SYLLABUS
Propaganda and U.S. Foreign Policy:
A Historical Overview
LSHV 448-40
Version 1.0 [3/9/05]
MALS Liberal Studies Degree Program, Georgetown University,
Summer 2015
Location: ICC 206B
May 20-July 20 Wednesdays
6:00-9:30 PM
Instructor: Dr. John H. Brown
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The syllabus will be updated a few weeks before the beginning of the course and e-mailed to students; during the course, the syllabus will be subject to minor changes/updates.

"Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature."
--Pope Gregory XV, founder of the Propaganda Fide, a committee of cardinals of the Roman Catholic Church having the care and oversight of foreign missions (established in 1622), quoting Mark 16:15

“Tell all the truth, but tell it slant --
Success in circuit lies…
The truth must dazzle gradually
Or every man be blind”
--Emily Dickinson

“Grau, teurer Freund, ist alle Theorie
Und gruen des Lebens goldner Baum.”
[Grey, dear friend, is all theory/and green the golden tree of life.]
--Goethe

“think historically.”

--David Hackett Fischer, author of Historians’ Fallacies: Toward a Logic of Historical Thought (cited in The Times Literary Supplement, December 21 & 28, 2012)
Learning Goals and Outcome

In our modern era propaganda has been an essential element of international relations, used by governments and non-state actors to pursue their interests by influencing and manipulating foreign public opinion. A word with negative connotations to many, propaganda is nevertheless one of the defining elements of our time.

The purpose of our course is to examine the nature, history, use, and morality of propaganda by focusing on how it has been employed in U.S. foreign policy during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The organization of the course is chronological. The relationship of propaganda to traditional, public, and cultural diplomacy is examined in detail. The use of propaganda by totalitarian states and terrorist groups is studied. By participating in our course we -- students and their instructor -- should develop a better understanding of propaganda and its controversial but significant role in the world today.

Students are expected to read not only historical materials assigned to the class, but also contemporary treatments on the subject from the mass media and specialized journals. Most of our class focuses on the historical evolution of the US government’s use of propaganda overseas, with roughly one-third of our time devoted to present-day issues pertaining to propaganda based on current media reports and specialized articles.

Our course will focus on the following questions:

- What is propaganda and how did it evolve?
- What is the relationship between war and propaganda?
- How does propaganda relate to traditional diplomacy?
- What is the link between domestic and foreign government propaganda?
- How do the United States government and the American public view propaganda?
- What are the differences and similarities between propaganda and American public diplomacy (whose mission is, according to the State Department “to support the achievement of U.S. foreign policy goals and objectives, advance national interests, and enhance national security by informing and influencing foreign publics and by expanding and
strengthening the relationship between the people and Government of the United States and citizens of the rest of the world.”

- Who is a propagandist? What motivates his/her actions? What are his/her moral choices?
- What are the concepts and techniques of propaganda?
- How does one judge the effectiveness of propaganda?
- What is the purpose and relevance of propaganda in an era of instant communications, advanced technology, and international terrorism?
- How are major media covering propaganda issues today?
- What is the role of internet social media in today’s public diplomacy?
- What is the nature and relationship to propaganda of cultural diplomacy, citizen diplomacy, psyops, strategic communications, and US international Broadcasting (e.g., Voice of America)?
- What is the relationship of art to propaganda?

Course Outline (more detailed outline below starting on p. 12)

MAY

(1) Course Procedures; Introduction: History, Diplomacy, Propaganda (5/20)

(2) What is Propaganda? US “Propaganda” before Wilson, 1776-1900 (5/27)

JUNE

(3) Spreading the Gospel of Americanism: Advertising Wilsonian Ideals during the Great War (6/3)

(4) The U.S. Anti-Propaganda Movement between the Wars; Totalitarian Propaganda (6/10)

(5) Victory Is Our Aim: U.S. Information Programs during World War II (6/17); Midterm

(6) Telling America’s Story: U.S. Public Diplomacy during the Cold War (6/24)
JULY

(7) The Nature of Twentieth Century USG Propaganda/Public Diplomacy and the End of the Cold War (7/1)

(8) The Shock of 9/11: Public Diplomacy during the Bush II Years (7/8)

(9) Propaganda or Not? Other Twenty First Century USG Communications Models: International Broadcasting, Cultural Diplomacy (7/15)

(10) The Internet and Social Media: Challenges and Opportunities for American Public Diplomacy; class oral book reports (7/22)

(11) Quo Vadis PD? The Obama Administration and Overseas “Engagement” (7/29)

Course Readings

Lauinger Electronic Reserves

A considerable number of our readings can be found at the Lauinger Library’s electronic reserves. To access the electronic reserves, go to http://www.library.georgetown.edu/search-for-reserves. You will need an ID and password to get to the materials posted for our course on the electronic reserves.

Internet

Many of our readings can be found on the internet. Your instructor does his best to keep links current; if they are no longer accessible, please search for an item (e.g. names/titles on an article) via an internet search engine -- and do let your instructor knows ASAP about an inoperative link.

In-print Books

- George Orwell, 1984. ISBN-10: 0451524934  ISBN-13: 978-0451524935. Note: Students should begin reading 1984 at the start of the course and be ready to discuss it during class 7. [1984 can also be found online at http://www.george-orwell.org/1984/index.html]
Public Diplomacy Press and Blog Review; Current Affairs Readings

Students are gently encouraged but not required to read/skim the Diplomacy Press and Blog Review (PDPBR) compiled on a near-daily basis by their instructor. The PDPBR can be found at: http://publicdiplomacypressandblogreview.blogspot.com/. Every week, several days before our Wednesday class, students will be e-mailed Current Affairs Readings (CAR), consisting of the most important articles in the week’s PDPBR. A considerable part of class discussion will be devoted to CAR articles.

Questions to Ask for Weekly Readings/Viewings

In the course of our weekly readings/viewings, please keep the following questions in mind while examining how propaganda was carried out during the historical period under consideration (e.g., nineteenth century, WWI, WWII, Cold War, the present):

- **When?**

  What is the nature of the historical setting in which the propaganda we are considering is being conducted? How does this setting differ from the previous period? What are the elements of change, of continuity?

- **Who’s in charge?**

  Who are the propagandists? How are they selected? What are their motivations? How do they justify their actions? What impact do their individual actions have on policy? What organizations handle propaganda? How were these organizations established and how did they evolve? How are they structured? How do propaganda organizations coordinate with other state/government/private entities, including the executive and legislative branches? What is their rapport with intelligence services and the military?

- **What’s the message?**

  Does the propaganda message(s) have an overriding theme? How does the message fit with overall policy plans? How truthful and accurate is the message? How is it developed and formulated? On what information,
assumptions, traditions is it based? How is the message presented and “packaged”? What methods are used to “soften” a “tough” message? What emotions does the propaganda appeal to?

- **What’s the purpose?**

What are the specific and general aims of the propaganda? Why is it being used?

- **What are the methods/tools?**

What communications tools are used? What is new /unique about them? What propaganda medium (oral, visual, print, electronic) predominates in a given historical period? Does the medium "fit" the message/purpose?

- **Who’s the audience?**

To what segments of a society is the propaganda directed (elite groups -- “class” or large entities -- “mass”)? Is the audience foreign and/or domestic? What is the size and specific make-up of the audience? What is the reaction of the audience to the message? How well do the propagandists know their audience?

