

SYLLABUS –Version 1.0
(November 2011)
Propaganda and American Foreign Policy:
A Historical Overview
LSHS 453-01

MALS Liberal Studies Degree Program, Georgetown University,
Spring 2012

Location: Maguire 103

January 12-April 19 (Thursdays)

6:30pm – 9:30pm

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The syllabus is subject to change

"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

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 propaganda has been employed in US 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 on propaganda, 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?
- How do propaganda and public diplomacy (“engaging, informing, and influencing key international audiences,” according to the State Department) differ? Are they alike?
- Who is a propagandist? What motivates his/her actions? What are his/her the 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?

Course Outline (more detailed outline below starting on p. 11)

JANUARY

- (1) Course Procedures; Introduction: History, Diplomacy, Propaganda (1/12)
- (2) What *is* Propaganda? (1/19)
- (3) US “Propaganda” before Wilson, 1776-1900 (1/26)

FEBRUARY

- (4) Carrying the Gospel of Americanism: Advertising Wilsonian Ideals during the Great War (2/2)
- (5) The US Anti-Propaganda Movement between the Wars; Totalitarian Propaganda (2/9)

- (6) Victory is Our Aim: US Information Programs in World War I (2/16)
- (7) Countering the Communist Menace: US Overseas Outreach Programs during the Early Cold War, 1946-1956; midterm exam (2/23)

MARCH

- (8) Telling America's Story: US Public Diplomacy during the Later Cold War, 1957-1991 (3/1)
- (9) The Nature of Twentieth-Century USG Propaganda/Public Diplomacy and the End of the Cold War (3/15)
- (10) The Shock of 9/11: Public Diplomacy during the Bush II Years; US International Broadcasting (3/22)
- (11) Propaganda or Not? Strategic Communications, Psyops/MISO, Branding, Cultural/ Arts Diplomacy, Citizen Diplomacy; New Social Media (3/29)

APRIL

- (12) Your Turn: Students' oral reports on their review of a US propaganda/public diplomacy-related book of their choice; class evaluation of US Embassy websites (4/12)
- (13) Quo Vadis PD: American Public Diplomacy and the Obama Administration (4/19)

Note: March 8, April 5: no class

Course Readings

Books to be Purchased:

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 on line.

Frank Ninkovich, *U.S. Information and Cultural Diplomacy* (1996). ISBN-10: 0871241684 ISBN-13: 978-0871241689

All other assigned materials are available on reserve at the Lauinger Library or online. Increasingly, as this course has progressed, materials are available online.

Public Diplomacy Press and Blog Review; Current Affairs Readings:

Students are expected to read/skim thoughtfully 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 Tuesday class, students will be e-mailed Current Affairs Readings (COR), consisting of the most important articles in the week's PDPBR. A considerable part of class discussion will be devoted to COR articles.

NOTE: Unless otherwise noted, students are not required to read the Wikipedia entries cited in the reading assignments. These entries are for students' reference only.

Questions to Ask for Weekly Readings/Viewings

In the course of your 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., 19th-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 forces of changes, 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.

Course Requirements and Basis for Grades

Role playing/class debate

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

Grade distribution:

Class participation	5%
*Role-Playing/debate	20%
**Book review (due March 10)	20%
***In-class mid-term exam (February 23)	25%
****Take-home final exam (due April 22)	30%

*For role-plays/debate descriptions, see detailed course outline starting at p. 11

**On a book of your choice pertaining to propaganda/public diplomacy; 900 words minimum. For a list of suggested books, see pp. 7-10

***Consisting of matching questions and brief answers (250 words minimum) to three questions pertaining to our class discussions/assigned readings thus far (Current Affairs Readings not included)

****Consisting of two parts: (a) What you have learned from this course (900 words minimum) (b) Main themes of the Current Affairs Readings (900 words minimum)

Grading Scale

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

93-100	A
90-92	A-
88-89	B+
83-87	B
80-82	B-
78-79	C+
73-77	C
70-72	C-
68-69	D+
63-67	D
60-62	D-
under 60	F

--See also "Graduate Grading System (MALS)," Georgetown University: School of Continuing Studies, *Handbook of Guidelines & Requirements: Master of Arts in Liberal Studies* (revised August 2010), p. 23

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 in the previous class. They should prepare for this by compiling a brief list of what they learned which they can use as reference if called upon to speak. 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 at the end of the class.

Classroom Etiquette

1. The consumption of food in the classroom is not allowed.
2. Students should turn off all cell phones, pagers, or other communication devices while in class.
3. Class discussions should be respectful and considerate of others' views and opinions.

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.”

--“Class Attendance/Absence,” Georgetown University: School of Continuing Studies, *Handbook of Guidelines & Requirements: Master of Arts in Liberal Studies* (revised August 2010), p. 26

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.

Note

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

a) Writing a Book Review

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

1. State who the author is and what is the book’s intended audience (specialists or non-specialists or both).
2. Explain why the book is *important* from a propaganda/public diplomacy perspective. Why bother to read this book?
3. 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).
4. Summarize the main points/argument of the book (most important section of your review).
5. 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?

b) 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 public diplomacy in one way or another.

Arndt, Richard T. *The First Resort of Kings: American Cultural Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century* (2005)

<http://www.amazon.com/First-Resort-Kings-Diplomacy-Twentieth/dp/1574885871>

Bernays, Edward. *Propaganda* (1928). Entire text can be found online at

<http://sandiego.indymedia.org/media/2006/10/119695.pdf>. Print version:

<http://www.amazon.com/Propaganda-Edward-Bernays/dp/0970312598>

Brewer, Susan A. *Why America Fights: Patriotism and War Propaganda from the Philippines to Iraq* (2009). <http://www.amazon.com/Why-America-Fights-Patriotism-Philippines/dp/0195381351>

Ellul, Jacques. *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes* [Paperback] (1973).

