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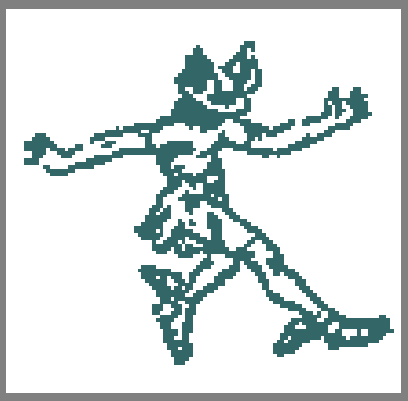

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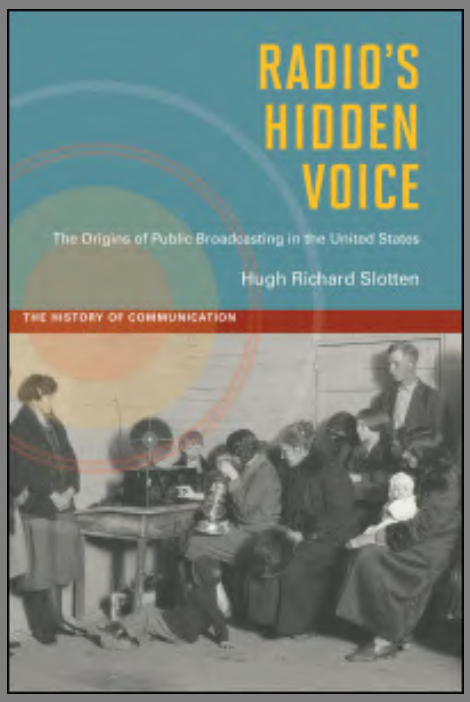
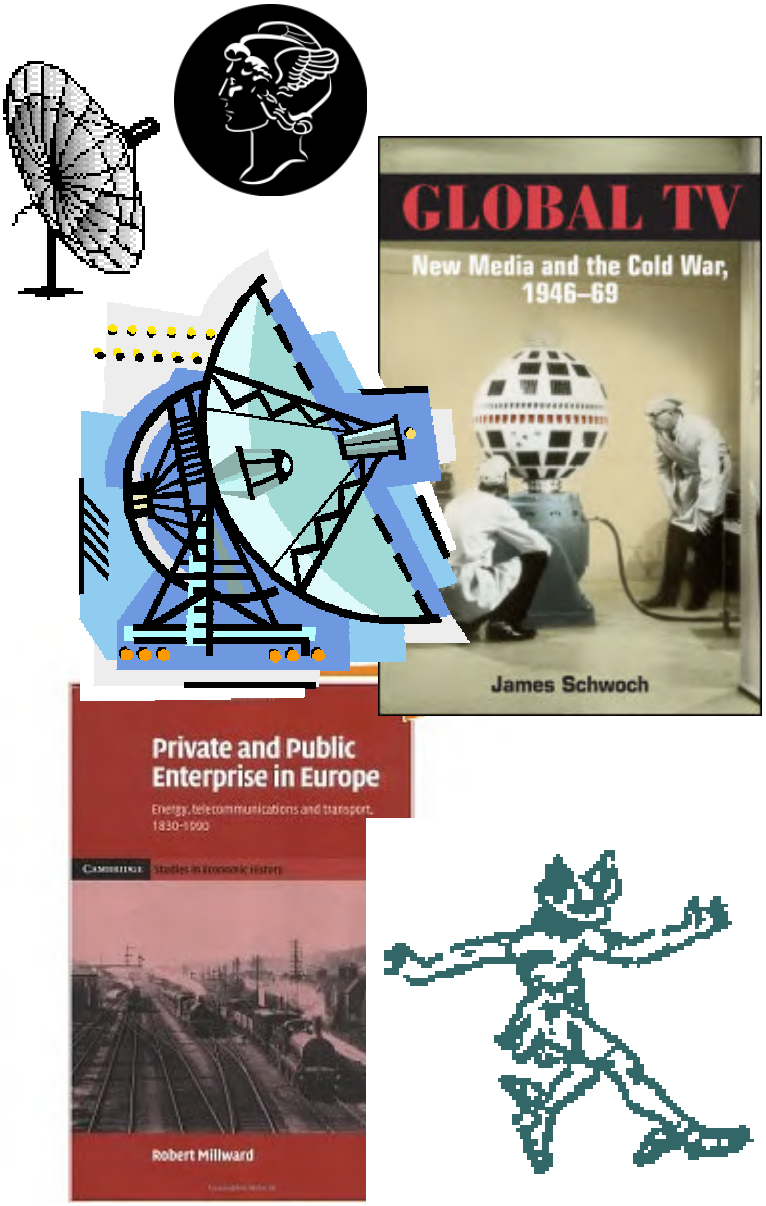
SPECIAL BOOK REVIEW ISSUE





Special Review Issue
Table of Contents

[3-4] Hugh Richard Slotten, *Radio's Hidden Voice: The Origins of Public Broadcasting in the United States*
Reviewed by Carol Atkinson (institution)
Published on Jhistory, H-Net Reviews (February 2010)
H-Net: Humanities & Social Sciences Online
URL: http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=29457

[5] Anthony J. Rudel, *Hello, Everybody!: The Dawn of American Radio*
Reviewed by Noah Arceneaux (San Diego State University)
Published on Jhistory, H-Net Reviews (July 2009)
H-Net: Humanities & Social Sciences Online
URL: http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=25054

[6-7] James Schwoch, *Global TV: New Media and the Cold War, 1946-69*
Reviewed by Joes Segal (University of Utrecht)
H-Soz-u-Kult, H-Net Reviews (July 2009)
H-Net: Humanities & Social Sciences Online
URL: http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=25423

[8-10] Robert Millward, *Private and Public Enterprise in Europe: Energy, Telecommunications and Transport, 1830-1990*
Reviewed by Gustav Sjoblom (University of Cambridge)
H-German, H-Net Reviews (November 2007)
H-Net: Humanities & Social Sciences Online
URL: http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=13904

[10] Briefly Noted: Forthcoming Telecom History, Harvard University Press
Daqing Yang, *Technology of Empire: Telecommunications and Japanese Expansion in Asia, 1883-1945*

[11-13] Conference Report: "European Cold War Cultures? Societies, Media and Cold War Experiences in East and West, 1947-1990"
Zentrum für Zeithistorische Forschung (ZZF) Conference Report
Paul Betts (University of Sussex) and Annette Vowinckel (ZZF)
http://www.zzf-pdm.de/Portals/_Rainbow/images/versanstaltungen/Tagungsbericht%20ColdWarCultures.pdf> (20 July 2009)