- **What’s the result?**

Has the propaganda persuaded, or changed the behavior of, the audience? How are the results of the propaganda measured/evaluated? What is its short-term and long-term impact?

Note: A key question for our course is the extent to which these questions are still applicable in our social-media age. Or do we need a totally new set of questions to understand propaganda -- is that it is still an appropriate word -- in the twenty first century?

**Course Requirements and Basis for Grades**

**Role playing/class debate**

Students have an opportunity to take part in role-playing and/or in a class debate. For her/his presentation in the role playing/debate, each student
should prepare a four-page paper submitted by email to the instructor a day before the role playing/debate.

Grade distribution

Class participation 5%*

Role-playing/debate 10%**

Book review (due in written form by email to your instructor on August 6) 25%***

In-class mid-term exam (June 17) 20%****

Take-home final exam (due in written form by email to your instructor on August 10) 40% *****

*Students are expected to take an active part in class discussions.
**For role-plays/debate descriptions, see detailed course outline starting on p. 12.
***On a book of your choice pertaining to propaganda/public diplomacy; 900 words minimum. For a list of suggested books, see pp. 10-14
****Consisting of matching questions and (possibly) brief answers (250 words minimum per answer) to several questions on our class discussions/assigned readings thus far (Current Affairs Readings not included)
*****Consisting of a thoughtful answer to two questions: (a) What you have learned from our course (1000 words minimum) (b) Main themes of our Current Affairs Readings [CAR] (1000 words minimum)

NOTE: If the written version of the book review and the final exam are not submitted to your instructor by email on the requested dates as noted above, every late day will result in 5 points being subtracted from these submissions.

Grading Scale

Students will be given numerical grades for their various assignments. These numerical grades, when added up to constitute their final grades, will be converted into letter grades according to the following scale:
Late Submissions and Incompletes

As a rule late submissions and incompletes will not be accepted.

Class participation

Aside from actively taking part in class discussions, students should be ready, at the beginning of each class, to state the most important matters they learned (or did not learn) in the previous class. For every class, except the first one, students should be prepared to discuss the articles in the Current Affairs Readings. This discussion will normally be held toward the end of the class.

English Expression

While this course is not a course on English composition/grammar, written and oral work will be judged and graded not only by mastery of the subject matter, but also by how accurately and succinctly students express themselves about the topic(s) at hand.

Class Attendance

Students are expected to attend all classes.
“Absence from the first class meeting and/or unexplained absence or two absences usually result in withdrawing the student from the course. Individual professors may request that a student be withdrawn from the course due to absence or may reflect a student’s absence in the final grade course or by requiring additional course assignment before assigning the final grade.”


Classroom Etiquette

- The consumption of food in the classroom is not allowed.
- Students should turn off all cell phones, pagers, or other communication devices while in class. Laptops are allowed, but only to gain access to class-related materials.
- Class discussions should be respectful and considerate of others’ views and opinions.

Georgetown University Honor System

MALS and DLS students are responsible for upholding the Georgetown University Honor System and adhering to the academic standards included in the Honor Code Pledge stated below: In the pursuit of the high ideals and rigorous standards of academic life, I commit myself to respect and uphold the Georgetown University Honor System: To be honest in any academic endeavor; and to conduct myself honorably, as a responsible member of the Georgetown community, as we live and work together.

Disabilities Statement

If you believe you have a disability, then you should contact the Academic Resource Center (arc@georgetown.edu) for further information. The Center is located in the Leavey Center, Suite 335. The Academic Resource Center is the campus office responsible for reviewing documentation provided by students with disabilities and for determining reasonable accommodations in accordance with the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) and University policies.
Consultations with Students

While your instructor does not hold office hours, he is glad to meet with individual students at a mutually arranged times whenever they so desire.

Previous courses

Students who have taken the BALS course, “International Affairs and Public Diplomacy,” are not eligible to participate in this course.

Book Review: Procedure and Suggested Books

Writing a Book Review

There is no “boilerplate” way to write a book review for our course, but may I suggest the following:

- State who the author is and the book’s intended audience (specialists or non-specialists or both).
- Explain why the book is important from a propaganda/public diplomacy perspective. Why bother to read this book?
- Describe how the book fills gaps in the existing literature on propaganda/public diplomacy (this may require some research and is not a requirement for the review). Summarize the main points/argument of the book (most important section of your review).
- Express your opinion of the book: does it successfully/convincingly deal with the subject at hand? Are you satisfied with its conclusion(s)? Would you recommend it to other readers?

Books for Review: Some Suggestions

Note: This listing reflects your instructor’s penchant for history; do not feel obliged to follow its suggestions. But your selection of a book for review should pertain to propaganda/public diplomacy in one way or another. Students should not select a book that they have read for another BALS/MALS course.


http://www.amazon.com/Local-Voices-Global-Perspectives-International/dp/0976439131


http://www.amazon.com/Not-Like-Us-Europeans-Transformed/dp/0465001637/ref=la_B001HD1SS2_1_2?ie=UTF8&qid=1349107451&sr=1-2

http://www.amazon.com/Modernist-America-Globalization-American-Culture/dp/0300115040/ref=la_B001HD1SS2_1_1?ie=UTF8&qid=1349107204&sr=1-1

http://www.amazon.ca/Sheikhs-Batmobile-Richard-Poplak/dp/0143056557

Potter, Evan H. *Branding Canada: Projecting Canada’s Soft Power through Public Diplomacy* (2009)
http://www.amazon.com/Branding-Canada-Projecting-Canadas-Diplomacy/dp/0773534350

http://www.amazon.com/Practicing-Public-Diplomacy-Explorations-International/dp/1845454758

http://www.amazon.com/Propaganda-War-United-Conditioned-1914-1918/dp/0786401117


Van Buren, Peter. *We Meant Well: How I Helped Lose the Battle for the Hearts and Minds of the Iraqi People* (2011) [http://www.amazon.com/s/?ie=UTF8&keywords=van+buren+we+meant+well&tag=googhydr-20&index=stripbooks&hvadid=8033772128&ref=pd_sl_2nbjp1hbh8_b](http://www.amazon.com/s/?ie=UTF8&keywords=van+buren+we+meant+well&tag=googhydr-20&index=stripbooks&hvadid=8033772128&ref=pd_sl_2nbjp1hbh8_b)


**Your Instructor**

**Biographical Information**

John Brown has taught courses pertaining to propaganda and public diplomacy at Georgetown for over a decade. A lecturer for the Library of Congress’s “Open World” exchange program, Brown is a member of the Public Diplomacy Council.

Brown’s articles have appeared in numerous publications, including *The Huffington Post, The Washington Post, The Guardian, The San Francisco Chronicle, The Nation, The Moscow Times,* and *American Diplomacy.* Throughout the years he has given talks at major American universities. Brown compiles the daily “Public Diplomacy Press and Blog Review.” This posting was cited as a “Best Blogs of 06” by *U.S. News & World Report.* In recent years Brown has also given lectures at major universities on public diplomacy.

Brown was a member of the U.S. Foreign Service from 1981 until March 10, 2003 and has served in London, Prague, Krakow, Kiev, Belgrade and Moscow, specializing in press and cultural affairs, part of American public diplomacy. He was promoted to the Senior Foreign Service in 1997.
Brown received a Ph.D. in Russian History from Princeton University in 1977. He then worked at the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies in Washington, and served as an editor on a joint U.S.-Soviet publication, *The Establishment of Russian-American Relations, 1765-1815*.

