



KADIR HAS UNIVERSITY  
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DISCIPLINE AREA

**AMERICAN PUBLIC DIPLOMACY DURING THE COLD  
WAR: A CASE STUDY ON THE CONGRESS FOR  
CULTURAL FREEDOM**

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SUPERVISOR: ASSOC. PROF. AHMET KASIM HAN

MASTER'S THESIS

ISTANBUL, MAY, 2018

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Submitted to the Graduate School of Social Sciences of Kadir Has University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master's in the Discipline Area of International Relations under the Program of International Relations.

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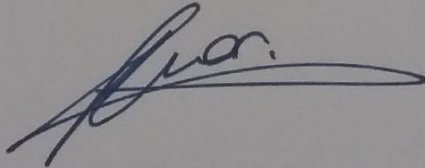
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## ACCEPTANCE AND APPROVAL

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## ABSTRACT

ELDEMİR, PINAR. *AMERICAN PUBLIC DIPLOMACY DURING THE COLD WAR: A CASE STUDY ON THE CONGRESS FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM*, MASTER'S THESIS, Istanbul, 2018.

The present thesis examines the role of American financial and political support to the Congress for Cultural Freedom during the Cold War period. This study is motivated by the following research question which ask why the United States of America (USA) funded to this international cultural organization during the Cold War. In this regard, the core argument of this study offers the following hypothesis. The USA supported and funded to this organization in order to contain the rise of Soviet power and to affect the foreign policies of the European states through indirect economic supports which might be seen as a public diplomacy tool.

**Keywords:** Public Diplomacy, American Public Diplomacy, Congress for Cultural Freedom, Cold War

## ÖZET

ELDEMİR, PINAR. *AMERICAN PUBLIC DIPLOMACY DURING THE COLD WAR: A CASE STUDY ON THE CONGRESS FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM*, YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ, İstanbul, 2018.

Bu tez Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nin (ABD) Kültürel Özgürlük Kongresi'ne Soğuk Savaş döneminde yapmış olduğu ekonomik fonlamanın ve politik desteğin rolünü incelemektedir. İlgili çalışmanın yanıt aradığı temel soru Soğuk Savaş döneminde neden Amerika'nın böyle bir uluslararası kültürel organizasyonu fonlama ihtiyacı duyduğu olmuştur. Bununla bağlantılı olarak, tezin öne sunduğu temel argüman şu şekildedir: ABD, Soğuk Savaş döneminde yükselen Sovyet tehdidini çevrelemek ve Avrupalı devlerin dış politikalarını bu amaç doğrultusunda değiştirmek maksadıyla bir kamu diplomasisi aracı olarak görülebilecek olan ekonomik fonlar yoluyla Kültürel Özgürlük Kongresi'ni fonlamıştır.

**Anahtar Sözcükler:** Kamu Diplomasisi, Amerikan Kamu Diplomasisi, Kültürel Özgürlük Kongresi, Soğuk Savaş

## **ABBREVIATIONS LIST**

ACCF	American Committee for Cultural Freedom
CCF	Congress for Cultural Freedom
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
IR	International Relations
NCL	Non-communist Leftists
OWI	Office of War Information
USA	United States of America
USIA	United States Information Agency
WPC	World Peace Conference



## INTRODUCTION

*“War is nothing but a continuation of political intercourse, with a mixture of other means” (Clausewitz, 2017, p. 345).*

Diplomacy is a significant area of activity for states when it comes to the issue of their mutual interaction and as such, albeit consuming, is an important topic in their relations with each other. However, when taking on the issue of the spheres of communication among states, one has to address a much broader scope. Foreign public opinion is part of the said broader scope and states strive to have a communication perspective as a part of their foreign policy agendas that treats the foreign publics as an essential, and at the least a quasi-distinct actor. Such an approach is engaged with the target of having a long-term relationship with other states, as societal sympathies and affiliation based bridges are an essential element/ conduit to form sustainable relations. Furthermore, states do not get in touch with the audiences solely for the sake of building a possible long-term relationship. They need to garner the positive attitudes of foreign publics to enable them to justify their foreign policy goals. This is done through many different strategies and means. In this context public diplomacy has become one of the key elements of such interaction between the states and their foreign audiences.

Public diplomacy is a major area of interest that has emerged at the juncture of Communication Studies and International Relations (IR) sharing and synthesizing their different perspectives and focal points. Within the context of IR, it can be stated that public diplomacy is an important component of the inter-state relationship, and plays a key role in the states' foreign policy agendas as a strategic tool.

From a historical point of view, one of the most important events of the past century was the Cold War competition between two powerful rivalries, which were the United States of America (USA) and the Soviet Union. During the Cold War period, there has been a dramatic increase in the need for public diplomacy for many several reasons. It would not be wrong to say that public diplomacy has been conceptualized from the beginning of this

period and primarily so in the American academia. As a result, a considerable amount of literature has been published on public diplomacy through the lenses of the American scholars. The first serious discussions on public diplomacy emerged during the 1960s with the establishment of the Edward R. Murrow Center of Public Diplomacy (Cull, 2006). In this context, the concept of public diplomacy referred to “the cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries” (Cull, 2006).

In relation to this, certain questions have been raised about the scope of public diplomacy. In other words, during the 1960s, what was unclear about public diplomacy had two dimensions, namely; the basic tools and objectives of public diplomacy, and empirical foundations of the concept. In this sense, the literature had no consensus on the limitations of public diplomacy, which means that there was a need of theorizing public diplomacy in general, especially during the earliest phases of the Cold War period.

There has been no single description regarding the concept of public diplomacy since the Cold War. However, there have been other available concepts to label the effort such spent. Prominent among those concepts was the concept of propaganda. However, this concept has recently been challenged by public diplomacy studies arguing that there is a big difference between these two concepts in terms of the character of the targeted groups and the message they convey. To be more specific, the character of the message can be handled in two ways; the main message can be conveyed in the context of public diplomacy which includes a set of values with a historical framework, or in the way of propaganda along with the constructed fallacies created by the decision-makers. At this point, whether public diplomacy exists as a way of persuasion or a tool of propaganda is an issue to be discussed. The debate regarding this difference has gained fresh blood with many discussions that public diplomacy has a broader agenda with its various tools and several sets of communication strategies as a foreign policy tool.

Another important point to take into consideration is related to the public diplomacy tools used by many states with an aim to achieve their foreign policy goals in parallel with their national interests. To date there has also been little agreement on what should be included in the list of the public diplomacy tools. The common view, which points out that the

international broadcasting channels, various types of media programs, cultural initiatives among states, and international exchange programs are the most popular public diplomacy tools, is in line with the idea claiming that states generally implement public diplomacy as a foreign policy tool in a direct and open way. However, far too little attention has been paid to the indirect financial supports of the states to affect another country for different motivations. At this point, it is important to see the fact that some indirect social and cultural supports, such as the international funding or the covert action plans, have created a similar impact with the traditional public diplomacy tools. This indicates a need to understand the various perceptions of the indirect funding activities as an unseen part of the public diplomacy agendas of the states.

To discuss the historical significance of the Cold War for having a better understanding of the public diplomacy literature, it is critical to understand how the IR discipline views this period. In literature, the Cold War period can be explained and evaluated in terms of three levels of analysis. These are the individual approach, the state perspective, and the systemic explanations. Firstly, it is possible to state that the individual approach tends to focus on the impact of the individual leaders on the Cold War rivalry like the effect of Stalin's personal way of government on how the Cold War rivalry was shaped. Secondly, the state perspective approaches to the Cold War period in terms of concentrating on the states' national interests including the national security priorities, like the containment policy of the USA. Thirdly, the last level of analysis attempts to explain the nature of the international politics by focusing on the structure of the system. In this regard, it can be possible to state that the international structure refers to the political system including the actors, behaviors, and the foreign policy agendas of the international level. In this context, the structural approach tends to analyze the Cold War period by discussing this period as an era of competition shaped within the framework of bipolar nuclear stalemate.

Several IR theories have been put forward to explain the nature of the Cold War period with a strong emphasis on the probability of the nuclear war among states. However, there has been another aspect of the Cold War era encompassing the social and diplomatic notions of political rivalry during this period. In fact, much is known about the nuclear powers during that period; however, little is known about the non-violent conflicts

between two superpowers. Within this context, it is important to specify that some non-violent conflicts that took place in a very competitive manner have played a significant role in how the foreign policies of the USA and the Soviet Union took shape, as well as the efficiency levels of such policies.

It is also important to mention that certain social and political activities have created such a perception among states that they would be willing to engage in such activities to create a positive image among others. In this regard, the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF) has become an important event for the USA to reach the Western states for justifying its foreign policy objectives. At this point, it is possible to describe the CCF, which was organized by some European intellectuals from the European countries, as a cultural attempt at the international level against the Stalin government.

The CCF can be analyzed from internal and external perspectives. From an internal point of view, the discussion, which focuses on how cultural freedom should be, was handled with an anti-Stalinist perspective among the European intellectuals attending the congress. From an external point of view, it can be discussed how the congress was perceived by other states and that it would be used as a foreign policy tool. It can also be mentioned that the political activities or organizations like the CCF were seen as an important opportunity for the USA to achieve its foreign policy objectives during the Cold War period.

As it will also be discussed in the following pages, there was an indirect relationship between the USA and the CCF; however, no previous study has investigated this indirect relationship. The aim of this thesis is to provide a conceptual and theoretical framework based on the public diplomacy perspective which tries to contextualize the American support to the CCF during the Cold War period. In particular, the central question in this thesis asks why the USA supported the CCF economically and politically during an era of increasing nuclear escalation instead of focusing solely on its hard power politics.

