Labinot HAJDARI, PhD
Collegium Civitas, Warsaw, Poland
E-mail: labinot.s.hajdari@gmail.com
ORCID ID: 0000-0002-3568-0320

FROM PROPAGANDA TO PUBLIC DIPLOMACY: DID EXCHANGE PROGRAMS BRING DOWN THE COLD WAR?

Abstract: *During the Cold War public diplomacy was far more advanced, dynamic, and all-inclusive than we give credit. The Cold War shaped domestic and foreign policies for many decades, worldwide. With the United States and the Soviet Union as the main protagonists of the bipolar world, using international broadcasting shaped the attitudes of the countries in a favorable stance for the two superpowers, to comply with the competing ideologies. This article investigates the role of public diplomacy through media, education, and cultural programs, and the role they played in bringing down the Cold War. Educational and Cultural programs played an especially influential role in the superpower's strategies and competing agendas on who wins more hearts and minds. Through the use of historical research methods, combined with discourse and content analysis of books, archived official documents, podcasts, newspapers, and publications, draw a pattern of empowerment and transformation of such tools as propaganda into public diplomacy, which in the beginning deepened the distance between East and West, while later was used to win hearts and minds. As this article analyzes, public diplomacy played an important role during the Cold War, emerging in the initial years of the war itself.*

Through a sophisticated strategy of using common bridges among people as a connection such as science, music, sports, and education exchange programs, considered at that time to be entirely divided from the political sphere, the United States as the leading Western democracy managed to get into the hearts and minds of the Soviet people. Among the most popular models of using public diplomacy was that of a hostile nature of relationships, intending to achieve results in foreign publics. The hypothesis was that if the images persuaded the targeted foreign public of the other side, they would pressure their governments to change their hostile positions and politicize toward the other side. Public diplomacy was that counterbalance to nuclear

power competition, which was dominated by campaigns that aimed to gain influence and win the support of the international global society, and it inspired different countries, to use different tools to achieve their international goals.

Programs such as the Fulbright, International Visitors Program, and "People to People" program, founded with the purpose to promote the United States' goodwill through educational exchange programs in the field of culture and science, philanthropy, and humanitarian activities, changed the perspective of communication and understanding between the United States and other nations, but also as an important step toward world peace.

In the meantime, this strategy eroded the foundations of Soviet ideology and was considered by Soviet diplomats as a Trojan horse that caused the fall of its entire system.

This article also investigates how propaganda transformed into public diplomacy and became institutionalized and recognized as a powerful tool through which states can maintain relations with one another in the spirit of cooperation. The analysis concludes that public diplomacy was one of the main factors that melted the iron division between the U.S and the USSR, yet brought down the Soviet Union itself.

Key words: *Cold War, Propaganda, Public Diplomacy, Education Programs, Cultural programs.*

OD PROPAGANDE DO JAVNE DIPLOMATIJE: JESU LI PROGRAMI RAZMJENE SRUŠILI HLADNI RAT?

Apstrakt: *Tokom Hladnog rata javna diplomatija je bila daleko naprednija, dinamičnija i sveobuhvatnija nego što mi to smatramo. Hladni rat je decenijama oblikovao unutrašnju i spoljnu politiku širom sveta. Sa Sjedinjenim Državama i Sovjetskim Savezom kao glavnim protagonistima bipolarnog svijeta, korištenje međunarodnog emitiranja oblikovalo je stavove zemalja u povoljnom stavu za dvije supersile, da se povinuju suprotstavljenim ideologijama. Ovaj članak istražuje ulogu javne diplomatije kroz medije, obrazovanje i kulturne programe, kao i ulogu koju su imali u srušenju Hladnog rata. Obrazovni i kulturni programi igrali su posebno utjecajnu ulogu u strategijama supersile i takmičenjima o tome tko će osvojiti više srca i umova. Korištenjem metoda povijesnog istraživanja, u kombinaciji s diskursom i analizom sadržaja knjiga, arhiviranih službenih dokumenata, podcasta, novina i publikacija, nacrtati obrazac osnaživanja i transformacije alata poput propagande u javnu diplomaciju, što je u početku produbilo udaljenost između Istoka i Zapada, dok je kasnije korištena za osvajanje srca i umova. Kako se analizira u ovom članku, javna diplomatija je igrala važnu ulogu tokom Hladnog rata, koji se pojavio u prvim godinama samog rata.*

Kroz sofisticiranu strategiju korištenja zajedničkih mostova među ljudima kao veze kao što su programi razmjene nauke, muzike, sporta i obrazovanja, za koje se u to vrijeme smatralo da su potpuno odvojene od političke sfere, Sjedinjene Države kao vodeća zapadna demokratija uspjele su u srca i umove sovjetskih ljudi. Među najpopularnijim modelima upotrebe javne diplomatije bio je onaj neprijateljske prirode odnosa, s namjerom da se postignu rezultati u stranoj javnosti. Hipoteza je bila da bi, ako bi slike uvjerile ciljanu stranu javnost druge strane, izvršile pritisak na svoje vlade da promijene svoje neprijateljske stavove i politiziraju se prema drugoj strani. Javna diplomatija je bila ta protivteža nuklearnoj konkurenciji, kojom su dominirale kampanje koje su imale za cilj da steknu uticaj i pridobiju podršku međunarodnog globalnog društva, a inspirisala je različite zemlje da koriste različite alate za postizanje svojih međunarodnih ciljeva.

