

UCL: MAFS

Political Media (FILMG003)

Professor Lee Grieveson (Email: l.grieveson@ucl.ac.uk)

Screening: Tuesday 9-12,

Seminar: Wednesday, 11-1.

Broadly this class focuses on how media is used to facilitate and sustain exploitative political and economic practices – e.g. how media helped facilitate imperialism – and, dialectically, how media has been used by individuals and groups to contest or speak back to power. Our focus traverses history but increasingly comes to focus on the present moment, which is characterized by rapid changes in media practices such as the relatively recent emergence of social media and complexly related transformations in political and economic practices and systems (e.g. the election of Donald Trump, the “Brexit” referendum, the rise of new forms of “popular” nationalism, and new practices of propaganda.) The course has developed over the period I have been teaching it to focus more closely on these contemporary transformations as they happen in front of our eyes with bewildering pace. Our goals are to foster interesting explorations and conversations about media and our political and economic realities. Our (expansive) goals are to understand the role film and media plays in the orchestration of power, and how this has been contested and transformed. The film material and scholarship will also enable us to learn about political struggles mostly occluded in mainstream corporate media.

In the midst of these broad agendas, the class pursues some pragmatic objectives: it will expand knowledge of cinema history, including different histories of production, distribution, and exhibition. (I understand “cinema” here broadly to refer to the production and dissemination of moving pictures, and cinema to be a form of mass media that is inherently inter-medial.) It will explore different forms of this cinema (documentary, experimental, propagandistic, fictional) and lead us to examine the politics of form across history. It will explore the writings of cultural activists and academics as they examine questions about media, power, and influence. It will produce knowledge about past political struggles as mediated through film (and push us to learn about the socio-political contexts in which the films were made and circulated). Plus it will necessarily prompt questions about how different state systems engage with media and how the production and regulation of media are political acts that shape the possible public sphere. In pursuing these lines of enquiry our work will necessarily be inter-disciplinary, and we will draw in particular (but not exclusively) from scholarship in political history and political science, public policy, film, media, and cultural studies, history, and broadly progressive traditions of historical, cultural, and media analysis.

I have recently completed a book on the liberal state and corporate use of cinema in the interwar period so am familiar with some of this material – but the subsequent history of that process, and the global history of cinemas of resistance, is something I am learning about and I hope that this class will be a place for collective learning. In this it makes sense to draw on the interests that you bring to the class from your own experiences. Currently there is also one week left blank in the schedule that we can collectively decide upon. I personally would like to learn more

in particular about how cinema has been used to help produce social, economic and political emancipation, and how we might participate in that. My hope is the class will start collectively to produce answers to those questions, and even act upon them.

Likewise, and related to this, the **assessment** for the module is varied. You can either:

1) Write a traditional scholarly essay of 6000 words on a subject germane to the topic agreed in advance with me.

2) Write a report, of similar length, for a program for a season or festival of political films that seeks to take some of the things we have talked about in class to a broader public. (It may be this could also be arranged with screenings at UCL and this part of the assessment for the module is one way of taking the issues from the classroom to a broader public.)

3) Find and critically examine two examples of “film” propaganda, asking questions about who produced the material, with what goals in mind, what form the propaganda takes, how it was circulated, and with what effects. (It may be that some of this material can be made available online as the beginning of a project to examine in particular corporate propaganda.)

4) Make a short film (no more than 6 minutes) with a related 1000 research report that explores how your film utilizes ideas learnt from the history of political filmmaking.

Nb.: if you are taking this class for 15, rather than 30 credits, these assessments are cut in half (e.g. a 3000 word essay, a 3 minute film). **Deadline:** Monday 9th January, 4pm.