See below, starting at p. 39, for more on Brown’s postings and publications as well as outreach activities.

**Detailed Course Outline**

(1)

May 20

Course Procedures;

Introduction: History, Diplomacy, Propaganda

**Topics:** Reasons for your interest in our course. Talents to be developed by the course: Asking pertinent questions from a text, reporting, and use of the historical imagination. Absolute necessity of class participation. Instructor’s career in public diplomacy.

The value of the historical approach, of “thinking in time.” The emphasis of our course is not on the psychological/sociological aspects of propaganda, although this perspective will be occasionally considered. Rather, it looks at down-to-earth facts/patterns in the past and the present. Other topics: The rise of public opinion; domestic and foreign government propaganda; traditional diplomacy and propaganda; propaganda and classical rhetoric.

**Readings:**

- Frank Luttmert, “Why Study History?” History Department Homepage, Hanover College [http://history.hanover.edu/why.html](http://history.hanover.edu/why.html)
ELECTRONIC RESERVE [For bio of Acheson see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dean_Acheson]


- Plato, Gorgias, Part I [sections will be read aloud in class; instructor will bring hard copies of passages to be read] http://classics.mit.edu/Plato/gorgias.html

[READ FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE DIALOGUE TO THE LINE: “FOR HE WAS INTENDED BY HIS TEACHER TO MAKE A GOOD USE OF HIS INSTRUCTIONS, BUT HE ABUSES THEM. AND THEREFORE HE IS THE PERSON WHO OUGHT TO BE HELD IN DETESTATION, BANISHED, AND PUT TO DEATH, AND NOT HIS INSTRUCTOR.”]

- Definitions of/observations on “Propaganda” (see syllabus appendix)

(2)

May 27

What is Propaganda? U.S. “Propaganda” before Wilson, 1776-1900

Topics: Propaganda in history; towards a working definition of propaganda; distinctions between propaganda, education, and advertising; art and propaganda; episodes in early American history when “propaganda” was used; the Declaration of Independence as a “propaganda” document; American exceptionalism as a theme of US “propaganda”; yellow journalism during the Spanish-American War

Readings:

- Definitions of “Propaganda” (Oxford English Dictionary, 1989) ON LAUINGER ELECTRONIC RESERVE
• Lindley Fraser, “Introduction,” in Propaganda (1957), 3-14. ON LAUINGER ELECTRONIC RESERVE
• Terence H. Qualter, “Propaganda: What it is,” in Opinion Control in the Democracies (1985), 107-144 ON LAUINGER ELECTRONIC RESERVE
• Harold D. Lasswell, “Propaganda,” Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (1937), vi. 11, 521-528 ON LAUINGER ELECTRONIC RESERVE
• Walter Joyce, “Can a Moral People Use Propaganda,” in The Propaganda Gap (1963), 66-73 ON LAUINGER ELECTRONIC RESERVE
  http://bostonreview.net/BR30.3/zinn.php

  John Brown’s Notes and Essays  

• U.S. Diplomacy and Yellow Journalism, 1895-1898,” Office of the Historian, U.S. Department of State  
  http://history.state.gov/milestones/1866-1898/Yellow_journalism

Viewings:

• Catapult the Propaganda  
  https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VxnegxNEDAc

(3)
June 3

**Spreading the Gospel of Americanism: Advertising Wilsonian Ideals during the Great War**

**Topics:** World War I as a defining moment in modern history -- and in the history of propaganda. The Wilson Administration and its explanations for U.S. war aims to foreign (and domestic) publics. The role of the Committee on Public Information. George Creel: America’s first professional government “publicist/propagandist.” The use of images in WWI propaganda.

**Class Exercise:** Historical role-playing, 40 minutes, three students, each to speak ten minutes and then answer questions from the audience, i.e. the rest of the class:

• Date: September, 1917. Place: Committee on Public Information.  
  Setting: Per instructions from the White House, CPI representatives are meeting with a group of American academics, writers, and filmmakers to persuade them to offer their talents to support America’s propaganda campaign in World War I -- a campaign not
only directed against Germany, but also aiming to convince neutral countries (e.g., Switzerland) to join the Allies’ war effort. The audience is eager to know what propaganda is and if it can be used for honorable purposes, given what they have heard about German propaganda. The audience is also not sure why the U.S. has entered the war, and why it is in American national interests to be involved in a bloody European conflict.

Readings:

- “1900 – A Transforming World,” Jay Winter, PBS  
  [http://www.pbs.org/greatwar/historian/hist_winter_01_1900.html](http://www.pbs.org/greatwar/historian/hist_winter_01_1900.html)
- “Top 5 Causes of World War 1,” americanhistory.about.com  
  [http://americanhistory.about.com/od/worldwari/tp/causes-of-world-war-1.htm](http://americanhistory.about.com/od/worldwari/tp/causes-of-world-war-1.htm)
- “Overview: The after shocks of the earthquake we call the Great War are still being felt today, in the 21st century.” PBS  
  [http://history.state.gov/milestones/1914-1920](http://history.state.gov/milestones/1914-1920)
  [http://history.state.gov/milestones/1914-1920/WWI](http://history.state.gov/milestones/1914-1920/WWI)
- Woodrow Wilson, “Second Inaugural Address” (Monday, March 5, 1917)  
- Woodrow Wilson, “War Message” (April 2, 1917)  
  [http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/wilsonwarmassage.htm](http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/wilsonwarmassage.htm)
- “Committee on Public Information,” Source Watch  
- Susan A. Brewer, “Crusade for Democracy Over There in the Great War,” 46-86 in  
  *Why America Fights: Patriotism and War Propaganda from the Philippines to Iraq* (2007 ON LAUINGER ELECTRONIC RESERVE
• Aaron Delwiche, “Wartime Propaganda: World War I Demons, Atrocities, Lies”
  http://www.propagandacritic.com/articles/ww1.demons.html (last revised 2011)
• Harold D. Lasswell, “Conditions and Methods,” 195 (STARTING AT SECOND PARAGRAPH)-196 (ENDING WITH THIRD PARAGRAPH); “The Results of Propaganda,” 214-222 ON LAUNGER ELECTRONIC RESERVE; from Propaganda Technique in the World War (1938)

Viewings:

• Poster Art of World War I - PBS
  http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/wilson/gallery/posters.html

(4)
June 10
The US Anti-Propaganda Movement between the Wars; Totalitarian Propaganda

Topics: Negative U.S. public opinion toward propaganda following WWI. Walter Lippmann and public opinion. The Institute for Propaganda Analysis. “Scientific” propaganda research. Nazi Propaganda: How does Nazi
propaganda differ from the propaganda of the democracies in the period under consideration?

Class Exercise: Historical role-playing, 40 minutes, three speakers, each to speak max ten minutes and then answer questions from the audience, i.e. the rest of the class:

- Date: 1937. Place: The Institute for Propaganda Analysis. Setting: A group of students from Columbia University that is interested in propaganda has come to the Institute to learn more about what propaganda is and how it functions. Three speakers from the Institute will brief the students on this topic. True to the stated purpose of the Institute, the speakers should expose the dangers of propaganda and warn against the methods it uses. They should also examine how democracy and propaganda are not compatible, as well as underscore the differences between education and propaganda. Finally, the speakers should discuss the threat posed by Nazi propaganda, specifying how it is used to control and manipulate publics for evil purposes. The students -- the class -- should react critically to the speakers’ statements that propaganda is not to be trusted.