Programi kao što su Fulbright, program međunarodnih posjetitelja i program "People to People", osnovani s ciljem promocije dobre volje Sjedinjenih Država kroz programe obrazovne razmjene u oblasti kulture i nauke, filantropije i humanitarnih aktivnosti, promijenili su perspektivu komunikacije i razumijevanja između Sjedinjenih Država i drugih nacija, ali i kao važan korak ka svjetskom miru.

U međuvremenu, ova strategija je nagrizla temelje sovjetske ideologije i sovjetske diplomate su je smatrale trojanskim konjem koji je izazvao pad čitavog sistema.

Ovaj članak također istražuje kako se propaganda transformisala u javnu diplomatiju i postala institucionalizovana i prepoznata kao moćno oruđe putem kojeg države mogu održavati međusobne odnose u duhu saradnje. Analiza zaključuje da je javna diplomatija bila jedan od glavnih faktora koji je otopio željeznu podjelu između SAD-a i SSSR-a, ali je srušio sam Sovjetski Savez.

Ključne riječi: *Hladni rat, propaganda, javna diplomatija, obrazovni programi, kulturni programi.*

Introduction

Public diplomacy is doubtlessly one of the most heated and discussed topics in the world of diplomacy. It became a very important field during the Cold War, as it was substantially used and taken advantage of in the manufacturing of ideologies, campaigns, and all other efforts to gain more support from the international audience around the world. [1] It was understandable at some point that information and persuasion would play a

---

[1] Eytan Gilboa, Searching for a theory of public diplomacy, *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Volume 616, No. 1, 2008, 55.

crucial role, in an era that was beginning, where there were enormous weapons of mass destruction, and that the campaigns would be equally powerful weapons that would be used by superpowers to induce the strategic ideological struggle. The Cold War dominated and shaped the domestic and foreign policies of nations worldwide. In this bipolarity, there were only a few countries that managed to escape from direct domination and influence, therefore it is essential to analyze this part of history in the framework of public diplomacy, to have a complete picture of the international politics of the last part of the twentieth century.[2]

Although there is no common ground that historians would agree on when the Cold War started, it is acknowledged that the relations between Moscow and Washington had already started to worsen by 1945. Among the most popular models of using public diplomacy was that of a hostile nature of relationships, intending to achieve results in foreign publics. The hypothesis was that if the images persuaded the targeted foreign public of the other side, they would pressure their governments to change their hostile positions and politicize toward the other side. Meanwhile, while the foreign public was exposed to domestic propaganda, the idea was that the other side needed to keep the counterbalance through information provided by the other side of the curtain. Eytan Gilboa writes that Public diplomacy was that counterbalance to nuclear power competition, which was dominated by campaigns that aimed to gain influence and win the support of the international global society, and it inspired different countries, to use different tools to achieve their international goals.[3]

Therefore this article through analysis of primary and secondary sources on soft power and public diplomacy during the Cold War, through critical analysis of the content and discourse, presents the hypothesis that public diplomacy as a tool of soft power is one of the main factors that brought down the Cold War. While classic diplomatic communication was ironclad, cultural and educational programs, as well as media and information served as a back door that brought down the Soviet Union.

The Revolutionary Evolution of Public Diplomacy

The concept "public diplomacy" in contemporary meaning was first used as a replacement for the word propaganda, when it was already discovered that propaganda could be positively used, however, not with the same name that

---

[2] Melvyn P. Leffler, David S. Painter, *Origins of the Cold War: An International History*, New York 2005.
[3] E. Gilboa, *Searching for a theory of public diplomacy,* 55.

already had a negative connotation.[4] However, the term in the genesis of its establishment has had different use throughout political eras. The establishment of the term leads us to the roots of the Cold War era, which epoch had a significant impact and influence in the shape that the entire evolution process of public diplomacy would take.[5] Therefore, just as public diplomacy impacted the Cold War pathway, its evolution was highly impacted by the Cold War scenario and development.

Communications were one of the most attentive fields during the Cold War, particularly by European powers, the United States, and the Former Soviet Union.[6] Over time, the concept and definition have evolved by various scholars and practitioners. According to Nicolas J. Cull, public diplomacy during history took the form of contact between governments and the public of other countries, as an attempt to conduct foreign policy through engagement with people from other states.[7] In 1946 during the UN General Assembly session in October, French Premier talked about the "age of public diplomacy." In the meantime, *London Times* mentioned public diplomacy as a phrase that was easy to catch but masked behind the principles of foreign policy.[8]

The term "public diplomacy" had already taken the meaning of propaganda, shifting in international information scale. By the 1950s it was not that the term had changed, but it was rather being used differently and practiced differently under certain circumstances and key diplomatic events that understood and appreciated the importance of public performance. In 1958 the UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld in said that the value of public diplomacy lies in the ability of politicians to use it to bring hope to mankind in contrast to political narratives.[9] Meanwhile, other observers including Louis Halle, Lord Strang, and James Reston, distinguished American and British personalities, used public diplomacy as a term to remove the element of a showdown from the diplomacy of Kennedy or Khrushchev.[10] The director of USIA - Edward Murrow considered public diplomacy as an art, which helped to get a message into the minds of foreign listeners, through a loudspeaker, or

---

[4] Nicholas J. Cull, *Public Diplomacy' Before Gullion: The Evolution of a Phrase*, https://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/blog/public-diplomacy-gullion-evolution-phrase (Accessed: 10/14/2022).

[5] György Szondi, *Public Diplomacy and Nation Branding: Conceptual Similarities and Difference*, Discussion Papers in Diplomacy, Den Haag 2008, 2.

[6] Jan Melissen, The New Public Diplomacy: Between Theory and Practice, *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*, New York 2005, 4.

