# The Role of Agency and Memory in Historical Understanding

# The Role of Agency and Memory in Historical Understanding:

## *Revolution, Reform, and Rebellion*

Edited by

Gordon P. Andrews and Yosay D. Wangdi

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The Role of Agency and Memory in Historical Understanding:
Revolution, Reform, and Rebellion

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Edited by Gordon P. Andrews and Yosay D. Wangdi

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*For our families Kunchok, Dawa Doma,*
*Ganden, Mindy, Ian, and Mia,*
*Because love and family matter*

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# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The History faculty of Grand Valley State University established the Great Lakes History Conference in 1975 to allow faculty from teaching institutions in the Midwest to present their scholarship to colleagues. The 2015 conference sponsored by the Department of History, the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences (CLAS) at Grand Valley State University, and the Michigan Council for History Education (MCHE), was held at Grand Valley State University's Allendale campus. As coordinators of the conference and editors of the book series, we would like to acknowledge and extend our deepest appreciation and thanks to the History Department, CLAS Dean Frederick J. Antczak, and MCHE for their valuable support, and to all our colleagues, office staff (Michelle Duram and Reda DeYoung) and students in the History department for helping us organize the conference panels and workshops.

Our sincere thanks go to the keynote speakers: Dr. Fritz Fischer from the University of Northern Colorado and Dr. Anthony T. Chase of Occidental College for their challenging and stimulating address on "Revolution, Reform**,** and Rebellion." Our deep gratitude goes to the contributors who participated in the conference and listened patiently as we persevered to communicate our vision to realize the proceedings into a book. We extend our special thanks to them for their singular support and willingness to work with us as we labored through the editorial process.

We are very indebted to Sherry Barricklow for all the technical support she provided in the most judicious and efficient manner. Her professionalism invigorated us to move on with our mission.

Yosay D. Wangdi
Gordon P. Andrews

# INTRODUCTION

The Great Lakes History Conference is in its forty-second year, and during that time has been fortunate to have some of the world's finest historians and lecturers illuminating many of history's most intriguing, and in some cases intractable, problems. Beginning with John Hope Franklin on race, Sherman Alexie on the American Indian Movement, and Eric Foner on "Civil Wars in a Global Context," the GLHC has demonstrated the capacity to examine a broad range of intriguing thematic subjects. In the past two years scholars have examined immigration by addressing the theme *Collisions and Encounters: Migrations in a Global Perspective, 15th Century to the Present*, and Jan T. Gross provided fresh insights on *Complicity and Resistance to Genocide in World History* with his fascinating essay addressing complicity at the local level. This series continues to address current issues facing the profession and broader humanity. The hope is that further historical explorations will aid in removing such obdurate occlusions to social cohesion.

The series *Historical and Pedagogical Issues in History*, as the title states, speaks to matters facing the educational community. Not only the urgency of keeping up with recent scholarship, but indeed how to then transmit that knowledge to the varied communities it informs. Those communities include professional historians, educators, and the larger public. This unique series provides readers with the first opportunity to read essays that thematically probe a significant historical issue by systematically unpacking the thorny questions, concerns, and disputes associated with historiography, evidence, and analysis, as well the most recent pedagogical approaches to teaching the history of each theme. That is to say, how do we communicate scholarship in a way that speaks to the research on historical thinking in the K-16 learning community?

This first book in the series has addressed new research on historical and pedagogical issues concerning *The Role of Agency and Memory in Historical Understanding: Revolution, Reform, and Rebellion.* Too often the sweeping histories that cover revolution, reform, and rebellion, fail to capture the historical agency of the individual. Here the agency of historical actors is tied to larger movements and explored, demonstrating the efficacy and power of individuals to act with historical impact. The nuanced role of memory, oft-neglected in larger national or global social

movements, is also included in both the historical pedagogical sections. This volume has sought to accomplish its goals by exploring such powerful themes through a broad range of subjects included throughout the edition on research and pedagogy of revolution, reform, and rebellion applied to race, ethnicity, political movements, labor, reconciliation, memory, and moral responsibility. Additionally, the authors are interested in issues related to pedagogy and assessment, asking fundamental questions about the way we teach histories of change, explored through the various lenses of historical actors. By addressing both agency and memory, this book has attempted to speak directly to gaps in the literature that will elaborate the collective understanding of profound historical movements.

