

Mass-Mediated Politics in Modern Latin America

Alfonso Salgado

course number: HIST UN3621

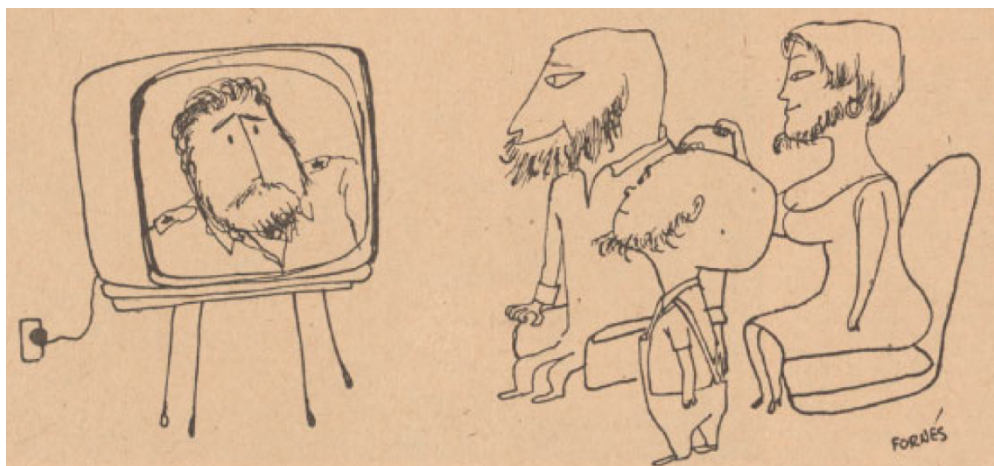
class meets: Tuesday, 4:10-6:00 PM

classroom: 311 Fayerweather

course level, type, and credits: undergraduate seminar, 4 points

instructor: Alfonso Salgado (as3918@columbia.edu)

instructor's office: TBA; office hours: Friday, 3-5 PM



I. Course Description

This advanced undergraduate seminar offers an introduction to the study of mass media and politics in Latin America from the early nineteenth to the late twentieth century. Throughout the course, the students will get acquainted with some of the key concepts, problems, and methods through which historians and, to a lesser extent, communication scholars have probed the relationship between mass media and political power in the region. We will define and understand media broadly, but we will focus mainly on printed media, radio, and television. We will discuss both breaks and continuities between different media technologies, journalistic cultures, and political regimes. Knowledge of Spanish and/or Portuguese is welcome, but not mandatory.

Relevant texts for this class will be available for purchase at Book Culture (536 112th Street, NY, NY). You will also find these texts on reserve at Butler Library.

- Cane, James. *The Fourth Enemy: Journalism and Power in the Making of Peronist Argentina, 1930-1955*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011.
- McCann, Bryan. *Hello, Hello Brazil: Popular Music in the Making of Modern Brazil*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.

- Rama, Angel. *The Lettered City*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1996.
- Rivero, Yeidí M. *Tuning Out Blackness: Race and Nation in the History of Puerto Rican Television*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2005.
- Smith, Benjamin T. *The Mexican Press and Civil Society, 1940-1976. Stories from the Newsroom, Stories from the Street*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018.

All the rest is available at Butler Library or as e-resources through CourseWorks.

II. Learning Goals

1. To develop an historically informed understanding of the relationship between political power and mass communication in modern Latin America.
2. To historicize the continuities and transformations brought by different media technologies, especially print media, radio, and television broadcasting.
3. To become conversant in the most important debates in the study of the public sphere, media, and journalism in modern Latin America.
4. To understand periodical publications—often used as primary sources—as historically situated artifacts, shaped by specific economic, cultural, and political conditions.
5. To develop and attain greater media literacy, to both better decode media messages and think critically about the structures, ideologies, and power dynamics underpinning such messages.

III. Assessments and Grading

Attendance and Participation	20%
First Essay	15%
Short Response Papers	35%
Final Paper	30%

Attendance and Participation: Class attendance is mandatory. Active participation and engagement with your peers are expected. The grade will be based on attendance and participation.

First Essay: The essay should be approximately four to five pages in length (Times New Roman, 12-point font, double-spaced). The prompt themes will be provided a few days before the due date. The essay will be based on the following book:

- Rama, Angel. *The Lettered City*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1996.