<http://www.amazon.com/Propaganda-Formation-Attitudes-Jacques-Ellul/dp/0394718747>

Heil, Alan: *Local Voices/Global Perspectives: Challenges Ahead for U.S. International Media* (2008)

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

Huxley, Aldous. *Brave New World* (reprint edition, 1998)

<http://www.amazon.com/Brave-New-World-Aldous-Huxley/dp/0060929871>

Kopp Harry W. and Gillespie, Charles A. *Career Diplomacy: Life and Work in the U.S. Foreign Service* (2008).

<http://www.amazon.com/Career-Diplomacy-Life-Foreign-Service/dp/1589012194>

Krenn, Michael L. *Fall-Out Shelters for the Human Spirit: American Art and the Cold War* (2005)

<http://www.amazon.com/Fall-Out-Shelters-Human-Spirit-American/dp/0807829455>

Kurlantzick, Joshua. *Charm Offensive: How China's Soft Power Is Transforming the World* (2007)

<http://www.amazon.com/Charm-Offensive-Chinas-Transforming-Republic/dp/0300117035>

Levy, Evonne. *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque* (Ahmanson Murphy Fine Arts Imprint) (2004).

<http://www.amazon.com/Propaganda-Jesuit-Baroque-Ahmanson-Imprint/dp/0520233573>

Melissen, Jan. *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations* (Studies in Diplomacy and International Relations) (2007)

http://www.amazon.com/New-Public-Diplomacy-International-Relations/dp/0230535542/ref=pd_sim_b_5

Morozov, Evgeny. *The Net Delusion* (2010)

<http://www.amazon.com/Net-Delusion-Dark-Internet-Freedom/dp/1586488740>

Nakhleh, Emile. *A Necessary Engagement: Reinventing America's Relations with the Muslim World* (2008)

<http://www.amazon.com/Necessary-Engagement-Reinventing-Relations-Princeton/dp/0691135258>

Nye, Jr., Joseph S. *The Future of Power* (2011)

<http://www.amazon.com/Future-Power-Joseph-Nye-Jr/dp/1586488910>

Nye, Jr., Joseph S. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (2004)

<http://www.amazon.com/Soft-Power-Means-Success-Politics/product-reviews/1586483064>

Osgood, Kenneth. *Total Cold War: Eisenhower's Secret Propaganda Battle at Home and Abroad* (2006)

<http://www.amazon.com/Total-Cold-War-Eisenhowers-Propaganda/dp/0700614451>

Poplak, Richard. *The Sheikh's Batmobile* (2009)

<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>

Richmond, Yale. *Practicing Public Diplomacy: A Cold War Odyssey* (Explorations in Culture and International History) (2008)

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

Ross, Stewart Halsey. *Propaganda for War: How the United States was Conditioned to Fight the Great War of 1914-1918* (second edition, 2009)

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

Shirsky, Clay. *Here Comes Everybody: The Power of Organizing Without Organizations*

(2009) http://www.amazon.com/Here-Comes-Everybody-Organizing-Organizations/dp/0143114948/ref=ntt_at_ep_dpt_1

Tye, Larry. *The Father of Spin: Edward L. Bernays & The Birth of PR* (2002)

<http://www.amazon.com/Father-Spin-Edward-Bernays-Relations/dp/0805067892>

Van Buren, Peter. *We Meant Well: How I Helped Lose the Battle for the Hearts and Minds of the Iraqi People* (2011)

Von Eschen, Penny M. *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* (2004)

<http://www.amazon.com/Satchmo-Blows-Up-World-Ambassadors/dp/0674022602>

Wilford, Hugh. *The Mighty Wurlitzer: How the CIA Played America* (2008)

<http://www.amazon.com/Mighty-Wurlitzer-How-Played-America/dp/0674026810>

Your Instructor Biographical Information

John Brown is currently an Adjunct Professor at Georgetown University, where he has taught courses about public diplomacy. A consultant for the Library of Congress's "Open World" exchange program with the Russian Federation, Brown is a member of the Public Diplomacy Council.

In recent years Brown has given numerous lectures at major universities on public diplomacy.

Brown was a member of the US 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. He was promoted to the Senior Foreign 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*. Articles of his have appeared in *The Washington Post*, *The San Francisco Chronicle*, *The Nation*, *The Moscow Times*, and *American Diplomacy*.

See below, starting at p. 26, for more on Brown's postings and publications as well as outreach activities

Detailed Course Outline

Note: Some of the reading assignments and themes may change between now and the conclusion of our course

(1)

January 12

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. Other requirements and grading. 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. Other topics: The rise of public opinion; domestic and foreign government propaganda; traditional diplomacy and propaganda; propaganda and classical rhetoric.

