

HISTORY/POLI SCI/PUBLIC AFFAIRS 724:

The Politics of Persuasion: Soft Power in European and American International History (A Three-Credit Graduate Seminar)

**Room: Education L150
Fridays, 1:20-3:15pm**

Professor Giuliana Chamedes
Office hours: Mondays, 2-5pm
Email: chamedes@wisc.edu

Keywords: Soft power; normative power; civil society; public sphere; public diplomacy; hegemony; cultural capital; nation-branding; human rights; transnational; international

Course Description:

How powerful is non-military power? What are its vectors and its limits? How have historians and social scientists studied non-military forms of power, wielded by nation-states, everyday citizens, and colonial subjects? This graduate seminar will engage with these questions by showcasing some of the most exciting recent work in European and American international/transnational history. We will also have four exciting guest visitors, whose pioneering work both in the academy and beyond has changed our understanding of non-military forms of power in the 20th and 21st century.

International relations theorists have defined soft power as “the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion.” This graduate seminar will put this notion to the test. We will investigate how social movements, religious bodies, interest groups, and nation-states, have sought to exercise power over the international order through non-violent means. How was “soft power” implemented on the ground in the 20th century— and how did its use transform international relations? To probe these questions, we will focus on a series of case studies in European and U.S. international history. Topics covered include the expansion of capitalism and consumer culture; the globalization of international legal instruments and human rights claims; and decolonization, religious radicalism, and terrorism (of the state and of the individual). In the process of analyzing our case studies, we will refine our analytical vocabulary. Drawing on recent work in transnational and international history, international relations, and political theory, we will probe the meaning and utility of concepts like normative power, hegemony, and cultural capital.

Pre-Requisites

This course has no pre-requisites, and is open to Masters and PhD students from a range of disciplines.

Course Aims:

This class aims to familiarize students with the practice of writing and thinking about transnational and international history. It also exposes students to the theory and practice of soft power. Finally, the course provides students with a series of transferable skills, which include the ability to develop sophisticated and viable research questions, and to use the digital and non-digital world to identify primary and secondary sources. We will also hone our hermeneutical skills so as to evaluate and interpret sources (and one another's work) more judiciously and charitably. You will be encouraged to present your findings to those in your own discipline and beyond, through a range of oral and written media. In a nutshell, the class aims to help you develop confidence as keen writers, sharp public speakers, and probing analysts of the past and present.

Course Requirements:

Since the course is run as a discussion seminar, its success depends on you. Students will come to class prepared to discuss the readings and to engage critically and charitably with one another. Every week a different student will lead the class discussion. The discussion leader will be in charge of circulating discussion questions by 9am on the Monday before class, and will open and direct the discussion on Friday afternoon. The discussion leader will also be in charge of consulting and summarizing *at least three* academic reviews of the central text under analysis. Students will also be asked to conduct a research project on a topic of interest to them. They will present their findings in three different modes: in writing, via an oral presentation, and through a digital storytelling piece.

Here are the requirements for this class:

- Class participation, weekly discussion posts, leading discussion (once per semester), and attendance. (30%)
- A two-page proposal for your final research project, which will *either* take the form of a 10,000-word research paper *or* consist of two policy briefings (5,000 words each). The project proposal should outline your main research question, explain the key primary sources you will use to answer your question, and anticipate any problems that you may face in the research or writing phase. Please include your working bibliography on a separate piece of paper (10%)
- A draft of your final research project. The draft must be a complete, albeit rough, version of your final project (10,000 words). (10%)
- Your final research project. The aim is to produce a publishable piece of writing. Your final research project should include a cover sheet detailing the changes that you made to your draft, on the basis of the feedback you received. (20%)
- A formal ten-minute presentation of your research findings. Outside visitors may attend this presentation. (15%)
- A “writing beyond the academy” précis or short piece (we will decide together on the basis of the format you choose): planning and/or executing a blog post, short film, podcast, virtual museum exhibit, high-school lesson plan, or digital learning initiative, on a topic related to that of your final research project. (15%)

Key Dates, at A Glance

Final project proposal: **Due in class on Friday, March 11th**

Draft of final research project: **Due in class on Friday, April 1st**

Oral presentations: **To take place in class on Friday, April 22nd**

Final version of research project: **Due in class on Friday, April 22nd**

Writing beyond the academy assignment: **Due in class on Friday, May 6th**

Grading Scheme:

92-100% A

87-91.9% AB

82-86.9% B

77-81.9% BC

72-76.9% C

67-71.9% D

0-66.9% F

Course readings

Most of the readings for the course will be scanned for you and be made available on the course website, at Desire2Learn (under “Materials”). There are, however, eight required books and two recommended ones that I cannot scan for you. So please do purchase the following books online or at the University bookstore. They are also available for you on reserve at the College Library (at Helen C. White Hall):