During the Cold War, the USA had to deal with a fear of spreading communism, and that fear increased its security needs in its foreign policy agenda. For this reason, the USA

tried to contain communism and also tried to develop economic and social recovery programs like the Marshall Plan. In this way, the USA controlled the level of sympathy for the American values and identity and sought to find alternative ways of marketing its values and identity. In this regard, it is possible to argue that the main reason why the USA funded the CCF was to create a conducive environment in Europe to increase its profile and market its discourse and identity to the European publics. Within this context, the hypothesis that will be tested in this thesis is that the CCF was politically supported and funded by the USA, which might be seen as an indirect tool of public diplomacy, to contain the rise of Soviet power to influence the foreign policies and if possible the domestic environments of the European states. This effort should be seen within the context of American Cold War policies with its roots entirely based on the concerns of national interest of the USA. A careful assessment of American efforts during the period also shows those efforts to be a part of US foreign policy from the earliest periods of the Cold War.

What needs to be underlined about the hypotheses in this thesis can be handled in terms of four main arguments. Firstly, this thesis claims that the Cold War was a period of security and social competition at the level of international system. Hence, there are structural elements. In other words, our approach to the Cold War era will emphasize ideological rivalry as well. Secondly, this study also includes the indirect or covert economic support within the scope of primary tools of public diplomacy. In addition to the international exchange programs and media organs used by public diplomacy, financial supports have the same impacts with these tools.

Thirdly, this study views the international system during the Cold War period as anarchic and approaches to the American Cold War policies from this perspective. In this regard, it is important to describe the meaning of an anarchical international system. In this context, this thesis intends to analyze such a system within the context of the unpredictability of the opponent part in terms of the current political intercourse. In other words, this thesis claims that the unpredictable and immeasurable increasing power of the Soviet Union during the Cold War period can be evaluated as an anarchical political

situation for the American decision-makers. Therefore, there has been a need for a driving force to convince the foreign publics to follow the American Cold War policies.

With regard to the third argument of the hypotheses in this thesis, the last part of the argument includes the question how the USA approached to this issue, which was vital for the American national security understanding. In this sense, this thesis aims to focus on the concept of political power by discussing its persuasive components. It cannot be denied that the hard power policies have been fundamental for all nation states within the framework of the foreign policy. However, when it comes to convince the public of another country in order to affect their government's foreign policy agenda, the underpinnings of the political power in the IR context should not be underestimated.

In this respect, this thesis aims to give a meaningful explanation that the political power has two-dimensions, which are the direct and indirect characteristics of the political power. In this study, the direct concept of the political power will refer to the hard power tools of the modern-states while the indirect concept of the political power will refer to the persuasive aspect of the political power. The main reason for conceptualizing this issue is related to the impacts of the political power. In other words, states can achieve their foreign policy objectives in parallel with their national interests through their hard power capabilities. However, there has been a need for an effective persuasion process to follow the other states' foreign policy goals. Therefore, this thesis addresses the concept of the political power by focusing on the persuasive aspect of it within the framework of its indirect nature, without underestimating the importance of the hard power capability of the modern-states.

Considering the indirect contribution of the USA to the CCF during the Cold War period, no study has analyzed the economical and organizational contribution of the USA to the CCF in the field of public diplomacy from the perspective of the realist school of thought. Moreover, few studies have focused on public diplomacy as a foreign policy tool; however, the covert action plan of the CIA which aimed to support the CCF has rarely been studied. Therefore, new approach is required to analyze such an attempt within the context of the American public diplomacy understanding.

This thesis has been divided into six chapters including this introductory chapter. The first chapter deals with the realist school of thought focusing on the concept of the modern state. The main reason for this is to understand the central position of the modern state as the primary agent. This is important since the state participates in many kinds of complex and comprehensive actions as required in public diplomacy which is discussed in this thesis. In this context, this thesis aims to analyze the main motivations of the USA when it was supporting the CCF as a part of the Marshall Plan.

At this point, it can be stated that it is important to summarize the fundamentals of the modern states within a historical context. In this regard, the first section will be divided into two main subsections including the origins of the states and how the realist school of thought approaches to the modern state. The second part of the first section will try to explain two essential concepts for having a better understanding of the modern state. Firstly, the idea of the national interest will be described by focusing on the American policies during the Cold War period. At this point, it can be stated that the national interest can be handled in four different aspects, which are power, peace, prosperity, and principles (Jentleson, 2014, p. 8). Secondly, the concept of the political power will be summarized by focusing on the essential elements of the political power in terms of the IR discipline.

The second chapter of this thesis will try to analyze the concept of public diplomacy within the context of foreign policy. The second chapter will be divided into three subsections focusing on the theoretical foundations of public diplomacy. The first part of this chapter will try to frame the basics of public diplomacy. Furthermore, the definition of the concept in the IR literature will be made in order to understand the American public diplomacy approach at the beginning of the Cold War.

As it will be discussed in more details in the following sections, public diplomacy includes the idea of changing the opinions of the states and foreign publics. Until the conceptualization of public diplomacy, the attempt of changing the opinions and attitudes of other states or publics was seen as a way of propaganda. In this sense, the second



subsection of the first section will try to shed light on the main differences between these two similar concepts. Since a significant part of public diplomacy includes the ability to influence the foreign publics, it is important to discuss how public diplomacy can create such an effect like changing opinions. In other words, as it will be discussed in the first chapter, it should be noted that if the political power can provide an appropriate framework for public diplomacy, it can be persuasive in terms of changing foreign policy agendas.

At this point, the last subsection of the first section will try to focus on the relationship between public diplomacy and power. Likewise, the second subsection will try to summarize the history of the public diplomacy beginning from the Cold War period. The reason for choosing this particular time frame is that the concept of public diplomacy was first coined in the 1960s. The last subsection of the second chapter will try to summarize the public diplomacy tools by discussing whether indirect financial supports can be evaluated as a tool of public diplomacy or not.

The third chapter will touch upon the historical background of this thesis, which is the Cold War period. This period continued for a long period of time and had many different aspects politically and socially. The important point to take into consideration is the American aspect of the Cold War period. In this way, the factors that caused the USA to support the CCF within the framework of its Cold War policies can be better understood. For this reason, this chapter will be divided into two main subsections including the origins of the Cold War and the American Cold War policies.

At this point, it should be taken into account that the CCF was funded as a part of the foreign policy based on the American national security agenda. For this reason, what needs to be focused on in relation to the American Cold War policies is the containment policy including two essential tools, which are the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan. Another important issue to analyze here is the role of the National Security Council reports, particularly the NSC- 68 and the NSC-4. The importance of these two documents plays a significant role in understanding the American national security approach including the American threat perception on the Soviet communism.

The fourth chapter will try to explain the role of the American identity on the American public diplomacy during the Cold War era. The fourth chapter will be divided into two main subsections including the essential underpinnings of the American identity which will provide a general overview on the American public diplomacy agenda regarding the national branding of public diplomacy concept, and a brief introduction to the American public diplomacy during the Cold War. The historical aspect of the American public diplomacy will be discussed along with its aims, history, and the institutional design of the American public diplomacy paradigm.

The remaining chapter of this thesis will try to analyze the CCF case briefly with two main arguments. In this context, the first subsection of the last chapter will address the origins of the CCF including the historical framework, the main tools of CCF, and the essential figures of the CCF. At this point, the foundation of the CCF will be explained briefly to gain a general overview about the CCF. In addition to the technical information about the CCF, it is also important to discuss the major magazines and the academic activities as the important tools of the CCF to figure out the American contribution on these tools. After understanding the origins of the CCF, it would be easy to analyze why the USA attempted to support the CCF. For this reason, the second subsection of the last chapter will try to analyze the American support through the CIA within the context of the relationship between the CIA and the CCF.

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **POWER, STATE AND THE REALIST SCHOOL OF THOUGHT**

This chapter aims to provide a theoretical framework for the realist school of thought in the broadest sense to analyze the main objectives of states. What needs to be explained at this point is about how the theoretical perspective sees states and foreign policies in international politics. In this regard, the first chapter provides information about how the realist school of IR was divided into different realist approaches within the context of the same theoretical mindsets, such as structural realism and classical realism. Even though the core assumptions and elements of those approaches have a lot in common regarding the state and politics, some nuances should be explained in detail for having a better understanding on the American public diplomacy during the Cold War period and the CCF case. For this reason, this chapter focuses on certain elements of the realist tradition for explaining the American public diplomacy activities during the Cold War.

In order to understand why these elements are essential, the leading actor of the international politics, which is the modern state, should be explained. If the concept of modern-state is explained briefly, it can be possible to analyze how the context of the Cold War changed or affected the behaviors of the states at a certain level. After providing introductory information on the state, two major concepts of realism, which are the national interest and the political power are discussed in the second part of this chapter. These two concepts are briefly defined according to the classical realism and the structural realism. It is important to specify that both theoretical approaches use different mindsets in explaining situations or phenomena. Therefore, the second part of this study includes the discussion of why and how the classical realism and the structural realism examine these concepts differently.

## **1.1. THE REALIST SCHOOL OF THOUGHT AND THE STATE**

### **1.1.1. The Origins of the State**

State, for which many explanations have been made for many years, is one of the most complex entities. There are many approaches which focus on different characteristics of state in Political Science and IR. It is not easy to define the concept of state without addressing it in the historical context. According to Hall and Ikenberry (1989, p. 16), “(...), most of human history has not been graced by the presence of states”. In this sense, the modern-state theory and its relationship with the IR discipline should be examined in detail. Because it can be easily seen that the IR theories, which have tried to provide answers for some fundamental questions about international politics, have accepted the state as the core element of that level of politics. It is possible to say that state has two virtual explanations philosophically and practically and those explanations cannot be handled separately, though there is a nuance between them<sup>1</sup>.