To that end, the reader will benefit from content and pedagogical essays that are easily integrated and instructive of how to effectively implement current methodologies. For example, chapter two, "Bolivarianism: A Framework for Socialism in the Twenty-First Century?" Chapter three, "Tibetan Identity: Transformations within the Diaspora," and chapter four, "Ein feste Burg: Transcending the Tune," are organized under the themes of *History, Memory and Identity: Thought, Agency, and Actions.* Chapter five, "'Incorporating Rights: The Nexus of Race, Labor, and the State," and chapter six, "A Favored Witness to History, Queen of the Belgians Louise-Marie," are organized under the themes of *Race, Class, Labor, and Gender*. The remainder of the content essays are subsumed under two remaining themes; *Slavery, Religion and Graphic Narratives* is addressed by three essays including "Blood on the Cornfields: Hate, Race, and Nat Turner's Rebellion in Heavy Metal Music," "Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie, the Scottish Reformation, and the Rebellion Against Mary, Queen of Scots," and "Approved by the Comics Code Authority: Saving America's Youth from Juvenile Delinquency." The last theme is *Education, Memory, and History,* containing two essays that serve as transitions from the content material in the first half, and the pedagogical material in the second half of the book. Those essays, "The East Asian Triangular Matrix: The Role of History and Memory for China, Japan and Korea," and "Writing about the Arsenal: Detroit in World War II," prepare the way for contemplative examinations of the many influences on successful pedagogies and the larger societal and global ramifications.

In the second half of the book, the reader will encounter ten essays with an introduction that illuminates current issues and research on K-16 history pedagogy. The chapters suggest meaningful approaches to increasing historical understanding of the many nuanced issues of collective memory facing those who teach revolution, reform, and rebellion. Opening with an

examination of the many pressures, "Teaching Revolution, Reform, and Rebellion (and those who seek to prevent it) launches the opening salvo for those in the field who need to transmit new content in an always contentious arena. The first research grouping includes the essays that make excellent use of both quantitive and qualitative research that can be used as instructive examples to address the themes of *History, Memory, and Identity*, as well as *Race, Class, Labor, and Gender* in the content area. Those essays include chapter thirteen, "Agency and Historical Inquiry in the Elementary Classroom," chapter fourteen, "Bridging Reading and Writing: Using Historians' Writing Processes as Clues to Support Students' Writing," chapter fifteen, in which Stacey Brockman uses structured academic controversies to enliven and engage students, and chapter sixteen, where Gordon Andrews investigates how to use historiography increase historical understanding and interest. Chapter seventeen "SO WHAT? Making the Teaching of History a Life Changing Experience," and chapter eighteen, "Hidden Meanings: A WWII Letter Home, round out effective strategies that explore thematically appropriate content. The remaining essays include "Globalize It! Using a U.S. History Museum to Construct a Global Story of the Industrial Revolution," "Partnership in the Preservation of Rustbelt Queer History," and "'I had almost forgotten I was in a classroom setting': Reacting to the Past and Engagement with Historical Thinking." These final essays are extraordinarily useful in addressing the content themes of *Education, Memory, and History*, as well as *Slavery, Religion, and Graphic Narratives.* The integral nature of history and pedagogy are served well by the selection of essays, and it is to research on *The Role of Agency and Memory in Historical Understanding: Revolution, Reform, and Rebellion* that we now turn.

Yosay D. Wangdi
Gordon P. Andrews

# PART 1:

# THE ROLE OF AGENCY AND MEMORY IN HISTORICAL UNDERSTANDING: REVOLUTION, REFORM, AND REBELLION

# CHAPTER ONE

# INTRODUCING REVOLUTION, REFORM, AND REBELLION: A SCHEMA FOR AGENCY AND CHANGE

YOSAY WANGDI
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Revolution, reform, and rebellion are milestones in the continuum of history and facets of social change that are led, shaped and empowered by the cultural agency of individuals as part of the collective cultural memory. These milestones of social change and unrest begin with the quiet revolution of thought and develop into more complex organizing strategies dependent upon natural and societal factors. Rather than static moments in a timeline, they are dynamic, fluid and interconnected: Revolution begins with thought, rebellion with actions and reform with legislation, war or new government and has been present throughout history capturing the human imagination with images of upheaval, cataclysm, fear, civil disturbance, displacement of people, crisis, and violence. Yet, social change has always promised the expectation of something better: transformation, innovation, and hope. History is resplendent with the changes brought about by revolution, reform and rebellion upon human societies, setting in motion far-reaching reforms in the areas of education, religion, economy, culture, government, and laws. History is not static; revolution of thought from any time period may be the seed of new action and consequence.

Revolutionary thought, the seed of rebellion and reform and the precursor to action, is sparked by the deeply rooted understanding of members within a society that fundamental human needs must be met for that society to live, grow and prosper. When fundamental rights and needs are not met, revolution of thought made manifest by society's leaders and citizens fuels actions in the form of rebellions, wars or legal challenges to

the existing and established political order the result of which, is the establishment of a new order radically different or more transformed than the preceding one (reform). Eric Selbin, in his book *Revolution, Rebellion, Resistance* notes how these movements toward social change are rooted in basic human needs.