Texts	
Niccolò Machiavelli, <i>The Prince</i> , ed. Quentin Skinner (any ed is fine)	Required
<i>The Antonio Gramsci Reader: Selected Writings, 1916-1935</i> , ed. David Forgacs	Required
Adam Tooze, <i>The Deluge: The Great War, America, and the Remaking of the Global Order, 1916-1931</i>	Required
Victoria De Grazia, <i>Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through Twentieth-Century Europe</i>	Required
Lisa Kirschenbaum, <i>International Communism and the Spanish Civil War: Solidarity and Suspicion</i>	Required
Samuel Moyn, <i>The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History</i>	Required
Martin A. Miller, <i>The Foundations of Modern Terrorism: State, Society, and the Dynamics of Political Violence</i>	Required
Cemil Aydin, <i>The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia: Visions of World Order in Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asian Thought</i>	Required
Penny von Eschen, <i>Race Against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism</i>	Recommended
Erez Manela, <i>The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism</i>	Recommended

Schedule of Readings

I. Keywords

1. January 22: Introduction to the Course

Note: Please take a look at these texts before our first meeting.

Joseph Nye, "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 616 (March 2008): 94-109.

David Armitage, "Why Politicians Need Historians," *The Guardian* (October 7, 2014)

Lynn Hunt, "Against Presentism," *Perspectives on History* (May 2002)

Jack S. Levy, "Explaining Events and Developing Theories: History, Political Science, and the Analysis of International Relations," in *Bridges and Boundaries: Historians, Political Scientists and the Study of International Relations*, eds. Colin Elman and Miriam Fendius Elman (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001), 39-84.

2. January 29: The Power of the State: Consent and Coercion

Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince* (1513/1514), eds. Quentin Skinner and Russell Price (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, any edition). In your reading, please focus on chapters 1-11, 17, and 18.

Max Weber, "Politics as a Vocation" (1919), in *Max Weber: The Vocation Lectures*, eds. David Owen and Tracy B. Strong (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2004), 32-94.

Complementary readings:

Quentin Skinner, "Chapter 2: The Diplomat" and "Chapter 3: The Adviser to Princes," *Machiavelli: A Very Short Introduction* (1981), 3-53.

David Owen and Tracy B. Strong, "Introduction," *Max Weber: The Vocation Lectures*, ix-xiii; xxxiv-lxii.

3. February 5: The Power of the People: Hegemony and Civil Society

Michel Foucault, "The Subject and Power" (1982), in *Michel Foucault: Power, Essential Works of Foucault, volume 3*, ed. J. D. Faubion (New York: New Press, 2000): 326-348.

-----, "Pastoral Power and Political Reason" (1979), in *Michel Foucault: Religion and Culture*, ed. Jeremy R. Carrette (New York: Routledge, 1999), 135-153.

Antonio Gramsci, "Part II: Prison Writings, 1929-1935," in *The Antonio Gramsci Reader: Selected Writings, 1916-1935*, ed. David Forgacs (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 189-274; 300-311.

Complementary readings:

Patricia O'Brien, "Michel Foucault's History of Culture," in *The New Cultural History*, ed. Lynn Hunt (1989), 25-46.

Robert Cox, "Gramsci, Hegemony, and International Relations," *Millennium* 12.2 (1983): 162-185.

Keith Baker, "Defining the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France: Variations on a Theme by Habermas," in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun (1992), 181-208.

II. The Failure of American Soft Power I? Global Capitalism after World War I

4. February 12th: American Economic Power and Its Limits

Guest Visitor: Professor Adam Tooze, Columbia University (former Professor at Yale University and Co-Director of International Security Studies)

Adam Tooze, *The Deluge: The Great War, America, and the Remaking of the Global Order, 1916-1931* (New York: Viking Press, 2014), esp. parts II, III, and IV

Complementary reading:

Erez Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), pp. 3-63.

5. February 19th: The United States and American Consumer Culture: An "Irresistible Empire"?

Victoria De Grazia, *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through Twentieth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), pp.75-284.

Complementary reading:

Nan Enstad, "Toxicity and the Consuming Subject," in Russ Castronovo and Susan Gillman, eds., *States of Emergency: Towards a Future History of American Studies* (University of North Carolina Press, 2009)

6. February 26th: The Soviet Union and the Communist International

Guest Visitor: Lisa Kirschenbaum

Lisa Kirschenbaum, *International Communism and the Spanish Civil War: Solidarity and Suspicion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015)

Complementary reading:

Joseph Buttigieg, "Gramsci on Civil Society," *Boundary 2* (1995): 1-32.

