

## ***Performing the Cold War: How the United States Sold Itself Abroad***

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During the Cold War and its ideological battles for the “hearts and minds of men,” culture became a soft power weapon to promote the United States abroad. By examining radio, films, jazz, literature, theatre, dance, and architecture, this class will focus on the genres and mechanisms used to export ideas about the United States and frame artistic projects in the context of secondary and primary source material. Because New York City became “the cultural capital of the world” during the Cold War era, trips include the Rockefeller Archives Center, Museum of Modern Art, and Lincoln Center.

This course has three goals: (i) to examine the role of culture and the arts as a reflection and enactment of United States Cold War politics; (ii) to provide an understanding of the arts as a cultural force in building ideas about the United States in foreign markets; (iii) to reframe the arts as a part of Cold War cultural battles.

Note that mandatory scheduled class trips outside of classroom hours include the Rockefeller Archives Center, Museum of Modern Art, and a performance at Lincoln Center.

This class will be limited to 20 students.

### **Class Assignments and Grading Distribution**

1. Class participation including presentations, completion of required readings and attendance at screenings (10%)
2. Postings –CourseWorks/Discussion (10%)
3. Short paper (15%)
4. Midterm (15%)
5. Paragraph outlining research topic and meeting with professor (5%)
6. Presentation of final paper (10%)
7. Final paper (35%)

### **Syllabus**

#### **Class 1: Introduction**

- Frederick Jackson Turner, “The Significance of the Frontier in American History.” [pdf]

#### **Class 2: From Hot War to Cold War**

- Luce, “The American Century.” [pdf]
- X, “The Sources of Soviet Conduct.” [pdf]
- Stephanson, “The Big Two.” [pdf]
- Gaddis, “On Starting All Over Again: The Naïve Approach to the Study of the Cold War.” [pdf]

**Class 3: Cultural Diplomacy**

- Nye, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Power*.
- Lundestad, "Empire by Invitation? The United States and Western Europe, 1945-1952." [pdf]
- Berghahn, "The Debate on 'Americanization' Among Economic and Cultural Historians." [pdf]
- Ayres, "Cultural Diplomacy: A Definition." [pdf]
- *Prospect for America: The Rockefeller Panel Reports* [pdf]

**Class 4: Campaigns for Truth**

- Osgood, *Total Cold War*, Part I and Conclusion.
- Belmonte, *Selling the American Way: U.S. Propaganda and the Cold War*, selections.
- Dudziak, reading TBD [subject to publication, 2012].
- "Nature and Scope of Psychological Warfare," in *The Psychological Warfare Casebook*. [pdf]

**Class 5: All the World's a Fair**

- Haddow, *Pavilions of Plenty*, selections.
- Masey, "Traveling Hopefully," in *Cold War Constructions*.
- de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire*, Chs. 7 and 8.

**Class 6: Hearing Without Seeing: Music and Radio**

- Larson, "Music – A Medium for Psychological Warfare," in *The Psychological Warfare Casebook*. [pdf]
- Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World*, Chs. 1, 2, 3, Epilogue.
- Tsipursky, "Jazz Enthusiasts and the Cultural Cold War in the Soviet Union," unpublished manuscript. [pdf]
- Heil, *Voice of America: A History*, selections.

**Class 7: Seeing Without Hearing I: Architecture**

- Loeffler, *The Architecture of Diplomacy: Building America's Embassies*, selections. [pdf]
- Zipp, *Manhattan Projects*, Ch. 4. [pdf]

**Class 8: Seeing Without Hearing II: Art**

- Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art*.

**Class 9: Performing for the Elite: Concert Dance and Literature**

- Prevots, *Dance for Export*, selections. [pdf]
- Cohen, "Combating anti-Americanism during the Cold War: Faulkner, the State Department, and Latin America." [pdf]
- Singal, *William Faulkner: The Making of a Modernist*, selections. [pdf]

- Saunders, *The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters*, Intro, Ch. 9, Epilogue.

**Class 10: Performing for the Common Man?: Cartoons and the CIA**

- Leab, *Orwell, Subverted: The CIA and the Filming of Animal Farm*.
- Giroux, *The Mouse that Roared*, selections.