Readings:

- Peter N. Stearns, "Why Study History?," American Historical Review (2008)
<http://www.historians.org/pubs/free/WhyStudyHistory.htm>
- Frank Luttmer, "Why Study History?" History Department Homepage
Hanover College <http://history.hanover.edu/why.html>
- Stuart Murray, "Consolidating the Gains Made in Diplomacy
Studies: A Taxonomy," International Studies Perspectives (2008) 9, 22–39.
Available at Academic Search Premier at [http://0-
web.ebscohost.com.library.lausys.georgetown.edu/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=89
bb2028-a8e2-4b53-98c9-9c140c98044f%40sessionmgr115&vid=4&hid=107](http://0-web.ebscohost.com.library.lausys.georgetown.edu/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=89bb2028-a8e2-4b53-98c9-9c140c98044f%40sessionmgr115&vid=4&hid=107)
- Jurgen Habermas, Sara Lennox, Frank Lennox, "The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia
article (1964)," New German Critique, No. 3 (Autumn, 1974), 49-55
- Kenneth Osgood, "Propaganda," Encyclopedia of American Foreign Policy (2002)
<http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1G2-3402300123.html> [An overview of the use of
propaganda by the US government overseas that deals with some of the basis themes
of our course]
- Jacques Ellul, *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes* (1973) (table of
contents, xix-xxii) [example of sociological/philosophical approach to propaganda]
- Leonard Doob, *Propaganda: Its Psychology and Technique* (1925), (appendix)
[example of psychological approach to propaganda]
- <http://frank.mtsu.edu/~dryfe/SyllabusMaterials/Classreadings/habermas.pdf>

- Dean Acheson, “The American Image Will Take Care of Itself,” *The New York Times Magazine* (February 28, 1965). [For bio of Acheson see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dean_Acheson]
- Richard Holbrooke, “Get the Message Out,” *The Washington Post*, October 28, 2001 <http://ics.leeds.ac.uk/papers/vp01.cfm?outfit=pmt&folder=7&paper=1005> [for bio of Holbrooke see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Richard_Holbrooke]
- Plato, *Gorgias*, Part I [sections will be read aloud in class] http://www.molloy.edu/sophia/plato/gorgias_txt.htm

(2)

January 19**What is Propaganda?**

Topics: Propaganda in history; towards a working definition of propaganda; distinctions between propaganda, education, and advertising; art and propaganda

Readings:

- Definitions of/observations on “Propaganda” (see syllabus appendix)
- Definitions of “Propaganda” (*Oxford English Dictionary*, 1989)
- “Collegio di Propaganda Fide” – illustrations at <http://www.romeartlover.it/Vasi164a.htm>
- Lindley Fraser, *Propaganda* (1957), 3-14.
- Terence H. Qualter, *Opinion Control in the Democracies* (1985), 107-144
- Philip M. Taylor, Foreword to the *Encyclopedia of Propaganda* (1998), xv-xix
- Harold D. Lasswell, “Propaganda,” *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (1937), vi. 11, 521-528
- Walter Joyce, “Can a Moral People Use Propaganda,” in *The Propaganda Gap* (1963), 66-73
- Daniel Lerner, “Policy and Propaganda Process,” in *Psychological Warfare Against Nazi Germany* (1949), 2-6
- Philip Taylor, *Munitions of the mind: a history of propaganda from the ancient world to the present day*: “Ancient Greece,” 25-34; “The Glory that was Rome,” 35-50; “The Reformation and the War of Religious Ideas,” 97-101; “The Thirty Years War” (1618-48),” 109-116

(for art and propaganda segment)

- Introduction to Propaganda (on art and propaganda) <http://iml.jou.ufl.edu/projects/Fall98/Wolfe/frame.html>
- Alfred Eisenstaedt’s Two Photos of Joseph Goebbels (1933) – Propaganda Con-artist’s Emotional Rhetoric: Watch for Exaggerated Emotions (Before Inflated Vocabulary) to identify a Political Propagandist: Acting-Out Politics <http://www.actingoutpolitics.com/alfred-eisenstaedt%E2%80%99s-two-photos-of-joseph-goebbels-1933-%E2%80%93-propaganda-con-artist%E2%80%99s-emotional-rhetoric/>

- “The Genesis of Napoleonic Propaganda: Introduction,” gutenber-e.org
<http://www.gutenberg-e.org/haw01/haw01.html>
- “The power of art as propaganda: On Evonne Levy’s Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque by Ian Garrick Mason,” John Brown’s Notes and Essays
<http://johnbrownnotesandessays.blogspot.com/2010/06/on-evonne-levys-propaganda-and-jesuit.html>

Viewings:

- Key Painting - First Empire - Napoleon.org
http://www.napoleon.org/en/essential_napoleon/key_painting/premier_empire.asp
- The Propaganda Posters of the 1%, posted by Benjamin Starr
<http://www.visualnews.com/2011/10/24/the-propaganda-posters-of-the-1/>
- Catapult the Propaganda
<http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=6276292210262805511&q=propaganda&total=26069&start=10&num=10&so=0&type=search&plindex=0>

(3)

January 26

US “Propaganda” before Wilson, 1776-1900

Topics: 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:

- Philip Taylor, “The American Revolution,” *Munitions of the mind: a history of propaganda from the ancient world to the present day*, pp. 133-158
- Propaganda - Revolution, war, and propaganda to 1917 *Encyclopedia of the New American Nation*
<http://www.americanforeignrelations.com/O-W/Propaganda-Revolution-war-and-propaganda-to-1917.html> [repeats some of the themes dealt with by Taylor but covers the period after the Revolutionary War]
- The US Declaration of Independence
<http://www.ushistory.org/declaration/document/index.htm>
- Walter Isaacson, “A Declaration of Mutual Dependence,” *The New York Times* (July 4, 2004)
http://www.aspeninstitute.org/site/c.huLWJeMRKpH/b.2257315/k.42A8/A_Declaration_of_Mutual_Dependence.htm
- Ian Tyrrell, “What is American Exceptionalism?,” *iantyrrell.wordpress.com*
<http://iantyrrell.wordpress.com/papers-and-comments>
- Howard Zinn, “Prop The Power and the Glory: Myths of American exceptionalism,” *Boston Review* (2005) <http://bostonreview.net/BR30.3/zinn.php>
- “Rhetoric, and Public Diplomacy: From the thought-provoking book by Evonne Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque* (2004), Chapter 2, ‘Rhetoric Versus

Propaganda," (passim, pp. 42-71) [highlights by JB],” John Brown’s Notes and Essays <http://johnbrownnotesandessays.blogspot.com/2010/09/propaganda-rhetoric-and-public.html>

- “Propaganda in the Spanish-American War” library.thinkquest.org
<http://library.thinkquest.org/C0111500/spanamer/app.htm>

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February 2

Carrying the Gospel of Americanism: Advertising Wilsonian Ideals during the Great War

Topics: The Wilson Administration and its explanations for US war aims to foreign publics. The role of the Committee on Public Information. George Creel: America’s first professional government “publicist/propagandist.”

