a view of pursuing genuine comparative research. We are planning to set up a network website shortly.

If you would like to present a paper at the workshop please send an abstract of 300 words plus short biographical details to the conference network administrator Pauline Dainty: p.a.dainty@lboro.ac.uk

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**National Culture and National Habitus**

*Working Paper Series Call for Contributions*

Editors: Andreas Pickel and Gad Yair

Nations and national cultures receive less and less attention as scholars and the general public focus attention primarily on new transnational and global cultural realities. In many respects, this shift of attention is justified. The contributors to this series of working papers disagree with this dominant view to the extent that generalisations or comments on national culture, where they actually do occur in the globalisation debate, tend to be theoretically and empirically problematic.

For a variety of reasons, nations and national cultures have received little attention from mainstream social science. To be sure, the study of nations and nationalism has become a large and fruitful field of scholarly activity, albeit separated from fields such as society and culture, political economy, and global politics. But in theoretical terms, nations, national cultures and national habitus have no home as concepts and as part of larger conceptualisations of the social.

The contributions to this series attempt to zero in on this misunderstood and under theorised area by providing theoretical, conceptual or empirical arguments and evidence with the aim of creating a broader debate on the significance of national culture and national habitus in the global age. Contributions are invited from scholars who would like to participate in such a debate.

As working papers, contributions made to this series may be published elsewhere, previously published material can be made available on this site through links, abstracts, etc. Papers are not refereed, but the editors will reject those they do not consider of sufficient relevance to the series’s agenda.

Contact: apickel@trentu.ca
This issue we speak to a new ASEN Co-Chair!

What is your name and where are you from?
My name is Kristin Hissong. I grew up in New York and Colorado.

What are you currently studying/researching?
Currently I am researching the role of ethnicity in the development of nationalist narratives in divided societies. In particular, I look at the Jewish community of Protectorate-era Morocco under the influence of competing national narratives.

What led you to study nationalism?
My background is in French colonial history with an interest in Judaism as ethnicity versus religious identity. I’m fascinated by multi-layered identity studies and the relationship between nationalism and colonialism.

What do you plan to do after your PhD?
I want to continue to teach and pursue an active career in academia.

If you ruled the UK for a day and could implement any change or new policy, what would it be?
I would enhance the foreign language training of primary school teachers and pupils. The UK can be such a diverse and accepting haven in so many ways and yet quite stubborn to adapting to either demographic changes or embracing its role in an increasingly diverse Europe and global world. A greater commitment to foreign language skills from a young age would not only increase the skill base for the “leaders of tomorrow” but presumably also educate young people in various cultures and traditions.

On a less serious note, I would also invest in a team of snowploughs and weather response teams for motorways – I’m always amused by the way a bit of snow completely frazzles drivers and highway maintenance teams!

What is your favourite place in London?
A couple of my favourite places in London are Richmond Park and the ice rink at Alexandra Palace.

What is your favourite book?
I thought about this for too long and there are too many favourites to name, but right now I’m really enjoying anything by David Rakoff. My favourite of his most recent books is Half Empty.

What do you consider your greatest achievement to date?
My greatest achievement to date is probably where I am right now – getting to live and work in London while working on my PhD. Many years of higher education and hard work have led up to this point and I feel that this investment in my future is a pretty solid, albeit still in progress, achievement so far!

Members, raise your profile!

Email us: asen.newsletter@lse.ac.uk
NATIONALISM & REVOLUTION

The 23rd Annual ASEN Conference.
9-11 April 2013 at the London School of Economics.
For more details, visit www.lse.ac.uk/azen.

With Keynote Addresses from
John Breuilly, Charles King,
John Lonsdale, Karma Nabulsi,
Stein Tønnesson, Sami Zubaida