[14] "Recent Dissertations on Telecommunications from the British Library Electronic Theses Online Service (EThOS)" http://ethos.bl.uk/

[15] The Mercurians, They Are A'Changing

Hugh Richard Slotten, *Radio's Hidden Voice: The Origins of Public Broadcasting in the United States*

Reviewed by Carol Atkinson

A gem of a look at the birth of public broadcasting from personal correspondence to perfectly reproduced photographs, Hugh Richard Slotten's Radio's Hidden Voice brings the birth of public broadcasting to life. The pioneers of public service, noncommercial radio were primarily from U.S. universities: engineers, faculty from a variety of disciplines, and students with incredible opportunities to create a new medium from the ground up. Slotten takes a rather expansive premise: to tell the story of these early pioneers, to show how their experiences intermingled with the birth and evolution of commercial radio, and then to trace how the medium nearly strangled and died with the growth of governmental regulation. The archival work Slotten undertook to complete this book is impressive; the documents he used are rare and serve as a strong foundation for further research that could amplify each university's role in the growth of the medium. These pioneers' personal stories and letters, some professional and some personal, give the reader a glimpse into the fun, the successes, and, of course, the failures of early noncommercial radio.

The book opens dramatically: "A few days after Christmas in 1929, Ralph Goddard died while regulating equipment in the generator room of the radio station at New Mexico State Agricultural and Mechanical College. Goddard, a professor in the school's engineering department, was forty-two years old. The circumstances of his death remain unclear—no one witnessed the accident—but he seemed to have been electrocuted after walking from the studio in a drizzle to the building that housed the generator. The fatal spark could have been conducted by moisture on his shoes and on the wooden stick he used to adjust the generators." This event marked the end of an era for the radio station KOB (p. 1).

Through a myriad of primary sources and stories, such as Goddard's, Slotten demonstrates how faculty dabbled in technology first, with students generating master's theses from their new designs for transmission. The growth of content closely paralleled the technology. With university faculty and students creating this new medium, content emerged from faculty lectures and research. In fact, Slotten writes, "the scripts of the first lectures at the University of Wisconsin (WHA) were read by station announcers because the faculty did not consider speaking into a microphone a dignified practice" (p. 43).

Aided by an increasing mass of amateur radio enthusiasts, these professors and students built crude radio sets and marketed them. "Any boy can set up a receiving out-fit. . . . The apparatus will cost about $10 so that there is no reason why the [weather] forecast can not be received in every Village and on every farm where there is an intelligent boy, by 11 AM," wrote University of Wisconsin physics professor Earle Terry in 1916 (p. 25). Adding to the richness of Terry's personal letters included in this text, even one to his mother, is a superbly reproduced photo of him in his dusty lab peering through a small scope (p. 13). Faculty also wrote manuals that taught purchasers how to build a set, and sometimes consumers could buy a partially constructed set to finish on their own.

As faculty members with loyalties to the academy, these radio pioneers saw the value in promoting their own schools. They partnered with administrators, governing boards, and, sometimes, state legislatures, to carve out ways in which radio could serve as a public service to the people in the university's market area and to promote enrollment and university stature. Their focus was on public service, improved transmission, reception, and educational content. And, of course, that educational content meant faculty lectures (noted above); informative talks by experts in business, education, and government; and classical music and jazz.

Slotten provides details of the newly refurbished facilities at WHA at the University of Wisconsin during the 1930s: "The visitors' lounge was particularly unique. An instructor in the art department designed the modernistic furniture made by local cabinetmakers using native Wisconsin oak. The lampshades were shaped like Indian 'tom-toms.' A sandstone frieze on the walls of the room reproduced Indian petroglyphs from cave walls in Wisconsin. The prehistoric carvings represented animals native to the state. The rugs on the floor as well as cushions on the couches and chairs were made by Native Americans" (p. 180). Slotten does not mention what happened to this incredible work of art nor whether the visitors' lounge is still a part of one of the oldest radio stations in the nation.

While all this program creativity and technological entrepreneurship expanded throughout the early 1900s, commercial broadcasting was emerging, as was governmental regulation. The tension that grew among these players was significant. Slotten does a good job pointing the reader to the tighter and tighter stranglehold these latter two behemoths had on public radio, on its educational mission, and on the stations' vitality and the station operators' dreams of uplifting their listeners.

Hugh Slotten, *Radio's Hidden Voice* (conclusion)

Radio amateurs certainly gave considerable support to faculty members in the early days of radio, but these same amateurs began to see the value in commercializing the medium, too. Universities were tied to their region, so their content remained localized and informative. The commercial interests found value in the network system, providing more and more programming at a cheaper cost. As Slotten writes: "If, beginning in the late 1920s, commercial networks worked to standardize American society to better serve national advertisers promoting a homogenized ethic of consumption, educational stations committed to noncommercial ideas affirmed connections to local communities with targeted programming, personnel, and listening practices" (p. 79).

This standardization to better serve national advertisers did not change when Herbert Hoover and the Department of Commerce began to regulate radio in the early 1920s and then codified it all in the 1927 Radio Act. Mass entertainment and network connections were at the heart of the regulation, Slotten notes, but the vague and ill-defined public interest standard apparently represented Hoover's own ambiguity regarding the superiority of commercial broadcasting versus noncommercial radio. Hoover believed the market would drive the growth and development of radio, with the caveat that all radio should be educational and informative, not purely entertaining.

The Federal Radio Commission (FRC), however, viewed the commercial interests as the only practical method of radio growth, maturity, and financial health. Thus, the FRC used its regulatory powers to provide substantial airtime and preferential frequencies to commercial stations. Small, low-powered stations, often owned and operated by individuals with a unique personal perspective on the world, were given less desirable frequencies. The FRC also began to label some of these small operations as "propaganda" stations, and unfortunately, smaller, lower-powered university stations fell into that category. When the commission began to allow stations to compete for frequencies, it came as little surprise that the commercial stations had the power and the financial resources to send their best and brightest to argue for superior frequencies. University station managers, reliant on university financial support, often had to go to Washington themselves without legal counsel, or had no funding to go anywhere and were given the poorest of frequencies. Noncommercial broadcasting began to experience a decline, not because of content, but because of commercial competition and federal regulation.