[7] Nicholas J. Cull, Public Diplomacy: Lessons From The Past, *CPD Perspectives on Public Diplomacy*, Los Angeles 2009, 12.

[8] Nicholas J. Cull, Public Diplomacy before Gullion: The Evolution of a Phrase, *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, New York 2009, 21-22.

[9] Dag Hammarskjöld, *Public Papers of The Secretaries General of The United Nations,* New York 1978, 89.

[10] N. J. Cull, *Public Diplomacy before Gullion: The Evolution of a Phrase*, 21.

touch the consciousness of people through books.[11] Thus cultural programs during the Cold War were in particular designed to reach the targets.

Historically music has been used by both individuals and governments to ease tense relations over specific periods or concerning specific states. The U.S. State Department-sponsored Jazz Ambassadors program exactly for this reason. Organized tours overseas for jazz musicians Louis Armstrong, Dizzy Gillespie, Benny Goodman, and Duke Ellington, aimed to improve the image of the U.S. due to the racial inequality and tensions between 1956 and 1978 by bringing American culture to the Soviet public in the middle of the Cold War.[12] However, the Soviet Union had already declared through its propaganda that its regime was scientifically oriented. Therefore, the launch of Sputnik as the first space satellite in 1957 by Russia, convinced many people that the USSR was scientifically oriented, science held a respectful position in Soviet culture, and that the Soviet Union was far more advanced in this regard than the United States! According to Nye, these investments just enforced the Soviet Union's soft power and supported the statements that Communism was a scientifically oriented social regime.[13]

After the Berlin Wall fell, which marked one of the major milestones of the latest history of politics and diplomacy, the traditional meaning of the term public diplomacy was changing again and being replaced with economic assistance, education, knowledge, skills transfer, and transition. In search of a new version of the concept, Gullion in 1965 brought up public diplomacy as a fresh start, away from the malignant meaning of propaganda and negative connotation. Thus, the concept of public diplomacy fits exactly in every activity and profile of USIA, and the portrait of people working for propaganda now changed into diplomats, while the State Department, accepted them as legitimate individuals working in foreign relations.[14] Academically it did not appear in the literature until 1972 when Glen H. Fisher elaborated on the term in his book "Public diplomacy and the behavioral sciences".[15]Since the job of propaganda had strictly overwritten the work of public diplomacy, it took time to restructure the entire term into a positive replacement of propaganda.

Edward Djerejian, a former U.S. diplomat in his report to the Committee on Appropriations of the U.S. House "Public diplomacy helped win the Cold War, and it has the potential to help win the war on terror".[16] The attraction and soft power that grew out of cultural contacts among elites made

---

[11] Hans N. Tuch, *Communicating with the World: U. S. Public Diplomacy Overseas,* New York 1990, 26.
[12] Penny M. von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War,* Cambridge 2006, 10-25.
[13] Joseph S Nye, *Soft Power and the Means to Success in World Politics*, New York 2004, 74.
[14] N.J. Cull, *Public Diplomacy before Gullion: The Evolution of a Phrase*, 21.
[15] Glen Fisher, *Public Diplomacy and the Behavioral Sciences,* Bloomington 1972.
[16] Edward Djerejian, *Changing Minds Winning Peace: A New Strategic Direction for U.S. Public Diplomacy in the Arab and Muslim World*, Washington 2003, 13.

important contributions to American policy objectives. [17] Meanwhile, Oleg Kalugin, former head of KGB operations in the United States, in an interview in 1997 said that "Exchanges were a Trojan Horse for the Soviet Union. They played a tremendous role in the erosion of the Soviet system...They kept infecting more and more people over the years".[18]

The power of information: Media as a tool of public diplomacy during the cold war

It was Germany the place where the Cold War began and also the place where the United States put public diplomacy into practice, even before the term was mentioned at all.[19] Helmer Helmers argues that historically public diplomacy began in the Cold War when the USA instigated a propaganda war against the Soviet Union and soft power had never before been exposed on a larger scale and more sophisticated than during the Cold Wartime.[20] Using international programs has been a specialty of the American foreign-national security policy dating back to World War II.[21] Soon after the Cold War started, the Voice of America, as the first U.S. government-owned radio, started to disseminate as far as the Soviet Union. *Hello! This is New York calling. You are listening to the first radio broadcast of Voice of the United States of America.*[22] This is the first mutual greeting that was radio broadcast for the first time on February 17, 1947, in the Soviet Union.[23]

The engagement of the VOA to broadcast radio programs in many languages since 1942 [24] and other wartime propaganda and psychological operations soon found an institutional home in the USIA.[25] Furthermore, the CIA in the 1950s created Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, intending to act as proxy radio transmitters for the Soviet Union[26] was the biggest anti-Soviet

---

[17] J. Nye, *Soft Power and the Means to Success in World Politics*, 46.
[18] Richmond Yale, Cultural Exchange and the Cold War: How the West Won, *The Polish Review*, Volume 50, No. 3, New York 2005, 358.
[19] Yale Richmond, *Practicing Public Diplomacy: A Cold War Odyssey*, 2008, 5.
[20] Helmer Helmers, Public Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe, *Media History*, Volume 22, No.3-4, 2016, 401.
[21] Clayton D. Laurie, *The Propaganda Warriors: America's Crusade Against Nazi Germany*, Kansas 1996, 237.
[22] Marissa Melton, *VOA Russian Service Celebrates 70 Years*, https://www.voanews.com/a/friday-marks-70th-anniversary-of-voa-broadcasts-torussia/3728545.html (Accessed: 09/ 23/2022).
[23] *Ibidem.*
[24] Allen C. Hansen, *USIA Public Diplomacy in the Computer Age*, New York 1984, 4.
[25] Kenneth L. Adelman, Speaking of America: Public Diplomacy in Our Time, *Journal Foreign Affairs*, Volume 59, No.4, 1981, 921.
[26] Carnes Lord, *Losing, Hearts and Minds?: Public Diplomacy and Strategic Influence in the Age of Terror,* Westport 2006, 66.