Class Exercise: Historical role-playing, 40 minutes, four speakers, 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:

- “America and World War One,” historylearningsite.co.uk
http://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/america_and_world_war_one.htm
- Woodrow Wilson, “Second Inaugural Address” (Monday, March 5, 1917)
<http://www.bartleby.com/124/pres45.html>
- Woodrow Wilson, “War Message” (April 2, 1917)
<http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/wilsonwarmessage.htm>
- “Committee on Public Information,” Source Watch
http://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php?title=Committee_on_Public_Information
- Susan A. Brewer, Why America Fights: Patriotism and War Propaganda from the Philippines to Iraq (2007), 46-86 [on the Committee on Public Information; [more complete treatment of the CPI than the Source Watch item above]
- Aaron Delwiche, “Wartime Propaganda: World War I Demons, Atrocities, Lies”
<http://www.propagandacritic.com/articles/ww1.demons.html> (last revised 2011)
- George Creel, *How We Advertised America: The First Telling of the Amazing Story of the Committee on Public Information that Carried the Gospel of Americanism to*

Every Corner of the Globe (1920), ix-xviii, 3-15, 237-249 [on Lauinger reserve].

Entire book available online at

<http://books.google.com/books?id=ltmAAAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>

- Harold D. Lasswell, *Propaganda Technique in the World War* (1938), 195 (starting at second paragraph)-196 (ending with third paragraph), 214-221
- “Harold Lasswell,” Wikipedia [Please read]
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Harold_Lasswell
- Gregg Wolper, “Woodrow Wilson’s New Diplomacy: Vira Whitehouse in Switzerland, 1918,” *Prologue* (Fall 1992), 227-239
- K. A. Wells, “Music as War Propaganda: “Did Music Help Win The First World War?,” ParlorSongs <http://parlorsongs.com/issues/2004-4/thismonth/feature.php>

Viewings

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

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February 9

The US Anti-Propaganda Movement between the Wars; Totalitarian Propaganda

Topics: Negative US 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.

Readings:

- John Brown, “The Anti-Propaganda Tradition in the United States,” Public Diplomacy Alumni Association (2003) from section “Propaganda in World War I” to section “Propaganda in World War II” <http://www.publicdiplomacy.org/19.htm>
- Erika G. King, “Exposing the ‘Age of Lies’: The Propaganda Menace as Portrayed in American Magazines in the Aftermath of World War II (*Journal of American Culture*, Volume 12, no. 1 (Spring 1989), 35-39.
- George Sylvester Viereck, *Spreading Germs of Hate* (1930), 3-39.
- “George Sylvester Viereck: Poet and Propagandist,” Special Collections, The University of Iowa Libraries
- Propaganda Techniques [on the Institute for Propaganda Analysis] <http://mason.gmu.edu/~amcdonal/Propaganda%20Techniques.html>
- J. Michael Sproule, *Propaganda and Democracy. The American Experience of Media and Mass Persuasion* (1997), 16-21, 129-150 [more detailed background on the Institute for Propaganda Analysis]
- Stephen Vaughn, “Prologue to Public Opinion: Walter Lippmann’s Work in Military Intelligence,” *Prologue* (Fall 1983), 151-163.
- Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (1922), 29-32, 248-249.
- “Walter Lippmann,” spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk, <http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/USAlippmann.htm>
- Philip Taylor, “Propaganda in International Politics, 1919-39,” in P. Finney, *The Origins of the Second World War* (1997)
- Hideya Kumata and Wilbur Schramm, “The Propaganda of the German Nazis,” *Four Working Papers on Propaganda Theory* (1955)
- “Propaganda: Explore the Nazis’ sophisticated propaganda campaigns and their legacy,” Holocaust Museum <http://www.ushmm.org/propaganda/>

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 (Full movie - English subbed) <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GcFuHGhfYwE>

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February 16

Victory is Our Aim:

US Information Programs in World War II

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

Readings:

- America at War: World War II , Digital History <http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/database/subtitles.cfm?titleID=75>

- “Chronology,” 1939-1945 (4 pages).
- Thomas Sorensen, *The Word War*, p. 8 (beginning with last paragraph) to p. 21 (to end of second paragraph)
- Franklin Delano Roosevelt, “The Four Freedoms” (January 6, 1941)
<http://www.libertynet.org/edcivic/fdr.html>
- Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Winston Churchill, “The Atlantic Charter” (1941)
<http://usinfo.org/docs/democracy/53.htm>
- Elmer Davis, “OWI Has a Job,” *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Volume 7, Issue 1 (Spring 1943), 5-14.
- Joseph Barnes, “Fighting with Information: OWI Overseas” *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Volume 7, Issue 1 (Spring 1943), 34-45.
- Alan M. Winkler, *The Politics of Propaganda: The Office of War Information, 1942-1945* (1948), 149-157.
- Clayton D. Laurie, *The Propaganda Warriors: America’s Crusade against Nazi Germany* (1996), pp. 233-240.
“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>
- W[illiam] E. D[ougherty], “The Creed of a Modern Propagandist,” in William E. Daugherty, ed, *A Psychological Warfare Casebook* (1955)
- John Brown, “The Paradoxes of Propaganda,” CPD Blog, USC Center on Public Diplomacy (April 17, 2007)
http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/index.php/newswire/cpdblog_detail/070416_the_paradoxes_of_propaganda/

Viewings

- Frank Capra’s Why We Fight
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5FQWJm7-plE>
- 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>

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February 23

Countering the Communist Menace:

US Overseas Outreach Programs during the Early Cold War (1946-1956)

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 of the USIA (1953).