> it [Revolution as the overarching concept that includes rebellion and reform] is also associated for many with struggles for food, land, peace, justice, access to resources, autonomy or new opportunities in the form of home, healthcare, income, and education. For many, revolution suggests 'better must come' and it is among that category of terms that it is instantly recognizable as a dramatic upheaval involving a group of united people overthrowing their government and, if successful, making profound and significant changes to their society.[1]

Revolutions may quietly ripple through the timeline of history with threads of thought altering and changing the very system from within, serving a historical time period and future time periods; but essentially at its core, it always begins with ideas and thoughts. According to James C. Davies in his article "Towards a theory of Revolution," it is a "dissatisfied state of mind," that produces revolution. Just as it is for individuals, so it is with societies and cultures that when expectations and reality are contradictory and rising expectations remain unfulfilled, dissatisfaction becomes the breeding ground for revolutions and rebellions.[2] Through this lens, all revolution may be seen to begin in thought shaped by the collective history and culture of the revolutionary/revolutionaries that includes his/her/their experience, identity, culture, language, and religion. This collective force coming from deep within like the memory contained within the double helix (DNA) exerts a hidden moral and social influence. Invisible yet powerful like gravity this agency binds change agents to a course of action demanded by that force. Less a choice and more a responsibility, individuals and cultures of people are thrust into action to change the existing structure or social order that is rife with discontent and not meeting the needs of the people.

This is the source of agency: the capacity of an entity (a person or other entity, or soul-consciousness in religion) to act in any given environment to produce a particular result. It is a state of being in action when one is exerting one's power.[3] Individual and collective memory plays a fundamental role in reviving and awakening a person(s) identity in order to develop agency in word and action to resist, rebel, revolt or reform. Like a note that reverberates along the string of an instrument, it awakens others who are resonant to its frequency. Social change is a

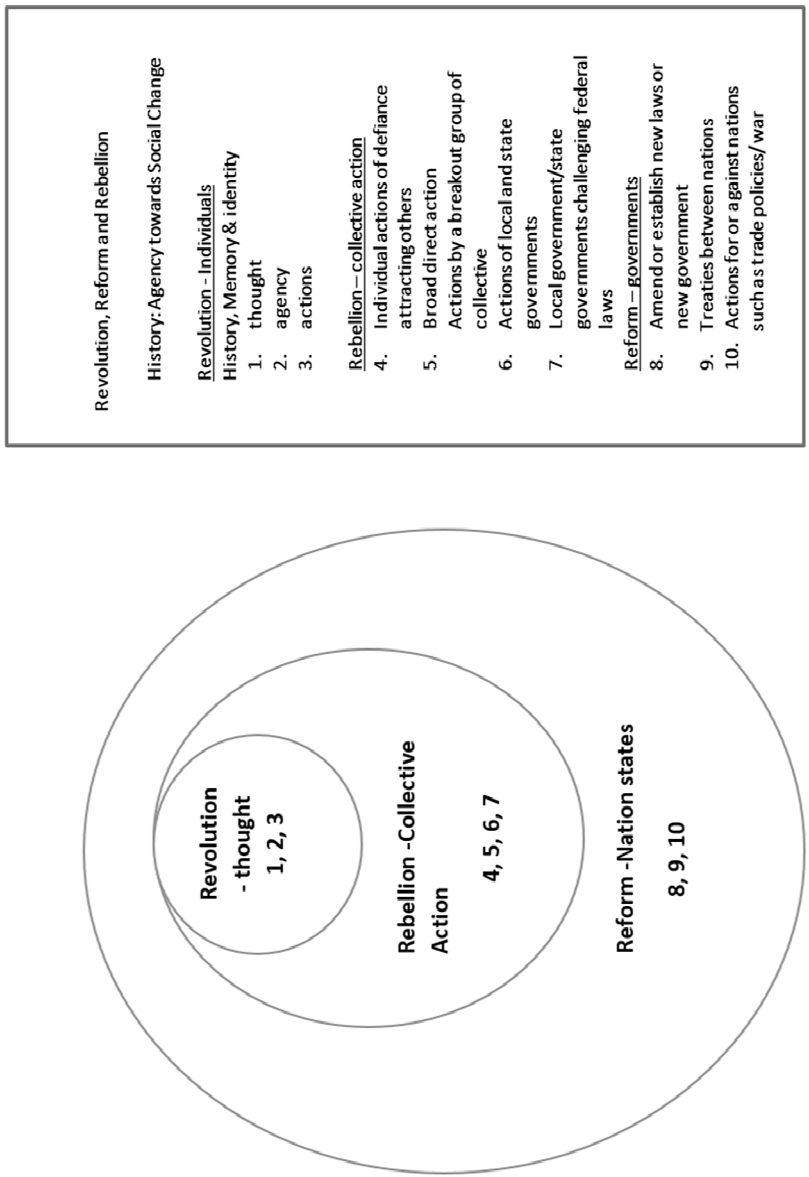
wavelike progression of thought among the people with a shared purpose, reason, intention, hope or aspiration. The widespread appeal of these ideas and aspirations cause people to commit to action whether it be rebellion, an uprising or revolt.

Agency animates the timeline continuum so that social change events are fluid and dynamic rather than static. To return to the metaphor of DNA, agency comes from the cultural experiences of individuals within cultural communities, conditioned and molded by their own specific social, economic and political circumstances and catalyzes them as change agents. This individual agency or collective agency may gain momentum and expand into a broader social field and inspire rebellions leading to sweeping reform of government dependent upon the extent a need resonates with the people and picks up momentum and speed in their minds and consciousness as a shared phenomenon.

