Communications and Empire since 1815

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Tuesday 2:10-4:00

Rationale: This course examines the interlinked evolution of communications networks and the exercise of international power, bringing together topics in communications, history, and international relations that are normally treated in isolation. We are especially interested in the sets of practices that now go under the ambiguous term “soft power” and in their relationship to military power and traditional notions of government-centered diplomacy.

The course offers students approaches to the conceptual literature in international relations, cultural studies (i.e. hegemony), and communications theory. It is organized chronologically, with special emphasis on the European and American experience from the Congress of Vienna in 1815 to the present. A particular focus is the linkages between new communications media--from the mass press and telecommunications to Internet—and the establishment and maintenance of Great Power hegemony. In the final weeks, we will consider contemporary debates over the efficacy of communications media in challenging dominant institutions. Weekly readings include both wide-ranging academic monographs and fine-grained primary sources.

The course is intended primarily for Ph. D. students in communications, history, political science, sociology, and related fields. M. S. and M. A. students in journalism are welcome.

**Students are expected to read the assigned texts in advance of the class discussion and to prepare a brief memorandum on each week’s readings (after the first week).** The class will be conducted as a seminar: that is, it will be organized around discussions of the assigned texts. The written assignments consist of: (1) a five-page analysis of a pre-1914 new media initiative; (2) a fifteen-page research essay on a topic of the student’s choice that has been approved in advance by the instructor.

Grading will be based on the following criteria

1. class participation, including memoranda (40 percent)
2. five-page policy/historical analysis (20 percent)
3. prospectus and fifteen-page research paper (40 percent)

Both papers must be submitted in hard copy; email attachments are not accepted.

**UNIT 1: APPROACHES**

**Week 1: Old Diplomacy/New Diplomacy**

Required: Hans J. Morgenthau, "Diplomacy," in Morgenthau, Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace, 7th ed. (2005), vii-xiv, 3-17, 86-100, 563-579, 584-594; Harold Nicolson, The Evolution of the Diplomatic Method (1954), chap. 4; Daniel W. Drezner, “Night of the Living Wonks: Toward an International Relations Theory of Zombies*,”* Foreign Policy, 180 (2010).

Recommended: Hedley Bull, "Diplomacy and International Order," in Bull, The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics (2002), 156-77; Drezner, Theories of International Politics and Zombies (2011).

**Week 2: Hegemony and Power**

Required: Joseph S. Nye, Jr., Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics (2004), 1-32, 127-47; Robert W. Cox, "Gramsci, Hegemony, and International Relations: An Essay in Method," Millennium: Journal of International Studies,12 (1983): 162–75; Michael Barnett and Raymond Duvall, “Power in International Politics,” International Organization, 59 (2005): 39-75.

Recommended: Joseph S. Nye, Jr., and William A. Owens, "America's Information Edge," Foreign Affairs, 75 (1996).

**Week 3: Network Theory**

Required: David Singh Grewal, Network Power: The Social Dynamics of Globalization (2008); Harold Innis, “The Bias of Communication,” in The Bias of Communication (1951), pp. 33-60; Innis, Empire and Communications (1950), chap. 7.

Recommended: Manuel Castells, The End of Millennium, 2nd ed. (2010); Majid Tehranian, “Global Communication and International Relations: Changing Paradigms and Policies,” International Journal of Peace Studies, 2 (January 1997); Philip N. Howard, Castells on the Media (2011).

**UNIT 2: FROM THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS**

**Week 4: The Nineteenth-Century International Order**

Required: Martin H. Geyer and Johannes Paulmann, ed., The Mechanics of Internationalism: Culture, Society, and Politics from the 1840s to the First World War (2001), intro., chap. 1-7;Duncan S. A. Bell, “Dissolving Distance: Technology, Space, and Empire in British Political Thought, 1770-1900,” Journal of Modern History, 77 (2005): 523-62; Walter LeFeber “Technology and U. S. Foreign Relations,” Diplomatic History, 24 (2000): 1-19.

# Recommended: Julian Go, Patterns of Empire: The British and American Empires, 1688 to the Present (2011).

**Week 5: Free Trade and Colonialism in the Victorian World**

Required: Jurgen Osterhammel and Niels P. Petersson, Globalization: A Short History (2005), chaps. 3-4; Dwayne Winseck and Robert Pike, Communications and Empire: Media, Markets, and Globalization, 1860–1930 (2007); Halford Mackinder, “The Geographical Pivot of History,” Royal Geographic Society (1904).

**Week 6: Empires of Reform in a Progressive Age**

Required: Ian Tyrrell, Reforming the World: The Creation of America’s Moral Empire (2010).

**Week 7: Wartime Strategic Communication: World War I**

Required: Jonathan Reed Winkler, Nexus: Strategic Communications and American Security in World War I (2008).

# Recommended: David Paull Nickles, Under the Wire: How the Telegraph Changed Diplomacy (2003).

**Week 8: Versailles and the League of Nations**

Required: Joseph R. Hayden, Negotiating in the Press: American Journalism and Diplomacy, 1918-1919 (2010); Leon Trotsky, "Statement on the Publication of Secret Treaties” (1917); Yuri Chernyakov, "The Publication of Tsarist Russia's Secret Treaties," International Affairs, 33 (1987), 51-57.