First Essay due date: October 6

Response Papers: Throughout the semester, you will have to submit response papers to the week's readings. Papers should be between 350 and 500 words each. They should include assessments or critiques of the readings. They may also raise questions for the discussion. You may choose which weeks to submit response papers, but you must write

at least 9 by the end of the semester. Response papers have to be submitted in advance, via Courseworks. You may submit them up to three hours before the discussion session.

Final Paper: The final assignment is to write a historiographical or research paper of between 10 and 15 pages (Times New Roman, 12-point font, double-spaced).

If you choose to write a historiographical paper, you will have to discuss 7 or more texts (at least 3 of them books) by different authors. If you choose to write a research paper, you will have to agree on a corpus of sources (whether textual or audiovisual) with the instructor.

You will have to submit a short description of the topic and a list of tentative references (in the case of a historiographic paper) or corpus of sources (in the case of a research paper) by October 27, on which I will comment and make suggestions. You will also have two meetings with the instructor to discuss your progress, one on Friday, November 10 and the other on Friday, December 8.

Final Paper due date: December 23.

IV. Class Schedule and Required Readings

Week 1 (September 5):

Introduction to the Course

No readings assigned for this week.

Week 2 (September 12):

The Birth of the Public Sphere in Latin America

- Habermas, "The Public Sphere."
- Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (chapter 2).
- Zeltsman, *Ink under the Fingernails* (chapter 1).
- Soriano, "Public Sphere without a Printing Press."

Week 3 (September 19):

Printers, Journalists, and the Problem of Freedom in the 19th Century

- Zeltsman, "Defining Responsibility."
- Piccato, *The Tyranny of Opinion* (chapter 2).
- Braga-Pinto, "Journalists, Capoeiras, and the Duel."

Week 4 (September 26):

Latin American Newspapers and the Question of Identity

- Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (excerpts).
- López, "The India Bonita Contest."
- Andrews, "Afro-World."

Week 5 (October 3):

Political Power and the Written Word in Latin America

- Rama, *The Lettered City* (full book)

Friday, October 6: Submit the first essay, on Angel Rama's book.

Week 6 (October 10):

Industrialization, Professionalization, and the Transformation of the Press

- Chalaby, "Journalism as an Anglo-American Invention."
- Cane, *The Fourth Enemy* (chapter 1).
- Bernedo and Arriagada, "Los inicios de El Mercurio de Santiago."
 - (If you cannot read Spanish, read instead Caimari, "News from around the World.").

Week 7 (October 17):

Peronist Argentina and the Press

- Cane, *The Fourth Enemy* (introduction, chapters 4, 6, 7, and conclusion).

Week 8 (October 24):

Mexico's Perfect Dictatorship and the Press

- Smith, *The Mexican Press and Civil Society* (introduction, chapters 1, 2, 6, 7, and conclusion).

Friday, October 27: Submit a topic proposal and a list of tentative references or corpus of sources for your final paper.

Week 9 (October 31):

Radio, Music, and the Making of a National Culture in Brazil

- McCann, *Hello, Hello Brazil* (introduction, chapters 1, 2, 6, and conclusion).

Week 10 (November 7):

Holiday. No class today!

Friday, November 10: One-to-one meetings, scheduled in advance, to discuss the progress made on your final paper.

Week 11 (November 14):

Radio, Television, and Race in Puerto Rico

- Rivero, *Tuning Out Blackness* (introduction, and chapters 1, 2, 4)

Week 12 (November 21):

Comics and the Dilemma of Capitalist and Imperialist Hegemony

- Dorfman and Mattelart, *How to Read Donald Duck* ("apology," chapters 3 and 5, and conclusion)
- Freeman, "Up, Up and Across"

Week 13 (November 28):

The Cuban Revolution, Mass Media, and the Cold War

- Lambe, "The Medium Is the Message"
- Keller, "The Revolution Will Be Teletyped"
- McEnaney, *Acoustic Properties* (excerpts)

Week 14 (December 5):

Picturing Revolution, Counterrevolution, and Democracy

- Carassai, "The Dark Side of Social Desire."
- Milanesio, "Sex and Democracy."

Friday, December 8: One-to-one meetings, scheduled in advance, to discuss the progress made on your final paper.

Friday, December 23: Submit your final paper!