Two final notes: 1) Many of the films we will watch will be of poor quality, on various levels, and some of them will be from video copies (mostly from my collections) and some from low quality digital versions. There is a politics to the high-cost of film production, to what is archived, and what is made available, that merits reflection. But do bear in mind that many of the films will not necessarily be “entertaining” or “interesting” as aesthetic objects – but then, to my mind, the films are sometimes the least interesting part of these stories. 2) I would advise reading this book to provide a useful backdrop for some of our discussions: Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes, 1914-1991* (London: Abacus, 1994). But for further exploration, see also (for example – I can provide other suggestions also): Giovanni Arrighi, *The Long Twentieth Century: Money, Power, and the Origins of Our Times* (London: Verso, 1994), in particular 58-73 and 269-299; David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neo-liberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); David Harvey, *The New Imperialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); and Perry Anderson, “Imperium,” *New Left Review*, 83 (Sept.-Oct. 2013), 5-111 (yes, an essay that is over 100 pages long). You will find it useful also to watch Noam Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent*, currently available here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dzufeDdQ6uKg>. You will likely notice that this syllabus asks you to do a **lot** of reading, in subjects often far from “film.” Suck it up. The world is a complex place, and we have little hope of understanding it – let alone helping change it – if we do not read and view as widely as possible. The philosopher and historian Michel Foucault once said that history requires relentless erudition. I know of no other route to that than through curiosity and hard work. You are required to read *all* the “What you have to read” section *before* class; and explore the other materials when possible.

Week 1: **Introduction**
Screening, 4th October, 9.30-12: *Zero Dark Thirty* (Columbia, USA,
2012.)
Seminar, 5th October, 11-1.

What you have to read:

- Slavoj Zizek, “*Zero Dark Thirty*: Hollywood’s Gift to American Power,” *The Guardian*, 25th January, 2013, available here:
<http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/jan/25/zero-dark-thirty-normalises-torture-unjustifiable>
- Alex Gibney, “*Zero Dark Thirty*’s Wrong and Dangerous Conclusion,” *Huffington Post*, 12/21, 2012, available here:
http://www.huffingtonpost.com/alex-gibney/zero-dark-thirty-torture_b_2345589.html
- Glen Greenwald, “*Zero Dark Thirty*: CIA hagiography, pernicious propaganda,” *The Guardian*, Friday 14th December, 2012, available here: <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/dec/14/zero-dark-thirty-cia-propaganda>
- Mark Bowden, “*Zero Dark Thirty* is not pro-torture,” *The Atlantic*, January 3rd 2013, available here:
<http://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2013/01/zero-dark-thirty-is-not-pro-torture/266759/>
- The CIA released a statement about the film, available here:
<https://www.cia.gov/news-information/press-releases-statements/2012-press-releases-statements/message-from-adcia-zero-dark-thirty.html>
- *Zero Dark Thirty* was subject (briefly) of a Senate investigation into the ways the CIA shared classified information with the filmmakers, resulting in a letter criticizing the film sent to the CEO of Sony (the corporate owners of Columbia) by Diane Feinstein, the Chair of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, Carl Levin, the Chair of the Senate Armed Service Committee, and John McCain, Ranking Member Senate Armed Service Committee, available here:
<http://documents.latimes.com/feinstein-mccain-levin-statement-zero-dark-thirty/#sthash.z5EUlaWL.dpuf>
- Further information about the interaction between the CIA and the filmmakers, made possible by Freedom of Information requests, is available here: <https://news.vice.com/article/tequila-painted-pearls-and-prada-how-the-cia-helped-produce-zero-dark-thirty>

What you might also read:

- Judicial Watch obtained almost 300 pages of documents detailing how the Department of Defense and CIA worked together with scriptwriter Mark Boal and director Kathryn Bigelow as they made the movie. The details of that are available here:
<http://www.scribd.com/doc/94447731/Judicial-Watch-Bin-Laden-Movie-CIA>

- Toby Miller, "Foreword," in Oliver Boyd-Barrett, David Herrera, and Jim Baumann, *Hollywood and the CIA: Cinema, defense, and subversion* (London: Routledge, 2011), xi-xii.
- Tricia Jenkins, "How the Central intelligence Agency Works with Hollywood: an Interview with Paul Barry, the CIA's new Entertainment Industry Liaison," *Media, Culture, and Society*, 31: 3 (2009), 489-495.
- Timothy Melley, "Covert Spectacles and the Contradictions of the Democratic Security State," *Storyworlds: A Journal of Narrative Studies*, 6:1 (Summer 2014), 61-82 [available online through the UCL library catalogue].
- Peter Maas, "Don't Trust 'Zero Dark Thirty'," *The Atlantic*, December 13th, 2012, available here:
<http://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2012/12/dont-trust-zero-dark-thirty/266253/>