source that disseminated democratic values into the Soviet area of interest.[27] The U.S. and the Soviet Union both used international broadcasting to shape public attitudes into a more favorable stance, where they could convince their competitive ideologies.[28] The U.S. media and institutions reached the Soviet population every week and even more than 70% of the eastern bloc throughout the Cold War[29] and it was the promotion of these values that helped the collapse of the Soviet Union in the first years of the 1990s.[30] In contrast, it was the Soviet Union that spent billions in active public diplomacy including the promotion of culture, dissemination, and broadcasting of propaganda about its Western counterparts, as well as sponsoring antinuclear protests, youth movements, and organizations.[31]

Scholars are careful in expressing themselves about the reasons behind the fall of the Soviet Union, however, based on the arguments presented in this article, the American and European broadcasts as well as cultural and educational programs and other public diplomacy strategies, slowly opened a grave for the Soviet Empire. Broadcasting was of particular importance during the Cold War. The creation of the USIA in 1953 was done exactly to tell the American story to the world, and through international broadcasting and information, culture, and education exchange programs, as an essential factor for American foreign policy. Therefore, public diplomacy had identified itself with fighting the Cold War so that the American population understood that the information revolution, as well as soft power, was becoming even more important.[32] Therefore, broadcasting the United States during the Cold War persuaded the European audiences regarding the democratic values and the superiority of their war compared to the Soviet Union. The daily broadcast of the Voice of America in the nations of the Warsaw Pact intended to destroy all the myths and propaganda that the domestic ideology had spread about the West. The distribution of books and history readings about American history helped to expose American principles that would raise support for U.S. policies.[33]

In parallel, broadcasting has also been used from the other side. The Eastern Block had historically developed means of broadcast and radio starting with the establishment of Radio Moscow in 1929, under Lenin's orders. Radio Moscow was internationally launched first in October 1929 initially in German

---

[27] Carnes Lord, The past and future of public diplomacy, *ORBIS*, Volume 42, No. 1, 1998, 51.

[28] E.Gilboa, *Searching for a theory of public diplomacy,* 59.

[29] Joseph S. Nye, Public Diplomacy and Soft Power, *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Volume 616, No. 1, 2008, 98.

[30] Helle Dale, Carnes Lord, Public Diplomacy and the Cold War: Lessons Learned, *The Heritage Foundation*, 2007.

[31] J. Nye, *Soft Power and the Means to Success in World Politics*, 73.

[32] J. S. Nye, *Public Diplomacy and Soft Power*, 99.

[33] Richard J. Samuels, *Encyclopedia of United States National Security*, 2006, 609.

then later in English and French.[34] In the era of the Cold War Radio Moscow played its role by continuing to broadcast with increased intensity in more than 70 languages[35], in the Soviet Union, and as far as Cuba.[36] At the beginning of 1948, the Soviet Union started jamming the broadcasting waves to prevent the Soviet population as well as the one in the Eastern Block, to get seduced by the American propaganda through Voice of America and BBC.[37] The purpose of this was to prevent Soviet citizens from being able to tune in the Western broadcasters, fearing Western "cultural infiltration." The Soviet propaganda spread misinformation among the Soviet population that the United States was using chemical weapons and that the CIA invented HIV.[38] The influence and disruption that American public diplomacy had caused in the Eastern Block had a profound influence, especially the propaganda spread through music, dance, pictures, and programs, although the censoring was tight by the Soviet Union. The United States propaganda managed to infuse patriotism and envies freedom, wealth, and prosperity. The messages broadcasted sparked an illegal audience of oppressed people who wanted to experience the liberties portrayed by the American media. The American culture was disseminated into that form that provoked social movements which became a great challenge to the system and communist ideology.[39] According to Nye, the Soviet Union thus did not stand as a challenging competitor for the United States in the Cold War, because it lacked popular culture and a heavy and inflexible foreign policy.[40]

Education and Cultural Programs in the Cold War

The cultural and educational awareness and understanding of it as a vulnerability initially started in the European states. It was in the 1880s when European countries started to commit to international cultural projects. In 1881 private citizens of Germany created the German School Society for Germans living abroad.[41] Similarly, French scientists, diplomats, artists, and novelists 1883 established the French Alliance, intending to promote the French

---

[34] James Wood, History of International Broadcasting, *The Institution of Electrical Engineers*, Volume 1, London 2000, 110.

[35] Mark D Winek, Radio as a Tool of the State: Radio Moscow and the Early Cold War, *Comparative Humanities Review*, Volume 3, No. 9, 2009, 5.

[36] "From Russia with dogma", *Daily Mail*, Russia, 6 June, 2018.

[37] George W. Woodard, Cold War Radio Jamming, *Cold War Broadcasting: Impact on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe*, Budapest 2010, 53.

[38] Anthony Pratkanis, Public Diplomacy in International Conflicts: A social Influence Analysis, *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, New York 2009, 111.

[39] Rochelle Nowaki, American Idol: American Pop Culture and Soft Power in Cold War Europe, *Journal of Academic Writing*, Volume 13, Hawai 2014, 51.

[40] J. Nye, *Soft Power and the Means to Success in World Politics*, 75.