Historically, cultural memory has been determined to be a powerful force (agency) that influences revolution, reform, and rebellion. By its nature, it is not subject to periods of stasis, but flows continuously with a power to continually shake our world. The impact of cultural memory transcends the boundaries of nation states and national identity and infuses the power of agency. As an example, the seminal U.S. Declaration of Independence, was seeded by the cultural memory of oppression within America's founding fathers and the idea of equality based on the power (agency) vested in them not from a government but by the creator and natural law. Power was no longer defined as given by a king but within a people based on natural rights. This powerful revolutionary thought that developed agency and spawned rebellions, war and the ultimate reform of government and establishment of a new nation is but one example.

There is no dearth of individuals in history, both large and small who successfully mobilized masses, forged reforms**,** and laws and changed the world. Through speeches and actions, they have incited and inspired change even when faced with resistance from others who cling to old ideas. Their individual actions of defiance attracted others to their movement, inciting rebellion and collective direct action. Echoes of the U.S. Declaration of Independence and other independence movements with a basis in cultural memory continue to resound throughout the world and the thoughts behind it is a source that can be drawn from by other societies when the need for social change is present. In this league, Mahatma Gandhi, the 20$^{th}$ century political and spiritual leader of India, stands as a prominent figure, whose deep commitment to independence following a path of non-violent civil disobedience became a beacon of hope for millions in their struggle for home rule. With Revolution (1-2) -

Schema of Revolution, Rebellion and Reform



thought and agency, he was able to lead a Rebellion (5)- collective direct action drawing upon collective memory as people of every rank and file made independence their goal which ultimately ended with independence, Reform (8)- establishment of a new government. Likewise, Martin Luther King Jr., the charismatic civil rights leader and Baptist minister captured people's imagination with his speeches in his campaign against the segregation laws that kept Blacks separate from Whites in the South (1929-1968). His civil rights movement gained momentum drawing upon history and the cultural memory of slavery which led to the Rebellion (4-5)- individual and collective actions which captured the hearts of Americans and resulted in the end of segregation laws, Reform (8)- legislation in the South. The mass appeal of their thoughts combined with their leadership skills is what made it a force that created the agency for change.

## Contributions

As co-editor, I present these historical accounts as testament to the agency that animates time and change. Each account represents a snapshot of social change; beginning and ending within the framework at different points within the continuum from revolution of thought to rebellion (actions by a collective) and reform in terms of legislation, new governments or treaties between nation states. The protagonists are all agents of change whose concerns cover a wide range of topics that includes:- government, politics, religion, literature, policies, race, labor, class, gender, identity, nationalism, music, education, and war. In laying out the multi-disciplinary positions of the contributor's interpretation of each category, I have arranged the essays within the framework of the above schema. The contributors are public historians, professors, and teachers who show us how memory and identity have contributed to individual and collective agency in history and contribute to our understanding of social change. These contributions and accounts thematically probe a significant historical issue by systematically researching and analyzing complex and intricate questions, concerns, and disputes associated with the historiography. The authors propose mind-provoking and refreshing new variables for studying revolution, reform, and rebellion and by probing issues of revolution, rebellion, reform, agency, cultural inheritance, and memory (individual and collective), the chronicles contribute to the ongoing discourse on the critical theory of the subject.

## Revolution, Rebellion, and Reform

### *History, Memory, and Identity: Thought, Agency, and Actions*

Modern perspectives on the discourse on revolution has moved towards increasingly sophisticated analysis of questions concerning culture, agency, memory and identity as well as race, class, labor, and gender. Chapters 2-6 are presented as creative interpretations on these themes. Memory occupies a central place in contemporary interpretations of what it means to do history. Scholars propose a diversity of terms such as: collective memories, cultural memory, social memory, national memory, public memory, political memory, personal memory and so on.[4] It is deeply associated with social identity, nation building, ideology, and citizenship.[5] The relation between history, memory, and identity remains an ineluctable one for they are socially and politically situated.

In chapter 2, Elena De Costa assesses the substantial relationship between collective memory, coextensive with cultural inheritance, and individual memory. Her chapter, "Bolivarianism: A Framework for Socialism in the Twenty-First Century?" discusses how cultural memories of Simón Bolívar, the Venezuelan general and liberator, renowned for his progressive ideals and social projects of national and continental calibre provided the thought, agency and action for change (1-3)- The Bolivarian Revolution in Venezuela under Hugo Chávez . The goal of Chávez, the charismatic president of Venezuela (1999–2013) was to demythologize and modernize the revolutionary truths of his country's national historical memory through a revitalization of Bolívar's doctrine informing a revolutionary path in present-day Venezuela. Known simply as *chavismo*, his ideological goal culminated in transforming the social milieu of Venezuelans through emancipatory actions. Thus the Bolivarian principles of the 19th century provided the catalyst-agency that informed the revolutionary thoughts of Chávez, in the 21st century leading to Reforms (8) - legislation and constitutional laws. De costa's convincing analysis and her effort to shed light on Bolivarianism as both a nationalist project and a socialist process make the chapter a valuable addition to the scholarship on Revolution and Reform.