Readings:

- Cold War Timeline - history-timelines.org.uk [read 1945-1953]
<http://www.history-timelines.org.uk/events-timelines/03-cold-war-timeline.htm>
- Fulbright Program History - Fulbright
http://us.fulbrightonline.org/about_programhistory.html
- Stacey Cone, "Pulling the Plug on America's Propaganda Sen. J.W. Fulbright's Leadership of the Antipropaganda Movement, 1943-74," *Journalism History*, Vol. 30 Issue 4 (Winter 2005)166-176,
[http://0-web.ebscohost.com.library.lausys.georgetown.edu/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=3&hid=108&sid=c61e1348-f74a-481f-827c-0da8d986b1a5%40sessionmgr112](http://0-web.ebscohost.com/library.lausys.georgetown.edu/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=3&hid=108&sid=c61e1348-f74a-481f-827c-0da8d986b1a5%40sessionmgr112)
- George V. Allen, "Propaganda: A Conscious Weapon of Democracy," *The Department of State Bulletin*, Volume XXI, no. 546 (December 19, 1949), 941-943
- FSO Karen Walker on the Smith-Mundt Act (Public Diplomacy)
<http://johnbrownnotesandessays.blogspot.com/2010/07/valuable-contribution-to-discussions-on.html>
- Gregory L. Garland, "Smith-Mundt: Censorship American Style?" *American Diplomacy* (March 3, 2009)
http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/item/2009/0103/ed/garland_smithmundt.html
- Harry Truman, "Going Forward with a Campaign of Truth," *Department of State Bulletin*, May 1, 1950, 669-672.
- Kenneth A. Osgood, "Hearts and Minds: The Unconventional Cold War," *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Vol. 4, no. 2 (Spring 2002) 85-107
http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m1132/is_6_51/ai_57815254/?tag=content;coll
- The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters Intelligence in Recent Public Literature By Frances Stonor Saunders. New York: The New Press, 2000. 509 pages. Reviewed by Thomas M. Troy, Jr., cia.gov
<https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/csi-studies/studies/vol46no1/article08.html>

Viewings

- Propaganda - Communism vs Capitalism
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=irXVQnvc9FQ>
- 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>
- Duck and Cover http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C0K_LZDXp0I

90-minute Midterm Exam: Matching questions and answers to four questions. Bring pen or pencil – and a strong wrist! ☺

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March 1

**Telling America's "True Story":
U.S. Public Diplomacy during the Later Cold War**

- Cold War Timeline - history-timelines.org.uk [read 1953-1991]
<http://www.history-timelines.org.uk/events-timelines/03-cold-war-timeline.htm>
- Frank Ninkovich, *U.S. Information and Cultural Diplomacy* (1996), 17-35 ["The Cold-War Struggle for the Minds of Men"]
- Nicholas J. Cull, "Public Diplomacy" before Gullion: The Evolution of a Phrase" Public Diplomacy Blog, USC Center on Public Diplomacy (April 18, 2006)
<http://uscpublicdiplomacy.com/pdfs/gullion.pdf>
- Mary Gawronski, "Definitions of Public Diplomacy"
- United States Information Agency: *A Commemoration* [can be skimmed]
<http://dosfan.lib.uic.edu/usia/abtusia/commins.pdf>
- Madeleine Albright, "The Importance of Public Diplomacy to American Foreign Policy, *U.S. Department of State Dispatch* (October 1999), 8-9.
- Arthur A. Bardos, "'Public Diplomacy': An Old Art, A New Profession," *The Virginia Quarterly Review* (Summer 2001), 424-437.
- John Brown, "The Purposes and Cross-Purposes of American Public Diplomacy" *American Diplomacy* (August 2002)
http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/archives_roll/2002_07-09/brown_pubdipl/brown_pubdipl.html
- John Brown, "Public Diplomacy and Propaganda: Their Differences," *American Diplomacy* (September, 2008)
http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/item/2008/0709/comm/brown_pudiplprop.html
- 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.html

Class Exercise: Historical role-playing, 60 minutes, four 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, 1959. 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 subsidizing 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?

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March 15

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, as “alternative” to USG propaganda. “The end of history” and “the clash of civilization.” The meaning of soft power. USIA/State department consolidation.