In the discussions made on modern state, there is a significant point to which some scholars pay attention concerning the transition from pre-modern states to modern states. It is a well-known fact that states were not the only actors that had to be protected or a way of living together. There were also other entities such as empires which had a similar form with states; however, there are some distinctions between them. From a historical point of view, the turning point for the modern-state formation is the establishment of the Westphalian world order. After the Thirty Year’s War in the Holy Roman Empire, the Westphalian order was established as the founder of “the basic principles of the European states system which are central state power and state sovereignty” (Spindler, 2013, p. 25). Those distinctions mentioned above are understandable by the fundamental definition of

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<sup>1</sup> This nuance is vital to understand this thesis' main arguments. Within this sense, the state is used interchangeably with the concept of the modern state which is explained in the context of the practicality of states. However, there is a vast historical background that gives a framework to modern-state conceptualization which is related to the concepts of society, living together and its practical nature of states. For further information about pre-modern state discussion: Spruyt, H., 2002, ‘The origins, development, and possible decline of the modern state, Annual Review of Political Science, vol.5, no.1, pp.127–49. In this regard, it should be noted that such philosophical background is highly essential to understand the modern state, but this thesis tries to explore the concept of modern-state relatively.

Max Weber regarding a state. Weber defines the state as “the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory” (Gerth and Mills, 1946, p.396).

It is essential to realize the connection between the Westphalian state order and Weber’s definition of the concept of state. History has created a path for political entities that were fighting during the Thirty Years War, and that path has brought them in a position that they have never imagined. At the end of the several historical turning points like the choices made by those entities, it can be stated that the unintended consequences of that path would be the modern state system. That is to say; Weber argues that the state is a product of that kind of conflictual international environment.

Apparently, the abovementioned definition has two main components concerning the modern state which is the legitimacy of using the physical force and borders. Even though these main components have changed a little bit, the essential features remain the same.<sup>2</sup> For example, Marume, Jubenkanda, Namusi, and Madziyire (2016, p. 24) define the state as “an association which, acting through law as promulgated by a government endowed to this end with coercive powers, maintains within a community territorially demarcated the universal external conditions of social order.” From this perspective, the modern-state is “an institutional complex claiming sovereignty for itself as the supreme political authority within a defined territory for whose governance it is responsible” (Hay and Lister, 2006, p. 5).

These modern-states can be explained from two different perspectives. One of them is that modern states are the supreme authority within a territory. The second is related to the legitimate use of force upon their publics. This issue is essential to understand today’s international politics. For Spindler (2013, p. 27), “legitimate political authority (...) refers to state authority, the monopoly of power in the hands of government and a hierarchical order with a central command over military and legal forces”. At this point, it should be

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<sup>2</sup> In the literature, there is a debate among many scholars which is about whether the state is in decline or not. For further information about this discussion: Dasgupta, R. 2018, *The demise of the nation state*, Guardian, viewed 4 April 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2018/apr/05/demise-of-the-nation-state-rana-dasgupta>.

noted that this study follows an approach arguing that the importance of the state's impact upon today's international political system has remained the same as in the Westphalian order, especially after the Cold War.

To summarize the discussion on the modern-state approach, it can be stated that how this study views the modern-state conceptualization can be understood from a historical perspective and the political conditions of the Cold War era. For this reason, the modern state is a political entity having relations with another state in a competitive international political order which needs to have a certain level of security to be able to exist in such an environment with its full capacity based on its political power. The way of understanding the Cold War politics, therefore, should be explained from a theoretical perspective of the modern state.

### **1.1.2. The Realist School of Thought**

Another point to take into consideration regarding the modern state approach for better understanding the CCF case is the realist school of thought. Therefore, this part of the study includes the discussions about the realist assumptions about the international politics in the field of IR to understand and explain the CCF case. For this reason, what needs to be defined here is the concept of national security, the national interest, the anarchical structure of the international politics, and the idea of political power. At this point, it can be specified that the realist theory is not a homogenous unit which explains the international politics differently. In the IR discipline, there are some distinctions about how different types of dashes of realism explain the international structure and the power politics.

The IR field has a multidisciplinary structure regarding the realist thought with an emphasis on the power politics among states. There were many debates about power politics and the nature of the modern states within this discipline. It is possible to say that IR is a scientific way to explain, understand, and interpret the international politics in a

comprehensive way.<sup>3</sup> In this regard, it would not be wrong to emphasize that the realist school of thought had an aim to take a picture of the international politics as it is. Burchill (2005, p. 31) pointed out that “realism seeks to describe and explain the world of international politics as it is, rather than how we might like to be.”

According to the abovementioned explanation, what needs to be focused on here is the realist school of thought for analyzing the American public diplomacy with relation to the CCF case. However, there are many questions related to global politics in which realism has given a proper framework for answering them. Rather than focusing on everything, it is meaningful to define the fundamental dimensions of the realist school of thought which has three dimensions such as the relationship between political power and the states, the evil nature of the human nature.

According to the fundamentals of realism, the primary actor of the international politics is the state which is explained below in detail.<sup>4</sup> More specifically, it should be highlighted that there are several types of states; however, “realism views nation-states as the principle actors in world politics” (Kegley and Wittkopf, 1995, p. 22). It is a significant statement for understanding the structure of the nation-state system which is described as a primary actor in the international politics by realism. In the IR discipline, the state is a core concept for the realist school of thought which was systemized by Hans Morgenthau in the 1940s. Before Morgenthau’s studies, there were many studies which tried to explain the nature of international politics. According to his studies, the IR discipline became a field of the realist school of thought with two main traditions which are the political realism and the philosophical traditions focusing on the human nature. Besides, it is possible to state that almost every theoretical discussion revolving around the state and the power politics in the IR has derived from the realist tradition.

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<sup>3</sup> From this point of view, several IR theories have been developed with an aim to find an answer to what causes war and peace. Although some arguments related to the global politics have remained wishful thinking, some of them have put forward some scientific explanations on the international politics.

<sup>4</sup> In today’s globalized world, there are still lots of influential non-state actors in the international system; however, it would not be wrong to state that the driver of the global politics is the state at the end of the day. As Kegley and Wittkopf (1995, p.37) stated that “the key unit of the international politics is the independent nation-states.”



To analyze the power politics and the realist school of thought, it would be beneficial to look at Machiavelli.<sup>5</sup> As the founder of the Political Science, Niccolo Machiavelli produced several ground-breaking works that affected the rulers of his time and this effect on the political life in Italy became widespread in the course of time. What can be given as an example at this point is his famous study Prince which provided a general theory to describe a governing style for a wise prince to maintain his power and the reason of the state. It can be stated that Machiavelli approached his studies in a realist way methodologically in parallel with foundationalism ontologically.<sup>6</sup> To be more specific; there is a world out there which is independent of his own existence and all those realities can be measured and analyzed through the lenses of history.

From this theoretical perspective, Morgenthau developed his famous six principles of political realism by focusing on the human nature and the political power by focusing on the philosophical thought. The aspect of the human nature has not only been studied by Morgenthau; for Kegley and Wittkopf (1995, p. 22) “reading of history teaches that people are by nature sinful and wicked.” At this point, it can be inferred from this perspective that humans as political animals have a conflictual nature that affects the politics in general.

It is possible to deduce that since states act like human beings to survive in an international environment, this aforementioned wicked nature causes a need for protection. For this kind of protection, the idea of the national security was developed as a primary requirement for states. At this point, the national security means that “a country’s psychological freedom from fear of foreign attack” (Kegley and Wittkopf, 1995, p. 371). This definition of the national security is the basis of the explanations in this study which seeks for a reason for the American national security understanding and agenda. In this context, international politics is defined as “a struggle for power” (Morgenthau, 1948, p. 13). In parallel with Morgenthau, Snyder (2017, p. 5) described

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<sup>5</sup> As the founder of the Political Science, Machiavelli affected the political realist approach in the IR discipline, like Hans Morgenthau.

<sup>6</sup> For further discussion about the ontology and epistemology: Furlong, P. and Marsh, D. 2010. ‘A Skin not a sweater: ontology and epistemology in political science’ in D. Marsh and G. Stoker (eds.), *Theory and Methods in Political Science*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York, pp. 17-41.

the international relations as “a struggle for power among self-interested states.” The power, in this sense, is explained in a way that “man’s control over the minds and actions of other men” (Morgenthau, 1948, p. 13).

This definition shows that Morgenthau defined the power and the political power in separate ways which can be related to the concept of state. More specifically, two core parts of Morgenthau’s political power definition should be evaluated. At first, there are two different components of the political power which are the holder and the consent-giver to that holder. It can be said that the relationship between these two parties has a determinative role in defining the political power. Secondly, the phrase of “the holders of public authority” (Morgenthau 1948, p. 28) indicates that there is a hierarchical structure in the international politics. Because if there is an authority, there would be a group of people or an actor who give that right of being an authority which is less potent than that authority. In parallel with the nature of states seeking for survival, states need to preserve their territorial integrity and the legitimate use of force.<sup>7</sup>

The discussion revolving around the political power brings the debate into anarchy in the international system within the context of structural realism. The reason lying behind that anarchical structure is mostly related to the fear of extinction from the international system. According to Mearsheimer (2017, p. 61), “great powers fear each other,” and “they regard each other with suspicion.” The fear among states can be understood as a part of the national security perception. On the other hand, what is as much as crucial like such a fear of being destroyed is the anarchical international structure. Additionally, it should be noted that the anarchical structure of international politics increases the need for security for the states.

In this context, what is also important here is the lack of central authority in the context of structural realism. The lack of central authority in the international politics caused an anarchical international system. In parallel with this, Spindler (2013, p. 28) stated that

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<sup>7</sup> It is possible to say that to survive in an anarchic political system, the modern states theory suggests that states need two essential things which are taxes and people who fight for them. Each of those components is related to each other to some extent. Taxes are essential as an economical source; on the other hand, people are essential not only just because of they are capable of being a soldier, but also, they might be a source of legitimacy for states in liberal democracies.