V. Bibliography

a. Required Readings:

- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Verso: New York, 1996.
- Andrews, George Reid. "Afro-World: African-Diaspora Thought and Practice in Montevideo, Uruguay, 1830-2000." *The Americas* 67:1, 2010, 83-107.
- Bernedo, Patricio, and Eduardo Arriagada, "Los inicios de El Mercurio de Santiago en el epistolario de Agustín Edwards Mac Clure (1899-1905)." *Historia* 35, 2002, 13-33
- Braga-Pinto, César. "Journalists, Capoeiras, and the Duel in Nineteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 94:4, 2014, 581-614.
- Caimari, Lila. "News from around the World: The Newspapers of Buenos Aires in the Age of the Submarine Cable, 1866-1900." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 96:4, 2016, 607-640.
- Cane, James. *The Fourth Enemy: Journalism and Power in the Making of Peronist Argentina, 1930-1955*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011.
- Carassai, Sebastián. "The Dark Side of Social Desire: Violence as Metaphor, Fantasy and Satire in Argentina, 1969-1975." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 47:1, 2015, 31-63.
- Chalaby, Jean K. "Journalism as an Anglo-American Invention: A Comparison of the Development of French and Anglo-American Journalism, 1830s-1920s." *European Journal of Communication* 11:3, 1996, 303-326.
- Dorfman, Ariel, and Armand Mattelart, *How to Read Donald Duck: Imperialist Ideology in the Disney Comic*. New York and London: OR Books, 1971.
- Freeman, Matthew. "Up, Up and Across: Superman, the Second World War and the Historical Development of Transmedia Storytelling." *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 35:2, 2015, 215-239.
- Habermas, Jürgen. "The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia Article." *New German Critique* 3, Autumn 1964, 49-55.
- Habermas, Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into Category of Bourgeois Society*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989.

- Keller, Renata. "The Revolution Will Be Teletyped: Cuba's Prensa Latina News Agency and the Cold War Contest Over Information." *Journal of Cold War Studies* 21:3, 2019, 88-113.
- Lambe, Jennifer. "The Medium Is the Message: The Screen Life of the Cuban Revolution, 1959-1962." *Past & Present* 246:1, 2020.
- López, Rick A. "The India Bonita Contest of 1921 and the Ethnicization of Mexican National Culture." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 82:2, 2002, 298-328.
- McCann, Bryan. *Hello, Hello Brazil: Popular Music in the Making of Modern Brazil*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.
- McEnaney, Tom. *Acoustic Properties: Radio, Narrative, and the New Neighborhood of the Americas*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2017.
- Milanesio, Natalia. "Sex and Democracy: The Meanings of the *Destape* in Postdictatorial Argentina." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 99:1, 2019, 91-122.
- Piccato, Pablo. *The Tyranny of Opinion: Honor in the Construction of the Mexican Public Sphere*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2010.
- Rama, Angel. *The Lettered City*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1996.
- Rivero, Yeidy M. *Tuning Out Blackness: Race and Nation in the History of Puerto Rican Television*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2005.
- Smith, Benjamin T. *The Mexican Press and Civil Society, 1940-1976. Stories from the Newsroom, Stories from the Street*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018.
- Soriano, Cristina. "Public Sphere without a Printing Press: Texts, Reading Networks, and Public Opinion in Venezuela during the Age of Revolutions." *Itinerario* 44:2, 2020, 341-364.
- Zeltsman, Corinna. "Defining Responsibility: Printers, Politics, and the Law in Early Republican Mexico City." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 98:2, 2018, 189-222.
- Zeltsman, Corinna. *Ink under the Fingernails. Printing Politics in Nineteenth-Century Mexico*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2021.

b. Other Recommended Readings:

- Albuquerque, Afonso de, and Marco Antonio Roxo da Silva, "Skilled, Loyal, and Disciplined: Communist Journalists and the Adaptation of the American Model of 'Independent Journalism' in Brazil." *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 14:3, 376-395.
- Barbero, Jesús Martín. *De los medios a las mediaciones*. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1987.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. "Television." *European Review* 9:3, 2001.
- Bowen, Martín. *The Age of Dissent: Revolution and the Power of Communication in Chile, 1780-1833*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2023.
- Britton, John A. *Cables, Crises, and the Press: The Geopolitics of the New Information System in the Americas, 1866-1903*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2013.
- Bronfman, Alejandra. *Isles of Noise: Sonic Media in the Caribbean*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016.