Readings

- 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)
http://ics.leeds.ac.uk/papers/pmt/exhibits/2903/Historical_Patterns_of_US_Governme nt_Overseas_Propaganda2.doc
- ----, “Twentieth-Century Over US Government Overseas Propaganda: A Summary,” one page
- http://uscpublicdiplomacy.com/index.php/newsroom/pdblog_detail/060629_two_ways_of_looking_at_propaganda/
- Ralph K. White, “Resistance to International Propaganda,” in William E. Daugherty, ed, *A Psychological Warfare Casebook* (1955), 617-625.
- Ralph K. White, “Propaganda: Morally Questionable and Morally Unquestionable Techniques,” *Propaganda in International Affairs* (The Annals of The Academy of Political and Social Science, volume 398, November 1971), 26-35.
- Frank Ninkovich, *U.S. Information and Cultural Diplomacy* (1996), 46-59 [“The Case for Cultural and Informational Programs”].
- Reorganization Plan and Report -- Submitted by President Clinton to the Congress on December 30, 1998, Pursuant to Section 1601 of the Foreign Affairs Reform and Restructuring Act of 1998, as Contained in Public Law 105-277 III. The Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs Missions
<http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/pdd/pdd-68-dos.htm>
- Frances Fukuyama, “The End of History?” *The National Interest*. (1989) (Summer 1989) <http://www.wesjones.com/fukuyama2.htm>
- Samuel P. Huntington, “The Clash of Civilizations,” *Foreign Affairs* (Summer 1993) http://www.la.wayne.edu/polisci/kdk/nationalism/sources/nationalism_huntington.pdf
- Samuel P. Huntington, “If Not Civilizations, What? Samuel Huntington Responds to His Critics,” *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 1993)
<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/49414/samuel-p-huntington/if-not-civilizations-what-samuel-huntington-responds-to-his-crit?page=show>
- 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>
- George Orwell, *1984* (read as course progressed)

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 <http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=-5954352986943697303&q=orwell+1984&total=548&start=10&num=10&so=0&type=search&plindex=7>

- 1984-Oceania's anthem <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YtepuysGbg>
- Famous 1984 Apple superbowl ad
<http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=5218200930652694671&q=orwell+1984&total=564&start=30&num=10&so=0&type=search&plindex=1>

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March 22

The Shock of 9/11: Public Diplomacy during the Bush II Years; US International Broadcasting

The nature of terrorism. Terrorism and public diplomacy. Proposals and efforts to improve public diplomacy during the Bush years; international broadcasting

Readings

- “War on Terrorism,” *Wikipedia* http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/War_on_Terrorism [note caveat]
- George W. Bush, “Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People” (September 20, 2001) <http://www.fas.org/irp/news/2001/09/gwb092001.html>
- Harry Henderson, *Terrorism* (2004), 3-30
- 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
- *Report of the Defense Science Board Task Force on Strategic Communication* (September 2004), pp. 1-10, pp. 38-41, pp. 70-78.
http://www.acq.osd.mil/dsb/reports/2004-09-Strategic_Communication.pdf
- *Public Diplomacy: A Review of Past Recommendations: CRS Report for Congress* (September 2, 2005) <http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/crs/r133062.pdf>
- The United States advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, *Getting the People Part Right: A Report on the Human Resources Dimension of U.S. Public Diplomacy* (2008) www.state.gov/documents/organization/106297.pdf; review of this report at http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/item/2008/0709/iar/iar_peoplepart.html
- VOA History - Historical Highlights (please read in entirety -- all dates)
<http://www.voanews.com/english/About/historical-highlights.cfm>
- Broadcasting Board of Governors homepage <http://www.bbg.gov/about/index.html>
- Broadcasting Board of Governors, Wikipedia
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Broadcasting_Board_of_Governors
- “Broadcasting Board of Governors Rated Worst Than Ever By Its Employees and As One of The Worst Federal Agencies,” *FreeMediaOnline.org & Free Media Online Blog* (January 15, 2009)
<http://freediaonline.org/freediaonlineblog/2009/01/15/broadcasting-board-of-governors-rated-worst-than-ever-by-its-employees-and-as-one-of-the-worst-federal-agencies/>

Guest speaker on International Broadcasting

Viewings

- The War On Terror
<http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=-3994103124320481316&q=war+on+terror+propaganda&total=1106&start=10&num=10&so=0&type=search&plindex=1>
- Swaying the Public for War
<http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=-7144895841449491906&q=war+on+terror+propaganda&total=1106&start=20&num=10&so=0&type=search&plindex=9>
- Bush, Illuminati and Propaganda
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PsyrVIVQOlo&NR=1>

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March 29

Propaganda or Not?

Strategic Communications, Psyops/MISO, Branding, Cultural/ Arts Diplomacy, Citizen Diplomacy; New Social Media

Readings:

- U.S. Department of Defense, *Principles of Strategic Communications*
http://www.au.af.mil/info-ops/documents/principles_of_sc.pdf
- Bruce Gregory, “Mapping Smart Power in Multi-stakeholder Public Diplomacy / Strategic Communication,” conference paper, New Approaches to U.S. Global Outreach, The Institute for Public Diplomacy and Global Communication , George Washington University, October 5, 2009
http://mountainrunner.us/files/pubd/GW_IPDGC_Smart%20Power_BGregory.pdf
- Bruce Gregory, “Public Diplomacy and National Security: Lessons from the U.S. Experience,” Public Diplomacy Alumni Association (September 2, 2008)
<http://www.publicdiplomacy.org/100.htm>
- Interbrand, “Branding a Country”
http://www.brandchannel.com/images/papers/Country_Branding.pdf
- Public Affairs Office, U.S. Army Civil Affairs & Psychological Operations Command (Airborne), “Fact Sheet: Military Information Support Operations,”
<http://www.usacapoc.army.mil/facts-psyop.html>
- Diplomacy Report of the Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy, U.S. Department of State, *Cultural Diplomacy: The Linchpin of Public Diplomacy* (September 2005) <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/54374.pdf>
- John Brown, “Arts Diplomacy: The Neglected Aspect of Cultural Diplomacy,” in William P. Kiehl, ed., *America’s dialogue with the World* , Public Diplomacy Council (2006) http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/pdfs/061220_brown.pdf
- “America's Ambassadors? The NGO Role in Public Diplomacy Discussed at InterAction's 2010 Forum,” *Interaction* (June 3, 2010)

<http://www.interaction.org/article/interaction-forum-2010-recap-america-ambassadors-ngo-role-public-diplomacy>