Shared memories of the loss of land and country can be a powerful force for resistance, rebellion, and revolution. And historically revolutionaries and radicals have sought to animate shared memories and interpret their circumstances for the production of powerful constructions. Chapter 3, "Tibetan Identity: Transformations within the Diaspora," by Yosay Wangdi is an analysis of the discourse on Tibetan identity in exile. The

13th Dalai Lama's attempts to modernize, to undertake Reforms (8) - amend or establish new laws and generate national unity was unsuccessful due to internal conflicts. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) skillfully exploited this infighting and schisms. An ironical boon, the 1959 invasion unwittingly awakened Tibetans to a deep feeling of what it means to be a Tibetan. Invasion by an outside power, aroused for the first time powerful emotions and pride in being part of the Tibetan nation. The national collective memory of occupation constituted a Revolution (2) - political agency in Tibetan self-understanding. And so, 10th March, 1959 rebellion carries profound political meanings of freedom and the right of self-determination. In this discursive field of memory creation, occupation and exile functioned as the central metaphor, giving a sense of responsibility and agency. It became imperative to remember the suffering of the past. Concurrently, as Tibetans take pride in retaining and sustaining old residual cultural norms, new ones are being grafted onto the old. Wangdi's paper examines the role of cultural memory as a powerful force (agency) in the dynamic transformations in diaspora, occurring in what is understood as Tibetan nationalism. Central to this issue is their call for meaningful Reforms in Tibet (8) - amend or establish new laws (autonomy) or a new government (Independence). Her essay explores the various developments that are forging a new dynamic into the character of Tibetan thought and identity.

The memory of Martin Luther as an emancipator who dared to defy the existing religious order still resounds in the modern world. His revelation that questioned the established belief of the necessity of church intercession to go to heaven, was a thought that ignited a blaze of turmoil and revolt across nations in Europe. In Chapter 4,"Ein feste Burg: Transcending the Tune," Kathryn White examines the discursive and narrative foundations of Martin Luther's musical memory. "Ein feste Burg" reveal not just simply that many composers used the tune, but rather how the tune became embedded in musical memory. Emanating in the late 1520s from its importance for the Reformation, Luther's "Ein feste Burg" has reappeared in many musical works as an emblem of Revolution (1-3), Reform (8), and Rebellion (5). Symbolic as a religious and also as a national movement, throughout its history in musical borrowing, "Ein feste Burg" acquired different meanings and identities. It is noteworthy that we are still seeing new adaptations of the Reformation original nearly five hundred years after its composition. White claims that, though many studies have demonstrated the significance of Luther's memorable melody, these studies have not sufficiently addressed its Lutheran context. Her study fills this gap by assessing the Lutheran origins of the tune and

assigning it an identity. Its application and treatment by numerous composers, ultimately reveal a transcendent meaning of the tune as a historical strand, making the tune history meaningful.

## *Race, Class, Labor, and Gender*

Among the many theories, one belief is that revolutions occur when a major change takes place in one area of the social structure. The application of this approach is best expressed by Marx who traces all revolutions to changes within the division of labor in a society. Though the Marxian theory of looking at life is restricted solely to the material point of view and disregards other factors, it is true that he identifies the key factor. The notion of class-struggle between the antithetical forces- the exploited minorities by the exploiter to produce social change has also provided scope for theorists to include race and gender in the study of social revolutions.

In chapter 5, "'Incorporating Rights: The Nexus of Race, Labor, and the State," Gordon Andrews explores, the changing landscape in the US with regard to race, labor, and the law. The year 1921, witnessed the largest labor uprising/Rebellion (4-5) - individual and collective actions of defiance, in US history at Blair Mountain in West Virginia. Organized by the association of miners including African Americans demanding better living and working conditions from their employers, it was an unprecedented illustration of interracial cooperation and class solidarity. Despite its failure to unionize, it would continue to challenge the system using the power of the strike, and also the power of the courts. Andrews's critical assessment of the 14th Amendment as an amendment that was rapidly corporatized and subordinated to the whims of the White political elite during the Plessy Era of jurisprudence and its woeful impact on the condition of race and labor nationally, culminating in its "rejuvenation," following *Gitlow v. New York* in 1925, is an enlightening glimpse of race, labor and law in action. The "incorporation doctrine," Reforms (8) - allowing the Court to transfer civil liberty protections of Bill of Rights to the citizens of the states, a decision of the Supreme Court, revolutionized the courts for Charles Hamilton Houston a practicing attorney. Houston's groundbreaking cases used the courts as part of three-pronged strategies to expand civil rights in the workplace and the nation as a whole. Andrews critical evaluation of the nexus between race, labor, and the state, in the aftermath of the war, viewed within the broader historical constructs of race, labor, legal system and government add powerful insights into the

ongoing discourse (in the US but also applicable to the world) for an egalitarian society protected by national force.