Slotten's treatment of the period after the 1930s is less focused, primarily because of the vast array of influences on the growing medium. Adding to government and commercial interests, noncommercial radio also had to deal with the rise of television and the impact it had on every medium in existence. And by the postwar years, noncommercial radio became recognizable for us in the twenty-first century. A participant "in the establishment of public broadcasting argues that WGBH and other community stations 'represented something of a noblesse oblige: the responsibility of the educated, the prosperous, and the privileged to look after the less fortunate majority'" (p. 242).

Slotten's information surrounding the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 draws together a variety of voices trying not only to regulate but also to steward the medium's growth. And Slotten provides a clear look into the whys of this medium's new label, "public broadcasting," which included both radio and television. The act created The Corporation for Public Broadcasting and the Public Broadcasting System (PBS), and under it, PBS was not allowed to develop its own programming while its sister, National Pubic Radio (NPR), was required to do so. One result: "From the beginning NPR faced an essential tension in its operations. A number of early leaders of the new network were not convinced that public radio should move away from the traditional academic focus on excellence and quality. They believed that expert opinion and structured presentation were more important than cutting-edge experimentation and a diversity of voices. This tension was partly inherited from educational radio as practiced by broadcast stations at state universities. University stations often had conflicting objectives: in some cases, to mainly serve all citizens with useful, educational programming and, in other cases, to mainly seek to "educate the educated" (p. 248).

By the 1980s, this tension had permutated into political pressure for both radio and television to find their own sources of funding. Corporate contributions and listener support became bywords of financial solvency. Slotten notes that despite this change, the fundamental patterns created by noncommercial broadcasting pioneers still held—educational, uplifting, and informative.

The archival work unearthing personal letters and photographs constitute much of this book's allure. The significant number of primary sources, such as those discussed above, and the photographs of the major and minor players in this burgeoning medium are impressive. The weaving of several threads of events, such as the rise of commercial radio, admittedly is not always seamless. There are some problems with reliability of the index, as well as some contradictions in assumptions. However, this book is priceless in its extent of archival work. The flavor of the people and the places that gave birth to noncommercial radio are housed in these pages, and for that Slotten has provide us with a true gem.

Anthony J. Rudel, *Hello, Everybody!: The Dawn of American Radio*.

Reviewed by

Noah Arceneaux (San Diego State University)

Anthony J. Rudel. *Hello, Everybody!: The Dawn of American Radio*. Orlando: Harcourt, 2008. 399 pp. $26.00 (cloth), ISBN 978-0-15-101275-6.

This casually written book, from a long-time radio professional who has also written about classical music, outlines the history of American radio from the beginning of the twentieth century until World War II. Rudel touches upon a great many issues in the narrative, including the friction between amateur operators and the military during World War I, the explosive growth of broadcasting in the 1920s, and the ongoing issue of governmental regulation. In the middle portion of the book, the topics of sports, politics, and variety programs each warrant their own chapter. The narrative is presented chronologically, with the outlandish exploits of quack doctor and border-radio pioneer Dr. John Brinkley woven throughout as a unifying theme.

To critique the book for its numerous errors and sloppy scholarship would be easy, but not entirely appropriate. The book does feature a bibliography and almost forty pages of endnotes, but Rudel did not write this book for academic audiences or serious historians. This work is instead intended for casual readers with little or no previous knowledge of the subject matter.

To cite one error, when writing about the young wireless operator David Sarnoff, Rudel states that "legend has it, [he] remained at his post for seventy-two consecutive hours" listening to distress signals from the doomed *Titanic* (p. 15). Well, yes, that was indeed the legend that Sarnoff himself promoted later in life, but the historical record indicates that his role in the *Titanic* tragedy was grossly overstated. Rudel's inclusion of this hoary chestnut, without any qualification whatsoever, is puzzling since he cites Kenneth Bilby's 1986 Sarnoff biography, *The General*, a few times in the text; this earlier book offers a detailed examination and refutation of the Sarnoff-*Titanic* story. Rudel, nonetheless, repeats the legend and makes subsequent references to it, as if it were indeed true. This one example is indicative of a persuasive tendency of the book, in which nuances and subtle distinctions are glossed over in favor of hyperbolic prose.

A serious examination of the bibliography finds countless gaps and oversights. For virtually every subject that Rudel deals with, such as the popularity of Amos 'n' Andy or the diffusion of radio receivers among farmers, there are well-researched monographs or scholarly articles that offer far more insight (and research) than what is presented here. Rather than rely on the vast and growing literature on early radio, Rudel instead relied upon secondary, summary works, such as Erik Barnouw's *A Tower in Babel* (1966) and George Douglas's *The Early Days of Radio Broadcasting* (1987), works that are now more than forty and twenty years old respectively.

Rudel did do a modest amount of research to produce this book and mined old issues of the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* to find various nuggets of information that are sprinkled throughout the text. One suspects that he chose these two papers because they are well indexed and easily searchable online. The citations for the various news stories that he incorporates, though, are frustratingly incomplete, and provide only the date of the original newspaper. Having the actual title of the original article, or better yet, a page number, would make it much easier for a subsequent researcher to consult the same resource.

The book thus offers no significant original research, and the barest modicum of critical insight. A two-page "author's note" at the end of the narrative claims that there are many parallels between early radio and the growth of modern media technologies, and on this point, Rudel is correct. It is puzzling, though, that this brief attempt at establishing a theoretical framework was placed at the end of the book rather than at the beginning, where it might help the reader comprehend the contemporary significance of early radio.

Given its numerous errors and scant research, it is doubtful that academics will find anything of value in this book. The work is likewise unsuitable for students, as there are a number of other books that explore the same issues more thoroughly and accurately. For a casual reader with no knowledge of radio's rich and colorful history, *Hello Everybody!* might be successful at spurring future curiosity, though it is difficult to recommend the book for any other purpose.

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James Schwoch, *Global TV: New Media and the Cold War, 1946-69*.

Reviewed by

Joes Segal (University of Utrecht)

James Schwoch. *Global TV: New Media and the Cold War, 1946-69*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2009. 256 pp. $70.00 (cloth), ISBN 978-0-252-03374-2; $25.00 (paper), ISBN 978-0-252-07569-8.

Although Christopher Lasch coined the term "cultural Cold War" to describe the ideological rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union back in 1967, it was not until the late 1980s that the cultural values and perceptions that motivated Cold War politics became a focus of scholarly debate. Groundbreaking in this respect was the volume of essays edited by Larry May under the title *Recasting America* [Larry May, ed., *Recasting America: Culture and Politics in the Age of the Cold War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989]. Since then, numerous studies have been dedicated to different aspects of Cold War culture, covering almost everything from high culture to popular culture, and from propaganda initiatives and cultural diplomacy via media transmission to the reception of political and cultural ideas.