• George Sylvester Vierek, ‘An Overdose of Poison,” in Spreading Germs of Hate (1930), 3-39. ON LAUINGER ELECTRONIC RESERVE

• “George Sylvester Viereck: Poet and Propagandist,” Special Collections, The University of Iowa Libraries http://www.lib.uiowa.edu/spec-coll/bai/johnson2.htm

• Stephen Vaugh, “Prologue to Public Opinion: Walter Lippmann’s Work in Military Intelligence,” Prologue (Fall 1983), 151-163. ON LAUINGER ELECTRONIC RESERVE

• Walter Lippmann, “Pictures in our Heads,” in Public Opinion (1922), 29-32; also 248-249. ON LAUINGER ELECTRONIC RESERVE


• “Walter Lippmann,” spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk, http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/USAlippmann.htm

• Institute for Propaganda Analysis, Wikipedia http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Institute_for_Propaganda_Analysis

• Propaganda: Propaganda Techniques http://mason.gmu.edu/~amcdonal/Propaganda%20Techniques.html


• David Welch, “Nazi Propaganda,” BBC http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/worldwars/wwtwo/nazi_propaganda_galler y.shtml

• “Propaganda: Explore the Nazis' sophisticated propaganda campaigns and their legacy,” Holocaust Museum http://www.ushmm.org/propaganda/

• Goebbels' Principles of Propaganda http://www.psywarrior.com/Goebbels.html
• Hideya Kumata and Wilbur Schramm, “Propaganda Theory of the German Nazis,” in *Four Working Papers on Propaganda Theory* (1955) ON LAUINGER ELECTRONIC RESERVE

Viewings:

• Nazi Propaganda http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=6110882574980243291&q=nazi+propaganda&total=700&start=0&num=10&so=0&type=search&plindex=3
• Triumph des Willens [Triumph of the Will] http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GHs2coAzLJ8

(5) June 17
Victory is Our Aim:
U.S. Information Programs during World War II

Topics: FDR’s attitude toward propaganda. American isolationism after WWI. The ideas that led the U.S. into war. The role of the Office of War Information (OWI). The “ideal” World War II propagandist.

Midterm Exam

Readings:

• “World War 2 Timeline” http://www.2worldwar2.com/timeline.htm
• Thomas Sorensen [misspelled on Lauinger Reserve as Sorenson], “We Become Propagandists,” 8 (beginning with last paragraph) to 21 (to end of second paragraph) in The Word War. ON LAUINGER ELECTRONIC RESERVE
• Franklin Delano Roosevelt, “The Four Freedoms” (January 6, 1941) http://www.libertynet.org/edcivic/fdr.html
• Elmer Davis, “War Information,” 274-277, in Propaganda in War and Crisis. ON LAUINGER ELECTRONIC RESERVE
• Joseph Barnes, “Fighting with Information: OWI Overseas” Public Opinion Quarterly, Volume 7, Issue 1 (Spring 1943), 34-45. ON LAUINGER ELECTRONIC RESERVE
• “What is Propaganda” [Constructing a Postwar World: The G.I. Roundtable Series in Context] (can be skimmed) http://www.historians.org/projects/GIroundtable/Propaganda/Propaganda_TOC.htm
• Casablanca: A Character Driven Vehicle for Propaganda (see below YouTube clips) - shnayd, library.upenn.edu
  http://tags.library.upenn.edu/project/37008

Viewings:

• Frank Capra’s Why We Fight
  http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yBUKRAE2O9c
• propaganda numa numa: American made propaganda from the world war 2 era [comics-style]. http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=-2123839730744557600&q=world+war+I+american+propaganda&total=860&start=0&num=10&so=0&type=search&plindex=9
• US WW2 Propaganda Posters
  http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QAU1rBQfsVA
• Play it, Sam (You Tube)
  http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7vThuwa5RZU
• Best line in Casablanca (You Tube)
  http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FpoyshqB8-o

(6)
June 24

Telling America’s Story: U.S. Public Diplomacy during the Cold War

Topics: U.S. Information and Cultural Programs; Smith-Mundt Act (1948); Truman’s “Campaign of Truth”; The CIA’s involvement in cultural propaganda in the early Cold War; the establishment and work of USIA (1953-1999); the birth of “public diplomacy”

Readings:

• Cold War Timeline - history-timelines.org.uk
http://www.history-timelines.org.uk/events-timelines/03-cold-war-timeline.htm

  http://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952

• Kennan and Containment, 1947,” Office of the Historian, U.S. Department of State
  http://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/Kennan


  http://history.state.gov/milestones/1953-1960

• “Fulbright Program History” – Fulbright
  http://www.cies.org/fulbright/#history


  http://johnbrownnotesandessays.blogspot.com/2010/07/valuable-contribution-to-discussions-on.html


  http://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/TrumanDoctrine

• Harry Truman, “Address on Foreign Policy at a Luncheon of the American Society of Newspaper Editors”

• The United States Information Agency: A Commemoration
  http://dosfan.lib.uic.edu/usia/abtusia/commins.pdf, pp. 7-24

• Kenneth Osgood “Hearts and Minds: The Unconventional Cold War,” 85-107 Journal of Cold War Studies, Vol. 4, no. 2 (Spring 2002). ON LAUINGER ELECTRONIC RESERVE
• Thomas W. Braden. "I'm Glad the CIA is 'Immoral.'" The Saturday Evening Post (May 20, 1967) http://www.cambridgeclarion.org/press_cuttings/braden_20may1967.htm
• The United States Information Agency: A Commemoration http://dosfan.lib.uic.edu/usia/abtusia/commins.pdf, pp. 25-80
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Annals of The Academy of Political and Social Science, volume 398, November 1971), 26-35. ON LAUINGER ELECTRONIC RESERVE


**Class Exercise:** Historical role-playing, 60 minutes, three speakers, each to speak max ten minutes and then answer questions from the audience, i.e. the rest of the class:

Place and date: American Embassy Paris, 1954. The CIA station chief has approached the Ambassador to inform him that the Agency has been provided with special funds to support cultural presentations and programs, including concerts, exhibits, and lectures throughout France. Agency funds are also available to support magazines, even of the left, that would generally support the United States and its policies and be critical of the Soviet Union. The source of the funding would not be disclosed to the public. Congress would not be told either, so as to avoid criticisms on the Hill. Only a few top State Department employees would be told of the funding.

The Ambassador, a political appointee, is unsure whether the Embassy should accept these funds for its cultural program. In a classified memorandum, he asks members of the Public Affairs Section to advise him what to do.

In a meeting attended by the Ambassador (your humble instructor) and the heads of Sections at the Embassy (political, economic, consular, etc -- i.e., the rest of the class) two members of the Public Affairs Section argue that the Embassy should accept the funds; two argue that the Embassy should not. Each speaker should speak no more than ten minutes and then be ready to answer questions from the Ambassador and the rest of the “Embassy.”

Items -- presented here in no particular order -- for role-players to keep in mind as they prepare the talking points:
Soviet propaganda continues to be on the offensive in Western Europe since the Cold War began and we must fight it with every available means.

French intellectuals, generally of the left, are often critical of American culture, which they see as vulgar and commercial.

The U.S.S.R. has a multitude of admirers in France. For many Frenchmen, not only did the Soviet Union help defeat Nazism, but it has created an equitable social system where workers are duly rewarded for their work.