The agency of individuals or community comes from cultural experience and societal impact. Our race/class/gender positions and identities are constructed and shaped by our families. Therefore, one way to theorize, race, class, and gender would be at the intersection of the family.[6] This logic has specific relevance to Chapter 6, "A Favored Witness to History, Queen of the Belgians Louise-Marie," by Mary Duarte. It examines the account of Louise-Marie in the midst of post-revolution Belgium through the prism of gender/feminist perspective as she navigates in her role as Queen of the Belgians. Individuals have a tendency to remember events that are more culturally available. Her letters to her mother initially reveals how her very French heritage precludes her understanding of the historical significance of the Belgian Revolution (1-2) - thought and agency, and her historic responsibility as Queen. The letters also reveal her evolution as Queen, and her understanding of the political value of her marriage, her critical role (2) - agency in soliciting the support of her father, the King of France for the cause of Belgium as she witnesses her husband's battle to guarantee the survival and integrity of the new country of Belgium.

## *Slavery, Religion, and Graphic Narratives*

Liberty, equality, justice, physical deprivation all lie at the forefront of modern revolutionary thought. The anti-slavery or abolition movement was a nonpareil reform of the 18th and 19th centuries. The 1830s in the United States was characterized by the struggle between the abolitionist who would not equivocate in its war against slavery and those who supported slavery. Chapter 7, "Blood on the Cornfields: Hate, Race, and Nat Turner's Rebellion in Heavy Metal Music," by Cody H. Smith, examines Nat Turner's Rebellion that occurred in Virginia in 1831. The Rebellion exemplifies individual undertaking of defiance and actions by a breakout group of collectives (4-5), who become the agency for change and reform to end slavery. Smith's focus on the song "Blood on the Cornfields" by the American black metal band, *Cormorant* is an expression of music as an important forum of public discourse for rebellious events. His contrast of racist music and its goal to spread racial discord, with mainstream heavy metal music that appeals to intellect and history to combat the message of hate music, reflects the intent to elevate heavy metal music as worthy of consideration under the serious subject of historical rebellions. The perceptual effect of this juxtaposition is presented by Smith as a counterpoint to express their different messages.

Metal musicians who oppose racist bands, Smith notes, see themselves as the "agency of power for society's oppressed and downtrodden to rebel against cultural institutions, not a tool of hate and subjugation." Therefore, "Blood on the Cornfields," and its likes serves as an expression of Revolution (2)-agency in 20th-century heavy metal music.

The reformatory and rebellious activities of the Scot Calvinist is the subject of the essay by Darlene M. Hall. The Reformation represented the ecclesiastical aspect of the emergence of national states. The forsaking of a sense of Christian universality has plagued Europe with religious disunity. Chapter 8, "Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie, the Scottish Reformation, and the Rebellion Against Mary, Queen of Scots," examines the 16th century manuscript by Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie, a continuance of the chronicle by Hector Boece which ended with the assassination of James I Stewart in 1437. Lindesay's goal was to take the narrative into the reign of James VI. The turbulent times after the death of James V, with the regency of Mary of Guise for their daughter, Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, and her return from France, against the backdrop of the Reformation, provide Lindesay with his most valuable material. Lindesay's accounts of heresy trials and executions underscore the inevitability of rebellion. The Scot Calvinist were men driven by a fierce sense of religious, moral and collective responsibility to Reform (8)-amend a government that was unresponsive to the people's changing needs and to bring down a Catholic queen. In examining this Rebellion (5) - by a breakout group of collective, Hall proposes to give at least a few of those individuals a fresh look, by way of Robert Lindesay's *Cronicles.*

Reform reflects the sensitivity of a small number of persons to current imperfections and concerns. In this sense, the reformers are voices of conscience. Chapter 9, "Approved by the Comics Code Authority: Saving America's Youth from Juvenile Delinquency," by Jennifer Swartz-Levine discusses the development of the Comics Code Seal. Awareness of the threat of comics as damaging material for children that incites resistance and rebellion led critics such as Dr. Frederic Wertham, a psychiatrist and the Congressional Subcommittee investigating juvenile delinquency in 1954 to push for Reforms (8)-the Comics Code, to safeguard the young. But asserts Levine, even as the Comics Code attempted to impose a monolithic ideal of American values, writers, and artists at the same time were working to subvert the stringent list of rules that they were required to comply with. Their Rebellion (4)- acts of defiance to negate the reform and make the regulation irrelevant succeeded with the 1971 issues of two seminal story arcs dealing with the ills of drug addiction, *The Amazing Spider-Man and Green Lantern/Green Arrow.* Once again comics could be

a fertile ground for exploring the ever shifting cultural issues and using their pages as a forum to encourage social change. Though essentially the essay concerns with the influence of comics on children, the breach of regulation that Levine's essay illustrates is emblematic of the larger diachronic problem of rebellion and reforms; the conflict of interests and values between the agencies of rebellion, reform, and resistance.