**Class 11: Capturing the Public: Musicals, Hollywood and Television**

- Belmonte, *Selling the American Way*, selections.
- De Grazia, "The Star System," *Irresistible Empire*.
- Shaw, *Hollywood's Cold War*, selections. [pdf]
- Bernhard, "The Marketplace of Ideas," *U.S. Television News and Cold War Propaganda*. [pdf]
- Gillespie, "30 Years of Dallas: The TV Show that Won the Cold War." [pdf]

**Class 12: Foundations and Universities: Making a Healthy Cold War**

- Heydemann, "The State and International Philanthropy: 1919-91." [pdf]
- Guston, *The Fragile Contract: University Science and the Federal Government*, selections. [pdf]
- Connelly, *Fatal Misconception: The Struggle to Control World Population*, selections.

**Class 13: Men at Play: Sports and Masculinity**

- Wagg and Andrews, *East Plays West*, Chs. 1, 7, 8, 11. [pdf]
- Masey, "A Splendid Pleasure Dome," in *Cold War Constructions*. [pdf]
- Lichtman, "Do-It-Yourself Security." [pdf]

**Class 14: Women At Work: The Kitchen Debate and Beyond**

- Oldenziel and Zachmann, *Cold War Kitchen*, Chs. 1-4.
- Castillo, "Domesticating the Cold War." [pdf]
- Eleanor Dulles, *Memoirs and American Foreign Policy in the Making*, selections. [pdf]
- Belmonte, *Selling the American Way*, selections.

**Class 15: Cold War Endings**

- Rosenberg, "Consumer Capitalism and the Cold War." [pdf]
- Gries, "'Hurrah I'm Still Alive!': East German Products Demonstrating East German Identities," in *Over the Wall/After the Fall: Post Communist Cultures Through an East-West Gaze*. [pdf]
- Schrecker, "Cold War Triumphalism and the Real Cold War." [pdf]
- Armistead, *Information Operations: Warfare and the Hard Reality of Soft Power*, selections.

Exam Period: **Performing Cultural Diplomacy: A Conference**

- Students will participate in a mock conference and present their papers
- Final Papers Due

## **READING LIST**

### **Texts:**

Required books are available at Book Culture (536 West 112th Street, [www.bookculture.com](http://www.bookculture.com)) and on reserve in Butler Library (<http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/reserves/policies/milstein.html>). Short selections will be available on CourseWorks as a PDF file.

### **Texts**

- Belmonte, Laura. *Selling the American Way: U.S. Propaganda and the Cold War*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.
- Connelly, Matthew. *Fatal Misconception: The Struggle to Control World Population*. Boston: Harvard University Press, 2008.
- De Grazia, Victoria. *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through Twentieth-Century Europe*. Boston: Harvard University Press, reprint 2005.
- Guilbaut, Serge. *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.
- Leab, Daniel J. *Orwell, Subverted: The CIA and the Filming of Animal Farm*. Pennsylvania State University Press, reprint, 2008.
- Nye, Joseph S., Jr. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York: Public Affairs, 2004.
- Osgood, Kenneth. *Total Cold War: Eisenhower's Secret Battle at Home and Abroad*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2006.
- Oldenziel, Ruth, and Karin Zachmann. *Cold War Kitchen: Americanization, Technology, and European Users*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2009.
- Prevots, Naima. *Dance for Export: Cultural Diplomacy and the Cold War*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1998.
- Saunders, Frances Stonor. *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2000.
- Wagg, Stephen and David L. Andrews. *East Plays West: Sport and the Cold War*. New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Von Eschen, Penny M. *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004.

### **Readings on reserve:**

Articles and book chapters are available electronically and will be accessible through pdfs posted on Courseworks. Books are also held on Library Reserve in 208 Butler

### **Resource Materials on Reserve**

Herring, George C. *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations Since 1776*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Schulzinger, Robert D., Michael Schaller, Karen Anderson. *Present Tense: The United States Since 1945*. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2004.

## Assignments

**Participation:** Active participation displaying a knowledge of the readings and thoughtful responses to questions and discussions.

**Postings:** You must submit your posting by 9AM before each assigned session, and pose three questions for the class based on the readings.

**Short Paper:** A three- to four-page paper that further explores a topic covered in one of the readings.

**Take-Home Midterm Exam:** A two- to three-page response to one of three questions.

**Paragraph Statement of Research Interests:** A one-paragraph statement of interest for the final paper. You must schedule a meeting with me to discuss the project and bibliography.