Whereas the vast majority of publications until the 1990s dealt with the American point of view, the last two decades witnessed a stronger interest in Europe and the Soviet Union. Present research in the field of the cultural Cold War tends to address issues of cross-bloc cultural interaction, comparative perspectives and cultural Cold War periodization. See for instance the international conferences European Cold War Cultures? Societies, Media and Cold War Experiences in East and West organized by the Zentrum für Zeithistorische Forschung Potsdam (ZZF) 2007 and Divided Dreamworlds. The Cultural Cold War in East and West, organized by Utrecht University in cooperation with the Roosevelt Study Center and the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation 2008. A conference review of the ZZF conference is available at: http://www.zzf-pdm.de/Portals/_Rainbow/images/versanstaltungen/Tagungsbericht%20ColdWarCultures.pdf accessed July 20, 2009). [Editor's note: it is found on pp. 10-X of this issue.]

In recent years media studies have greatly contributed to a deeper understanding of several aspects of the Cold War. James Schwoch's new book on "Global TV" deserves a special place within the range of these studies due to its original research, broad scope and outspoken viewpoints.

Schwoch's book title indicates a history of global television in the early phase of the Cold War, but this proves to be slightly misleading. On the one hand, the topic is narrower than suggested, because the clear—though not exclusive—focus is on the American point of view. On the other hand, the book offers much more than just an insight into the early years of Cold War television and debates about the realization of global TV. The reader is treated to such various topics as the role of the media in the context of post-war Germany and early Cold War Europe, psychological warfare, the Ford Foundation and its strategic support of social science research, the American exchange exhibition in Moscow 1959, the coincidental interference of the launching of the first American television satellite (*Telstar*) with nuclear testing in 1962 and much more. The thread holding everything together is the strategic use of new media for improving the global image of America, especially American science and technology.

An important quality of the book is that it tries to reconstruct the plans and debates about global television and cultural diplomacy in terms of contemporary experiences and expectations, refraining from interpreting them in a teleological way as pre-history of later developments. Schwoch makes perfectly clear that the eventual outcome of these plans and debates was not always the logical and necessary result of conscious mastermind planning. On the contrary, he indicates that the politically motivated rhetoric supporting the distribution of television programs took a clear turn during the late 1950s. Before that time, American politicians were not much interested in, let alone worried about, the development of Soviet television, whereas the media were primarily discussed in terms of unilaterally spreading American propaganda to improve the global image of the USA abroad.

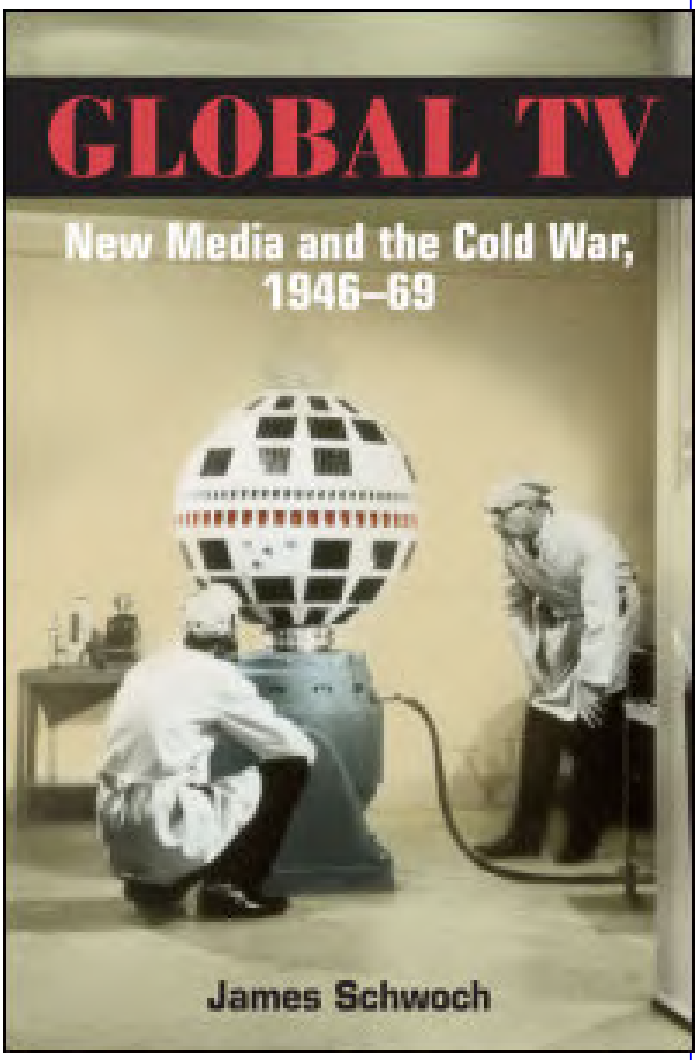
All this changed rather dramatically during the second half of the 1950s, especially after the launch of *Sputnik* in 1957, which caused a stir among American scientists, politicians, and the general public, because it was now obvious that the Soviet Union had taken the lead in the field of space technology. The Americans tried to counter the inflicted loss of prestige by a double strategy: large investments in the development of

James Schwoch, *Global TV: New Media and the Cold War, 1946-69.* (continued)

American science and technology, especially space technology, media and consumption articles on the one hand, and a new policy coordinated by the United States Information Agency (USIA) focusing on the global reception of American science, culture, and society on the other. The presentation of the American exhibition in Moscow in 1959 and the extensive collections of data regarding the reactions of the Soviet public are a case in point. One might add that Khrushchev's secret speech at the 20th congress of the CPSU in 1956 announcing official destalinization must have been another important reason for the USIA to worry about global sympathies in the bipolar world order of the Cold War, a point which is not duly mentioned by Schwoch.

Be that as it may, Schwoch shows that this new emphasis on reception research had its immediate repercussions in the funding pattern of the Ford Foundation, which supported large research programs of social scientists such as Ithiel de Sola Pool (MIT) and Wilbur Schramm (Stanford) who developed sociological and psychological models for measuring public opinion and public behaviour. It is interesting to note—and this is one of the main conclusions of Schwoch's study—that this turn from sending unilateral messages to anticipating global reactions went hand in hand with a new rhetoric supporting the idea of global television. Whereas during the late 1940s and early 1950s the strategic interests of the Western world in confrontation with the Soviet bloc were continually stressed, a new emphasis on global culture and world citizenship began to dawn during the late 1950s and early 1960s, gradually eclipsing the confrontational mode. Remarkably the people initiating the new course were largely the same who had been instrumental in the earlier days of strategic confrontation.