“there is no centralization or monopoly of power in the international system” which makes the international system anarchic. In other words, the concept of anarchy holds the idea of “international politics takes place in an arena that has no overarching central authority above the individual collection of sovereign states” (Baylis, Smith and Owens, 2011, p. 87).

The argument of Morgenthau on the evil nature of human-beings was an important point in understanding the underlying motives of the states; however, there was increased attention to the international system which was mostly studied by Waltz. In addition, Mearsheimer (2017, p. 60) developed an essential idea about the anarchic structure of the international politics by specifying that the anarchy in the international relations “does not mean it is chaotic or riven by a disorder.” The statement of the anarchy in international politics is substantial for understanding that “the system comprises independent states that have no central authority above them” (Mearsheimer, 2017, p. 60).

The IR literature reveals that while Morgenthau focused on the evilness of the human nature seeking for a way to survive in an anarchic environment; Waltz studied on the structure of the international system. What neorealism puts forward about the nature of the global politics is basically that the structure of the international system causes a war.<sup>8</sup> It does not mean that states are not the primary actors in a global politics; however, “they act according to the principle of self-help, and all seek to ensure their survival” (Kegley and Wittkopf, 1995, p. 29). In such an environment, states have to make a cost-benefit analysis for their survival. It is possible to say that this point can be understood with the Morgenthau’s interpretations on the struggle for power among states. More specifically, the essential characteristics of the power politics among states to survive and the situation of having no central authority in the global politics cannot be meaningful by using them separately. In this respect, Mearsheimer (2017, p. 62) highlighted the impacts of the

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<sup>8</sup> Kegley and Wittkopf (1995, p.29) described the international system by looking at the capabilities of the state. The authors stated that “(...) according to the structural realism, states do not differ in the tasks they face only their capabilities. Capabilities define the position of the state in the system, and the distribution of capabilities defines the structure of the system.” In this regard, how the capabilities of the state can be defined and how those capabilities affect the structure of the system are two essential questions that should be answered for further studies.

concept of anarchy and survival by discussing that “because there is no higher authority to come rescue when they dial 911, states cannot depend on others for their own security”.

### **1.1.3. The Idea of National Interest**

In order to understand how the realist school of thought approaches the national interest, it would be useful to look at the “4 Ps” Framework developed by Jentleson (2014) with an emphasis on the American national interest. For Jentleson (2014, p. 8), the national interest refers to “the essence of the choices to be made in a nation’s foreign policy.” In this regard, this broad definition points out a different aspect of the national interest. For states, the way of deciding has several elements and dynamics that should be analyzed in depth. At this point, Jentleson (2014) provided a framework based on the concepts of power, peace, prosperity, and principles to provide an understanding of the American national interest. In respect to this, these four elements of the national interest to analyze the CCF case are discussed in this part of the study.

Power is a concept at the core of human behaviors and decisions and it is hard to explain this concept in a one-dimensional way of thinking. How to describe the idea of power depends upon the methodological and ontological disposition of the relevant discipline, such as Political Science, Sociology, or International Relations. Apart from the disciplinary boundaries, the concept of power in this study mostly refers to “the ability to achieve the desired outcome” (Heywood, 2002, p. 7). The way of receiving such a desired outcome thanks to having power remains unclear in Heywood’s explanation.

There are some categorizations of the concept of power in several disciplines, and each of them focuses on different aspects of power. In this sense, this study indicates that the concepts of power and the political power cannot be used interchangeably, because there is a nuance between them. To be more specific, the concept of power can be implementable to all aspects of the inter-human relations. In this sense, what needs to be highlighted here is the capillary structure of the power to understand the mechanism of the receiving the desired outcome. On the other hand, there is a political aspect of this discussion which puts forth the concept of political power. In relation to the political

context of the power, what needs to be understood is the state itself. In other words, the precondition of the understanding of the political power is related to the nature of the state and the core concerns which have been discussed in the previous parts of the study. Apart from the state-centric approach, the political power literature gives the perspective regarding how to achieve such an outcome.

To summary, this thesis approaches the concepts of power and the political power from a two-dimensional perspective. Firstly, the idea of power is capillary as Foucault (2000) mentioned and it helps to get the desired outcome. Secondly, the concept of political power can be understood from the IR perspective. On the one hand, the types of political power can vary depending on the historical context and the political needs in such a historical landscape. For this reason, this thesis approaches the political power as a tool of achieving what states desire. On the other hand, it can easily be observed that the essence of power is fundamental to affect the relationship in different stages. From this point of view, Dahl (1957, pp. 202-203) defined the concept of power as follows: “A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do.” Dahl’s definition of the power concept reveals that it is essential to view the effect of the power over the decision-making process among the individuals.

The literature focusing on the concept of power approaches such an idea in many different ways. For instance, some scholars see power as a mechanism to control and change while some of them define this concept as a unique way destruction and construction of the reality. At this point, describing the concept of the political power is related to the context of the state level. It does not mean that the idea of power should be understood far beyond the political power; instead, it is essential to see that there are logic and nature of the power that affect the meaning of the political power. For instance, Kegley and Wittkopf (1995, p. 373) defined the term of power as “the ability to influence,” which is a substantial part of the concept of power. Furthermore, influencing other states puts forward the ontological landscape of the concept of power which answers the question of what is power.

The point to take into consideration at this point is related to how and why the power changes the actions and minds of other states. In this regard, the traditional realist school of thought mostly concentrates on the relationship between the power politics and the human condition, or behavior.<sup>9</sup> In the broadest sense, the political power is described as “the mutual relations of control among the holders of public authority and between the latter and the people at large” (Morgenthau, 1948, p. 13). In addition, Baylis, Smith, and Owens (2011, p. 89) argue that, “the drive for power and the will to dominate are held to be fundamental aspects of human nature.” This perspective is more often used by the classical realists to explain the importance of the self-interest of states. Although power is a core concept to the realist school, each branch of this school of thought explains the impacts of the political power differently. According to the traditional realism, the power “derives from human nature” (Kegley and Wittkopf, 1995, p. 29); on the other hand, the structural realist approach addresses the political power “as an instrument of survival” (Kegley and Wittkopf, 1995, p. 29).

In relation to the theoretical foundation of the political power, Jentleson’s framework is essential to figure out the American national interest. To understand the concept of political power within the 4 Ps framework of Jentleson (2014), it should be focused on how it was exerted. According to Jentleson (2014, p. 12), “power can be exerted through more than just military force” which means that the diplomatic relations might be compelling in some cases. The first element of the national interest is the power for Jentleson (2014, p. 18) regarding the “competition for power.”

For Jentleson (2014), the second element of the national interest is the peace which states mostly look for. Jentleson (2014, pp. 13-14) approaches this concept from the perspective of international institutionalism and categorizes five essential types of international institutions which are “global security, economic, international legal, policy area, and regional.” What should be noted here is that this thesis approaches the primary tools of the American Cold War policies and national interest as an instrument to implement the American policies regarding public diplomacy. Another critical point about the concept

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<sup>9</sup> For further discussion about the human condition: Arendt, H. 1998, *The human condition*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

of peace is its relationship with the world order. Jentleson (2014, p. 18) stated that the peace as an essential part of the national interest uses the traditional diplomacy to provide the world order.

For Jentleson (2014), the third element of the national interest is the prosperity. At this point, it is crucial to specify that the American national economy was also the global economy during the Cold War era. Especially after the Second World War, many European states became more dependent on American funds or economic recovery plans, like the Marshall Plan. In this sense, it is important to point out that the possibility of giving damage to the American national economy could disrupt the American national interest. In other words, the USA had a national interest perception with a robust American economy which was core to the American identity from the foundation of the USA. In this context, Jentleson (2014, p. 16) provided a landscape for the prosperity by describing it in the context of “the economic goals as driving forces behind U.S. foreign policy.”

The last element of the national interest is the principles including the ideas and values of the USA. Jentleson (2014, p. 16) explained the role of the beliefs on the American national interest from the perspective of “the democratic idealism.” On the other hand, this study adopts an approach which claims that the national values and principles are essential for the sake of the liberal democracy. Moreover; they play a crucial role in creating public opinion to reveal that their foreign policies on a particular occasion should be followed by other states to survive in a chaotic international political order.

As a result, the national interest has been important for the American national security understanding at a certain level. These four elements of the national interest reveal that security, economy, and politics cannot be handled separately. In order to understand the American security perception during the Cold War era, the dimensions of the American national interest should also be analyzed in detail. As Kaufman (2014, p. 13) put it in his study, “inherent in the concept of security is also the notion of threat, that is, anything that endangers a country’s core interests, people, or territory.”



#### 1.1.4. The Types of Political Power

As mentioned above, the concept of political power refers to the state-centric approach in this study. In this sense, the realist school of thought stresses out the importance of the national interest for the states in an anarchical political environment to survive. The point to take into account regarding the relationship between the national interest and the political power is the correlation between them. To be more obvious “self-interested states compete for power and security” (Snyder, 2017, p.8). In addition, it can be stated that the national interest of a state is affected by the amount and efficiency of the political power that states hold on. Moreover, the types of political power should be examined from a historical perspective. For example, states use their hard powers and soft powers at the same time for some cases to achieve their foreign policy goals; however, it is hard to determine what is the correlation between the time of the usage and the type of the political power.<sup>10</sup>

First of all, the relationship between two states is determined by the quality and size of the political power. When one state uses power on another, it can receive the desired outcome if it is the powerful one. In this way, the powerful one can get what it wants from this relationship. Secondly, if the hard power is directly used on one state, the powerful state can achieve its goals in the short term; however, it may not be effective in the long term, especially in international relations. At this point, this part aims to explain the essential elements of the political power briefly by focusing on the concept of hard power and soft power. The reason lying behind to focus on just two types of political power is related to the historical boundaries of this study.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> As mentioned while explaining the concept of power, the idea of power has a capillary nature. This conceptualization can be understood within the context of the natural science. For instance, for growing a flower, it is necessary to water the flower roots regularly, and this regularity plays a highly important role in the growing process. Because if there is much water than it should be, the flower will wither immediately. In addition, there is a second conditionality in this discussion which argues that if the water is given directly and overhead of the flower, the flower would be broken because of the intensity of the water and its size of the bulb.