III. Human Rights and International Legal Power

7. March 4th: The Strange Birth of Human Rights

Samuel Moyn, *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), part I and his "Human Rights in History," *The Nation* (September 6, 2010)

Complementary readings:

Hannah Arendt, "Chapter 9: The Decline of the Nation-State and the End of the Rights of Man," in *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1968), pp.267-305.

Lynn Hunt, "The Paradoxical Origins of Human Rights," in *Human Rights and Revolutions* (2007), pp.3-20.

NOTE: On Wednesday, March 9, 4:30-6:00pm, Penny von Eschen (Cornell University) is presenting a work-in-progress paper at UChicago's Human Rights Workshop. Her talk is entitled, "Rebooting the Cold War: The New Cold War with Russia and the Foreign Policy of Popular Culture." For more information, please contact Lael Weinberger at laelweinberger@uchicago.edu.

8. March 11th: Human Rights, Civil Rights, and the United States //

Reminder: your final project proposal is due in class today //

Guest visitor: Mark Bradley, Director, Pozen Center for Human Rights, University of Chicago

Mark Philip Bradley, *The United States and the Global Human Rights Imagination* (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming), selections

Complementary readings:

Carol Anderson, "The Struggle for Human Rights: African Americans Petition the UN," *Eyes Off the Prize: The United Nations and the African American Struggle for Human Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp.58-113.

Penny von Eschen, *Race Against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), chapters 1, 3, and 4

9. March 18th: Paper Proposal Workshop

****ENJOY SPRING BREAK! (MARCH 19th-27th)****

IV. Terrorism, Religious Radicalism and the Public Sphere

10. April 1st: Terrorism as a Form of Power / *Reminder: the draft of your research project is due in class today*

Martin Miller, *The Foundations of Modern Terrorism: State, Society, and the Dynamics of Political Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), chapters 1, 4, 5, and 8.

Complementary readings:

E.V. Walter, "Theories of Terrorism and the Classical Tradition," in *Political Theory and Social Change*, ed. (New York: Atherton, 1967), pp.133-160. {requested via ILL}

Elaine Scarry, "The Structure of Torture," and "The Structure of War," in *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of The World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), pp.27-161.

11. April 8th: Religion as a Form of Power

Martin Miller, *The Foundations of Modern Terrorism: State, Society, and the Dynamics of Political Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), chapter 9.

Cemil Aydin, "Introduction" and "Chapter 6," in *The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia: Visions of World Order in Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asian Thought* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 1-14; 127-159.

Complementary readings:

Eduardo Mendieta and Jonathan Vanantwerpen, "The Power of Religion in the Public Sphere," in *The Power of Religion in the Public Sphere* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), pp.1-15.

José Casanova, "Rethinking Public Religions," in *Rethinking Religion and World Affairs*, eds. Shah and Toft (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp.25-36.

Vincent Viaene, "Rethinking Religion and Globalization," in *Religious Internationals in the Modern World: Globalization and Faith*, eds. Abigail Green and Vincent Viaene (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 1-23.

12. April 16th: Writing Workshop

13. April 22nd: Oral Presentations / *Reminder: the final version of your research project is due in class today*

14. April 29th: Writing About Power Beyond the Academy: Some Examples (Guest speaker TBA) (*Note: We will modify or change these readings on the basis of student interest*)

George Packer, "The Other France: Are the Suburbs of Paris Incubators of Terrorism?" *The New Yorker* (August 31, 2015)

Toby Jones, "Saudi Arabia's Dangerous Sectarian Game," *The New York Times* (January 4, 2016)

Sharon Rudahl, *Dangerous Woman: The Graphic Biography of Emma Goldman*, ed. Paul Buhle (New York: New Press, 2007)

Juan Cole, "Informed Comment" blog (<http://www.juancole.com/about>)

Niall Ferguson, "Killer Apps" (see <http://www.pbs.org/wnet/civilization-west-and-rest/killer-apps/>)

15-minute history podcasts (skim) (<http://15minutehistory.org/tag/terrorism/>)

David Allen and Matthew Connelly, "Diplomatic History after the Big Bang: Using Computational Methods to Explore the Infinite Archive," in Frank Costigliola and Michael Hogan (eds.), *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*, 3rd ed. (forthcoming)

15. May 6th: Power and Empowerment/ *Reminder: your “writing beyond the academy” assignment is due in class today*

Vaclav Havel, “The Power of the Powerless” (1978)

Joseph Nye, “The Pros and Cons of Citizen Diplomacy,” *The New York Times* (October 4, 2010)

Janice Bally Mattern, “Why ‘Soft Power’ Isn’t So Soft: Representational Force and Attraction in World Politics,” in Berenskoetter and Williams, pp. 98-121.

Steve Stern and Scott Straus, “Embracing Paradox: Human Rights in the Global Age,” *The Human Rights Paradox: Universality and Its Discontents* (2014) 3-30.