Although it actually exceeds the subject of his study, a word must be said about the book's epilogue, where Schwoch addresses the question what the American government at the beginning of the 21st century actually has learned from the history of Cold War diplomacy. His judgment is devastating: After September 11, 2001, the Bush Administration programmatically reduced the complexities of the post-Cold War world order by strictly dividing the world into partners and enemies, imposing its own interpretation as universal truth, and completely neglecting the impact of modern media and the meaning of global reception. During the second phase of the Cold War, American policy makers had learned to listen and sometimes to incite enthusiasm with their promise to contribute to a world community where in the end all would benefit from the progress of science, technology, and consumer culture. This rhetoric, strategically motivated as it may have been, did contain at least a core of idealism and sincerity. According to Schwoch, this has changed radically after the end of the Cold War, when America cherished the illusion that it had entered the end of history under its final leadership, and even more so after the terrorist attacks of 2001, when the American government put their cards on aggressive unilateralism. It must have come as a great relief to Schwoch that the new American president is willing to communicate again.



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Robert Millward, *Private and Public Enterprise in Europe: Energy, Telecommunications and Transport, 1830-1990.*

Reviewed by
Gustav Sjoblom (University of Cambridge)

Robert Millward. *Private and Public Enterprise in Europe: Energy, Telecommunications, and Transport, 1830-1990*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. xi + 351 pp. Figures, tables, notes, bibliography, index. $90.00 (cloth), ISBN 978-0-521-83524-4.

In this important book, Robert Millward provides the first truly cross-national survey of the development of the infrastructure industries in Europe. The outcome is an innovative study of a wide range of industries in several countries over a long period. Historians and other scholars are likely to return to this book for years to come—although as a tentative research overview rather than for the last word on any subject.

The subject matter is the development of the regulation of the energy, telecommunications, and transport industries, which all depend on a fixed infrastructure network and share the ensuing problems of regulation and the provision of services and commodities that meet both a commercial demand and a public service. Interestingly, Millward includes coal and oil in the study, although these industries as a rule have not been not natural monopolies, and state intervention in them has occurred because of strategic rather than economic reasons.

Millward's geographical scope is western Europe, and the study is based on all the available English-language literature on the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, and Scandinavia, occasionally covering Belgium and the Netherlands. Although the author's previous research has been U.K.-centered and the book is in many respects a European version of a previous book on Britain, Millward carefully avoids the trap of imposing the regulatory history of Britain onto Europe as a whole.[1] Throughout the study Millward has three main concerns: the role of government, the effectiveness of industries, and the role played by ideologies of socialism and capitalism. These three issues are in turn related to cross-national differences in resource endowment, trading positions, and political system.

The first part of the book presents a brief summary of the historical and analytical framework. Part 2 deals with the construction of new infrastructure in the nineteenth century, when state involvement was induced for three reasons. The new infrastructures required rights of way, which called for parliamentary sanction and scrutiny of the engineering and financial soundness of companies. The natural monopoly problem created incentives for the state to prevent exploitation of monopoly power. Finally, the desire to encourage economic growth and political unification led to the use of subsidies, interest guarantees, and public ownership of railways and telegraphs. Millward summarizes his two main findings for the nineteenth century in chapter 6. First, no simple link resulted from government intervention in the infrastructure industries, neither in the pace of their development or in the level of income in the country (p. 91). Secondly, "government ownership in the nineteenth century was not strongly associated with the kind of ideological positions found in twentieth-century Europe. State ownership was not based on any strong distrust of capitalism, but rather on more pragmatic matters like the control of information flows, speeding up of construction work, and ensuring social and political unification" (p. 92).

In part 3, Millward addresses the paradigm of increased intervention, which dominated the period 1914-50. He argues that the most characteristic feature of intervention was the challenge of regulating large monopolies while at the same time subsidizing them. Chapters 7 and 8 deal with the move to system integration in electricity supply and telephony. Chapter 9 provides an insightful analysis of increased state involvement in transport co-ordination, emphasizing the difference in governance and market structure between different modes. In the fourth part, Millward addresses the rise and fall of state enterprise between 1945 and 1990. After World War II governments faced high expectations to manage the macro-economy, ensure fair allocation of resources, and raise the living standards of the poor. Infrastructure industries were central to this effort. Switching manufacturing capacity away from armaments to consumer and capital goods required access to key intermediate inputs like steel, coal, oil,

[1] James Foreman-Peck and Robert Millward, *Public and Private Ownership of British Industry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

Robert Millward, *Private and Public Enterprise in Europe: Energy, Telecommunications and Transport, 1830-1990.* (continued)

electricity, and freight transport. Moreover, the services produced by infrastructure industries were important to working-class household budgets and residential patterns. The trend towards public ownership from the 1930s continued, so that by 1950 in Britain and France railways, airlines, telecommunications, gas and electricity supply, and coal mines were in national ownership, with similar patterns in most countries. Millward identifies a difference between social democratic states, where popular pressures led to outright state ownership, and fascist regimes, where arms-length regulation backed by violence was the model, and there was no extension of state ownership after the war.

Millward argues that a common pattern had emerged by 1950, a pattern far more important to the shaping of the infrastructure industries than distinctive ideologies in different nations. Three models for the organization of state enterprise can be discerned, depending mainly on their historical origin (p. 182). Where there was an advantage to having a single national network and a growing unwillingness to achieve this by means of arm's-length regulation of private monopolies, the ensuing form was to run the enterprise as a section or an agency of a government department. Where there was a desire to combine business-like management with public service objectives, the outcome was a public enterprise organized as a separate legal entity. Finally, where there was a case for securing access to and leverage on key resources, the solution was a joint stock company with state ownership of shares. In most cases these organizations were increasingly troubled by tension between the two objectives of public interest and businesslike operations and by budget constraints.