<sup>11</sup> During the Cold War period, states avoided performing their hard power forces directly for not being destroyed. In relation to this, the usage of the hard power would have been costly for their national security agenda. However, this does not mean that they did not improve their hard power capacities. Instead of using such a power, they mostly concentrated on having those conventional and nuclear powers as a tool for deterrence.

For some scholars, the hard power means having the conventional and nuclear facilities for many states. It can be noted that the concept of hard power is as old as the states themselves. Almost all states used their hard powers during wars to attack their enemies or defend themselves against them. When and how to use the hard power depends upon the situation in a foreign policy context. In this respect, there are internal and external dynamics that affect the hard power usage for states. In such a discussion, the types and outcomes of the hard power are important. In relation to the purpose of the hard power, there is a discussion in the hard power literature that the hard power is all about having the material forms of the weapons. However, the capability to use and perform the hard power is much more important than just having it.

In order to understand the political power, it is also important to take into consideration the concept of soft power which was coined by Nye (2004, p. 5). Nye describes soft power as “the ability of a country to persuade others to do what it wants without force or coercion.” Of course, there had been several examples regarding the implementation of soft power until the conceptualization of the concept by Nye. For example, Snow (2009, p. 4) stated that the soft power refers “a new concept for an old habit.” Following the Nye’s contribution (2004, p. 5), while hard power includes military and economic power; soft power has several components such as diplomacy, culture, institutions, media, history, and ideology. In relation to the soft power conceptualization, Nye (1990, p. 158) highlighted an important correlation between the instruments of power and the foreign policy strategies by stating that “as the instruments of power change, so do strategies.” In this sense, it is possible to specify that this cannot be seen as a permanent situation which means that sometimes the types of the strategies shaped the foreign policy instruments as in the CCF case.

This very early explanation of the soft power highlights the meaning of such a concept rather than explaining the core idea about persuading. In other words, what needs to be explained about the soft power is its capability of persuasion. In this regard, Cooper (2004, p. 172) provided a framework which implies that “it consists in getting people to do what you want by getting them to want what you want.” As a result, it should be noted

that the very first difference between the hard power and the soft power is how it is implemented to get what states want in the long-term. In this regard, this thesis approaches the concept of the soft power as “the postmodern variant of power over opinion” (Melissen, 2005, p. 4).



## CHAPTER 2

### PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

This chapter aims to discuss the concept of public diplomacy as a foreign policy tool. In this context, public diplomacy can be understood and discussed from different disciplinary perspectives that approach to this concept diversely. To be more specific, it is possible to state that most studies in the field of public diplomacy have generally focused on the communicative aspect of this concept; however, the state-centric feature of public diplomacy is an important component in the diplomatic studies, and plays a key role about how to communicate with foreign publics. At this point, for analyzing the CCF case it is important to look at the basics of the traditional public diplomacy understanding within the foreign policy context. In this context, the aim of this chapter is to explain the traditional public diplomacy<sup>12</sup> as a foreign policy tool by examining its historical progress and essential tools.

The first part of this chapter tries to explain the basic definitions and elements of public diplomacy. After comprehending the basic structure, it is necessary to clarify the historical path that the traditional public diplomacy has followed. The second part of this chapter provides an overview regarding the history of public diplomacy. In addition to the conceptual and historical explanations of public diplomacy, the third part of this chapter aims to explain the essential public diplomacy tools briefly.

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<sup>12</sup> It should be noted that throughout this study, the term “public diplomacy” will refer to the traditional public diplomacy which is about “governments talking to global publics, and includes those efforts to inform, influence, and engage those publics in support of national objectives and foreign policies” (Snow 2009, p. 6). How Snow describes the traditional public diplomacy is important to understand its relationship with the national objectives and foreign policy for the states. In recent studies conducted in this field, most scholars have used a new public diplomacy term to describe the communication with foreign publics; however, this study analyzes the Cold War period, especially the period between 1950 and 1979, which means that today’s conceptual usage of the public diplomacy cannot be so efficient and clear to explain the given period.

## 2.1. THE BASICS OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

To analyze the concept of public diplomacy, it is important to explain the origin of this concept. In general, diplomacy has been labeled as the communication among states and state-to-state diplomacy.<sup>13</sup> Since the international system has changed especially by the foundation of the Westphalian order as it is discussed in the previous chapter, the need for establishing communication among states has taken a different form. At this point, they have had to reach foreign publics for establishing a relationship or developing a proper foreign policy strategy. Along with the changing structure of the world politics, the need of establishing communication and affecting countries in this way has changed in the course of time as a result of the change in the style of fighting. Both characteristics of inter-state communication via public and the method of using that communication by states have taken a different path. It means that as the way of fighting has changed, states have used various tools and approaches in their foreign policy agenda.

Communicating with foreign publics for different reasons, which is discussed below, has been included in the foreign policy agendas of states for centuries. Melissen (2005, p. 3), in this regard, views public diplomacy “as old wine in new bottles” and argues that “image cultivation, propaganda, and activities that we would now label as public diplomacy are nearly as old as diplomacy itself”. However, the conceptual origin of public diplomacy has emerged during the Cold War period. Prior to the Cold War period, using chemical or nuclear weapons for fighting had not been the only way to win a battle. Communicating with foreign publics gained a role as a foreign policy tool for the United States of America in the Cold War period, and that role has turned into the concept of public diplomacy in the course of time.

With regard to the multidisciplinary structure of public diplomacy, it is necessary to specify that public diplomacy can be approached with different disciplines such as

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<sup>13</sup>Melissen (2005, p. 5) views the basic distinction between the traditional diplomacy and public diplomacy in a way that “the former is about relationships between the representative of states, or other international actors; whereas the latter targets the general public in foreign societies and more specific non-official groups, organizations, and individuals”.

International Relations, Sociology, and Communication Studies which increase the numbers of varieties for this concept. Since this thesis tries to explain and analyze the CCF case in the context of history and politics, the way of interpretation on this case is theorized under the basics of IR concepts and theories.

### **2.1.1. The Definition of Public Diplomacy**

The concept of diplomacy has been fundamental for establishing a relationship with each other. In this context, Snow (2009, p. 6) describes the traditional diplomacy as “government-to-government relations; however, the concept of public diplomacy focuses on another type of relationship rather than the traditional diplomacy. For Gilboa (2016, p. 1297), “public diplomacy is the management of foreign policy through a government engagement with a foreign public”. From this point of view, it should be understood that public diplomacy is a concept that can be described “as engaging foreign audience achieve the desired foreign policy goals” (Kayani and Rehman, 2015, p. 47).

The difference between these two concepts should be examined in detail from a historical perspective. In this regard, communicating with foreign publics in the context of public diplomacy has been included in the foreign policy agendas of states since the Cold War.<sup>14</sup> Edmund Gullion, the dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University, coined the idea of public diplomacy in 1965 by defining it as “the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign publics” (Cull 2006). In the public diplomacy discussion, the point to pay attention to is the role of states in following a public diplomacy agenda. In this context, Tuch (1990, p. 3) defines public diplomacy as “a government’s process of communicating with foreign publics in an attempt to bring about understanding for its nation’s ideas and ideals, its institutions and culture, as well as its national goals and policies”.

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<sup>14</sup> Before the Cold War, there were many examples of communicating with foreign publics; however, this concept has gained its present form during the Cold War in line with the American public diplomacy agenda.

Another explanation on public diplomacy which emphasizes the US experience during the Cold War period defines the term as “an essential to win over the ‘hearts and minds’ of foreign audiences, and to convince them that their values, goals, and desires (...)” (Ham, 2005, p. 47). In this regard, Melissen made an important contribution to the field by using the term of “the contemporary public diplomacy that is dominated by the US experience” (Melissen, 2005, p. 6). The importance of this definition is about the historical foundations of the public diplomacy practices. In the literature, some scholars believed that public diplomacy should be approached as a unique room for the Cold War period while others adopted an approach that public diplomacy has been as old as the civilization history.

In this regard, it is possible to argue that communication comes from a need of doing something in politics. As Melissen (2005, p. 16) stated that there are three major concepts in explaining the public diplomacy which are “propaganda, nation-building, and foreign cultural relations”. In this context, one of the leading characteristics of public diplomacy is “to project an optimal country brand,” (Asia-Europe Foundation, 2016, p. 35) which is vital for understanding the underpinnings of American identity in a historical context.

Leonard, Stead, and Smewing (2002, p. 8) stated that “public diplomacy is about building relationships: understanding the needs of other countries, cultures, and peoples; (...) correcting misperceptions”. It means that two elements are essential for this relationship. These are states and foreign publics. In this regard, Leonard explains the situation from a meaningful perspective by arguing that public diplomacy is about building a relationship. At this point, the definition of public diplomacy has been expanded with the contributions of many other scholars. For instance, Cull (2009, p. 12) defines public diplomacy as “an attempt to manage the international environment through engagement with a foreign public”. In parallel with this explanation, the term public diplomacy means “communication that governments and other diplomatic actors make to the public” (Pigman, 2010, p. 121). The important point is to establish relations at a certain level as well as making communication with the public.