- Lisa Retterath, “At Citizen Diplomacy Summit, McHale emphasizes ‘enormous task lying ahead,’” *alliance-exchange.org*, December 22, 2010 <http://www.alliance-exchange.org/policy-monitor/11/22/2010/citizen-diplomacy-summit-mchale-emphasizes-%E2%80%9Cenormous-task-lying-ahead%E2%80%9D/>
- Jesse Lichtenstein, “Digital Diplomacy,” *New York Times*, July 16, 2010 http://www.nytimes.com/2010/07/18/magazine/18web2-0-t.html?_r=1&pagewanted=print
- Hillary Clinton, “Remarks on Internet Freedom,” U.S. Department of State, January 21, 2010 <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2010/01/135519.htm>
- Darren Krape, “Public Diplomacy 2.0: Presentation by Undersecretary for Public Diplomacy James Glassman,” *darrenkrape.com*, December 1, 2008 <http://www.darrenkrape.com/public-diplomacy-20-with-undersecretary-glassman/>
- Clay Shirky, “Technology, the Public Sphere, and Political Change,” *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2011)
- Evgeny Morozov, “Think Again: Twitter: The groundbreaking microblogging service is great for sharing links and communicating with friends. It's not so good at spreading democracy and overthrowing dictatorships,” *Foreign Policy* (August 6, 2009) http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2009/08/06/think_again_twitter?print=yes&hide_comments=yes&page=full
- James Jay Carafano, “All a Twitter: How Social Networking Shaped Iran's Election Protests,” *Right Side News* <http://www.rightsidenews.com/200907215605/editorial/all-a-twitter-how-social-networking-shaped-irans-election-protests.html> (July 21, 2009)
- “U.S. Embassy Baghdad's ‘Last Three (Virtual) Feet,’” *The Skeptical Bureaucrat* (January 2, 2011) <http://skepticalbureaucrat.blogspot.com/2011/01/us-embassy-baghdads-last-three-virtual.html>
- John Brown, “Twittering; or, Where are the Emily Dickinsons at the State Department?,” *Huffington Post* (June 19, 2009) http://www.huffingtonpost.com/john-brown/twittering-or-where-are-t_b_218141.html
- John Brown, “The Newest Killer App for Public Diplomacy,” *Notes and Essays* (July 24, 2010) <http://johnbrownnotesandessays.blogspot.com/2010/07/newest-killer-app-for-public-diplomacy.html>

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April 12

Your Turn:

Students’ oral reports on their review of a US propaganda/public diplomacy-related book of their choice; class evaluation of US Embassy websites
(Possible additional topic, depending on the number of students in the class:
Foreign Public Diplomacy: The Case of China. India, Israel, Turkey)

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April 19

Quo Vadis PD: American Public Diplomacy and the Obama Administration

The end of the “war on terror”? “Engagement” and “smart power.” The new social media. Has government-sponsored public diplomacy promoting its national interests become an anachronism in our globalized world?

- Bruce Gregory, “Public Diplomacy and National Security: Lessons from the U.S. Experience,” Public Diplomacy Alumni Association, created 2 September 2008 <http://www.publicdiplomacy.org/100.htm>
- Barack Obama’s speech at The Wilson Center (2008) <http://www.cfr.org/publication/13974>
- Text: Obama’s Speech in Cairo, *New York Times* <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/06/04/us/politics/04obama.text.html>
- AFP, “Obama replaces 'global war on terror' in strategy shift” http://news.yahoo.com/s/afp/20090806/pl_afp/usattackspoliticsobama_20090806171038
- Nicholas Cull, “Engagement Is The New Public Diplomacy Or The Adventures Of A Euphemism Of A Euphemism,” USC Center on Public Diplomacy http://uscpublicdiplomacy.com/index.php/newswire/cpdblog_detail/engagement_is_the_new_public_diplomacy/
- U.S. State Department, “American ‘Smart Power’: Diplomacy and Development Are the Vanguard” <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/scp/fs/2009/122579.htm>
- John Brown, “Smart Power In, Public Diplomacy Out?,” Place Branding and Public Diplomacy (2009)
- John Brown, “What’s Happened to Anti-Americanism – and the State Department?” Place Branding and Public Diplomacy (2009)
- John Brown, “[America as a Shopping Mall? U.S. Cultural Diplomacy in the Age of Obama](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/john-brown/america-as-a-shopping-mal_b_606233.html),” Huffington Post http://www.huffingtonpost.com/john-brown/america-as-a-shopping-mal_b_606233.html
- U.S. Public Diplomacy: Background and Current Issues (Congressional Research Service, 2009) <http://www.carlisle.army.mil/DIME/documents/Public%20Diplomacy%20Congress%20RptDec09.pdf>
- Public Diplomacy: Strengthening U.S. Engagement with the World: A strategic approach for the 21st century – Office of the Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, U.S. State Department [2010] http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/pdfs/PD_US_World_Engagement.pdf
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Class Debate: The Obama Administration Public Diplomacy: Success or Failure?

APPENDIX A

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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
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John Brown: Outreach

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 - “John Brown speaks in Washington (1/27/07) <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bxtlY4UIKfI>
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- SEE ALSO http://uscpublicdiplomacy.com/index.php/newsroom/newswire_detail/10_3_2006_anti_a_american_forum/
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<http://www.abc.net.au/rn/backgroundbriefing/stories/2006/1716276.htm#>
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E) Media coverage

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<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>
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G) Books

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- Grant, Steven A. and Brown, John H. The Russian Empire and Soviet Union: A Guide to Manuscripts and Archival Materials in the United States (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1981; 632 pp.) Available online at <http://quest.granger.uiuc.edu/RussianManuscripts/>
- 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

- “The Public Diplomacy Press Review,” posted on a near-daily basis at <http://publicdiplomacypressandblogreview.blogspot.com/>
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; 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" (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 2006), p. 38

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

--Stanford psychologist Lee D. Ross; cited in Shankar Vedantam, "Two Views of the Same News Find Opposite Biases" (Washington Post, July 24)
http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/07/23/AR2006072300512_pf.html

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

--An unnamed information warrior; cited in Daniel Schulman, "Mind Games" (Columbia Journalism Review)
<http://www.cjr.org/issues/2006/3/schulman.asp>
 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."