Chapter 11 describes how oil replaced coal as the major source of energy in western Europe in the third quarter of the century and the implications for national security, which stimulated intervention. Chapter 12 deals with the development of air transport under government control of airspace via state-owned joint stock companies and later, the IATA price cartel. Chapter 13 describes the break-up of the monolithic state-owned post and telecommunications enterprises from the 1980s, once again with an emphasis on technological and economic development rather than ideology. Chapter 14 contains an excellent summary of the changing basis for costing and pricing infrastructure industries and a cross-national assessment of performance, which suggests that there is no evidence of poor productivity growth in state-owned enterprises.

In part 5, Millward concludes his history with an eye to contemporary debates about regulation. His conclusion is that the infrastructure industries have been perceived in ways that conflict with the historical record, concerning the role of ideology and the role of managerial performance and efficiency. The state-owned monopolies were not, as is often thought, a product of the 1940s and of twentieth-century socialism (p. 289). Neither did the problems of regulation and public enterprise that paved the way for privatization and deregulation "despite much theorising to the contrary, lie in any obvious deficiencies in X efficiency, that is, in managerial competence" (p. 295). Instead, Millward looks to "the range and complexity of the non-commercial obligations laid on state enterprises" (p. 295). Often the institutional format was no longer optimal for the inherited objectives, and the means for meeting obligations were not sufficiently planned or their costs calculated (p. 295). This failure of non-commercial objectives combined with technological change led to financial failure, a move to cost-based pricing, less monopolistic markets, and a revision of the means of promoting social unity and ensuring strategic aims.

Millward makes a very convincing case for presenting the history of European infrastructure as a shared pattern of regulatory behaviors and ownership, where cross-national similarities modified by national contingencies dominate political ideology as the main causal factor. Millward does not deny the existence of the ideological shifts that have influenced previous historical writing, but doubts whether they can account for the timing and incidence of regulatory and ownership changes. Unfortunately, Millward does not engage into a more extended discussion of earlier research that emphasizes the role of domestic institutions and traditions in creating national particularities.[2]

[2] For example, see Frank Dobbin, *Forging Industrial Policy: The United States, Britain and France in the Railway Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Colleen Dunlavy, *Politics and Industrialization: Early Railroads in the United States and Prussia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); Arne Kaijser, "The Helping Hand: In Search of a Swedish Institutional Regime of Infrastructural Systems," in *Institutions in the Transport and communications Industries: State and Private Actors in the Making of Institutional Patterns, 1850-1990*, ed. Lena Andersson-Skog and Olle Krantz, (Canton, Mass.: Science History Publications, 1999), 223-244.

Robert Millward, *Private and Public Enterprise in Europe* (conclusion)

The discussion of inherent economic characteristics of the infrastructure technologies is very accomplished. Millward's study should help researchers shift attention from political ownership to the form of regulation. The characterization of the different time periods is strong, but the causal explanations are somewhat less convincing, or at least less developed, which may be forgiven given the scope of the book. The notion of "technological change" sometimes feels like a deus ex machine that delimits time periods without full reference to which technical changes influenced the development of the infrastructure industries and how. The collection and presentation of cross-European data is only partly successful. The tables and figures present benchmark years only and do not help the reader to form an opinion on cross-national patterns. The inclusion of a data appendix or a selection of more detailed tables would have improved the usefulness substantially. The overall impression is somewhat marred by the systematic misspelling of foreign names and words, which can only partly be forgiven because of the large number of languages involved.

Specialists on Germany will perhaps be disappointed with the treatment of that country, which is based on a few English-language works and contains little new information or analysis. However, the immense value of the comparative perspective and lengthy time horizon make this book indispensable for any historian of Germany interested in transport, energy, and telecommunications, or in regulation more generally.

Editor's Note: Robert Millward, *Private and Public Enterprise in Europe: Energy, Telecommunications and Transport, 1830-1990*, is available on-line as a Google book.

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Briefly Noted
Forthcoming Telecom History
Harvard University Press

Daqing Yang. *Technology of Empire: Telecommunications and Japanese Expansion in Asia, 1883-1945*. Harvard East Asian Monographs 219. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, February 2011. ? pp. 8 halftones; 10 line art; 5 maps. $49.95, ISBN 9780674010918.

Nearly half a century ago, the economic historian Harold Innis pointed out that the geographical limits of empires were determined by communications and that, historically, advances in the technologies of transport and communications have enabled empires to grow. This power of communications was demonstrated when Japanese Emperor Hirohito's radio speech announcing Japan's surrender and the dissolution of its empire was broadcast simultaneously throughout not only the Japanese home islands but also all the territories under its control over the telecommunications system that had, in part, made that empire possible.

In the extension of the Japanese empire in the 1930s and 1940s, technology, geostrategy, and institutions were closely intertwined in empire building. The central argument of this study of the development of a communications network linking the far-flung parts of the Japanese imperium is that modern telecommunications not only served to connect these territories but, more important, made it possible for the Japanese to envision an integrated empire in Asia. Even as the imperial communications network served to foster integration and strengthened Japanese leadership and control, its creation and operation exacerbated long-standing tensions and created new conflicts within the government, the military, and society in general.

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"European Cold War Cultures? Societies, Media and Cold War Experiences in East and West, 1947-1990"

Zentrum für Zeithistorische Forschung (ZZF)

Conference Report by

Paul Betts and Annette Vowinckel

This conference aimed to rethink Cold War culture from the perspective of how and to what extent the term "Cold War culture" resonated across the European geopolitical divide after 1945. It was an effort to move beyond the "cloak and dagger" world of international diplomacy and nuclear brinkmanship, focusing instead on the ways in which everyday European cultures were made and unmade under Cold War conditions. Conferences and historiography geared toward this theme typically tend to be fueled and framed by U.S. Cold War narratives, often in the guise of analyzing how Western Europe was "Americanized" after 1945, or, more recently, how Eastern Europeans negotiated their cultural identities in relation to the U.S. popular culture despite official propaganda. This conference by contrast was interested in exploring new directions in Cold War culture. In particular it sought to investigate how European national cultures maintained their distance from the commercial, military and cultural menace from the United States, often drawing on the past to build new political and cultural identities from the physical and moral ruins of World War II. Whether the term "Cold War culture" is a useful means of investigating postwar European cultural developments was one of the key questions at the conference, and one that elicited many different responses over the course of the conference.

Whereas a good amount of attention at the conference was paid to Germany, there were a great many papers on Northern and Eastern Europe, including topics on lesser known Cold War "outposts," such as Romania, Estonia, Finland and Iceland. A large number of contributors took up comparative analyses of how Cold War operated across geopolitical borders, whose effect assured that discussion remained at a high comparative level. Unfortunately not much attention was directed toward France or Southern Europe (Italy, Spain, Greece, Turkey and Portugal were absent), but these countries did figure in the discussions in suggestive ways. What was particularly interesting was the strong presence of young researchers from Northern and Eastern Europe, who employed the best of "new cultural history" — including "visual studies" and material culture — in highly suggestive ways in their presentations.