What you might also read and watch if interested:

- Anne McClintock, "Paranoid Empire: Specters from Guantanamo and Abu Ghraib," *small axe* 28 (March 2009). [available online through the library catalogue.]
- On the U.S. response to the terrorism of 9/11, in terms both of foreign policy and the revocation of civil liberties, see, for example: Michael Mann, *Incoherent Empire* (London: Verso, 2003); Giorgio Agamben, *State of Exception*, trans. Kevin Attell (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), in particular 1-33; Perry Anderson, "Imperium," *New Left Review*, 83 (Sept.-Oct. 2013); Jane Mayer, *The Dark Side: The Inside Story of How the War on Terror Turned into a War on American Ideals* (New York: Anchor Books, 2009). Documentaries include: *Fahrenheit 9/11* (Michael Moore, 2004), *Dirty Wars* (Richard Rowley, 2013), *Counter-Intelligence: Shining Light on Black Operations* (Scott Noble, 2013), *Taxi to the Dark Side* (Alex Gibney, 2007), *The Power of Nightmares* (Adam Curtis, 2004), amongst others.

Week 2: **Empire» State» Media»**

Screening, 11th October, 9-11: Selection of Spanish-American War films, 1898-1989; Selection of films of the Panama Canal, 1904-1914; *The Bond*, *A Liberty Loan Appeal* (Committee on Public Information/ Charlie Chaplin, U.S., 1917); *Poor Mrs. Jones* (US Department of Agriculture, USA, 1925); *Wheels of Progress* (US Bureau of public Roads, US Department of Agriculture, 1927); *West Africa Calling* (Conservative and Unionist Film, U.K., 1927); *Empire Trade* (Conservative and Unionist Film, U.K., 1934), *Tropical Hookworm* (Bekefilm, 1936: these last three films can be seen on the Colonial Film: Moving Images of the British Empire website: <http://www.colonialfilm.org.uk/>).
Seminar, 12th October, 11-1.

What you have to read:

- George Creel, *How We Advertised America: The First Telling of the Amazing Story of the Committee on Public Information that Carried the Gospel of Americanism to Every Corner of the Globe* (New York: Harper and Brothers

Publishers, 1920), 117-132. (The book is online at: http://archive.org/stream/howweadvertameri00creerich/howweadvertameri00creerich_djvu.txt)

- Christopher Sharrett, “9/11, the useful Incident, and the Legacy of the Creel Committee,” *Cinema Journal*, 43: 4 (Summer 2004), 125-131.
- Lee Grieveson, “Empire Marketing Board,” available here:
<http://www.colonialfilm.org.uk/production-company/empire-marketing-board>
- Emily S. Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890-1945* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), selection on Moodle.
- Kristen Whissel, *Picturing American Modernity: Traffic, Technology, and the Silent Cinema* (Durham, N.N.: Duke University Press, 2008), 21-62. (You can read the version of this work on the Moodle site, from Whissel, “The Gender of Empire: American Modernity, Masculinity, and Edison’s War Actualities,” in Bean and Negra eds., *A Feminist Reader in Early Cinema* (Duke University Press, 2008).
- Aboubakar Sanogo, “Colonialism, visuality, and the cinema: revisiting the Bantu Educational Kinema experiment,” in Lee Grieveson and Colin MacCabe eds., *Empire and Film* (London: British Film Institute, 2011), 227-246.
- David Harvey, *The New Imperialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), vi1-25. (This book is available online through the UCL library catalogue.)