[41] *Allgemeine Deutsche Schulverein-Berlin*, www.vda-kultur.de, (Accessed: 10/10/ 2022).

language globally [42] and the same with Dante Alighieri School for the promotion of Italian culture and language. [43] However, the promotion of language, culture, and education became negatively competitive during the Cold War period, where promotion was used as a tool of gaining support or changing the bad image that the enemies were trying to impose.

Education and Cultural programs were a very important component of the United States propaganda and public diplomacy strategy during the Cold War. [44] For more than four decades, the U.S. Government cooperated with private institutions and professionals to expand the cultural and exchange educational programs. Especially the educational exchange became a competitive key point with Soviet propaganda and a tool for creating favorable images of the United States, portraying wealth, free trade and consumption, culture and technological advancements, individual freedoms, and political democracy. [45] In 1945 Senator William Fulbright, presented a bill in the U.S. Congress that called for the use of the war profits and the surplus to promote the United States' goodwill through educational exchange programs in the field of culture and science, and in 1946 the so-called Fulbright Act was signed by President Harry Truman. [46] In 1948 the Educational Exchange Act called Smith Mundt Act became law and the U.S. Government specified that it aimed to promote better communication and understanding between the United States and other nations. [47] Countries like China, Burma, the Philippines, and Greece signed Fulbright agreements with the United States in 1947 and 1948. [48]

In 1953 USIA was established with the mission to lead the Government's Public diplomacy "to understand, inform and influence foreign publics in promotion of the national interest, and to broaden the dialogue between U.S. citizens and institutions, and their counterparts abroad". [49] Later on, the Former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, described USIA as "the most effective anti-propaganda institution on the face of the earth". [50] In 1956

---

[42] *Alliance Française Paris Ile-de-France*, https://www.alliancefr.org/index.php (Accessed: 11/10/2022).

[43] *Dante Alighieri Society – Rome*, https://ladantesa.com/about (Accessed: 11/10/ 2022).

[44] K. L. Adelman, *Speaking of America: Public Diplomacy in Our Time*, 921.

[45] Liping Bu, Educational Exchange and Cultural Diplomacy in the Cold War, *Journal of American Studies*, Volume 33, No. 03, 1999, 394.

[46] Fulbright U.S. Student Program, *Fulbright: History*, https://us.fulbrightonline.org/about/history (Accessed: 11/10/2022),

[47] *United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 (SmithMundt Act),* United Department of State, 1948, https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/177574.pdf (Accessed: 10/08.2022),

[48] *U.S. Department of State*, Fulbright: The Early Years, https://eca.state.gov/fulbright/about-fulbright/history/early-years (Accessed 22/09/2022).

[49] James P. Farwell, *Persuasion and Power: The Art of Strategic Communication*, Washington, 2012, 48.

[50] *United Department of State*, Remarks at Ceremony Commemorating the Consolidation of the Department of State and the U.S. Information Agency, Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright,

From Propaganda to Public Diplomacy: Did Exchange Programs bring down The Cold War?

HISTORIJSKI POGLEDI 9 - HISTORICAL VIEWS 9

President Eisenhower created the "People to People" program, with which he intended to widen the international understanding of friendship and cooperation through education, philanthropy, and humanitarian activities that involved the exchange of ideas and cultures, which contributed to the diversity.[51] The other US-funded Cold War program, which had a major role in the promotion of world peace and enhancing mutual understanding among the citizens of the U.S. and such as the "Peace Corps" found in 1961 created as a cultural exchange program, ever since over 220,000 Americans have responded to this enduring challenge.[52] Despite the efforts of the Soviet Union to stop this exchange even through governmental agreements, between 1958-1988, about 50,000 writers, officials, artists, musicians, journalists, academics, professors, and dancers visited the United States, while a larger number of Americans went to the Soviet Union.[53]

Until 1956, the Voice of America was the only way that Soviet nations would receive information from the United States until the agreement was achieved between the United States and the Soviet Union to exchange press and magazines. Thus, the magazines America and USSR in the English language, which later changed into Soviet Life started to be exchanged between the two nations.[54] America was a monthly U.S. magazine, in the Russian language which was produced by USIA during the Cold War.[55] The magazine contained polished propaganda, fulfilled with photographs and articles about the daily routines and lives of American citizens, as well as photos of U.S. institutions and famous people and celebrities.[56] *The Dialogue* was another major production of USIA, which was the most prestigious magazine for international distribution and it had an academic profile, a scientific magazine, issued in English, Spanish, Polish, Russian, Greek, French, and Romanian.[57] The magazine intended to elaborate on social issues as well as trigger debates among scholars about high-profile problems. The Dialogue USA, which was a Russian edition, was issued in 1969 and was distributed four times per year in

October 1, l999, https://1997-2001.state.gov/www/statements/1999/991001.html. (Accessed 24/09/2022).

[51] *Presidential Libraries System*,"People-to-People Program," The Eisenhower Presidential Library, Museum, and Boyhood Home, Presidential Libraries System https://www.eisenhower.archives.gov/research/online_documents/people_to_people.html. (Accessed: 26/09/2022).

[52] Peace Corps Mission,*History*, https://www.peacecorps.gov/about/history (Accessed: 28/09/2022).

[53] Nye, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, 46.

[54] H.Tuch, *Communicating with the World: U. S. Public Diplomacy Overseas,* 51.

[55] Creighton Peet, Russian 'Amerika,' a Magazine about U. S. for Soviet Citizens, *College Art Journal*, Volume 11, No.1, 1951, 17-20.

[56] Walter L. Hixson, *Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture, and the Cold War, 1945-1961*. New York 1997, 118.