- Bronfman, Alejandra, and Andrew Grant Wood, eds. *Media, Sound, and Culture in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012.
- Buffington, Robert M. *A Sentimental Education for the Working Man: The Mexico City Penny Press, 1900-1910*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2015.
- Caimari, Lila. *While the City Sleeps: A History of Pistoleros, Policemen, and the Crime Beat in Buenos Aires before Perón*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2016.
- Calvi, Pablo. *Latin American Adventures in Literary Journalism*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2020.
- Castro, J. Justin. *Radio in Revolution: Wireless Technology and State Power in Mexico, 1897-1938*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2016.
- Chasteen, John Charles, and Sara Castro-Klarén, eds. *Beyond Imagined Communities: Reading and Writing the Nation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America*. Washington: John Hopkins University Press, 2003.
- Cosse, Isabella. *Mafalda: A Social and Political History of Latin America's Global Comic*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2019.
- Cramer, Gisela, and Ursula Prutsch, eds., *¡Américas unidas!: Nelson A. Rockefeller's Office of Inter-American Affairs (1940-46)*. Madrid: Iberoamericana Vervuert, 2012.
- Earle, Rebecca. "Information and Disinformation in Late Colonial New Granada." *The Americas* 54:2, 1997.
- Ehrick, Christine. *Radio and the Gendered Soundscape: Women and Broadcasting in Argentina and Uruguay, 1930-1950*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Ehrick, Christine. "Buenas Vecinas? Latin American Women and US Radio Propaganda during World War II." *Feminist Media Histories* 5:3, 2019, 60-84.
- Espeche, Ximena. "Between Emotion and Calculation: Press Coverage of Operation Truth (1959)." *Radical History Review* 136, 2020.
- Fein, Seth. "New Empire into Old: Making Mexican Newsreels the Cold War Way." *Diplomatic History* 28:5, 2004.
- Fernández L'Hoeste, Héctor, and Juan Poblete, eds. *Redrawing the Nation: National Identity in Latin/o American Comics*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Folgarait, Leonard. *Seeing Mexico Photographed: The Work of Horne, Casasola, Modotti and Álvarez Bravo*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.
- Fox, Elizabeth. *Latin American Broadcasting: From Tango to Telenovela*. Luton: University of Luton Press, 1997.
- Franco, Jean. *The Decline and Fall of the Lettered City: Latin America in the Cold War*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002.
- Freije, Vanessa. "The 'Emancipation of Media': Latin American Advocacy for a New International Information Order in the 1970s." *Journal of Global History* 14:2, 2019.
- Freije, Vanessa. "Exposing Scandals, Guarding Secrets: Manuel Buendía, Columnismo, and the Unraveling of One-Party Rule in Mexico, 1965-1984." *The Americas* 72:3, 2015, 377-409.