What you might also read:

- James Castonguay, “The Spanish American War in U.S. Media Culture,” <http://chnm.gmu.edu/aq/war/>
- Explore the material on the Spanish-American War online at the Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/collection/spanish-american-war-in-motion-pictures/about-this-collection/>
- Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876-1917* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000), in particular 15-57.
- Alex Callinicos, *Imperialism and Global Political Economy* (London: Polity, 2009).
- Tom Rice has written about *West Africa Calling*, *Empire Trade*, and *Tropical Hookworm* respectively, here:
<http://www.colonialfilm.org.uk/node/1329>
<http://www.colonialfilm.org.uk/node/6734>
<http://www.colonialfilm.org.uk/node/735>
- Emily S. Rosenberg, “War and the Health of the State: The U.S. Government and the Communications Revolution during World War I,” in Kenneth Osgood and Andrew K. Frank eds., *Selling War in a Media Age: The Presidency and Public Opinion in the American Century* (Gainesville, FL.: University Press of Florida, 2010).
- Stuart Ewen, *PR! A Social History of Spin* (New York: Basic books, 1996), 102-130.

What else you might read and watch if interested:

- Emily S. Rosenberg, *Financial Missionaries to the World: The Politics and Culture of Dollar Diplomacy, 1900-1930* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999), in particular 1-30.
- Cyrus Veese, *A World Safe for Capitalism: Dollar Diplomacy and America's Rise to Global Power* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).
- Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease, *Cultures of United States Imperialism* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1993).
- Mariel Grant, *Propaganda and the Role of the State in Inter-War Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).
- Noam Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent*, currently available here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dzufDdQ6uKg>; *The Crisis of Civilization* (Dean Puckett, 2012), currently available here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pMgOTQ7D_lk

Week 3: **Corporate PR/opaganda**
Screening, 18th October, 9-12: *Sam and the Bolsheviks* (Ford, U.S., 1919); *Democracy in Education* (Ford, 1919, U.S.); *The Road to Happiness* (Bureau of Public Roads/Ford, U.S., 1924); *To New Horizons* (General Motors, 1939); *The Middleton Family at the World's Fair* (Westinghouse, 1939); *Long Distance* (At&T, 1941); Adam Curtis, *The Century of the Self* (London: BBC, 2005), Episode 1, "Happiness Machines."
Seminar, 19th October, 11-1.

What you have to read

- Lee Grieveson, "The Work of Film in the Age of Fordist Mechanization," *Cinema Journal*, 51:3 (Spring 2012: available online through the UCL library catalogue).
- Noam Chomsky, *Media Control: The Spectacular Achievements of Propaganda* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2002), in particular 9-37.
- Stuart Ewen, *PR! A Social History of Spin* (New York: Basic books, 1996), 3-18, 146-190.
- Robert W. McChesney, *Rich Media, Poor Democracy: Communication Politics in Dubious Times* (New York: New Press, 2000), in particular 1-14.

What you might also read:

- Scott Simmon, "An American in the Making: About the Film," Program Notes, *Treasures III: Americans in the Making* (San Francisco, CA.: National Film Preservation Foundation, 2007).
- Edward Bernays, "Engineering of Consent," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 250 (March 1947), 113-120.
- Rick Prelinger, "Eccentricity, education and the evolution of corporate speech," in Vinzenz Hediger and Patrick Vonderau eds., *Films that Work: Industrial Film and the Productivity of Media* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), 211-220.
- Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (London: Vintage Books, 1994).

What else you might read and watch if interested:

- Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (New York: Macmillan, 1922).
- Edward Bernays, "Counsel on Public Relations: A Definition," January 26th 1927, *Prosperity and Thrift: The Coolidge Era and the Consumer Economy, 1921-1929*, currently available here: <http://memory.loc.gov/cgibin/query/r?ammem/coolbib:@field%28SUBJ+@band%28Public+relations+%29%29>
- Alex Carey, *Taking the Risk Out of Democracy: Corporate Propaganda Versus Freedom and Liberty* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), in particular the foreword by Noam Chomsky, ix-xvi, and 18-36.
- Website (with lots of interesting material): The Centre for Media and Democracy's PRWatch here <http://www.prwatch.org/cmd>
- Sara Sullivan, "Corporate Discourses of Sponsored Films of Steel Production in the United States, 1936-1956," *The Velvet Light Trap*, 72 (Fall 2013), 33-43.
- Victoria Cain, "'An Indirect Influence upon Industry': Rockefeller Philanthropies and the Development of Educational Film in the United States, 1935-1953," in Devin Orgeron, Marsha Orgeron, and Dan Streible eds., *Learning with the Lights Off: Educational Film in the United States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 230-248.
- Mark Crispin Miller, "Introduction," in Edward Bernays, *Propaganda* (1928; New York: Ig publishing, 2005).
- Adam Curtis, *The Century of the Self* (London: BBC, 2005), currently available here: <https://thoughtmaybe.com/the-century-of-the-self/>.
- PR techniques are used by states. See, for example, *PsyWar* (Metanoia, 2010, currently available online here <http://topdocumentaryfilms.com/psywar/>) on the U.S.'s use of PR or, for example, on the PR strategies of the repressive Bahraini state (supported by the U.S. and Saudi Arabia) see *Bahrain: The Media War* (Al Jazeera, available here http://watchdocumentary.com/watch/bahrain-the-media-war-video_a77075f25.html), as well as the blog of *Guardian* journalist Brian Whitaker documenting the connections between Bahrain and western PR firms at <http://al-bab.com/>, and the website Bahrain Watch at <https://bahrainwatch.org/> which examines the abuse of state power in Bahrain and documents the ongoing sale of arms by British and U.S. arms firms in particular to Bahrain.

Week 4: **The Militant Liberty of the Cold War**
Screening, 25th October, 9-12: *Why We Fight* series (Office of War Information, U.S., 1942-1945); extract *Animal Farm* (Halas and Batchelor, U.K./USA, 1954); *Strength of the Free World* (Economic Cooperation Administration, USA, 1951); extract *Why Vietnam?* (Department of Defense, 1965); *Why We Fight* (Eugene Jarecki, U.S., 2006).

Seminar, 26th October, 11-1.

What you have to read:

- Jennifer Fay, *Theaters of Occupation: Hollywood and the Reeducation of Postwar Germany* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 39-82. (You can read instead this article: Jennifer Fay, "Germany is a Boy in Trouble," *Cultural Critique*, 64 (Fall 2006).)

- Elizabeth Heffelfinger, “Foreign policy, domestic fiction: government sponsored documentaries and network television promote the Marshall Plan at home,” *Historical Journal of Film, Radio, and Television*, 28: 1 (March 2008), 1-21. See also the website about the Marshall plan films available here: <http://www.sellingdemocracy.org/>
- Frances Stonor Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper? The CIA and the Cultural Cold War* (London: Granta, 1999), 1-6, 279-301. (If you cannot access this book, then read instead: Frances Stonor Saunders, “The Power of Fear,” 6th October 2003, *New Statesmen*, available here <http://www.newstatesman.com/node/146430>; Saunders, “How the CIA Plotted Against Us,” *New Statesmen*, 19th July 1999, available here <http://www.newstatesman.com/node/135185>; James Petras, “The CIA and the Cultural Cold War Revisited,” *Monthly Review*, 51: 6 (November 1999), available here <http://monthlyreview.org/1999/11/01/the-cia-and-the-cultural-cold-war-revisited/>; it might be possible to find out of print copies of the book here <http://cloheac.fr/q/pdf-Who-Paid-the-Piper-The-CIA-and-the-Cultural-Cold-War/book-1752195041/>
- James Schwoch, *Global TV: New Media and the Cold War, 1946-69* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 43-60.