The Soviets covertly support cultural events. Why shouldn’t we?

State Department funding for cultural programs is miniscule, especially in comparison with the Soviets. Congress is unlikely to fund more cultural activities because it believes the government should stay out of culture, which is a private matter.

Many seasoned foreign policy practitioners consider the use of culture as a tool for promoting national interests a waste of time and money. Better would be better spent on information programs that deny the falsehood perpetrated by the U.S.S.R. about the United States.

If CIA funding is “leaked” publicly, what would be the consequences?

Isn’t covertly subsiding culture, even for the best of purposes, turning it into propaganda? And are we not lying to those who would receive CIA funding by not telling them who is really paying them?

The Soviets constantly accuse the American Embassy of being a nest of spies. If the Cultural Section uses CIA money, aren’t these accusations at least in part correct?

Viewings:

- Propaganda - Communism vs Capitalism  
  [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aMwbvIVh2EQ](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aMwbvIVh2EQ)

- Duck and Cover  
  [http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=811421085304596290&q=%22duck+and+cover%22&total=356&start=0&num=10&so=0&type=search&plindex=0](http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=811421085304596290&q=%22duck+and+cover%22&total=356&start=0&num=10&so=0&type=search&plindex=0)

- Survival Under Atomic Attack 1950  
  [http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=3153798315631290808&q=soviet+propaganda&total=535&start=0&num=10&so=1&type=search&plindex=9](http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=3153798315631290808&q=soviet+propaganda&total=535&start=0&num=10&so=1&type=search&plindex=9)
• John Brown, “Rockwell/Socialist Realism: A Photo Essay – John Brown, Notes and Essays
  http://johnbrownnotesandessays.blogspot.com/2010/01/rockwellsocialist-realism-photo-essay.html

• Psychedelic cartoon by the United States Information Agency
  http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=-2195062233631901748&q=United+states+information+agency+films&total=45&start=0&num=10&so=0&type=search&plindex=0

• The Challenge of ideas
  http://www.lewrockwell.com/blog/lewrw/archives/106509.html

(7)
July 1
The Nature of Twentieth Century USG Propaganda and the End of the Cold War

Topics: Review of the various meanings of propaganda. Discussion of Orwell’s 1984 as an effort to understand the nature of twentieth-century propaganda. “The end of history” and “the clash of civilization.” The meaning of soft power. USIA/State Department consolidation.

Readings:


  http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1G2-3402300123.html

• John Brown, “Historical Patterns of US Government Overseas Propaganda, 1917-2004” (Phil Taylor's Web Site, the Institute of Communications Studies, University of Leeds, UK)

• John Brown, “Twentieth Century Overt US Government Overseas Propaganda: A Summary,” [one page]. ON LAUINGER ELECTRONIC RESERVE


• Joseph S. Nye Jr., “Think Again: Soft Power,” *Foreign Policy* (March 1, 1996), posted at Yale Global http://yaleglobal.yale.edu/content/think-again-soft-power


• Stanley B. Cunnigham, “Conclusion,” *The Idea of Propaganda: A Reconstruction*, 203-207. ON LAUINGER ELECTRONIC RESERVE


• George Orwell, *1984* (read as course progressed)

• Robert McCrum, “The masterpiece that killed George Orwell,” *The Observer*, May 9, 2009 http://www.guardian.co.uk/books/2009/may/10/1984-george-orwell

**Class Exercise:** Role play based on *1984* reading, three students. One student is Winston, the other Julia. Both explain why they rebelled, in their own way, against Big Brother. The third student is O’Brien, who explains why he is for Big Brother. Each presentation should be above ten minutes.
Viewings (and audio):

- The ending of 1984 by George Orwell
- 1984-Oceania’s anthem [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YtepuyvsGb](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YtepuyvsGb)

(8)

July 8

The Shock of 9/11: Public Diplomacy during the Bush II Years

Topics: The nature of terrorism. Terrorism and public diplomacy. Proposals and efforts to improve public diplomacy during the Bush years

Readings:

- Harry Henderson, “Introduction to Terrorism,” 3-30, in Terrorism (2004), ON LAUINGER ELECTRONIC RESERVE
- John Brown, “Our Indian Wars Are Not Over Yet”: Ten Ways to Interpret the War on Terror as a Frontier Conflict,” TomDispatch (January 19, 2006).
  [http://www.tomdispatch.com/post/50043/tomdispatch_john_brown_on_the_war_on_terror_as_an_indian_war](http://www.tomdispatch.com/post/50043/tomdispatch_john_brown_on_the_war_on_terror_as_an_indian_war)
- From the State Department homepage: Organization chart [http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/rls/dos/99494.htm](http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/rls/dos/99494.htm)

(9)
July 15

Propaganda or Not? Other USG Twenty-First Communications Models

**Topics:** Strategic communications; Psyops/MISO; branding; cultural diplomacy; citizen diplomacy; US International Broadcasting (possible guest speaker)

**Readings:**

• Major Ed Rouse, “Psychological Operations/Warfare” http://www psywarrior.com/psyhist.html
• Broadcasting Board of Governors
  -- History http://www.bbg.gov/about-the-agency/history/
  -- The VOA Charter http://www.bbg.gov/about-the-agency/history/legislation/
The Internet and Social Media: Challenges and Opportunities for U.S, Public Diplomacy

Topics: New Social Media; Internet Freedom; Oral Presentations of Book Reports by Students

Readings:

- Internet Freedom, U.S. Department of State http://www.state.gov/e/eb/cip/netfreedom/index.htm
- Hillary Clinton and Internet Freedom: There are many people who can credibly claim to defend Internet Freedom; Obama officials are not among them – Glenn Greenwald http://www.salon.com/2011/12/09/hillary_clinton_and_internet_freedom/
• Fergus Hanson, “Public Diplomacy @ State” [http://www.e-ir.info/2012/10/26/public-diplomacy-state/]
• Peter Van Buren, “Social Media Numbers Don’t Add Up at State Department,” We Meant Well [http://wemeantwell.com/blog/2012/11/02/social-media-numbers-dont-add-up-at-state-department/]
• John Brown, “Twittering; or, Where are the Emily Dickinisons at the State Department?” Huffington Post (June 19, 2009) [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/john-brown/twittering-or-where-are-t_b_218141.html]

(11)
July 29
Quo Vadis PD? The Obama Administration and Overseas “Engagement”

Topics: The Obama administration and public diplomacy

• Barack Obama’s speech at The Wilson Center (2008) [http://www.cfr.org/publication/13974]
• AFP, “Obama replaces 'global war on terror' in strategy shift” [http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5iHLAaZamQgt35p-txCK8nYwXNA3g] [TEXT MAY NOT BE INTERNET ACCESSIBLE]

U.S. State Department, “American ‘Smart Power’: Diplomacy and Development Are the Vanguard” [2]


Class Exercise: Debate – Is American Public Diplomacy is a Success? Four students will debate this topic.

APPENDIX A

Bibliographies


‘Negotiation, Culture and Intercultural Communication’. For more information visit the website: www.clingendael.nl/library. NOTE: A hard copy of the latest Clingendael listing is available from your instructor as Clingendael site appears to be inactive.