--Philip Kennicott, "For Saddam's Page In History, A Final Link On Youtube" (*Washington Post*, December 30, 2006):
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!"

--Cited in Fitzhugh Green, *American Propaganda Abroad* (1988), p. 54

“[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

--Halsey Ross, *Propaganda for War*, p. 1. quoting John C. Miller, Sam Adams, *Pioneer in Propaganda* (1936), p. 113.

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

--Philosopher Bertrand Russell, “Government by Propaganda,” in the volume *These Eventful Years: The Twentieth Century in the Making as Told by Many of Its Makers; Being the Dramatic Story of All That Has Happened Throughout the World during the Most Momentous Period of All History; with 160 Full-Page Illustrations and Numerous Maps* (London: The Encyclopedia Britannica Company, Ltd.; New York, Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc., 1924), p. 383.

“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 Viereck, *Spreading Germs of Hate* (New York: Horace Liveright, 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.”

--Adolph Hitler; cited in Philip M. Taylor, *Munitions of the Mind: War Propaganda from the Ancient World to the Nuclear Age* (Wellingborough, Northamptonshire, England: P. Stephens, 1990), p. 172.

“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.”

--Nazi Minister of Propaganda Joseph Goebbels; cited in Richard Taylor, “Goebbels and the Function of Propaganda,” in David Welch, *Nazi Propaganda: The Power and the Limitations* (London & Canberra: Croom Helm; Totowa, New Jersey: Barnes & Nobles Books, 1983), p. 38.

“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 cited in Philip M. Taylor, *Munitions of the Mind: War Propaganda from the Ancient World to the Nuclear Age* (Wellingborough, Northamptonshire, England: P. Stephens, 1990), p. 179.

“News is the shocktroops of propaganda”

--Sir John Reith, cited in Philip M. Taylor, “The New Propaganda Boom,” *The International History Review* (Volume II, Number 3, July 1980), p. 498.

“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.’”

--Ramsay MacDonald, in a statement (1918) to the organ of the Scottish Independent Labour Party concerning British propaganda; cited in Ralph Haswell Lutz, “Studies of World War Propaganda, 1914-1933,” *The Journal of Modern History*, Volume 5, Issue 4 (December, 1933), p. 511

“It is difficult to suggest by what means diplomacy can mitigate the dangers of this terrible invention.”

--Sir Harold Nicolson, regarding propaganda; cited in his *Diplomacy* (Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, 1988), p. 93.

“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* (Wellingborough, Northamptonshire, England: P. Stephens, 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.”

--Lord Byron, cited in John Hargrave, *Words Win Wars* (1940), p. 37.

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

--Erich Ludendorff, Germany's chief strategist during World War I, cited in David Welch, *Germany, Propaganda and Total War, 1914-1918* (2000), p. 250

“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.”

--L. W. Dodd, "The Great Enlightenment," in *The Great Enlightenment: A Satire in Verse: With Other Selected Verses* (1928), p. 44., cited in Alfred McClung Lee *How to Understand Propaganda* (1952), p. 19.

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

-- K. R. M. Short, ed., *Film and Radio Propaganda in World War II*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, (1983), p. 25

“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 – that 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.

--Elmer Davis, "War Information," in Daniel Lerner, ed., *Propaganda in War and Crisis: Materials for American Policy* (New York, George W. Stewart, 1951), p. 276.

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

--Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (1950), p. 26.

“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."

--Bruce Bliven, quoted by Edward Bernays (page not shown) in Doob, *Propaganda: Its Psychology and Technique* (1935), p. 197

"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 "aparatus"]. It's like the imperial British in the Nineteenth Century. You just do it."

--Stuart Hampshire, quoted in Frances Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper? The CIA and the Cultural Cold War* (1999), 378-79

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

--Alfred McClung Lee and Elizabeth Briant Lee, eds., *The Fine Art of Propaganda* (1939), p. 18

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

--Richard Crossman, quoted in Frances Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper? The CIA and the Cultural Cold War* (1999) introduction, no page [p. 1]

"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."

-- Anne McEvoy, *The Independent*, October 10, 2001, p. 3

“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.”

--Ronald Reagan, speaking at the Voice of America’s fortieth anniversary ceremonies, Washington D.C., February 24, 1982; cited in Alvin A. Snyder, *Warriors of Disinformation: American Propaganda, Soviet Lies, and the Winning of the Cold War* (1995), n.p.

”Terrorism is fundamentally propaganda, a bloody form of propaganda,”

Brian Jenkins, a terrorism expert at the Rand Corp; cited in *The Washington Post*, October 11, 2001, p. A8

“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.”

--Frank Rich. *The New York Times*, October 27, 2001

“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.”

--Sebastian Malaby, "Practical Idealism," *Washington Post*, October 22, 2001

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."

--*Harold Nicolson, Diplomacy (1988 edition), pp. 92-93*

"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."

--Elmer Davis; cited in Andrew Glas, "Roosevelt creates Office of War Information, June 13, 1942" (Politico, June 13, 2011)

<http://www.politico.com/news/stories/0611/56772.html#ixzz1PHLJh1kX>