What you might also read:

- Thomas Doherty, *Projections of War: Hollywood, American Culture, and World War II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 60-84.
- Lary May, *The Big Tomorrow: Hollywood and the Politics of the American Way* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 175-214.
- Laura Belmonte, *Selling the American Way: U.S. Propaganda and the Cold War* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).
- Marc Frey, “Tools of Empire: Persuasion and the United States Modernizing Mission in Southeast Asia,” *Diplomatic History*, 27: 4 (September 2003).
- “The Cold War,” The History of Media Use for Propaganda Purposes, <http://manspropaganda.wordpress.com/the-cold-war/>

What else you might read and watch if interested:

- Ian Scott, “*Why We Fight* and Projections of America: Frank Capra, Robert Riskin, and the Making of World War II Propaganda,” in Peter C. Rollins and John E. Connor eds., *Why We Fought: America’s Wars in Film and History* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2008).
- Lori Lyn Bogle, *The Pentagon’s Battle for the American Mind: The Early Cold War* (Texas A&M Military History Series, 2004).
- Daniel Leab, *Orwell Subverted: The CIA and the filming of Animal Farm* (Philadelphia: Penn State University Press, 2007).
- Robert T. Davis II, *U.S. Army and the Media in the 20th Century* (Fort Leavenworth, Kansas: Combat Studies Institute Press, 2009), currently available here:

<https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=zo9XXTTwizIC&pg=PA101&dq=office+of+war+information&hl=en&sa=X&ei=tj-tVIbLL8e4UbrfgRg&ved=0CEQQ6AEwBzgK#v=onepage&q=office%20of%20war%20information&f=false>

- *Hearts and Minds* (Peter Davis, USA, 1974); *Propaganda* (Slavko Martinov, New Zealand, 2012), currently available here: <https://archive.org/details/PropagandaNorthKoreanFilmExposesNwo>

Week 5: **Global Third Cinema**

Screening, 1st November, 9-12: *Memories of Underdevelopment* (Tomás Guitiérrez Alea, Cuba, 1968); *Bamako* (Abderrahmane Sissako, Mali, 2006).

Seminar, 2nd November, 11-1.

What you have to read:

- Tomás Gutiérrez Alea. "The Viewer's Dialectic," in Michael Martin ed., *New Latin American Cinema, Vol. 1: Theory, Practices, and Transcontinental Articulations* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1997), 109-131.
- Julianne Burton, "Film and Revolution in Cuba: The First Twenty-Five Years," in Sandor Halebsky and John Kish eds., *Cuba: 25 Years of Revolution, 1959-1984* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1985.) Rpt. in Martin ed., *New Latin American Cinema, Vol. 2: Studies of National Cinemas* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1997), 123-142.
- Rachel Gabara, "Abderrahmane Sissako: Second and Third Cinema in the First Person," in Rosalind Galt and Karl Schoonover eds., *Global Art Cinema: New Theories and Histories* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 320-333.
- David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neo-liberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 1-38.
- Paul Willemsen, "The Third Cinema Question: Notes and Reflections," in Martin (ed.), *New Latin American Cinema, Volume 1*, pp. 221-251.
- Tejumola Olaniyan, "Of Rations and Rationalities: The World Bank, African Hunger, and Abderrahmane Sissako's *Bamako*," *The Global South*, 2:2 (Fall 2008), 130-138.
- Mike Davis, "SAPing the Third World," in *Planet of Slums* (London and New York: Verso, 2006), 151-173.

What you might also read:

- Fernando Solanas and Octavio Getino, "Towards a third cinema: notes and experiences for the development of cinema of liberation in the third world," in Michael T. Martin (ed.), *New Latin American Cinema, Volume 1: Theory, Practices and Transcontinental Articulations* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1997), 33-58. (Nb.: if you have not read this for the MAFS core course, make sure you read it before class.)
- Michael Sicinski, "A Fragmented Epistemology: The Films of Abderrahmane Sissako," *cinemascope* 29 (2007): 16-19
- Bret Benjamin, "Making the Case: *Bamako* and the Problem of Anti-Imperial Art," in Rebecca Ann Dingo and J. Blake Scott eds., *The Megarhetorics of Global Development* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012), 199-233

- Jacqueline Maingard, "Screening Africa in colour: Abderrahmane Sissako's *Bamako*," *Screen* 51, no. 4 (2010), 397-403.
- Scott Durham, "'The Center of the World Everywhere': *Bamako* and the Scene of the Political," *World Picture 2* (2008), 1-14.
- Mike Wayne, *Political Film: The Dialectics of Third Cinema* (London, 2001).
- Jim Pines and Paul Willemen (eds.), *Questions of Third Cinema* (London, 1989).
- Michael Chanan, "Four Films," in *Cuban Cinema* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), 273-304