3. Bruce Gregory's Reading List: Bruce Gregory compiles an annotated list of resources on public diplomacy and related subjects that is circulated periodically by email to academic colleagues, government practitioners, research organizations, media organizations, and others who may be interested. To receive the list, send your email address to BGregory@gwu.edu. For previous compilations of public diplomacy resources click here http://publicdiplomacy.wikia.com/wiki/Bruce_Gregory's_Reading_List


APPENDIX B

John Brown: Outreach

A) Scholarly, historical, literary articles

• “Remember When Social Media Was the Solution to All Our Global Problems?” (Huffington Post, May 1, 2014) http://www.huffingtonpost.com/john-brown/remember-when-the-social-_b_52497
• “Is Anyone Speaking?” (Huffington Post, June 29, 2013)
http://www.huffingtonpost.com/john-brown/is-anyone-speaking_b_3522460.html
• “Public Diplomacy and the Flight to the Academy” (Huffington Post, November 5, 2012)
http://www.huffingtonpost.com/john-brown/post_4086_b_2073100.html
• “Must We Really Like ‘Like’? (A Repeat Request),” (Huffington Post, July 1, 2012)
http://www.huffingtonpost.com/john-brown/must-we-really-like-like_b_1641374.html
• “Propaganda, Public Diplomacy and the Smith-Mundt Act” (Huffington Post, May 26, 2012)
• “Silence.com” (Huffington Post, May 4, 2012)
http://www.huffingtonpost.com/john-brown/silencecom_b_1478848.html
• U.S. Diplomat Peter Van Buren Speaks About American Public Diplomacy (Huffington Post, April 24, 2012)
http://www.huffingtonpost.com/john-brown/peter-van-buren-interview_b_1449165.html
• “Not Loving Like” (Huffington Post, April 21, 2012)
http://www.huffingtonpost.com/john-brown/not-loving-like_b_1442596.html
“Intellectual Diplomacy: Deflating a Buzz Word” (Huffington Post, February 13, 2012)
http://www.huffingtonpost.com/john-brown/intellectual-diplomacy_b_1255805.html
• “Enjoy This Killer App for the Holidays!” (Huffington Post, December 31, 2011)
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• “Apostrophe Catastrophe, or the Consolations of the Internet” (Huffington Post, May 31, 2010)
http://www.huffingtonpost.com/john-brown/apostrophe-catastrophe_b_868537.html
• “Richard Holbrooke's Public Diplomacy: The Case of the US Cultural Center in Belgrade” (Huffington Post, December 22, 2010)
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• “Like It or Not: America's Dirty Little Secret,” Huffington Post (April 25, 2010) http://www.huffingtonpost.com/john-brown/like-it-or-not-americas-d_b_550981.html
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• Review: “Mightier Than the Sword: Arts and Culture in the U.S.-Muslim World Relationship” (American Diplomacy November 11, 2008) http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/item/2008/1012/iar/iar_art.html
• Review: “Options for Influence: Global campaigns of persuasion in the new worlds of public diplomacy” (American Diplomacy, October 14, 2008)
• “Review - The Arts of Democracy: Art, Public Culture, and the State” (Cultural Diplomacy News, August 26, 2008) http://www.culturaldiplomacynews.org/index.php?id=29,839,0,0,1,0
http://www.afsa.org/fsj/sept07/books.pdf
• “Subtlety one of the paradoxes of propaganda: the effective forms don't appear as if they're intentional” (San Francisco Chronicle, April 29, 2007)
Earlier and fuller version (with footnotes) at Public Diplomacy Blog (April 16, 2007), USC Center on Public Diplomacy
• “Una Diplomacia Alternativa” [on public diplomacy] Culturas (no. 241) (La Vanguardia, January 31, 2007)
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B) Current affairs

• “A Final Nail in the USSR Coffin? Thank You from NATO, Vladimir Vladimirovich!” (Huffington Post, April 14, 2014) http://www.huffingtonpost.com/john-brown/a-final-nail-in-the-ussr-b_51446
• “Are Political Appointees the Only U.S. Diplomats Who Haven't Been to the Country to Which They Are Assigned?” (Huffington Post, February 19, 2014) http://www.huffingtonpost.com/john-brown/political-appointees-diplomats_b_
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• “Sanity Rally and Cold-War Public Diplomacy” (Huffington Post, October 31, 2010)

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• “Why Uncle Ben Hasn't Sold Uncle Sam” (Counterpunch, April 8, 2003) http://www.counterpunch.org/brown04082003.html; see also “Branding America,” (Worldview, April-June 2003, 28-29)

C) Presentations

• “John H. Brown FINDING OUR VOICES Bonus Feature” (Posted May 6, 2008) http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hOleG2F6U64
• “Amity in Times of War: The Establishment of Russian American Relations, 1760-1819” (Russian Cultural Center, Washington DC, September 28, 2007)
• “American Public Diplomacy from the Perspective of the Private and Semi-Private Sector” (Foreign Service Institute, September 10, 2007)
• “What the Internet Tells Us about Public Diplomacy” (Foreign Service Institute, March 16, 2007; Syracuse University, March 23, 2007)
• “John Brown speaks in Washington (1/27/07) http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bxtlY4U1KfI
SEE ALSO
• Introductory remarks at the conference, “Public Diplomacy as a Global Phenomenon” (Mershon Center, The Ohio State University, April 28, 2006) http://www.businessfordiplomaticaction.org/news/articles/dipl_program.pdf
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C) Interviews
• Interview with Morton Mecklosky, WSU, Stony Brook (April 30, 2007)
• Interview with Stan Correy, Australian Broadcasting Corporation, July 31, 2006 http://www.abc.net.au/rn/backgroundbriefing/stories/2006/1716276.htm#
• State Department Defends America's Image Abroad - Steve Inskeep (NPR, March 27) http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=5302917
• “The People's Diplomat: An Interview with John H. Brown” -- Mark Hand
  (Press Action, January 11, 2006)
• “Houston, We Have an Image Problem...” - E-mail Interview regarding
  public diplomacy with William Fisher (Inter Press Service, April 15, 2005)
  http://www.ipsnews.net/new_nota.asp?idnews=28318
• Interview with John H. Brown, Ret. State Department, Foreign Service
  Officer – (Echo Chamber Project, July 15, 2004): Contains comments on
  public diplomacy and propaganda.
  http://www.echochamberproject.com/brown

E) Media coverage

• Gerald Loftus, “Dr. Brown To General Powell: Doing The Right Thing”
  (Avuncular American, March 10, 2008)
  http://avuncularamerican.typepad.com/blog/2008/03/dr-brown-to-gen.html
• William Hughes, “Voices of the Iraq War Dissenters Ring Out” (The Daily
  Scare: Exposing Media and Government Propaganda, Obsfuscation, Scare
  tactic and Fearmongering, December 7, 2007)
  http://dailyscare.com/2552/voices-of-the-iraq-war-dissenters-ring-out
• Shane Harris, “The Unquiet Americans” (Government Executive, May 15,
  2003)
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  Dreams, March 21, 2003)
  http://www.commondreams.org/headlines03/0321-06.htm