[57] A. C. Hansen, *USIA Public Diplomacy in the Computer Age*, 84.

more than five thousand copies by the American Embassy in Moscow and Leningrad General Consulate, starting from 1988.[58]

Another major program launched in 1982 by the United States International Communications Agency was a global telecast called "Let Poland be Poland". The half-million US Dollar telecast broadcasted by satellite in more than 30 countries around the world, intended to influence Russian-Polish relations, soften the harsh attitude of the government against Poles, as well as enhance the support of Western Europe towards the United States' efforts to solve problems between Poland and Russia.[59]

It was Mikhail Gorbachev that became the General Secretary of the Communist Party in Russia. Gorbachev was a media-friendly personality leader, who had a relaxed approach in press conferences and started a new friendship with journalists that was unseen by other Soviet leaders before. In 1986 the western media used the word "glasnost" to express the personality of Gorbachev, raising skepticism in Western Europe, as the Soviet stance was the same, but the propaganda had increased. The Geneva negotiations in 1985, a Soviet-America arms negotiations summit, which was the first meeting between the U.S. and Soviet Union during the period of the Cold War, was used by Gorbachev to launch a major campaign that portrayed the Soviet Union as a source of peace while the United States as an aggressive military fount who sought for superiority.[60] It was the time when USIA had the hardest time, working on the anti-disinformation aspect, while Reagan and Gorbachev were preparing to address several speeches. At the end of the summit, Gorbachev and Reagan achieved several agreements, including agreements in the field of scientific and educational exchange, and technical and cultural cooperation, which were suspended in 1980[61]and authorized "to find as yet undiscovered avenues where American and Soviet citizens can cooperate fruitfully for the benefit of humankind.[62]

Following this summit, in 1985 President Reagan and Gorbachev sent televised greetings for New Year to the public of the respective countries.[63] In June 1986 the two governments already revealed an exchange of ten pupils who had a particular interest in space discovery.[64] Fulbright and other existing educational exchange programs between Russia and the U.S. already

---

[58] Yale Richmond, *Cultural Exchange and the Cold War: Raising the Iron Curtain*, Pennsylvania 2004, 151-152.

[59] A.C. Hansen, *USIA Public Diplomacy in the Computer Age*, 88.

[60] *Ibidem*, 444.

[61] *Ibidem*, 446.

[62] *United States Relations with Russia: The Cold War*, "U.S. Department of State Archive", Washington DC, https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ho/pubs/fs/85895.htm?fbclid=IwAR31YCWXBe4sWZYaHFvwEgzeejqOsC 4cbr3ZoZJwMsKIJBM41TC9-d8MSH0 (Accessed: 4/10/2022).

[63] Michael Wines, Reagan and Gorbachev to exchange TV Talks, *Los Angeles Time*, 28 December 1985, 1.

[64] "US and Soviet Set '86 Youth Exchange", *New York Times*, 1986, A12.

expanded.[65] Due to the changes that had happened between the United States and Russia, the ratings among countries had already started to change, regarding the perception of the Soviet Union and the population.

One of the greatest educational exchange programs is the International Visitors Program (IVP) consolidated in 1952 but derived from the Foreign Leaders Program that dated back in 1948 in the Smith-Mundt Act. International Leaders Program aimed to enable leaders and potential leaders of the future, specialists, and professionals to visit the United States for up to one month and experience the diversity of the United States life in political, social, and cultural aspects.[66]

The other major project in the 1985s was the radio project which launched VOA in Europe, which aimed to pull the new generations away from anti-American feelings and propaganda that were inserted during the World Wars and the Cold War. The VOA operated initially from Washington and then from Munich, combining news and American life and culture through music and other artistic features.[67] Certainly, intensifying cultural interactions created soft power for the United States, resulting from nongovernmental institutions such as playhouses, museums, and music houses played in the Soviet Union. One of the Soviet artists concluded that they were taught to confide in the degenerate West, time and time again professional symphony orchestras which came from Boston, Philadelphia, and New York while educational programs and exchanges played an important role in boosting American soft power.[68]

Many changes in the conduct of international relations since World War II have been particularly significant in making public diplomacy such a vital element in the foreign affairs process. Since the end of the Cold War, the dynamic has shifted toward a platform where people have much easier to connect with the international world, through technologies and communication platforms; governments are joined by nongovernment organizations, international organizations, corporations, and non-state actors as practitioners of public diplomacy; and communication happens in real-time without clear distinctions between a domestic and an international new sphere.[69]

Summary

The Cold War is one of the most distinguished eras of history where opinions, emotions, propaganda, information, and other mind games challenged the power of weapons and classic definitions of war. During this time, public diplomacy emerged as a new weapon and tool through which ideologies,

---

[65] N.Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 454.
[66] A.C. Hansen, *USIA Public Diplomacy in the Computer Age*, 136.
[67] N.Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 451.
[68] J. Nye, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, 45.
[69] N. Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, Preface.

campaigns, propaganda, and information were disseminated with the purpose to win the hearts and minds of the international audience around the world. Through several forms and models, including the one of hostile nature of relationships, the idea was developed that through persuasion and support targeting the foreign public would be possible to increase the pressure on domestic governments to change hostile positions and attitudes. Meanwhile, while the foreign public was exposed to domestic propaganda, the idea was that the other side needed to keep the counterbalance through information provided by the other side of the curtain. However, the Cold war contained in itself a high level of paranoid behavior from the two superpowers. Therefore, the only possibility of penetration through the iron curtain was through harmless projects such as culture, education, and music, which comprise common interests, hobbies, and entertaining parts of life, separated from the political sphere. Nevertheless, for the U.S it was the opposite. The education and entertainment industry became a new weapon to reach the hearts and minds of people on the other side, using it as a seduction of the life that was being lived in the U.S, while people in the Soviet Union were victims of ideology. While Public Diplomacy became the "objective" of U.S foreign policy, for the Soviet Union all the won hearts and minds were "infected" people through the Trojan horse that became an erosion for the Soviet Union over the years.

