

**HISTORY G8323 HISTORY OF SOFT POWER IN EUROPE AND THE U.S.****Professor Victoria de Grazia****Class Meeting: Fayerweather 311: Tuesday: 4:10-6:00****Office: Fayerweather 617; Hours: Monday 4-6 and by appointment; Tel. 4-3667**

This graduate colloquium, examines concepts and practices identified with the notion of “Soft Power,” with the goal of exploring historically how elites use cultural and other kinds of power to establish their hegemony in the international order. After initial meetings devoted to exploring concepts from political theory, cultural studies, and international relations( e.g. soft power, also normative power, hegemony, empire, cultural capital, micro-powers, propaganda, strategic communication, public diplomacy, nation-branding, and related concepts), we will be focusing on developing a set of case studies from Europe and the United States from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century down to the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century

My interest in teaching this class arises from the effort to frame historically a concept from International Relations, namely, “soft power,” which originating in U.S. neo-liberal circles circa 1990, became a global buzz word after 9/11: how was this innovation bound up with new security needs after the Cold War, new kinds of warfare, the rise of competing global powers, new communications systems, and the co-development of Europe’s concept of “normative power? My interest also grows out of wanting to bring to bear to the study of international history and the history of international relations approaches to study of power usually developed in terms of domestic politics.

This class thus has several goals (1) to familiarize students with the theoretical tool box needed study to soft/normative power historically. (2) to explore a set of historical cases to test their usefulness 3) to develop critical reading skills by analyzing primary sources and cross-disciplinary secondary sources (4) to identify issues for further study (5) and to develop the research and presentational skills to pursue that effort.

Class obligations: weekly reading of about 300 pages, organized to address questions posted on line; one class presentation, organized jointly with the professor; a twenty page research paper developed over the course of the semester with an eye to course themes and topics.

From the second week of the course, each week, one or two students work with the professor to organize the class meeting. This requires the student(s) communicate with the professor two Wednesdays before the scheduled class to finalize the readings; post questions to the Course Works bulletin board by Saturday evening; meet with the professor the Monday prior to discuss the presentation; and, finally, spark class discussion with a five minute introduction. Meanwhile, the other students do their part to gear up for class by responding to the questions posted on the discussion board by Tuesday 9:00 AM

The written assignments consist of (1) a two-page research proposal due on March 7 (2) a twenty page research essay with an annotated bibliography, the first draft of which is due on April 29, the thesis of which is presented in the May 6 Workshop, and the revised version due on May 10

**Books on Order at Book Culture, 112<sup>th</sup> Street, Broadway and Amsterdam**Felix Berenskoetter and M. J. Williams, eds. *Power in World Politics*, Routledge (2007)Alice Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895-1930* Stanford (1997)Michael David-Fox, *Showcasing the Great Experiment: Cultural Diplomacy and Western Visitors to the Soviet Union, 1921-1941*. Oxford University Press, (2011)Victoria de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire* Harvard University Press (2005)Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, *Sound Diplomacy: music and emotions in transatlantic relations, 1850-1920* University of Chicago Press (2009)Indergeet Parmar and Michael Cox, *Soft Power and US Foreign Policy: Theoretical Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, Routledge, (2010)Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince*, trans. Tim Parks Penguin (2009)Erez Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism* Harvard University Press (2007)James J. Sheehan, *Where Have all the Solders Gone: The Transformation of Modern Europe*, Mariner Books (2009)**ALL OTHER READINGS ARE ON COURSEWORKS AND/OR ON RESERVE IN BUTLER LIBRARY**

## Weekly Schedule

### Part I: Conceptualizations

#### Jan. 21: What is Power? Or has Power changed its Powers?

Background Reading: Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince*, Trans. By Tim Parks, all; F. Berenskoetter, "Thinking about Power," in Berenskoetter and Williams, 1-22; Moisés Naím, *The End of Power: From Boardrooms to Battlefields and Churches to States, Why Being In Charge Isn't What It Used to Be*. (2013). Introduction, 1-19.

#### Jan. 28: The U.S. Origins of "Soft Power"

Historical Background: Melvyn P. Leffler and Jeffrey W. Legro. "Strategy in a Murky World," 179-197 in M, P. Leffler and J. W. Legro, eds, in *Uncertain Times: American Foreign Policy after the Berlin Wall and 9/11* (Cornell University Press, (2011)); John Agnew, *Hegemony: The New Shape Of Global Power*, Temple University Press, (2005) Intro and chaps 1-4. (ebook)

Documents: Joseph S. Nye, Jr. "Soft Power," *Foreign Policy*, 80(1990): 153-171; Joseph S. Nye, Jr. and William A. Owens, "America's Information Edge," *Foreign Affairs*, 75 (1996) 20-36; "The Decline of America's Soft Power: Why Washington Should Worry," *Foreign Affairs*, 83 (2004), 16-20.