Communicating with foreign publics has been one of the prominent aspects of public diplomacy and it is important to understand the public diplomacy agendas of states; however, it does not enough to interpret the Cold War context. For instance, Nye (2008, p. 95) describes public diplomacy as “an instrument that governments use to mobilize the resources to communicate with and attract the publics of other countries, rather than merely their governments”. The point that Nye tries to touch upon is the communication aspect of public diplomacy; however, attracting the publics instead of governments was unique for the American public diplomacy during the Cold War period. Because in some cases, like the Cold War, states have used public diplomacy to affect other governments through their publics. Therefore, the need for foreign policy approach is important to understand, explain, and more importantly predict foreign policy agendas of states.

In addition to the issue of communication between states and foreign publics, the relationship between public diplomacy and building national identity should also be explained in detail. One of the leading targets of public diplomacy is “building national identity to deal with short-term issues or support long-term aims in foreign policy” (Gonesh and Melissen, 2005, p. 4). In this regard, there is a common understanding between public diplomacy and foreign policy. It is possible to say that one of the prominent goals of public diplomacy is “to serve a country’s national interest” (Gonesh and Melissen, 2005, p. 5). In parallel with these explanations, public diplomacy has three vital aspects which are “foreign policy goals, managing international environment, and branding a nation” (Kayani and Rehman, 2015, p. 48).<sup>15</sup>

Apart from the communication-based explanations about public diplomacy, there is also an important question that needs to be answered. This question is: who runs public diplomacy.<sup>16</sup> Gilboa (2008, p. 57) explains that there is a problem about defining the

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<sup>15</sup> The discussion lying behind the concept of nation branding plays an important role in public diplomacy implementations. It can be stated that states have followed their public diplomacy agendas through selling the discourse of their national identities. In this sense, Szondi (2008, p. 1) mentioned in his study which implies that the nation branding has a multidisciplinary structure “which incorporates political, cultural, sociological and historical approaches to identity”.

<sup>16</sup> This is a critical discussion in the traditional public diplomacy literature. With the development of technology in many fields such as media and the changing structure of the international system with a newly emerged non-state actors, new-public diplomacy field has emerged since the globalization process has started. That is why the primary driver of public diplomacy needs to be clarified for having a better understanding of the Cold War public diplomacy paradigms.



term public diplomacy by criticizing Malone. Malone argues that public diplomacy can be defined as “direct communication with foreign people” to affect their governments’ mindset. At this point, Gilboa puts forward that there is an uncertainty concerning the main actor of public diplomacy. According to Gilboa (2008, p. 57), the explanation of Malone (1985, p. 199) does not provide an answer regarding “who controls this communication”. It can be meaningful to say that individuals did not play an important role during that period. However, what should be highlighted is that the main actor who ran the foreign policy was the state in the traditional public diplomacy agenda during the Cold War period.

Although there is a paradigm shift from the traditional public diplomacy to the new public diplomacy field, the standard description has remained the same as it was before. The concept of public diplomacy refers to the idea that “a sovereign country communicates with publics in other countries aimed at informing and influencing audiences overseas to promote the national interest and advancing its foreign policy goals” (USC Center on Public Diplomacy).

In the traditional diplomacy understanding, the way of communication has been state-to-state since the Westphalian order was established. Throughout history, states have needed a way for communicating with each other to determine the political path to follow. In the course of time, this diplomatic paradigm has shifted since the liberal democracies have been more common as a regime type. In liberal democracies, the rights of individuals are among the most important components. Consequently, the traditional diplomacy understanding has changed in the course of time and other types of diplomacy have been put forward. In other words, states have begun to communicate not only with each other but also with the publics of other states. In this regard, Ross (2003, p. 224) argues that public diplomacy is “the public face of traditional diplomacy”.

In this context, Gregory (2011, p. 199) states that public diplomacy in the twentieth century was “a state-based instrument used by foreign ministries and other government agencies to engage and persuade foreign publics for the purpose of influencing governments”. This statement shows that the general understanding of public diplomacy

during the Cold War period was mostly determined by states, not by NGOs or individuals. This kind of state-centric approach can be helpful in explicating realist public diplomacy understanding. Golan (2015, p. 417) discusses that public diplomacy requires “a wider definition that includes government, corporations (...)”. However, this approach does not offer a clear opinion in terms of understanding the role of states in public diplomacy.

Moreover, the definition of the scholar on public diplomacy is important in terms of understanding the period following the structural transformation in the international system. Because, the transition from a bipolar system to a multipolar one was experienced with the ending of the Cold War. As a result of this, non-state actors as well as states began to have a right to comment on politics. However, this thesis analysis the American public diplomacy of the Cold War era. Therefore, focusing on the role of the state is more important to understand the politics of the period. In addition to that state-centric approach and the priority of national security, realist public diplomacy aims at obtaining “changing the policy of foreign governments” (Yun and Toth, 2009, p. 494).

In order to understand the traditional public diplomacy understanding during the Cold War period, it is necessary to focus on the main objectives of the states that implemented the public diplomacy as a foreign policy tool. In this sense, Gilboa (2008, p. 59) provided a landscape for public diplomacy by arguing that the core idea about public diplomacy is “to provide the public in the target society with more balanced information on one’s country to counter the domestic propaganda of the target society’s government.”

### **2.1.2. Public Diplomacy and Propaganda**

According to many scholars, the Cold War was not just a nuclear conflict among superpowers. It also had a social aspect which was related to the usage of power through different tools and this social aspect created a different stage for the way of war on behalf of superpowers. Both aspects of the Cold War followed some patterns, which were discussed above in terms of their foreign policies which were mostly in harmony with their domestic policies. In relation to the balance of foreign-domestic policy, it should be

highlighted that the CCF case was explained as a part of American public diplomacy understanding, not as an American propaganda tool.

As mentioned above, the term of public diplomacy includes two main parts. One of them is related to the public itself. Concerning this, what is explained in the first part of this theoretical discussion is the main features of the differences between propaganda and public diplomacy. Since both concepts targeted to affect the minds of foreign publics in different ways, there are still some dissimilarities with regard to their meanings and the method of implementation. From this point of view, it can be stated that the definition of public diplomacy in this study can be seen as a diverse part of propaganda. To be more specific, public diplomacy should be evaluated apart from the propaganda in the Cold War period which is discussed in detail below.

Some scholars use propaganda and public diplomacy interchangeably. From this perspective, the distinctive characteristic that separates the term public diplomacy from propaganda is still an ongoing debate for some scholars. For instance, public diplomacy is defined as “a synonym for open propaganda which lacks the negative connotations of the latter term; in short a euphemism for it” (The Palgrave Macmillian Dictionary of Diplomacy, 2012, p. 305). Also, Hart (2013, p. 3) interprets that public diplomacy is a sort of “institutionalized propaganda as foreign policy tools”. Besides, Manheim (1990, p. 18) states that affecting the foreign policy of the targeted states by using public diplomacy can be perceived as that “public diplomacy was a form of government-directed propaganda”.

The definition of propaganda plays a vital role in understanding the differences between public diplomacy and propaganda. At this point, it can be helpful to specify what propaganda does not mean. In this respect, Gulbert (2010, p. 421) states that the term of propaganda does not have the same meaning with “advertising, or public relations”. In this context, it can be argued that propaganda has its narratives and historical framework which is not a part of this study.<sup>17</sup> What is important regarding the term of public

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<sup>17</sup> For further information, it would be useful to apply for these studies: Haas, E., B. 1953. “The Balance of Power: Prescription, Concept, or Propaganda?” *World Politics* 5(4): 442-477.; and Ertekin, Y. 1988. “The

diplomacy in this context is that public diplomacy has a characteristic of advertising a country's messages to the targeted foreign publics as it is discussed in the previous part of this chapter. It means that public diplomacy aimed at selling the current facts about a country to foreign publics and those facts can be described as real data belonging to the related state.

From this point of view, the concept of propaganda is defined as “a communication tool employed to influence the perceptions or beliefs of an individual or a group of people by presenting a one-sided argument” (Cultural Diplomacy Dictionary, 2013, p. 78). This definition indicates a critical characteristic regarding the differences between these two concepts. This difference is related to whether it is a single or multiple-sided characteristic of public diplomacy. As it is explained before, public diplomacy had multiple-sided characteristics in the Cold War context. It means that public diplomacy agenda includes the need for interaction between states and the targeted foreign publics. It is not just a governmental intervention to foreign publics with some fallacies about that government or political situation.

One of the aims of public diplomacy is to foster the national identities of states. In relation to this argument, Nowotny (2012, p. 166) points out that it is possible to portray the concept as a way of “embellishing the image of a country”. This image should be a sum of historical and cultural underpinnings of the state in question. Therefore, this aspect of public diplomacy puts forward a distinction between propaganda and public diplomacy regarding the messages of both concepts. A critical stance to such a definition, which describes the public diplomacy as propaganda, was developed by Nye (2008, p. 101) who states that “conveying information and selling a positive image is a part of it, but public diplomacy also involves building long-term relationships that create an enabling environment for government policies”.

Another prominent issue regarding explaining and understanding of propaganda is related to the discipline which offers various explanations for the term. It means that each field

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Concept of Propaganda Techniques in World War I and II.” *Turkish Public Administration Annual* 13-14(1): 114.

can highlight a different aspect of propaganda. In this regard, Jowett and O'Donnell (2012, p. 1) explain that propaganda "is to analyze the ideologies of the practitioners and the dissemination and impact on public opinion". This explanation shows that there is a similarity between public diplomacy and propaganda regarding its impact on public opinion. However, it does not mean that these two terms can be used interchangeably. To be more specific, although what these two concepts target concerning politics may be in parallel with each other, but it does not show that they both use the same tools and processes.