Nevertheless, educational and cultural agreements between the U.S and the Soviet Union reveal that the leadership of the time from both sides understood the profound importance of public diplomacy, and the actions and efforts to promote educational and cultural exchange through different programs are considered brought the Soviet Union down and the Cold War itself. Therefore, there is a huge debate among scholars on the specific events that brought the Soviet Union down, however it is evident that public diplomacy weakened its ideological pillars slowly.

Through analysis of books, archived official documents, podcasts, newspapers, and publications, using historical research methods and analysis of the discourse content, this article provides a pattern of development and transformation of public diplomacy from propaganda to a soft power tool that was used mainly by the United States to a more powerful extended to bring down the counterpart of the bipolar world.

This article argues how the United States used public diplomacy to bring down one of the most famous wars of all time and one of the toughest ones, bringing attention to whether the Soviet Union was eroded through the capacity and extent of public diplomacy, or the Soviet Union deliberately opened itself to public diplomacy to bring down an old empire as the time had come for fundamental changes in the world order.

Zaključak

Hladni rat jedno je od najistaknutijih razdoblja u historiji u kojem su mišljenja, emocije, propaganda, informacije i druge umne igre dovele u pitanje moć oružja i klasične definicije rata. Tokom tog vremena javna diplomacija se pojavila kao novo oružje i alat putem kojeg su se širile ideologije, kampanje, propaganda i informacije sa svrhom osvajanja srca i umova međunarodne publike diljem svijeta. Kroz nekoliko oblika i modela, uključujući i onaj neprijateljske prirode odnosa, razvijala se ideja da se kroz uvjeravanje i potporu usmjerenu prema inozemnoj javnosti može pojačati pritisak na domaće vlade da promijene neprijateljske pozicije i stavove. U međuvremenu, dok je inozemna javnost bila izložena domaćoj propagandi, ideja je bila da druga strana treba zadržati protutežu informacijama koje joj je davala druga strana zavjese. Međutim, Hladni rat je u sebi sadržavao visoku razinu paranoičnog ponašanja dviju supersila. Dakle, jedina mogućnost prodora kroz željeznu zavjesu bila je kroz bezazlene projekte poput kulture, obrazovanja i glazbe, koji sačinjavaju zajedničke interese, hobije i zabavne dijelove života, odvojene od političke sfere. Ipak, za SAD je bilo suprotno. Industrija obrazovanja i zabave postala je novo oružje za dopiranje do srca i umova ljudi s druge strane, koristeći je kao zavođenje života koji se živio u SAD-u, dok su ljudi u Sovjetskom Savezu bili žrtve ideologije. Dok je javna diplomacija postala "cilj" vanjske politike SAD-a, za Sovjetski Savez sva osvojena srca i umovi bili su "zaraženi" ljudi kroz Trojanskog konja koji je tijekom godina postao erozija za Sovjetski Savez.

Unatoč tome, obrazovni i kulturni sporazumi između SAD-a i Sovjetskog Saveza otkrivaju da je vodstvo u to vrijeme s obiju strana shvaćalo duboku važnost javne diplomacije, a radnje i napori za promicanje obrazovne i kulturne razmjene kroz različite programe smatraju se donijelima Sovjetskom Savezu. Propast Unije i sam Hladni rat. Stoga postoji velika rasprava među znanstvenicima o konkretnim događajima koji su doveli do pada Sovjetskog Saveza, no očito je da je javna diplomacija polako slabila svoje ideološke stupove.

Analizom knjiga, arhiviranih službenih dokumenata, podcasta, novina i publikacija, korištenjem historijskih istraživačkih metoda i analizom sadržaja diskursa, ovaj članak daje obrazac razvoja i transformacije javne diplomacije iz propagande u alat meke moći koji se uglavnom koristio od strane Sjedinjenih Država na snažniju proširenu kako bi se srušio pandan bipolarnog svijeta.

Ovaj članak raspravlja o tome kako su Sjedinjene Države koristile javnu diplomaciju kako bi srušile jedan od najpoznatijih ratova svih vremena i jedan od najtežih, skrećući pozornost na to je li Sovjetski Savez narušen kapacitetom i opsegom javne diplomacije ili je Sovjetski Savez Unija se namjerno otvorila javnoj diplomaciji kako bi srušila staro carstvo jer je došlo vrijeme za temeljne promjene u svjetskom poretku.