What else you might read or watch if interested:

- *The Shock Doctrine* (dir. Michael Winterbottom and Matt Whitecross, U.K., 2009), currently available here: <http://vimeo.com/26718047>
- *Apologies of an Economic Hitman* (dir. Stelios Louglou, Greece/USA, 2008), currently available here (but perhaps elsewhere in better copies): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xUDTRfbs-oM> (the book the film is based on is available here: https://archive.org/details/ConfessionsOfAnEconomicHitman_257)
- *Stealing Africa* (dir. Christoffer Guldbrandsen, 2013), currently available here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WNYemuiAOfU>

Week 6: Reading Week. No screening or classes this week.

Week 7: **Digital Activism**

Screening, 15th November, 9-12: *The Globalization Tapes* (Independent Plantation Workers' Union of Sumatra, Indonesia, 2003); selection from the Mosireen collective (Egypt); *The Pixelated Revolution* (Rabih Mroué, 2014, extract currently available here: <http://vimeo.com/63916014>).

Seminar, 16th November 11-1.

What you have to read:

- "The Prospects for a Political Cinema Today: A Critical Symposium," *Cineaste* 37, no.1 (Winter 2011), 6-23.
- Svetla Turnin and Ezra Winton, *Screening Truth to Power: A Reader on Documentary Activism* (Montreal: Camera Politica, 2014), 17-28.
- Mosireen, http://mosireen.org/?page_id=6 and <http://www.indiegogo.com/Mosireen>
- Christian Christensen, "Political documentary, online organization and activist synergies," *Studies in Documentary Film*, 3:2 (2009), 77-94.
- Des Freedman, *The Contradictions of Media Power* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 89-114.

What you might also read:

- Chuck Tryon, "Digital distribution, participatory culture, and the transmedia documentary," *Jump Cut* 53 (summer 2011), online at <http://www.ejumpcut.org/currentissue/TryonWebDoc/index.html>
- Kay Dickinson, "Introduction: In Focus: Middle Eastern Media," *Cinema Journal*, 52: 1 (Fall 2012), 132-136.

- Hito Steyerl, “In Defense of the Poor Image,” *e-flux*, 10 (November 2009), available here: <http://www.e-flux.com/journal/in-defense-of-the-poor-image/>

What else you might read and watch if interested:

- *The Square* (dir. Jehane Noujaim, Egypt, 2013).
- The Rashomon Project: an online toolkit for assembling multiple perspective chronologies, bringing images generated from political protests together to better establish truth: <http://automation.berkeley.edu/rashomon/>

Week 8: Killer images

Screening, 22nd November, 9-12: *The Act of Killing* (Joshua Oppenheimer, Christine Cynn, and anonymous, 2012).

Watch on your own: *Standard Operating Procedure* (Errol Morris, 2008).

Seminar, 23rd November, 11-1.

What you have to read:

- Linda Williams, “Cluster Fuck: The Forcible Frame in Errol Morris’s *Standard Operating Procedure*,” *Camera Obscura* 73, vol. 25, no. 1 (2010), 29–67.
- Caetlin Benson-Allot, “*Standard Operating Procedure*: Mediating Torture,” *Film Quarterly* 62, no. 4 (Summer 2009): 39–44.
- Judith Butler, “Torture and the Ethics of Photography,” in Julian Stallabrass ed., *Documentary*, (London/Cambridge: Whitechapel Gallery and MIT Press, 2013), 135–144.
- Joshua Oppenheimer, “Misunderstanding Images: *Standard Operating Procedure*, Errol Morris,” in Joram ten Brink and Joshua Oppenheimer eds., *Killer Images: Documentary Film, Memory, and the Performance of Violence*, (New York: Wallflower Press, 2012), 311–324.
- Slavoj Zizek, “On *The Act of Killing* and the modern trend of privatizing public space,” *The New Statesman*, 12th July 2013, available here: <http://www.newstatesman.com/culture/2013/07/slavoj-zizek-act-killing-and-modern-trend-privatising-public-space>

What you might also read:

- Noam Chomsky, *Profits Over People: Neoliberalism and Global Order* (New York: Seven Sisters Press, 1999).
- <http://www.actofkilling.com/#about>
- Noam Chomsky, *Failed States: The Abuse of Power and the Assault on Democracy* (London: Penguin Books, 2007), 102-165.