At this point, it cannot be denied that like propaganda, public diplomacy includes the idea of affecting foreign people to attract their governments. On the other hand, the main difference between these two concepts is about the message that they give. Wolf and Rosen (2004, p. 3) state that propaganda is mainly based on "some combinations of falsehoods and untruths mixed in facts". On the other hand, Kayani and Rehman (2015, p. 48) point out that the term of public diplomacy is "based on facts and persuasive policies". This statement is essential to understand the message or the idea that is tried to be sold by public diplomacy. In this context, it can be stated that public diplomacy is about an existing situation or historical background of a state.

It can be said that all these explanations try to put forward a different aspect of public diplomacy. What this study conceptually accepts is that public diplomacy is a legitimate and effective way of creating a common perception among foreign societies in order to increase the influence of political power on states. At this point, the legitimate side of public diplomacy understanding can be understood in line with the distinction between public diplomacy and propaganda. How it is legitimate and effective can be measured by looking at the foreign policy outcomes in the IR context.

### **2.1.3. Public Diplomacy and Power**

As it is discussed in the first chapter, there are many different aspects regarding the concept of power at certain levels. In this respect, how the realist school of thought defines this concept depends upon many factors and all these definitions are mostly state-centric because of the nature of this discipline. What should not be underestimated here

is the structure of power that affects the political power. For this reason, it would be better to focus on the nature of power and relate it with the political power to analyze the relationship between public diplomacy and political power. In literature, the concept of power and political power can be used interchangeably; however, this study approaches to these two concepts from different perspectives.

Understanding and explaining public diplomacy requires a theoretical framework and a historical context for analyzing the CCF case. The point to take into consideration in this part of the study is the relation between public diplomacy and soft power. In public diplomacy literature, it is discussed whether public diplomacy is a direct extension of soft power or not. This part of the study tries to analyze the idea that public diplomacy and soft power can be in relation with each other but it would be wrong to say that public diplomacy can only be understood in the context of soft power.

Rather than an inductive understanding on the relationship between public diplomacy and the soft power, it should be noted that this study does not underestimate the fact that public diplomacy can be accepted as one of the dynamics of soft power politics. To be more specific, the CCF case had its own unique features in parallel with the period of the Cold War and it cannot be explained as an American soft power activity; however, it is important to accept that the American public diplomacy activities had an important impact on the American soft power politics during that period.

The definition of soft power should be clarified in order to make a clear discussion on this topic. How soft power and public diplomacy can interact with each other in some cases should also be explained. For this reason, understanding the basis of power is a requirement to some extent. In this context, political power is used by many IR scholars as a capacity to destroy the others in the international politics. On the other hand, the concept of power has a different feature except for the capacity of a state to get someone to do something, which is essential for the public diplomacy logic. In this sense, what Foucault says about the nature of power is core to the theoretical position of this study. Foucault (2000, p. 340) says that “what defines a relationship of power is that it is a mode

of action that does not act directly and immediately on others. Instead, it acts upon their actions: an action upon an action, on possible or actual future or present actions”.

The nature of public diplomacy has some outstanding features related to the concept of power at some levels in a different way compared to the traditional diplomacy. In other words, the Foucauldian understanding of the power shows that power cannot be understood within a single outlook; what is needed here is the perspective regarding how the power works for the ones who exercise it. After understanding this kind of relationship, it can be easier to analyze the implementation of public diplomacy during the Cold War period. In this sense, it can be said that the reason why the IR literature consistently focuses on the relationship between soft power and public diplomacy is related to the multi-faceted nature of the power itself. In this respect, it can be stated that the concept of public diplomacy is the sum of soft power capacity and the national security priorities of a state. Through the public diplomacy, states can be successful in their foreign policy agendas based on national security interests.

On the one hand, public diplomacy can be thought as a tool of soft power as it was discussed before. Sharp (2009, p. 267) indicates that soft power is one of the main notions of public diplomacy by referring Nye’s studies which mainly focus on the idea that “if other people like you and agree with your values, they are more likely to do what you want”. Additionally, Yun and Toth (2009, p. 496) argue that liberalists generally see public diplomacy as a way “to create attraction for a country’s culture (values), ideals (political, economic, social systems), and policies to build an enabling environment for national interests”. Another scholar who has a similar opinion is Manheim (1994, p. 18) who states that public diplomacy has evolved in time “with linkages to domestic publics, soft power and interaction with other fields”. For Kayani and Rehman (2015, p. 47), “public diplomacy is considered as a platform from where one can initiate its soft power politics”.

On the other hand, some scholars believe that the conceptualization of soft power is not sufficient to provide an efficient public diplomacy model and it needs to be improved. Relatedly, this study will theorize its focus in parallel with the explanations of Golan

(2015, p. 418) aiming to criticize the idea of public diplomacy is a variation of soft power with positivist approach which means that the public diplomacy “lacks a guiding theoretical framework that allows scholars to make predictions regarding international engagement outcomes” Golan (2015, p. 418).

As it is also mentioned before, it is possible to say that powerful states have hard power capabilities. In such situation, understanding why powerful states needed soft power in order to solve a conflict is important for analyzing public diplomacy understanding of the USA in the Cold War period. Moreover, it is possible to analyze the basic motivations of the modern-states for using the public diplomacy as a foreign policy tool. What is not clear enough is why states do not only use their hard power capabilities during a conflict, such as the Cold War period. In this regard, the concept of soft power approaches to this topic by examining the capacity and tools of states to convince the others at the level of international politics.

In brief, this study follows an approach which says that public diplomacy is one of the soft power indicators for states; however, it does not mean that how public diplomacy works can be understood only within the concept of soft power. In other words, the concepts of soft power and public diplomacy have overlapping features, like persuasion and making communication. There is much beyond of this discussion and the jury is still out there.

## **2.2. THE HISTORY OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY**

From a historical perspective, what will be analyzed in this part of the study is the historical context of public diplomacy. It is important to understand that the need for communicating with foreign publics is crucial in the field of international politics, and each period has its own political discourses and historical context. In this regard, Melissen (2005, p. 15) describes public diplomacy as “a country’s foreign policy which is in tune with medium-term objectives and long term aims.”



In relation to all these definitions, when and how public diplomacy began to be used as a foreign policy tool is prominent to figure out the basics of the international system during the Cold War years. In this context, Gilboa (2008, p. 59) points out that “due to the enormous destructive power of nuclear weapons, it became clear that information and persuasion campaigns would be the principal weapons the two superpowers would utilize in their global ideological and strategic struggle”. From this perspective, the essence of the international system during the Cold War that will be explained in the following chapter is a requirement for understanding this case.

At this point, Gilboa (2008, p. 59) developed a model based on the historical periods by focusing on three different models which are “the Basic Cold War model, the Non-State Transnational model, and the Domestic PR model”. At this point, it may be useful to use the Basic Cold War model for analyzing the CCF case. For Gilboa (2008, p. 59), “if public opinion in the target society is persuaded to accept a favorable image of the other side, it will exert pressure on its government to alter existing hostile attitudes and policies”. It means that the conditionality between the positive image of the other side and the changing patterns on that other side’s government has been core to the Cold War politics regarding the American public diplomacy agenda. Besides, Gilboa (2008, p. 59) developed another aspect of the Cold War model which includes the idea of that “states used public diplomacy in antagonistic relationships to achieve long-term results in foreign societies”. The former aspect of the Cold War model on public diplomacy emphasizes the importance of the quality of the relationship among states that used public diplomacy as a foreign policy tool in accordance with the duration of this relationship such as long-term or short-term.

In this regard, it can be expressed that public diplomacy is a way of communication at different levels between states and foreign publics. However, it can be pointed out that public diplomacy was not just a way of communication during the Cold War. Gilboa, Prodrou and Frangonikolopoulos (2012, p. 231) highlight that public diplomacy was a “substantial tool during the Cold War as it framed the superpowers’ need to win the hearts and minds of the people in their quest to win the ideological battles of the Cold War and garner support for the delicate balance of nuclear weapons”.

Furthermore, there are several attempts to generalize the implementation of public diplomacy in literature. At this point, it should be clarified which perspective would be the perfect match for analyzing the CCF case. To understand public diplomacy models, it is necessary to comprehend the basics of public diplomacy. For instance, Nye describes public diplomacy by focusing on three dimensions in his study. According to Nye (2008, pp. 101-102), there are three dimensions of this concept which are “to deal with crisis, strategic communication, and the development of lasting relationships”.<sup>18</sup> It can be stated that each dimension can be effective within a specific period of time in terms of the implementation of public diplomacy. For Nye (2008, p. 102), these dimensions play a vital role in “helping to create an attractive image of a country that can improve its prospects for obtaining its desired outcomes”. However, Nye’s statement has been unsuccessful to explain why these dimensions can create an attractive image of a country. Additionally, what remains unclear here is the types of the desired outcome. In other words, states follow a public diplomacy agenda for internal and external reasons from time to time, and Nye’s conceptualization about public diplomacy with its three dimensions cannot explain the role of public diplomacy as a foreign policy tool.

### **2.3. PUBLIC DIPLOMACY TOOLS**

One of the vital elements of public diplomacy agenda can be put forward by asking the question how this kind of diplomacy can be implemented in practice. In this regard, historical and political conditions are crucial to understand the usage of public diplomacy tools. It means that there are lots of ways to implement public diplomacy, but each of them can be used for various purposes in different periods.

In parallel with this, the main instruments of public diplomacy can vary depending on the ranges of implementation, such as “immediate, intermediate, and long term” (Gilboa 2008, p. 73). According to Gilboa (2008, p. 73), the first term requires “advocacy, international broadcasting, and cyber public diplomacy”; the second one requires international public relations, corporate diplomacy, and diaspora public diplomacy”; and

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<sup>18</sup> In public diplomacy literature, there is a tendency to describe the public diplomacy concept as a way of making strategic communication, like Nye (2008) and Farwell (2012). In this regard, Farwell defines public diplomacy “as strategic communication, depending upon the activity and the circumstances.”

lastly the third one requires cultural diplomacy, exchanges, and branding”. In addition to, the historical landscape provides the common mindset of the decision-makers who implement the public diplomacy. In this context, Gilboa (2016, p. 1299) states that the essential public diplomacy instruments used during the Cold War era “included advocacy, international broadcasting, cultural diplomacy, foreign aid and international exchanges.”