BIBLIOGRAPHY/BIBLIOGRAFIJA

Books/Knjige:

1. Cull Nicholas J, Public Diplomacy before Gullion: The Evolution of a Phrase, In The *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, edited by Nancy Snow and Philip M. Taylor, New York 2009.
2. Cull Nicholas J, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency: American Propaganda and Public Diplomacy, 1945-1989*, Cambridge 2008.
3. Fisher Glen, *Public Diplomacy and the Behavioral Sciences*, Bloomington 1972.
4. Hammarskjöld Dag, *Public Papers of The Secretaries General of The United Nations,* edited by Andrew W Cordier and Wilder Foote, New York 2010.
5. Hansen Allen C, *USIA Public Diplomacy in the Computer Age*, New York 1984.
6. Hixson Walter L, *Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture, and the Cold War, 1945-1961*, New York 1997.
7. Laurie D. Clayton, *The propaganda warriors: America's crusade against Nazi Germany*, 1996.
8. Leffler Melvyn P, David S. Painter. *Origins of the Cold War: An International History*, New York 2005.
9. Lord Carnes, *Losing Hearts and Minds?: Public Diplomacy and Strategic Influence in the Age of Terror,* Westport: Praeger Security International, 2006, 1st edition.
10. Melissen Jan, The New Public Diplomacy: Between Theory and Practice." in The *New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*, edited by Jan Melissen. Basingstoke, 2005.
11. Nye S. Joseph, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, New York 2004.
12. Pratkanis Anthony, Public Diplomacy in International Conflicts: A social Influence Analysis, In the *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, edited by Nancy Snow and Philip M. Taylor, New York 2009.
13. Richmond Yale, *Cultural Exchange and the Cold War: Raising the Iron Curtain,* Pennsylvania 2004.
14. Richmond Yale, *Practicing Public Diplomacy: A Cold War Odyssey*, New York 2008.
15. Samuels J. Richard, *Encyclopedia Of United States National Security*, 2006.
16. Tuch N. Hans, *Communicating with the World: U. S. Public Diplomacy Overseas,* New York 1990.
17. Von Eschen M Penny, *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War*, Cambridge 2004.
18. Wood James, *History of International Broadcasting*, London, 2000.
19. Woodard George W, Cold War Radio Jamming, *In the Cold War Broadcasting: Impact on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe,* edited by A. Ross Johnson and R. Eugene Parta, 53, Budapest 2010.

Articles/Članci:

1. Adelman L Kenneth, Speaking of America: Public Diplomacy in Our Time, *Foreign Affairs* 59, no. 4, 1981, 921.
2. Gilboa Eytan. Searching for a theory of public diplomacy, *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616, no.1, 2008, 55-59 (https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/25097994.pdf).
3. Helmers Helmer, Public Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe, *Media History* 22, no. 3-4, 2016 (https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/13688804.2016.1174570?needAccess=true).
4. Liping Bu, Educational Exchange and Cultural Diplomacy in the Cold War, *Journal of American Studies* 33, no.03, 1999.

5. Lord Carnes, The past and future of public diplomacy, *ORBIS* 42, no. 1,1998.
6. Nye S. Joseph, Public Diplomacy and Soft Power, *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Volume 616, no.1, 2008 (https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716207311699).
7. Peet Creighton, Russian 'Amerika,' a Magazine about U. S. for Soviet Citizens, *College Art Journal* 11, no.1, 1951.
8. Szondi György, *Public Diplomacy and Nation Branding: Conceptual Similarities and Difference*. Clingendael: Netherlands Institute of International Relations "Clingendael", 2008, accessed September 18, 2022. https://www.clingendael.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/20081022_pap_in_dip_nation_bran ding.pdf.
9. Winek D. Mark, Radio as a Tool of the State: Radio Moscow and the Early Cold War, *Comparative Humanities Review*, Volu,e 3, no. 9, 2009 (http://digitalcommons.bucknell.edu/chr/vol3/iss1/9).
10. Yale Richmond. "Cultural Exchange and the Cold War: How the West Won." *The Polish Review* 50, no.3, 2005, (http://www.jstor.org/stable/25779557).

Newspaper Articles/Novinski članci:

1. US and Soviet Set '86 Youth Exchange, *New York Times*, 1986.
2. Wines Michael, Reagan and Gorbachev to exchange TV Talks, *Los Angeles Times* 1985.

Internet:

1. Allgemeine Deutsche Schulverein-Berlin, Homepage, (http://www.vda-kultur.de).
2. Alliance Française Paris Ile-de-France, Homepage, (https://www.alliancefr.org/index.php).
3. Cull J Nicholas, Public Diplomacy' Before Gullion: The Evolution of a Phrase."*USC Public Diplomacy. University of Southern California*, 2006, (https://www.uscpublicdiplomacy.org/blog/public-diplomacy-gullion-evolution-phrase).
4. From Russia with dogma, *Daily Mail* 2018 (https://www.pressreader.com/uk/daily-mail/20180606/282879436444211).
5. Dale Helle, Carnes Lord, Public Diplomacy and the Cold War: Lessons Learned."*The Heritage Foundation,* no.2070, 2007 (https://www.heritage.org/defense/report/public-diplomacy-and-the-cold-war-lessons-learned).
6. *Dante Alighieri Society – Rome* (https://ladantesa.com/about/).
7. *Fulbright U.S. Student Program. Fulbright: History* (https://us.fulbrightonline.org/about/history).
8. Melton Marissa, VOA Russian Service Celebrates 70 Years., *VOA News* 2017. (https://www.voanews.com/a/friday-marks-70th-anniversary-of-voa-broadcasts-to-russia/3728545.html).
9. Peace Corps Mission, History (https://www.peacecorps.gov/about/history/).
10. The Eisenhower Presidential Library, Museum, and Boyhood Home, *Presidential Libraries System* (https://www.eisenhower.archives.gov/research/online_documents/people_to_people.ht ml).
11. Fulbright: The Early Years, *U.S. Department of State* (https://eca.state.gov/fulbright/about-fulbright/history/early-years).
12. U.S. Department of State, Remarks at Ceremony Commemorating the Consolidation of the Department of State and the U.S. Information Agency, Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright, l999 (https://1997-2001.state.gov/www/statements/1999/991001.html).
13. United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 (Smith-Mundt Act), *U.S. Department of State*, 1948 (https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/177574.pdf).