F) Satirical/Humor

• “Walking in Vegas,” (Huffington Post, April 10, 2014)
  http://www.huffingtonpost.com/john-brown/walking-in-vegas_b_5123857.html
• “A Secret CIA Plan to Save the Sochi Olympics: Bring on the NFL
  “(Huffington Post, February 2, 2014)
  http://www.huffingtonpost.com/john-brown/a-secret-cia-plan-to-save_b_4714221.html
• “A Post-Thanksgiving Miracle: Saving the Kitchen Sink” (Huffington
  Post, December 1, 2013)
  http://www.huffingtonpost.com/john-brown/a-postthanksgiving-miracl_b_4368685.html
• “A modest image proposal” (San Francisco Chronicle, June 25, 2006); earlier version under the title “Ambassadorial Suicide Initiative” (Common Dreams, June 15, 2006) http://www.commondreams.org/views06/0615-38.htm
• “Tomgram: John Brown Helps the President Address the Nation” (TomDispatch.com, June 12) http://www.tomdispatch.com/index.mhtml?pid=90787
• “Text of President Bush’s Televised Address to the Nation: Illegal Immigrants Are the Newly-found WMD” (Selves and Others, May 15, 2006) http://www.selvesandothers.org/article14311.html
• “Welcome to Guantanamo’s Exercise Program!” (Selves and Others, March 5, 2006) http://www.selvesandothers.org/article13357.html
• “An International Visitor Program for Iraqi Media Leaders: Sponsored by the State Department (Selves and Others, December 18, 2005) http://www.selvesandothers.org/article12854.html
• “Implanting Democracy in the Middle East: Thirteen Easy Steps from the Bush Administration” (Selves and Other, December 5, 2008) http://www.selvesandothers.org/article12550.html
• “New Karen Hughes Public Diplomacy Initiative: A Telegram from the State Department to Ambassadors. Five instructions from the State Department to Ambassadors following Under Secretary of State Karen Hughes’s visit to the Middle East” (Selves and Others, November 7, 2005) http://www.selvesandothers.org/article11761.html

G) Books

• Brown, John, one of the Russian and American editors for The United States and Russia: The Beginning of Relations, 1765-1815 [Washington: GPO, 1980]. This 1184-page volume also appeared in a Russian edition.

H) Projects

Note: This posting was cited as one of ten “Best Blogs of 06,” by David E. Kaplan of the U.S. News & World Report. http://www.usnews.com/usnews/news/badguys/061228/best_blogs_of_06.htm#more

APPENDIX (C)

PROPAGANDA (quotations and observations)

“Why Lie When You Can Spin?”

--Columnist Clarence Page, regarding Pentagon paid-for news; “When Press Is Paid to Lie, the Truth Always Comes out, Chicago Tribune (December 4, 2004); see below item 23 http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/opinion/chi-0512040454dec04,0,6830440.column?coll=chi-ed_opinion_columnists-utl

‘We must accept propaganda as a major weapon of policy, tactical as well as strategic, and begin to conduct it on modern and realist line.”

--George F. Kennan; cited in Kenneth Osgood, Total Cold War: Eisenhower’s Secret Propaganda Battle at Home and Abroad (2006), p. 38

"When you are persuaded by something, you don't think it is propaganda."

“The reason I tell you the truth is so that when I lie, you will believe me.”

QUOTATION VIA
http://kimandrewelliott.com/

“[T]he images of [Saddam’s] execution and his body seem to point to a new era in the way images are used politically, what might be called a post-propaganda era. So many images that were supposed to have such profound impact on public perception -- the now infamous ‘Mission Accomplished’ photo op or Abu Musab al-Zarqawi's bloody head tastefully framed for the cameras -- have failed to connect with the reality of either public opinion, or the facts on the ground. This image means progress, we're told, but there isn't any progress. This image is a final chapter, but the blood still flows. For a public media campaign to work, at least some of the politically calculated captions placed on images must, in the end, turn out to be true.”

http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/12/30/AR2006123000743_pf.html

“[Senator] Fulbright had outspokenly opposed international propaganda in our government. When he coldly queried [USIA Director Leonard] Marks on the meaning of propaganda, Marks replied respectfully, "If I say you are chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, that's a fact; whereas if I say you are the finest chairman in the history of the Senate, that's propaganda." Fulbright shot back: "No, you're wrong -- that’s a fact!"


“[Propaganda] came to be used by English and Continental writers in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, when some who were anticlerical and anti-Catholic identified this type of material with the publications of the [De Propaganda Fide]." "Propagating the faith" was judged by these writers as
sheer "propaganda." However, the term lost its original connection with anti-Catholicism, and it is currently used to identify the vast body of political, partisan, and high-pressure mass communication designed to promote persons or causes in the modern world.”

--*Catholic Encyclopedia* (1966)

“John Adams... commented that revolutionary propagandists ‘tinge the mind of the people; they impregnate them with the sentiments of liberty; they render the people fond of their leaders in the causes, and averse and bitter against all opposers.’” quoted in


“Nothing but defeat in war will suffice to produce any change not desired by those who control publicity.”


“The war to make the world safe for democracy made democracy unsafe for America.”

--Federal Judge Hon. George W. Anderson (1920); cited in George Sylvester Vierek, *Spreading Germs of Hate* (1930), p. 279

“In the year 1915, the enemy started his propaganda among our soldiers. From 1916 it steadily became more intensive and at the beginning of 1918, it had swollen into a storm cloud. One could see the effects of this gradual seduction. Our soldiers learned to think the way the enemy wanted them to think.”

“I cannot convince a single person of the necessity of something unless I get to know the soul of that person, unless I understand how to pluck the string in the harp of his soul that must be made to sound.”


“The injection of the poison of hatred into men’s minds by means of falsehood is a greater evil in wartime than the actual loss of life. The defilement of the human soul is worse than the destruction of the human body.”

--Lord Ponsonby (1926); cited in Philip M. Taylor, Munitions of the Mind: War Propaganda from the Ancient World to the Nuclear Age (1990), p. 179.

“News is the shocktroops of propaganda”


“The other day there was put into my hand a circular issued from the War Office asking officers to supply articles and stories for propaganda purposes showing admirable qualities of our troops and the bad qualities of the Germans, … After telling what is wanted this amazing instruction is given: ‘Essential not literal truth and correctness are necessary. Inherent probability being respected the thing imagined may be as serviceable as the thing seen.’”


“It is difficult to suggest by what means diplomacy can mitigate the dangers of this terrible invention.”
“Now, by the press, we can speak to nations; and good books and well written pamphlets have great and general influence. The facility with which the same truths may be repeatedly enforced by placing them in different lights in newspapers, which are everywhere read, gives a great chance of establishing them. And we now find that it is not only right to strike while the iron is hot but that it may be very practicable to heat it by continually striking.”

--Benjamin Franklin; cited in Philip M. Taylor, Munitions of the Mind: War Propaganda from the Ancient World to the Nuclear Age (1990),” pp. 117-118.

“It is necessary for America to have agents in different parts of Europe, to give some information concerning our affairs, and to refute the abominable lies that the hired emissaries of Great Britain circulate in every corner of Europe, by which they keep up their own credit and ruin ours.

--John Adams; cited in above, p. 118.

“After all, what is a lie? ‘Tis but the truth in masquerade.”


"We were hypnotized by the enemy propaganda as a rabbit is by a snake.”


“Propaganda is the penalty we pay for democracy.”

--George Vierek, Spreading Germs of Hate (1930), p. 34.

“...furious Propaganda, with her brand,
Fires the dry prairies of our wide Waste Land;
Making the Earth, Man's temporal station, be
One stinking altar to Publicity.”


“[Propaganda was], as one official wrote in 1928, 'a good word gone wrong.'”