Conceptual Critiques: G. Zahran and Leonardo Ramos, "From hegemony to soft power: implications of a conceptual change," 12-31; Janice Bally Mattern, "Why 'soft power' isn't so soft: representational force and attraction in world politics," 98-121 in Berenskoetter and Williams

**January 30: Special Event: 10-3:00 Friday Seminar devoted to Soft Power versus Normative Power: State of the Reflection: Peter Katzenstein (Cornell), Thomas Dietz (Tubingen), Edward Keene (Oxford), Natalia Tocci (Italian Institute for Foreign Relations)**

#### Feb. 4: The European Origins of "Normative Power"

Historical Perspective: James J. Sheehan, *Where Have all the Solders Gone: The Transformation of Modern Europe*, Mariner Books, 2009), Prologue 1-69; 147-227; Jan Zielonka, "Europe as a global actor: empire by example?" *International Affairs*, Vol. 84, No. 3 (2008)

Documents: François Duchêne, "Europe's Role in World Peace" in R. Mayne (ed.), *Europe Tomorrow: Sixteen Europeans Look Ahead* (Fontana, 1972) 32-47; Hedley Bull, "Civilian Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms? *Journal of Common Market Studies* 21, 2, (December 1982, 149-170, Thomas Dietz and Ian Manners, "Reflecting on normative power Europe," in Berenskoetter and Williams, 173-188;

Conceptual critiques: papers by Dietz; Katzenstein, Keene,

#### **SPECIAL EVENT: February 5-6: Congress of Vienna Conference**

#### **Feb. 11. How Changes in the International Order change Diplomacy**

The traditional Historian/Diplomat's view: Harold Nicolson, *Diplomacy*, Third Edition, (1939, 1950, 1963) , prefaces, so you know the context in which it was written, chap 3-4, 6-7, and epilogue; Nicholson, *The Evolution of the Diplomatic Method* (1954), page 1-2, Chap. 4.

The new international/diplomatic historian's view: Akira Iriry, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997); selected chapters *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World* (University California Press, 2002) selected pages

## Part II: Historical Cases

### Feb 18: “War on the Chateaux, Peace to the Hovels”: Napoleon in Europe

Historical Perspectives: Wayne Hanley, *The Genesis of Napoleonic Propaganda, 1796-1799* (Columbia U Press; Gutenberg-e, 2005) intro. And chap 1 (<http://www.gutenberg-e.org/haw01/>); Robert B. Holtman, *Napoleonic Propaganda* (1950), intro. and chap 1; Alexander Grab, *Napoleon and the Transformation of Europe* (2003) chap1-2, 10.

Documents: *Letters and Documents of Napoleon*, Selected and Translated by John Eldred Howard Vol. 1, Oxford University Press, 1961 selections: <https://archive.org/details/lettersofdocumen006632mbp>; Benjamin Constant, *Excerpts from Political Writings*, "The Spirit of Conquest.."

### Feb 20: 4-6: Research Training Session, Butler Library

### Feb. 25: European Civilizing Missions: French imperialism in Africa

Historical Perspectives: Alice Conklin, *Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895-1930* (Stanford, 1997); Alice Conklin; "Colonialism and Human Rights, A Contradiction in Terms? The Case of French West Africa, 1895-1914," *American Historical Review* 103: 2 (April 1998)

### March 4: Imperial Germany's Kultur-Power

Historical Perspective: Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, *Sound Diplomacy: music and emotions in transatlantic relations, 1850-1920* University of Chicago Press (2009)

Documents: Thomas Mann, *Reflections of An Unpolitical Man* (1918), [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=946](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=946)

### Prospectus due on March 7

### March 11: Wilson(ianism) versus Lenin(ism)

Historical Perspectives: Arno J. Mayer, *Wilson vs. Lenin: Political Origins of the New Diplomacy* (1964), pp. 34-44, 55-58, 262-265, 368-391; Erez Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism* (2007) selections; John A. Thompson, "Wilsonianism: the dynamics of a conflicted concept," *International Affairs*, 86, 1, 2010, 27-47

Documents: Leon Trotsky, "Statement on the Publication of Secret Treaties" (1917); [http://www.marxists.org/history/ussr/government/foreign\\_relations/1917/November/22.htm](http://www.marxists.org/history/ussr/government/foreign_relations/1917/November/22.htm)  
Woodrow Wilson, 14 Points speech to the Joint Session of Congress, Jan. 8, 1918, [http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/President\\_Wilson%27s\\_Fourteen\\_Points](http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/President_Wilson%27s_Fourteen_Points);

### March 18: Spring Break

### March 25: The Nazi New Order

Historical Perspectives: E. H. Carr, *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939, (1964), vii-xii, 102-113; 129-145*; Jeffrey Herf, "Nazi Germany's Propaganda Aimed at Arabs and Muslims During World War II and the Holocaust: Old Themes, New Archival Findings". *Central European History*, 42, (2009) 709-736; Benjamin Martin, "European Literature in the Nazi New Order: The Cultural Politics of the European Writers' Union, 1941-43," *Journal of Contemporary History* ( 2014)