- Freije, Vanessa. *Citizens of Scandal: Journalism, Secrecy, and the Politics of Reckoning in Mexico*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2021.
- Geler, Lea. "Afro-Porteño Newspapers and Journalists in the Late 19th Century." *Translating the Americas* 4, 2016, 1-27.
- Gillingham, Paul, et alter, eds. *Journalism, Satire, and Censorship in Mexico*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2018.
- Goldgel, Victor. "'High Speed Enlightenment': Latin American Literature and the New Medium of Periodicals." *Media History* 18:2, 2012.
- Goldstein, Ariel Alejandro. "The Press and Classical Populism in Argentina and Brazil." *Latin American Perspectives* 45:3, 2018.
- González, Celeste. *Muy Buenas Noches: Mexico, Television, and the Cold War*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2013.
- Guerra, François-Xavier. "Forms of Communication, Political Spaces, and Cultural Identities in the Creation of Spanish American Nations." In: *Beyond Imagined Communities: Reading and Writing the Nation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America*. Baltimore: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2003.
- Guerra, Lilian. *Visions of Power in Cuba: Revolution, Redemption, and Resistance, 1959-1971*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012.
- Hall, Stuart, et alter, eds. *Culture, Media, Language*. London, Hutchison, 1980.
- Hayes, Joy Elizabeth. *Radio Nation: Communication, Popular Culture, and Nationalism in Mexico, 1920-1950*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2000.
- Hiatt, Willie. "Indians in the Lobby: Newspapers and the Limits of Andean Cosmopolitanism, 1896-1930." *The Americas* 68:3, 2012, 377-403.
- Hiatt, Willie. "Slapstick Diplomacy: Charlie Chaplin's *The Great Dictator* and Latin American Theaters of War." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 50:4, 2018, 777-803.
- Joseph, Gilbert, et alter, eds. *Fragment of a Golden Age: The Politics of Culture in Mexico Since 1940*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2001.
- Karush, Matthew. *Culture of Class: Radio and Cinema in the Making of a Divided Argentina, 1920-1946*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2012.
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- Kreitz, Kelley. "Telephonic Modernismo: Latinidad and Hemispheric Print Culture in the Age of Electricity." *English Language Notes* 56: 2, 2018, 90-103.
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- Meléndez-Badillo, Jorell A. *The Lettered Barriada: Workers, Archival Power, and the Politics of Knowledge in Puerto Rico*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2021.
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- Mraz, John. *Nacho López, Mexican Photographer*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003.
- Navitski, Rielle. *Public Spectacles of Violence: Sensational Cinema and Journalism in Early Twentieth-Century Mexico and Brazil*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2017.
- O'Connor, Alan, ed. *Community Radio in Bolivia: The Miners' Radio Stations*. Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2004.
- Piccato, Pablo. "Public Sphere in Latin America: A Map of the Historiography." *Social History* 32:2, 2010.
- Popkin, Jeremy D. "A Colonial Media Revolution: The Press in Saint-Domingue, 1789-1793." *The Americas* 75:1, 2018.
- Ramírez, Cristina D. *Occupying Our Space: The Mestiza Rhetorics of Mexican Women Journalists and Activists, 1875-1942*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2015.
- Ramos, Julio. *Divergent Modernities: Culture and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Latin America*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2001.
- Rantanen, Terhi. "Mr. Howard Goes to South America: The United Press Association and Foreign Expansion." *Roy W. Howard Monographs in Journalism and Mass Communication Research* 2, 1992.
- Ribke, Nahuel. *Transnational Latin American Television: Genres, Formats and Adaptations*. New York: Routledge, 2021.
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- Rubenstein, Anne. *Bad Language, Naked Ladies, and Other Threats to the Nation: A Political History of Comic Books in Mexico*. New York: Duke University Press, 1998.
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- Sarzynski, Sarah. "Reading the Cold War from the Margins: Literatura de Cordel as a Historical Prism." *The Americas* 75:1, 2018, 127-153.
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- Scott, Julius S. *The Common Wind: Afro-American Currents in the Age of the Haitian Revolution*. London: Verso, 2018.
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- Uribe-Urán, Víctor. "The Birth of a Public Sphere in Latin America during the Age of Revolution." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42:2, 2002, 425-457.
- Waisbord, Silvio R. *Watchdog Journalism in South America: News, Accountability, and Democracy*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.
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- Woodard, James P. "Marketing Modernity: The J. Walter Thompson Company and North American Advertising in Brazil, 1929-1939." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 82:2, 2002, 257-290.
- Wright, Amy E. *Serial Mexico: Storytelling Across Media, From Nationhood to Now*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2023.

Faculty Statement on Academic Integrity

The intellectual venture in which we are all engaged requires of faculty and students alike the highest level of personal and academic integrity. As members of an academic community, each one of us bears the responsibility to participate in scholarly discourse and research in a manner characterized by intellectual honesty and scholarly integrity.

Scholarship, by its very nature, is an iterative process, with ideas and insights building one upon the other. Collaborative scholarship requires the study of other scholars' work, the free discussion of such work, and the explicit acknowledgement of those ideas in any work that

inform our own. This exchange of ideas relies upon a mutual trust that sources, opinions, facts, and insights will be properly noted and carefully credited.

In practical terms, this means that, as students, you must be responsible for the full citations of others' ideas in all of your research papers and projects; you must be scrupulously honest when taking your examinations; you must always submit your own work and not that of another student, scholar, or internet agent.

Any breach of this intellectual responsibility is a breach of faith with the rest of our academic community. It undermines our shared intellectual culture, and it cannot be tolerated. Students failing to meet these responsibilities should anticipate being asked to leave Columbia.

Disability-Related Accommodations

In order to receive disability-related academic accommodations, students must first be registered with Disability Services (DS). More information on the DS registration process is available online at www.health.columbia.edu/ods. Faculty must be notified of registered students' accommodations before exam or other accommodations will be provided. Students who have (or think they may have) a disability are invited to contact Disability Services for a confidential discussion at (212) 854-2388 (Voice/TTY) or by email at disability@columbia.edu.