What else you might read and watch if interested:

- *The Look of Silence* (Joshua Oppenheimer, 2014); *Taxi to the Dark Side* (Alex Gibney, 2007).

Week 9: Cyber/Culture/Meme Wars

Screening, 29th October, 10-12: Extracts from *Hillary: The Movie* (Alan Peterson/Citizens United, USA, 2008); *Occupy Unmasked* (dir. Steve Bannon, USA, 2012); *Clinton Cash* (dir. M.A. Taylor/Glittering Steel, 2016); *Brexit: The Movie* (dir. Martin Durkin, 2016); *Trumping Democracy* (Thomas Huchon, 2017).

Seminar, 30th October, 11-1.

What you have to read:

- Angela Nagel *Kill All Normies* (London: Zero Books, 2017).
- Jane Mayer, *Dark Money: How a Secretive Group of Billionaires is Trying to Buy Political Control in the US* (New York: Scribe, 2016), 226-239.
- John Bellamy Foster, “Neofascism in the White House,” *Monthly Review* 68, 11 (2017).
- Christian Fuchs, *Digital Demagogue: Authoritarian Capitalism in the Age of Trump and Twitter* (London: Pluto Press, 2018), in particular 1-8, 197-257.
- Jonathan Albright, “FakeTube: AI Generated News on YouTube,” *Medium*, January 2017, available here <https://medium.com/@d1gi/faketube-ai-generated-news-on-youtube-233ad46849f9>

What you might also read:

- Hannes Grasseger and Mikael Krogerus “The Data That Turned The World Upside Down,” available here: https://motherboard.vice.com/en_us/article/mg9vvn/how-our-likes-helped-trump-win
- Dale Beran “4Chan – The Skeleton Key to the Rise of Trump” <https://medium.com/@DaleBeran/4chan-the-skeleton-key-to-the-rise-of-trump-624e7cb798cb>

Week 10: People Have Had Quite Enough of Experts

Screening, 6th December, 9-12: *HyperNormalisation* (Adam Curtis, BBC, 2016).

Seminar: 7th December, 11-1.

What You Have to Read:

- Perry Anderson, “Imperium,” *New Left Review*, 83 (Sept.-Oct. 2013), 5-111.
- Peter Pomerantsev “The Hidden Author of Putinism” (*The Atlantic* <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2014/11/hidden-author-putinism-russia-vladislav-surkov/382489/>)
- John Lanchester “Brexit Blues” (*London review of Books* vol. 38, no.15, July 2016) <https://www.lrb.co.uk/v38/n15/john-lanchester/brexit-blues>
- Tom Whyman “Sweet, Sweet Phantasy” (*The Baffler*, August 3 2017) https://thebaffler.com/latest/sweet-sweet-phantasy-whyman?utm_content=buffercc29c&utm_medium=social&utm_source=twitter.com&utm_campaign=buffer

What You Might Also Read:

- If you are interested in the influence of dark money and new forms of data mining on politics in the US and the UK in particular, see in particular the journalism of Carole Cadwalladr, including: “The Great British Brexit robbery: how our democracy was hijacked,” *The Guardian*, 7th May 2017, available here: <https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2017/may/07/the-great-british-brexit-robbery-hijacked-democracy>, and “Follow the data,” available here: <https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2017/may/14/>

[robert-mercier-cambridge-analytica-leave-eu-referendum-brexite-campaigns](#), and “Vote Leave Donations,” available here: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/nov/25/vote-leave-dominic-cummings-online-guru-mystery-letter-dark-ads>

Week 11: To be collectively decided ...