Documents:

*Signal* <http://bytwerk.com/gpa/signal.htm>; *Germany and You*, 1942 <http://www.calvin.edu/academic/cas/gpa/germanyandyou1.htm>;  
*Europe at Work in Germany*, 1943, <http://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/sauckel.htm> "The Danger of Americanism," *Das Schwarze Korps*, 1944 <http://www.calvin.edu/academic/cas/gpa/sk03.htm>

### April 1: How Religious Authority Works: The Pope in the face of Communism and Nazism

Historical Perspectives: John Agnew, "Deus Vult: "The Geopolitics of the Catholic Church," *Geopolitics*, 15:1 (2010), 39-61; Hilari Ragner, *Gunpowder and Incense: The Catholic Church and the Spanish Civil War* (2001), trans. Gerald Howson, 2007, Prologue, pp. 77-85; 100-105; 186-205; 223-234; 309-321; Michael Marrus, "Pius XII and the Holocaust: Ten Essential Themes," in *Pope Pius XII and the Holocaust*, eds. Carol Rittner and John K. Roth, Continuum and University of Leicester, 2002, 43-56.

Documents: Excerpts from: Pius XI, *Non abbiamo bisogno* (1931); *Mit brennender Sorge* (1937; against Nazism) and *Divini redemptoris* (1937); Pius XII, *Christmas Message* "The Internal Order of People and Nations." (1942)

#### **April 7: The Marshall Plan's "Normative Power"**

Historical Perspectives: V. de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance Through Twentieth-Century Europe* (2005), Intro, chaps. 2, 5, 6-9; V. de Grazia, "Visualizing the Marshall Plan" pp. 25-38; Gunther Bischof, "Selling the Marshall Plan—Selling America," 7-14 in *Images of the Marshall Plan in Europe*, G. Bischof and D. Stiefel, eds. (2009),

Documents: Harry S. Truman, "Statement by the President Upon Signing Order Concerning Government Information Programs," Aug. 31, 1945 <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/>  
Marshall Plan Films: "Story of Koula;" "Guns for Gaetano."

#### **April 15: Soviet "Soft Power"**

Historical Perspectives: Michael David-Fox. *Showcasing the Great Experiment: Cultural Diplomacy and Western Visitors to the Soviet Union, 1921-1941*. Oxford University Press, 2011, selected chapters; Eleonory Gilburd, "The Revival of Soviet Internationalism," in *The Thaw: Soviet Society and Culture during the 1950s and 1960s*, Denis Kozlov and Eleonory Gilburd, eds. U. of Toronto, Press, 2013, 362-401; Nigel Gould-Davies, "The Logic of Soviet Cultural Diplomacy," *Diplomatic History* 27, 2 (2003): 193-214;

Documents: "Five Year Plan," <http://www.chemodanfilms.com/five-year-plan/>

#### **April 21: Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty in Cold War Europe**

Historical Background: Susan E. Reid, "Who Will Beat Whom? Soviet Popular Reception of the American National Exhibition in Moscow, 1959," in *Kritika* 9, 4 (2008) 855-904. Kristin Roth-Ey, *Moscow Prime Time: How the Soviet Union Built the Media Empire that Lost the Cultural Cold War*, Cornell University Press, 2011, intro and chap. 3. 131-176.

Documents: Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty archives: <http://www.rferl.org/content/archives-rfe-rl-collections-online-at-open-society-archives/25026785.html> R. Eugene Parta, *Discovering the Hidden Listener: an assessment of Radio Liberty and western broadcasting to the USSR during the Cold War: a study based on audience research findings, 1970-1991*, Stanford, Hoover Institution Press, 2007 selections;  
"1956 Crusade for Freedom," CIA, National Security Council (1956) <https://archive.org/details/gov.archives.arc.648946>

#### **April 28: Overhauling U.S. Persuasive Power: From the Gulf War to the Global War on Terror**

Historical Perspectives: Melvyn P. Leffler and Jeffrey W. Legro. "Strategy in a Murky World," 179-197 in M. P. Leffler and J. W. Legro, eds, in *Uncertain Times: American Foreign Policy after the Berlin Wall and 9/11* (Cornell University Press, 2011); Angus Taverner, "The Military Use of Soft Power," 137-151; Philip Taylor, "Public Diplomacy and the Information War on Terror," 152-164; Giles Scott Smith, "Soft Power in the era of US decline," 165-181 in Parmar and Cox

Documents: *U.S. Counterinsurgency Field Manual* (2007), chap. 3; Edward Djerijian, *Changing Minds, Winning Peace* (2005) <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/24882>; Wikileaks: U.S. Embassy on Vatican "Soft Power" (Don't read if you intend to work for the State Department)

Of interest: Robert Kagan, *Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order* (2002)

**May 1: Paper Draft due; May 6: Workshop Presentations; 2:30-6:00; May 10: Final Paper due**