Recommended: Ernest Freeberg, Democracy’s Prisoner: Eugene V. Debs, the Great War, and the Right to Dissent (2008); Norman A. Graebner and Edward M. Bennett, The Versailles Treaty and its Legacy: The Failure of the Wilsonian Vision (2011); J. Michael Hogan, Woodrow Wilson’s Western Tour: Rhetoric, Public Opinion, and the League of Nations (2006); Jill Hills, The Struggle for Control of Global Communications: The Formative Century (2002).

**UNIT 3: FROM GLOBAL CRISIS TO THE COLD WAR AND BEYOND**

**Week 9: The Nazi Communications Empire**

Required: Horst J. P. Bergmeier and Rainer E. Lotz, Hitler's Airwaves: The Inside Story of Nazi Radio Broadcasting and Propaganda Swing (1997); Benjamin Martin, “European Culture as Soft Power: How Nazi Germany Rearranged the Assignment of Literary Capital,” forthcoming; “Text of Pius XII’s Christmas Message Broadcast from Pope to the World,” New York Times*,* Dec. 25, 1942;  “The Pope’s Verdict,” New York Times, Dec. 25, 1942; “The Pope Speaks,” New York Times, Dec. 27, 1942.

Recommended: Nicholas J. Cull, Selling War: The British Propaganda Campaign against American ‘Neutrality’ in World War II (1995); Peter D’Agostino, Rome in America: Transnational Catholic Ideology from the Risorgimento to Fascism (2004); Daqing Yang, Technology of Empire: Telecommunications and Japanese Expansion in Asia, 1883-1945 (2010).

**Week 10: Americanization and the Cold War**

Required: Victoria de Grazia, Irresistible Empire: America’s Advance Through Twentieth-Century Europe (2005); Harry S. Truman, "Statement by the President Upon Signing Order Concerning Government Information Programs," Aug. 31, 1945; Marshall Plan Films:  "Guns for Gaetano," "Story of Koula"; Harold Lasswell, "The Strategy of Soviet Propaganda” and "Political and Psychological Warfare," in Daniel Lerner, ed., Propaganda in War and Crisis (1951), 26-38, 261-66.

Recommended: Nicholas J. Cull, The Cold War and the United States Information Agency: American Propaganda and Public Diplomacy, 1945-1989 (2008); Walter L. Hixson, Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture, and the Cold War, 1945-1961 (1998); James Schwoch, Global TV: New Media and the Cold War, 1946-69 (2009).

**Week 11: Modernization**

Required: Hemant Shah, The Production of Modernization: Daniel Lerner, Mass Media, and the Passing of Traditional Society (2011) OR Daniel Ekbladh, The Great American Mission Movement: Modernization and the Construction of an American World Order (2011).

Recommended: Nils Gilman, Mandarins of the Future: Modernization Theory in Cold War America (2003); David Engerman, Know Your Enemy: The Rise and Fall of America's Soviet Experts (2009); Emily McAnary, Saving the World: A Brief History of Communication for Development and Social Change (2012); Matthew Connelly, A Diplomatic Revolution: Algeria’s Fight for Independence and the Origins of the Post-Cold War Era (2001).

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**Week 12: Mass Media and the Collapse of the Soviet Bloc**

Required: A. Ross Johnson and R. Eugene Parta, Cold War Broadcasting: Impact on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe--A Collection of Studies and Documents (2010),17-50, 67-120, 277-138, 239-257, 343-350, 353-354, 368-378, 379-385; [Gladys D. Ganley](http://www.google.com/search?hl=en&sa=G&tbo=1&tbm=bks&tbm=bks&q=inauthor:%22Gladys+D.+Ganley%22&ei=tE46T7mjGIjV0QHdpeXaCw&ved=0CEUQ9Ag), [Unglued Empire: the Soviet Experience with Communications Technologies](http://books.google.com/books?id=NeGfprIKbi0C&printsec=frontcover&dq=ganley&hl=en&sa=X&ei=tE46T7mjGIjV0QHdpeXaCw&ved=0CEQQ6AEwAg) (1996), chaps. 1-5.

Recommended: Arch Puddington, Broadcasting Freedom: The Cold War Triumph of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty (2000); Scott Shane, Dismantling Utopia: How Information Ended the Soviet Union (1995).

**UNIT 4: DIGITAL MEDIA**

**Week 13: New Media, Smart Power, and Strategic Communication**

Required: Thomas L. McPhail, Global Communication: Theories, Stakeholders, and Trends (2010); Center for Strategic and International Studies, “Reinventing Diplomacy in the Information Age, A Report of the CSIS Advisory Panel on Diplomacy in the Information Age" (1998); Philip N. Howard, The Digital Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Information Technology and Political Islam (2011).

Recommended: Milton L. Mueller, Networks and States: The Global Politics of Internet Governance (2010); Craig Hayden, The Rhetoric of Soft Power: Public Diplomacy in Global Contexts (2012); http://globalmediawars.com/

**Week 14: Case Study: Wikileaks**

Required: Charlie Beckett with James Ball Wikileaks: News in the Networked Era (2012).

# Recommended: Evgeny Morozov, The Net Delusion: The Dark Side of Internet Freedom (2011); David Leigh and Luke Harding, Wikileaks: Inside Julian Assange’s War on Secrecy (2011); Susan J. Douglas, “The Turn Within: The Irony of Technology in a Globalized World,” American Quarterly, 58 (2006): 619-38.