The first keynote speaker, Lary May (Minnesota), opened up by reprising the pivotal role of Hollywood as the great engine of U.S. post-1945 cultural expansion worldwide, as well as outlining how the American "dream factory" helped create a new American national identity in the 50s. This was one of the Cold War's most enduring marriages of power and culture, as it helped give form and credence to the infamous American "way of life" in Western Europe as a perceived weapon against the dangers of a fascist past and potentially communist future. Marsha Seifert (Budapest) was more interested in questioning the topic of Cold War culture itself, arguing as she did that it was all too commonly confined to the 1950s with little concern for its historical antecedents. In particular she claimed that Cold War culture did not really begin with the Cold War, but actually emerged out of World War II, and even in terms of the U.S.-U.S.S.R. confrontation back in 1917. She also drew attention to the diversity of Cold War experiences, adding for example that the British and French were not subject to the same Cold War tensions as the defeated countries were, such as Italy and Germany. In this sense, the keynote speakers framed the discussion of the conference, to the extent that they both questioned the spatial and temporal boundaries of what is meant by Cold War culture.

The first panel addressed media. In a world in which the rival blocs were rarely in direct contact with one another, mass media emerged as a key interface of Cold War communication. Inge Marßolek (Bremen) led off with a stimulating discussion of how Cold War culture was often

Conference Report: "European Cold War Cultures?" (continued)

reduced to select mass-produced images of annihilation and destruction — mushroom clouds, rockets, bomb shelters. Of particular interest to her was to explore how Cold War politics were visualized by the mass media across the Cold War divide, with particular attention to how these canonical images were received and discussed in the West and East German press. What emerged very strikingly was the extent to which these postwar globalized images were for Germans actually "embedded in a visual repertoire of wartime memory and experience." Joes Segal (Utrecht) continued in this "visualization of politics" vein, focusing on painting to show how this field too was radically reshaped by Cold War imperatives. Here he ably articulated how painting was mobilized by various European Cold War states — taking cues from their respective superpower patron — as desperately-sought cultural legitimacy and post-fascist ideological support. How various national cultures made use of the national (visual) past as cultural ballast, however, could have been drawn out more fruitfully here. Drago Petrescu (Bucharest) took up the political usage of radio in 80s Romania, and in so doing shifted attention away from visual media toward the importance of sound. In his paper, he made a strong case for the way in which Romanian state-controlled radio eventually undermined state legitimacy and emerged as a subversive force of dissent in the run-up to the overthrow of Ceausescu's dictatorship in 1989.

The second panel addressed the cultural meanings of borders in border regions. After an introduction by Jane Curry (Santa Clara, CA) Sabina Mihelj (Loughborough) discussed political discourses in the Istria region in Yugoslavia where Western European culture strongly influenced the self-reception and public self-depiction of the population. Edward Larkey (Baltimore/Berlin) analyzed the reactions of two youth radio programs broadcast by RIAS (West Berlin) and DT-64 (East Berlin) to the introduction of private radio stations in West Germany and how changes of cultural self-reception of young people in East and West Germany prompted this shift. Indrek Treufeldt (Tartu) showed how Estonian television reacted to developments in Finland in the 1950s, arguing that a shift in perspective could be observed not only in Estonia, but also in Finland.

The third panel took up the theme of consumer culture. If the first two panels discussed how audiovisual media emerged as a key Cold War battleground, this panel looked at the relationship between marketing and Cold War politics. Stephanie van de Kerkhof (Hagen) started off with an interesting case study of Rheinmetall, West Germany's largest weapons manufacturer. Here she showed how the long-established family firm marketed weapons of mass destruction after 1945, selling them as non-aggressive "images of security, trust and protection" in contradistinction to Fascist Era glorification of war and violence. Just as the Cold War remade the imagery of destruction for a peacetime era, consumer articles were also subject to ideological makeover. A good example was the advertising campaign for the automobile in 60s Romania and East Germany, a topic neatly discussed by Luminita Gatejel (Berlin). In it she illustrated how these virtually inaccessible cars traded on new dreams of mobility and the good life, often doing so with a mix of imagery ranging from Heimat iconography to classical settings in order to give expression to fantasies of status, travel and homeland for travel-restricted socialist consumers. But where the first two panelists discussed the importance of "surface aesthetics" to Cold War cultural politics, Stefan Schwarzkopf (London) addressed the new fascination among British advertisers with "depth models" of consumer psychology. In particular he talked about postwar trends in the British advertising industry, indicating how it developed new tactics of reach and persuasion, frequently looking toward the U.S. in making use of the "new sciences" of market research and industrial psychology in order to win over consumers in the Age of Ideology.

Panel IV was called 'Political Discourses." Most of these contributors were concerned with how the difficulties of the past shaped the memories and passions of the present. This could be seen in the paper by Balazs Apor (Florence) on the reconstruction of communist leader cults after 1945, concentrating in his case on the making and unmaking of the Rakosi legend in Hungary. In it he provided a solid case study of how the national(ist) commemoration of East Bloc leaders clashed with ideals of Soviet internationalism. Marie Cronquist (Lund) offered a very polished paper on Civil Defense in Cold War Sweden, showing how images of civil defense there often became allegories of the Swedish welfare state under threat from their European neighbors

Conference Report: "European Cold War Cultures?" (continued)

to the south, and in so doing updated wartime imagery for new Cold War purposes. Valur Ingimundarson (Reykjavik) turned the spotlight on a key regional war crimes trial — the so-called Mikson Affair, in which Estonian policeman Evald Mikson was placed on trial for killing Communists and Jews in 1941. It became a cause celebre, to the extent that the Estonians, Swedes, Soviets and even the Simon Wiesenthal Center became involved in this Cold War (and then post-Cold War) dispensing of justice. Olga Yurievna Voronina (Harvard) then provided a good case study of how something seemingly trivial — Isiah Berlin's two visits to Russian poet, Anna Akhmatova — became a thorn in the side of Stalin, with considerable ramifications for her and Soviet cultural policy in general. What each panelist illustrated was the reach of Cold War politics into the realms of national hero-worship, civil defense, wartime justice and even cross-cultural friendship.