**Research paper:** 15-page paper based on a minimum of one primary source and two secondary sources.

**Mock Conference:** In lieu of a final exam, you will participate in a mock academic conference and deliver a ten-minute presentation on your paper. You will be grouped into a panel and assigned a commentator.

## Grading Criteria

### For essays:

An **A** essay presents a *compelling argument* for a thoughtful and imaginative *interpretation* of the written/performance texts that reveals a thorough reading of those texts and careful reflection upon the issues raised. A *compelling argument* includes (1) a clear formulation of an *issue*, (2) *analysis* of the texts under scrutiny, and (3) scrupulous *use* and *citation* of supporting *evidence* from the texts. A *thoughtful interpretation* requires probing beneath the surface meaning of the texts to a subtler understanding of their connections to broader contexts.

A **B** essay is clearly written and logically sound.

A **C** essay shows repeated infractions of the basic rules of writing.

Always present an *argument* or a *thesis* based on your own *interpretation* of the texts. Be sure to develop your ideas fully. Keep in mind that the most important ideas of the essay should be *clearly stated*, *explicated*, and *documented*. Do not assume that any major point that you want to make is self-evident. If you quote a passage, provide enough information so that your reader does not need to consult the texts for further clarification. In using evidence do not assume that the facts speak for themselves. A thorough understanding of a text requires reading, reflection, and *re-reading*. A well-written essay requires editing, self-critique, and *re-writing*.

### For class participation:

**A:** Frequent participation demonstrating thorough understanding of and thoughtful reflection on the readings through the use of concrete examples and critical assessment of the texts.

**B:** Consistent participation showing sound grasp of the readings through the use of concrete examples and some degree of critical assessment of the texts.

C: Infrequent to rare participation that suggests a hasty or inattentive reading of the texts.

### **POLICIES**

***Grades and Recommendations:*** The paper and exam will be evaluated according to a grading rubric presented at the start of the semester. I would be pleased to review your grades during the semester upon request and write recommendations for you at the end of the semester.

***Learning Differences:*** If you have a learning difference recognized by your university advisor, please see me early in the semester to arrange for accommodations. If you believe you have a learning difference that has not been officially recognized by the university, it is equally important to come see me.

***Absence and Lateness:*** Students who miss a class session must email me and will be required to get class notes from a peer and submit an additional posting on the session's work. Consistent late arrivals will affect your discussion grade.

***Phones and Computers:*** Cell phones must be turned off. You may take notes on computers.

***Email Etiquette:*** I will respond to emails within 24 hours. If you do not receive a response, please feel free to re-email me. If you have a complex, multi-part question about a lecture, a discussion, or the readings, please make an appointment to see me.

***Plagiarism:*** The Columbia Center for New Media, Teaching, and Learning defines plagiarism and its consequences at Columbia University:

[cnmtl.columbia.edu/projects/compass/discipline\\_humanities/documenting.html#plagiarism](http://cnmtl.columbia.edu/projects/compass/discipline_humanities/documenting.html#plagiarism)

***Online Searches:*** The Internet is a valuable resource if approached with caution. If you are checking a date or event, verify facts. In addition, the government has numerous websites through the National Archives, Library of Congress, and the Department of State. These provide accurate and even interesting facts. Don't be afraid to surf, but do it with caution.

### **Article and Book Selection References [PDFs]:**

- Armistead, Edward L., ed. *Information Operations: Warfare and the Hard Reality of Soft Power*. Dulles, VA: Brassey's, 2004.
- Ayers, Margaret C. *Promoting Public and Private Reinvestment in Cultural Exchange-Based Diplomacy*. New York: Robert Sterling Clark Foundation, 2010.
- Berghahn, Volker R. "The Debate on 'Americanization' Among Economic and Cultural Historians." *Cold War History* 10.1 (Feb. 2010).
- Bernhard, Nancy E. "The Marketplace of Ideas." *U.S. Television News and Cold War Propaganda, 1947-1960*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Castillo, Greg. "Domesticating the Cold War: Household Consumption as Propaganda in Marshall Plan Germany." *Journal of Contemporary History* 40.2 (April, 2005).