## *Education, Memory, and History*

To what extent is collective memory the real past or one that is socially constructed? Why do hegemonic powers deliberately sustain powerful traumatic memories? What are some of the potentials and problems in the way governments exploit the notions of culture and memory to interpret aspects of history? Chapter 10, "The East Asian Triangular Matrix: The Role of History and Memory for China, Japan and Korea," by Randall Doyle provides insight to these issues in the context of the problematic relation between China, Japan and Korea. These nation's nationalistic memories, fed by powerful and deeply rooted collective memories of war and cultural oppression engenders a Revolution (1-2) - thought and agency, that remains viscerally powerful and unforgiving. History, as Doyle asserts, is inescapable. Drawing on personal interaction and scholarship, Doyle's effort is to provide clarity about the ever-present animosity and distrust that China, Japan and Korea continue to exhibit towards each other. Both history and memory, Doyle claims have always been defined and interpreted differently by China, Japan and Korea. While China faults Japan for not teaching "correct history," China's educational system is manipulated and repressed. According to Doyle this indigenous cultural trait, makes northeast Asia interesting but also irrefutably one of the most dangerous locales in the world. This intransigence alters the very nature of the relation of the East Asian neighbors and impedes meaningful Reforms (9-10) - treaties and policies in the 21st century making any hope for a diplomatic breakthrough in the East China Sea hard to achieve.

The last essay in the anthology moves on to discuss the memory of wartime Detroit. In chapter 11**,** "Writing about the Arsenal: Detroit in World War II," Gregory Sumner pays homage to the city of Detroit for its historic role as the epicenter of what Franklin Roosevelt called the "Arsenal of Democracy" during World War II. The armaments that poured out of that Midwestern metropolis (a city "Forging Thunderbolts," in the words of a visiting *New York Times* reporter) contributed remarkably to the eventual Allied victory over Fascism. In that sense, Detroit represented a Revolution (2) - agency mirrored by the major figures against Fascism to

fuel action/Rebellion (5) - to make armaments for the War. Sumner's contribution speaks of his commitment to keep alive the memory of wartime Detroit, to combat the culture of 'forgetting' in our students and to preserve local history.

"The duty to remember is a duty to teach, whereas the duty to forget is a duty to go beyond anger and hatred."[7] This cautionary motto by Ricoeur, is a reminder to avoid getting fixated on memories that abnegates any human understanding or sympathetic awareness. One of the chronic issues that educators confront is the relationship between education, memory, and history. To illustrate this, let us examine Sumner's brief and very personal narrative of Detroit as an "Arsenal of Democracy" during World War II and Doyle's insight into the current political impasse in the relation between China, Japan, and Korea. Both essays in the anthology employ memory as a category, critical for pedagogies in the context of the implications of memory, history, and identity in the process of education. For Sumner, keeping alive memories of Detroit and its heroic role in World War II is the task of formal educational activities. Interestingly, while Sumner worries about the culture of 'forgetting in students,' Doyle's essay speaks to the dangers of nurturing memories that has the potential to disrupt the possibility of promoting understanding and peace with neighbors. Doyle candidly asserts both history and memory, has always been defined and interpreted differently by the East Asian neighbors. His essay is a close study of how each nation's political culture and educational system is feeding into the deep dissatisfaction that exists within each society. Such that, asserts Doyle, every time some progress is being made on some sensitive historical issue(s) that have divided them for generations, success always eludes their collective grasp. An important premise of his contribution is therefore, the import of government efforts to control and shape people's memories by stringently orchestrating the educational system. His essay highlights the grave implications of advancing an educational system that focus on nurturing a union of interests, purposes, and sympathies based on disturbing memories of past injuries.

Both essays demonstrate the meaning and significance of memories in the history curriculum and its agency in influencing revolution or rebellion or reform. Though they maneuver in different directions in terms of the meaning and implications of remembrance and forgetting, its contrast is suggestive of the challenges faced by teachers in considering the subject of memories to enrich understanding in history.

## Notes

[1] Eric Selbin, *Revolution, Rebellion, Resistance*, *The Power of Story* (London: Zed Books Ltd., 2010), 13.

[2] James C. Davies, "Towards a theory of Revolution," *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 27, No. 1. (Feb., 1962), 5-19; For examples of comparative studies of revolutions and structural theories to explain the origins and spread of revolution, see Charles Tilly, *From Mobilization to Revolution* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co., 1978); Jack A Goldstone, *Revolutions: Theoretical, Comparative, and Historical Studies* (London : Harcourt Brace College Pub., 1993); Arthur L Stinchcombe, *Constructing Social Theories* (Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1987).

[3] For an introduction to some philosophical works on agency, see for example, Hugh J. McCann, *The Works of Agency: On Human Action, Will and Freedom* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998); Timothy O'Connor, *Persons and Causes: The Metaphysics of Free Will* ( New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Anthony Flew and Godfrey Vesey, *Agency and Necessity* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987).