Panel V was entitled Transgressions and Transcendencies, and provoked a large amount of discussion. While the emphasis of the previous panel was squarely on the past, this panel set its store on the present, and in particular on how dreams and nightmares became ways of dealing with the difficulties of the present. In the first paper Quinn Slobodian (New York) furnished a good presentation on the West German delegates to the socialist World Youth Festivals of the 1960s. Of central importance here was how they drew on Third World heroes to advance strong critiques of Western capitalism, offering shifting version of democracy along the way in solidarity with Third World causes, and in so doing became forerunners to New Left. Roman Krakovsky (Paris) shifted the discussion to the surreal, analyzing the parade floats on display at the May Day parades in Czechoslavakia to underscore the culture's phantasmagoria of fear, as all and sundry Cold War anxieties took on monstrous pop culture form in the shape of hungry capitalist hydras and other carnivalesque creatures of evil. The use of the otherworldly to defuse the worries of the present found expression as well in Monique Scheer's (Tübingen) paper, in which she delivered a highly suggestive exploration of the renaissance of the cult of Mary among Catholics in West Germany after the war, and how its miracles became a coping strategy for West German citizens in a world menaced by communism, moral lassitude and potential global annihilation. What this panel revealed so well was the extent to which the Cold War colored the popular imagination from student radicals to conservative Christians.

Panel VI dealt with matters of the historization of the Cold War. In his opening lecture, Leo Schmidt (Cottbus) analyzed some of the material (e.g., architectural) legacies of the Cold War and connected these legacies with aspects of public memory. Andrew Beattie (Sydney) spoke about the dialectics of politics, history and memory of the Cold War in the late nineteen-eighties and nineteen-nineties. Taking Berlin Tempelhof airport as an example, Petra Henzler argued that the airport as a historical base for the Luftbrücke symbolically represents the freedom of West Berlin. Dmitrii Sidorov (Long Beach, CA) analyzed the historicization of the Cold War from a Russian perspective, giving special attention to geopolitical aspects. Meike Wulf (London) focused on scenarios of doom vivid among Russian Estonians and Estonians living in Western countries by analyzing the formal and symbolic language of memorial sites for World War.

The final panel started off with a debate between Konrad Jarausch (Chapel Hill/Potsdam), Bernd Stöver (Potsdam) und Susan Reid (Sheffield), who picked up the main issues raised by all of the panels by reconnecting them more empirically to the following broader questions: Can the North American concept of Cold War Culture be transferred to the European case? What are the differences between Eastern and Western European Cold War Cultures and how applicable is the concept? It was generally agreed that the term "European Cold War Culture" is useful for addressing certain general questions but that in every single case study national cultures need to be more closely considered as well, and that it might be more appropriate to speak of "European Cold War Cultures" in order to account for the variety of Cold War narratives and experiences in all parts of Europe.

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Telegraphy
"The formation of the Indo-European telegraph line: Britain, the Ottoman Empire and Persia 1855-1865."
Author: Shahvar, Suliman.
Awarding Institution: School of Oriental and African Studies (University of London)
Awarded: 1997

"Linking India with Britain: the Persian Gulf cables, 1864 -1907."
Author: Ahmadi, Farajollah.
Awarding Institution: University of Exeter
Awarded: 2003

"A social and political history of the telegraph in the Indian Empire, circa 1850-1920."
Author: Choudhury, Deep Kanta Lahiri.
Awarding Institution: University of Cambridge
Awarded: 2003

"An artery of empire: the British Post Office and the postal and telegraphic service to India and Australia."
Author: Forbes, Andrew Stephen.
Awarding Institution: University College London (University of London)
Awarded: 1997

Telephone
A search of "telephone" produced 82 hits, many of which were technical in nature. Among the history-oriented dissertations were:

"The early history of the telephone in England 1877-1911."
Author: Feuerstein, Raymond Joseph.
Awarding Institution: University of Sussex
Awarded: 1990

"Women's work and restructuring in the service economy: the case of telephone call centres."
Author: Belt, Vicki.
Awarding Institution: University of Newcastle upon Tyne
Awarded: 2002

"Ideology and the telephone: the social reception of a technology, London 1876-1920."
Author: Stein, Jeremy Leon.
Awarding Institution: University College London (University of London)
Awarded: 1996

"State traditions on institutional reform: a case study of French and German telephone policy debates from 1876 until 1997."
Author: Marino, Marit Sjovaag.
Awarding Institution: London School of Economics and Political Science (University of London)
Awarded: 2005

Television
"From vision to mundanity: television at Alexandra Palace, London 1936-1952: memories of production: an oral history approach to the reassessment of the early period of British television history."
Author: Sandon, Emma Cathy.
Awarding Institution: University of Sussex
Awarded: 2003

"American society, cinema and television, 1950-1960."
Author: Harrison, S. R.
Awarding Institution: University of Manchester
Awarded: 1985

"Stories of what is to come: the future in film and television 1959-1989."
Author: Bonner, Frances Jane.
Awarding Institution: Open University
Awarded: 1991

"An early history of British Military television with special reference to John Logie Baird."
Author: Hills, Adrian R.
Awarding Institution: University of Strathclyde
Awarded: 2002

"The history of the development of British satellite broadcasting policy, 1977-1992."
Author: Holden, Windsor John
Awarding Institution: University of Leeds
Awarded: 1998

"Telecommunications and underdevelopment: a policy analysis of the historical role of Cable and Wireless in the Caribbean."
Author: Dunn, Hopeton Sydney.
Awarding Institution: City University
Awarded: 1991

The Mercurians, They Are A'Changing

The Mercurians have instituted a number of changes that affect both subscribers to the Antenna newsletter and members of the Mercurians.

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Beginning with the Spring 2009 issue, the annual subscription rate is US$5.00 for delivery in the United States. The annual subscription rate for delivery overseas is US$7.50.

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The Mercurians have established a new initiative that consists of a prize for the best article by a junior scholar and a travel grant to junior scholars to defray the cost of traveling to a research collection.

Both graduate students and postgraduates are eligible for the article prize and travel grant, but not those postgraduates who are more than three years beyond the terminal degree in their field. All articles considered for the award program will have undergone peer review and will have complete scholarly apparatus. Only travel to a recognized archival collection will be supported.

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The amount of the prize and grant are determined by the amount raised during the previous year. Members are asked to contribute an annual membership fee of US$5.00 for the purpose of supporting this program. Larger donations are encouraged. Those contributing more than US$5.00 may earmark their funds for either the article prize or the travel grant.

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