- Cohen, Deborah “Combating anti-Americanism during the Cold War: Faulkner, the State Department, and Latin America,” *Mississippi Quarterly* (Summer 2006).
- Daughterty, William E. and Morris Janowitz, eds. *Psychological Warfare Casebook*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press, 1952.
- Dulles, Eleanor Lansing. *American Foreign Policy in the Making*. New York: Harper & Row, 1968.
- Gaddis, John L. “On Starting All Over Again: The Naïve Approach to the Study of the Cold War.” In *Reviewing the Cold War: Approaches, Interpretations, History*, ed. Odd Arne Westad. New York: Frank Cass, 2000.
- Giroux, Henry A. and Grace Pollock. *The Mouse that Roared: Disney and the End of Innocence*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2010.
- Guston, David H. *The Fragile Contract: University Science and the Federal Government*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1994.
- Gries, Rainer. “‘Hurrah I’m Still Alive!’: East German Products Demonstrating East German Identities.” In *Over the Wall/After the Fall: Post Communist Cultures Through an East-West Gaze*, ed. Sibelan Forrester et al. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004.
- Haddow, Robert H. *Pavilions of Plenty: Exhibiting American Culture Abroad in the 1950s*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997.
- Heil Jr., Alan L. *Voice of America: A History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003.
- Heydemann, Steven. “The State and International Philanthropy: 1919-91,” in *American Foundations: Roles and Contributions*, ed. David Hammack and Helmut Anheier. Brookings, 2010.
- Kamberril, Robyn ed. *The Wall in My Head: Words and Images from the Fall if the Iron Curtain*. New York: Open Letter, 2009.
- Loeffler, Jane C. *The Architecture of Diplomacy: Building America’s Embassies*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998; reprint 2011.
- Lichtman, Sarah A. “Do-It-Yourself Security: Safety, Gender, and the Home Fallout Shelter in Cold War America.” *Journal of Design History* 19.1 (2006).
- Luce, Henry. “The American Century.” In *The Ambiguous Legacy: U.S. Foreign Relations in the “American Century,”* ed. Michael J. Hogan, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Masey, Jack. *Cold War Confrontations: US Exhibitions and their Role in the Cultural Cold War*. Baden, Switzerland: Lars Müller Publishers, 2008.
- Nelson, Michael. *War of the Black Heavens: The Battles of Western Broadcasting in the Cold War*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997.
- Rosenberg, Emily S. “Consumer Capitalism and the end of the Cold War.” In *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, Volume III, “Endings,” ed.

- Schrecker, Ellen. "Cold War Triumphalism and the Real Cold War." In *Cold War Triumphalism: The Misuse of History After the Fall of Communism*, ed. Ellen Schrecker. New York: The New Press, 2004.
- Shaw, Tony. *Hollywood's Cold War*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007.
- Tsipursky, Gleb. "Jazz Enthusiasts and the Cultural Cold War in the Soviet Union." Unpublished manuscript, by permission of author.
- X. "The Sources of Soviet Conduct." *Foreign Affairs* 25.4 (July, 1947).
- Zipp, Samuel. *Manhattan Projects: The Rise and Fall of Urban Renewal in Cold War New York*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.

### **Recommended Websites for Research**

#### Foreign Relations of the United States

digicoll.library.wisc.edu/FRUS

[www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/frus](http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/frus)

<http://dosfan.lib.uic.edu/ERC/frus>

#### Cold War International History Project

[http://wilsoncenter.org/index.cfm?topic\\_id=1409&fuseaction=topics.home](http://wilsoncenter.org/index.cfm?topic_id=1409&fuseaction=topics.home)

#### SHAFR

<http://www.shafr.org/links.htm>

*Cold War documents*

<http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/coldwar.htm>

#### Avalon Project

[www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/avalon.htm](http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/avalon.htm)

#### Maps

<http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/histus.html>

#### National Security Archive

<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/index.html>

Declassified documents reference system: DDRS (available through Columbia University Libraries)

<http://www.wapp.cc.columbia.edu/ldpd/app/rti/results?hl=1&ps=1&sb=1&ss=1&hpp=100000&hk=-1&rt=all&qt=6&q=ddrs>

#### New York Public Library

<http://www.nypl.org/research/chss/grd/resguides/newspapers/catalog.html>