[4] For scholarship on Memory Studies see, Michalinos Zembylas and Zvi Bekerman, "Education and the Dangerous Memories of Historical Trauma: Narratives of Pain, Narratives of Hope," *Curriculum Inquiry*, Vol. 38, No. 2. (March 2008), 125-154. See also: M. Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950/1992); J. Fentress and C. Wickham, *Social Memory* (London: Blackwell, 1992); J. Winter and E. Sivan, "Setting the Framework," in J. Winter and E. Sivan eds., *War and Remembrance in the twentieth century* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 6-39; J. Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the twentieth century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992); A. Assmann, "Memory, Individual and Collective," in R. Goodin and C. Tilly, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Contextual Political Analysis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 210-224.

[5] M.S. Santos, "Memory and Narrative in Social Theory The contributions of Jacques Derrida and Walter Benjamin," *Time & Society*, 10 (2001), 163-189.

[6] John Foran, "Studying Revolutions through the prism of race, gender, and class: Notes towards a framework," *Marxism: Race, Gender, & Class*, Vol. 8, No. 2. (2001), 117-141.

[7] P. Ricoeur, "Memory and Forgetting," in R.K. Earney and M.D. Ooley eds., *Questioning Ethics: Contemporary Debates in Philosophy* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 5-11.

# CHAPTER TWO

# BOLIVARIANISM: A FRAMEWORK FOR SOCIALISM IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY?

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Indissociable from current human activities, memory is obviously crucial in defining extraordinary situations, whether they be 'great events', path-breaking moments in history, or, traumatic personal experiences. Needless to say, collective memory, coextensive with cultural inheritance, finds a necessary counterpart in and holds a substantial relationship with, individual memory. And so, Simón Bolívar, the Venezuelan general and liberator, is remembered for his progressive ideals—social projects of national and continental caliber that were never fully realized: democracy and independence for Latin America, national autonomy, freedom for slaves and indigenous peoples, land reform, education for all, to name but a few of his ambitious programs. It was the goal of Hugo Chávez as Venezuelan president to demythologize and modernize the revolutionary truths of his country's national historical memory through a revitalization of Bolívar's doctrine, informing a revolutionary path in present-day Venezuela (*The Bolivarian Revolution.*) The Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela sought to regain its national autonomy through the reclamation of oil sovereignty. Equality for native peoples manifested itself in the return of public lands to indigenous communities. Ambitious social programs (neighborhood "missions") became the staple of the once marginalized with a focus on education, vocational training, nutrition and health (with free clinics staffed by Cuban doctors), and organic agricultural projects. With the distribution of the Bolivarian Constitution as a portable document nation-wide, a reconciliation of the marginalized with their active role in participatory democracy occurred. With the

institutionalization of the Bolivarian Revolution through the economic and social integration of the marginalized into the fabric of Venezuelan society, individual *agency* (and The New Left) emerged. Hugo Chávez espoused a liberating narrative, which challenged Venezuelans to transform their social milieu through emancipatory action. Chavez' narrative is meaningful to the extent that it captures the vitality and dynamic of social life in Venezuela through the lens of the great liberator, Simón Bolívar the namesake of his revolution. Bolívar's narrative is transformed, its patterns are rearranged, its significance determined anew as the processes of history erupt into the human experiences of the twenty-first century with both old and new challenges.

This essay will examine the nineteenth-century liberator's set of political doctrines in the context of the twenty-first century social milieu—i.e., Simón Bolívar's ideas enjoying currency in present-day Venezuela. It will focus on how once marginalized groups take possession of public discourse in the following areas: (1) the incorporation of women's voices once limited within a patriarchical society; (2) the unprecedented voice, political power, and concrete living improvements afforded to the impoverished; and (3) the recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples with communal ownership and self-governance of their lands. And, in the balance, it will offer a retrospective of how Chavista authoritarian tactics negatively impacted liberal democracy with a quasi-socialist, personality-based state and increasing economic, social, and political dysfunction, as well as frequent abuses of Venzuelans' political rights and civil liberties—a dichotomy between leadership style and sociopolitical goals, the dichotomy of Simón Bolívar the man and the myth.

Known throughout Latin America as *El Libertador,* Venezuelan revolutionary Simón Bolívar (1783-1830) was one of the most important leaders in the Americas' wars of independence from Spain. Bolívar's unrealized dreams for Latin America were revived by Venezuela's president Hugo Chávez for his own political program of *The New Left* movement in Venezuela—"The Bolivarian Revolution." The galvanizing words and political philosophy of this nineteenth-century liberator remain as relevant for the twenty-first century with all of its sociopolitical and socioeconomic struggles as they were in Bolívar's own time. Indeed, Bolívar's projects did not die with him. "I awake every hundred years when the people awake," El Libertador says in a poem by the Chilean Nobel poet laureate Pablo Neruda. And it is the people's voice that echoes that of the Liberator as they struggle anew to establish a world of equals, a society modeling justice for all, regardless of race, ethnic origin, social status, or professional affiliation. So what wisdom can a nineteenth-