“We look
But at the surface of things; we hear
Of towns in flames, fields ravaged, young and old
Driven out in troops to want and nakedness;
Then grasp our sword and rush upon a cure
That flatters us, because it asks not thought;
The deeper malady is better hid
The world is poisoned at the heart.”

--Wordsworth, The Borderers, Act I, quoted in James Morgan Read, Atrocity Propaganda 1914-1919, no page

“Propaganda is nothing but a fancy name for publicity, and who knows the publicity game better than the Yanks? Why, the Germans make no bones about admitting that they learned the trick from us. Now the difference between a Boche and a Yank is just this – which a Boche is some one [sic] who believes everything that’s told him and a Yank is some one who disbelieves everything that’s told him. The Boche believes all this rubbish his own government has been telling him; see how he swallows a few facts. Boy, bring me a German printing press and four airplanes.”

--Stars and Stripes, January 3, 1919, cited in Captain Heber Blankenhorn, Adventures in Propaganda, p. 162

“Formerly the rulers were the leaders. They laid out the course of history, by the simple process of doing what they wanted. And if nowadays the successors of the rulers, those whose position or ability gives them power, can no longer do what they want without the approval of the masses, they
find in propaganda a tool which is increasingly powerful in gaining that approval. Therefore, propaganda is here to stay.”

--Edward Bernays, Propaganda (1928), p. 27

“Propaganda is an instrument; it may employ truth instead of falsehood in its operation (as Wilson did, and as the O.W.I intends to do); and it may be directed to worthy instead of unworthy purposes. To condemn the instrument, because the wrong people use it for the wrong purposes, is like condemning the automobile because criminals use it for a getaway.


“But what is propaganda, if not the effort to alter the picture to which men respond, to substitute one social pattern for another.”


“Propaganda is made first of all, because of a will to action, for the purpose of effectively arming policy and giving irresistible power to its decisions.”

--Jacque Ellul, Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes (1966), p. x

Propaganda, as a technique for "controlling attitudes by the manipulation of significant symbols [is] no more moral or immoral than a pump handle."

--Harold Lasswell, as quoted by Brett Gary, The Nervous Liberals: Propaganda Anxieties from World War I to the Cold War (1999), p. 64

“Hitler maintained that in Britain propaganda was regarded ‘as a weapon of the first order, while in our country it was the last resort of unemployed politicians and a haven for slackers.’"

--David Welch, Germany, Propaganda and Total War, 1914-1918 (2000), p. 254

"The cure for propaganda is more propaganda."

“The deadliest danger of propaganda consists of its being used by the propagandist for his own edification.”

--Wallace Carroll, *Persuade or Perish* (1948), p. 7

"If you're imperially-minded, which the Americans were at the time [60s, Cold War], you don't think much about whether it's wrong or not [being part of the propaganda "aparat"]. It's like the imperial British in the Nineteenth Century. You just do it."


"What is truly vicious" observed the New York Times in an editorial on September 1 1937, "is not propaganda but a monopoly of it."


"The way to carry out propaganda is never to appear to be carrying it out at all."


“War propaganda is a shell in which the truth rattles around somewhere. Journalists try, with varying degrees of success, to find it among the din of false echoes. Governments try to impose their meaning on the noise.”


“More than forty years ago, I was a pioneer in radio, a sports announcer. And I found myself broadcasting major league baseball games from telegraphed reports. I was not at the stadium…"
Now, if the game was rather dull, you could say, “It’s a hard-hit ball down toward second base. The shortstop is going over after the ball and makes a wild stab, picks it up, turns and gets him out just in time.”

Now, I submit to you that I told the truth, if he was out from shortstop to first, and I don’t know whether he really ran over toward second base and whether he really made a one-handed stab, or whether he just squatted down and took the ball when it came to him. But the truth got there, and in other words, it can be attractively packaged.”


"'Terrorism is fundamentally propaganda, a bloody form of propaganda,’


“Maybe we're losing that battle for Afghan hearts and minds in part because the Bush State Department appointee in charge of the propaganda effort is a C.E.O. (from Madison Avenue) chosen not for her expertise in policy or politics but for her salesmanship on behalf of domestic products like Head & Shoulders shampoo. If we can't effectively fight anthrax, I guess it's reassuring to know we can always win the war on dandruff.”


“The administration is proclaiming American ideals for all to hear -- and is fighting a propaganda war against al-Jazeera television, a transnational satellite network...To succeed in the propaganda war, for example, it is not enough to say you are fighting terrorists and not Muslims, and it is not enough to help Afghans with food packages. To succeed in winning hearts and minds, you also need to rein in human-rights abuses by your new allies, such as Uzbekistan's Soviet-style dictatorship."

The Encyclopedia Britannica (1911 edition) does not have “Propaganda” as an entry; the 1997 edition has nine-page coverage of the subject.

"A new and serious problem of modern diplomacy is the problem of propaganda. In the days of the old diplomacy it would have been regarded as an act of unthinkable vulgarity to appeal to common people upon any issue of international policy. It was Canning, in 1812, who first recognized the efficacy of what he called 'the fatal artillery of popular excitation.'... Even the British (who are a truthful race) gradually acquired a taste for propaganda, and proved that they also could tell deliberate lies. ...

It is difficult to suggest what means diplomacy can mitigate the dangers of this terrible invention [propaganda]. International agreements on the subject are evaded or ignored; counter-propaganda only intensifies the conflict. The most that can be hoped is that the very virulence of the method, the actual iteration of demonstrable untruths, may in the end defeat its own purpose. And that the best antidote to the hysterical school of broadcasters is a policy of truth, under-statement and calm."


“The easiest way to inject a propaganda idea into most people’s minds is to let it go through the medium of an entertainment picture when they do not realize that they are being propagandized.”


“The ‘bad guys’ do not need to produce their own propaganda when we do it for them.”

--US Diplomat Peter Van Buren, writing in his blog, We Meant Well (January 12, 2012) http://wemeantwell.com/blog/2012/01/12/hip-hop-coin-diplomacy-awww-pss-on-it/

“You can't propagandize on social media. I just don’t think propaganda works on social media at all.”
"What over the years, over the 70-odd years of VOA's history we have learned, is that -- and I say this often to people who say why aren't you hitting harder on the ayatollahs in Iran or something like that -- I say, look, the best answer to propaganda is not more propaganda. It is truth. We're in the truth business at the Voice of America. We may not get it a hundred percent right all the time, but that's always our goal. That is our goal.

--VOA director David Ensor as interviewed by host Shaka Ssali Straight Talk Africa, 9 Jan 2013

"Even in the actual contact of human relations, at meetings, in door-to-door visits, the propagandist is… nothing else and nothing more than a representative of the organization—or, rather, a delegated fraction of it.... His words are no longer human words but technically calculated words.... In the very act of pretending to speak as man to man, the propagandist is reaching the summit of his mendacity and falsifications…"


“Propaganda should not be obvious; propaganda should be hidden — then and only then can it be effective ... We need to make it clear to students that when they leave this building, they are going to go work for The Man. And The Man is going to tell them what to write and what not to write, and how to write about this or that. And The Man has a right to do this because he is paying them. … You may like what I have told you or not, but it’s objective reality. It’s life. And it’s not like you are ever going to see a different life.”

--Alexei Volin, deputy minister of communications and mass media, a keynote speaker at a conference called “Journalism in 2012: The Profession and Its Function in Society,” held at Moscow University’s Journalism Department