In addition to this perspective, Nakamura and Weed (2009, p. 1) offer a much broader categorization for the tools of public diplomacy, such as “people-to-people contact, expert speaker programs, art and cultural performances, books and literature, radio and broadcasting and movies”. With the development of technology in today’s globalized world, these tools have become diversified in the course of time and states have looked for new trends to follow their public diplomacy agenda. Relatedly, “the best use of the media” (Pigman 2010, p. 124) is at the center of many public diplomacy strategies. What needs to be known about these tools is mostly related to the political need of states. In addition, what is also important is the period when the need for public diplomacy emerged.

In parallel with all these explanations, Izadi (2016, p. 13) explains the tools of public diplomacy as “government-sponsored international broadcasting; cultural, educational, informational programs; and citizen exchanges”. At this point, it can be specified that funding for cultural and educational programs may be considered as a public diplomacy tool, however, what is funded is extremely important at this point. In addition to such an American image in Europe, what also needs to be known is what public diplomacy is. To be more specific, the traditional public diplomacy tools were not usable for the USA to fulfill its security-based foreign policies in the Cold War period because of the image that is mentioned above. However, there was a need for foreign publics whose countries were democratic and could be affected by its public. For this reason, the USA generated a new public diplomacy tool like funding culture and intellectualism.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE COLD WAR AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

*“The basic structure of the argument has the childlike simplicity of a fairy tale. There are two forces in the world, at “opposite poles”. In one corner we have absolute evil; in the other, sublimity. There can be no compromise between them”. (Chomsky, 1992, p. 10)*

This chapter aims to explain the origins of the Cold War on behalf of the USA to understand the American public diplomacy agenda in this period. For this reason, this chapter is divided into two main subsections which focus on the origins of the American Cold War policies in Europe and the primary tools used by the Americans to implement those policies. In this regard, the first part of this chapter mainly concentrates on the historical path of the Cold War which emerged by the end of the 1940s. However, what is discussed particularly here is the heritage of the Second World War to the international political order in the eyes of the USA.

The first part of this chapter aims to provide an essential historical context for understanding the American Cold War policies. In addition, the second part of this chapter seeks to focus on the American Cold War policies in Europe within the context of the security-related foreign policy understanding of the USA. For this reason, the essential Cold War policy of the USA that should be explained is the Containment Policy which was formalized through the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine.

#### 3.1. THE ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR

From a historical perspective, the Cold War was a conflictual era starting by the end of the 1940s and lasting until 1989. In this war, the traditional warfare forces which were dominated by the USA and the USSR were not used. It is hard to analyze the Cold War

era without looking at the heritage of the World War II. First of all, the most important aspect of this discussion is related to the economic structure that shaped the policies of great powers. For example, while the gross national product of the USA was about “\$200 thousand-million in 1940”; the GNP rate of the USA reached “\$300 thousand-million in 1950” (“The Postwar Economy:1945-1960” 2012).

What should not be underestimated here is the growing rate of the GNP for the USA. In other words, it is important to notice that there was a huge economic explosion after such a disaster like the World War II and the USA improved its economic capacity. In addition to the economic power of the USA, there is another dimension of the American power based on atomic bombs. Hook and Spainer (2010, p. 39) state that, “the USA had fifty bombs plus to means to deliver them, while the Soviet Union had only tested an atomic device” in 1950 which shows that the USA had a superiority on the Soviet Union economically and militarily.

In relation to this picture, the only state that remained the same was not obviously the USA during this period; there was also the Soviet Union. As Kaufman (2014, p. 83) argues in his study, “the United States was the only country strong enough to balance that power”. Thus, the relationship between the USA and the Soviet Union played an important role in shaping the nature of the international politics of the Cold War era. In this context, this chapter tries to analyze the American Cold War policies. For this reason, it is important to focus on the main drivers of the American economy which might be useful to formalize the security-related American foreign policies in this era.

It is also important to mention that the Cold War altered the meaning of how to fight on behalf of the states. In this regard, it can be stated that the parties of this war started to fight with each other indirectly which means that the possibility of destroying each other became a war tool. The increasing level of nuclear power made the parties more anxious about their survival. It is possible to say that the destructive feature of nuclear weapons changed the attitudes of many states and they started to take their positions without fighting with each other and using their conventional forces. That is why this process was labeled as the Cold War by George Orwell (Valjak, 2017). Furthermore, it is important

to see that the Cold War period was multidimensional as mentioned above. In this regard, Painter (2006, p. 1) holds a view that there are many different conflictual fields between two superpowers like “a costly and dangerous arms race, the polarization of domestic and international politics, the division of the world into economic spheres”.

Another important point to take into consideration is that the growing American economy was not the only important dynamic of the international politics; there was also the Soviet power that was growing and could become an economic threat to the USA. In other words, the Marxist economic doctrine that has been the core element of the Soviet economic structure is mostly seen as a threat to the American liberal economy. In relation to the American liberal economy, it can be noted that the main concerns about the widespread of the communist ideology is related to the need of a strong free market economy for the USA so that the American economy can grow effectively. In this regard, there are several studies which focus on the social, cultural, military-related aspects of the Cold War on behalf of the USA; however, this study approaches the American Cold War policies in the context of the national security context by focusing on the economic interests. Even though the American economy was stronger and more effective compared to other states, the main concern of the Americans in terms of the American economy was the possibility of being decelerated by the future communist economies.

On the other hand, the Soviet Union had another political agenda. Instead of concentrating on the economic growth, they mostly dealt with the spreading of the communism in Europe. In order to understand the American Cold War policies based on the national security, what needs to be clarified is the Soviet motivations during the Cold War era. In this sense, Waltz (1993, p. 48) states that the Soviet Union mainly aimed at spreading its communist way of life in many countries as much as possible; on the other hand, the core objectives of the USA were “to plant and foster democratic ones”.

Especially after the Second World War, the Soviet Union gained a huge public support from the Western European countries following the elimination of the Nazis. In this regard, it is suggested that the procommunist governments were established by the Soviet Union in Bulgaria, Romania, and Poland in the first place. For Americans, the attempt to

establish a procommunist government in these countries could be considered as a possible threat to their security and economy. Because if the attempt of spreading communism by the Soviet became successful, the USA could not be able to sell its products to Europe. This situation led the USA to follow up the Containment policy which will be discussed in the following part of this section.

In relation to such a political environment, it is possible to state that this process has shaped the current international politics for many different reasons. As mentioned before, the Cold War is a period which should be differentiated from the traditional wars in which states used their hard powers, like the conventional forces. However, the Cold War era was a symbol of the change in the way of fight and it led to the development of different fields to fight for states. In relation to this issue, this period may be divided into four main categories as “a war of ideology, a political war, the military confrontation, and a war of economics” (Kaufman, 2014, p. 84).

## **3.2. THE AMERICAN COLD WAR POLICIES**

While explaining the American Cold War policies, one of the important points to take into account is to determine the aspect of the Cold War to be analyzed for understanding the American Cold War policies. In this regard, this section aims to provide a general view regarding the essential Cold War policy tools of the USA to understand the basic motivations behind funding the CCF in such a chaotic political environment. For this reason, this subsection is divided into two main parts which focus on the Containment Policy with the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, and the role of the National Security Council Acts. It can be easily seen that each of them was developed as a counter political position determined by the American decision-makers.

### **3.2.1. The Containment Policy**

As mentioned above, it would not be wrong to say that the Containment policy was a reflection as a prevention to fulfil the American national security in terms of the economic concerns. In this regard, Painter (2006, p. 9) states that the Western bloc of the Cold War

had concerns about that “the Soviet domination of Eastern Europe could limit access to needed markets, foodstuffs, and raw materials, as well as pose a security threat to Western Europe”. This means that it would be wrong to explain and analyze the American Cold War policies based on the economy and the security.

In order to understand the security-related foreign policies of the Americans during the Cold War, the methodological approach that the USA followed should be carefully analyzed. In harmony with Chomsky (1992, p. 10), the vital political strategy that led the American foreign policy was containment and deterrence. At this point, it should be added that the deterrence was one of the vital elements of the American Cold War policies in terms of the possible usage of the nuclear power among the parties of the Cold War. However, the reason lying behind not to explain the deterrence policy is related to the historical and theoretical boundaries of this study which aims to discuss the non-interventionist preventions taken by the USA to achieve the national security goals.

In this historical context, the Containment policy, which was formulated in 1946 by George Kennan, in his famous the “X” Article, refers to the American foreign policy against the Soviet Union to contain some European states to prevent the establishment of the possible communist governments in those states. As Kissinger (2014, p. 285) quoted from Kennan, this article focuses on the Soviet pressure by saying that “it could be contained by the adroit and vigilant application of counter-force at a series of constantly shifting geographical and political points”. The important point to take into consideration is to understand how the containment policy approached to the Soviet threat.

In other words, the containment policy was implemented for the American perception of the Soviet threat in terms of the expansionist nature of the communism. For this reason, the American Cold War policies for the first phase of this period were characterized within the context of the communist threat. In addition, it is possible to state that the dynamics of the geography and the political context mattered a lot to determine how to implement such a policy. In this regard, there are two main tools that were used to implement the containment policy. These are the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan



that will be explained in the following part. From another point of view, the main goals of the containment policy at the first phase of the Cold War period can be summarized by looking at how the USA perceived the Soviet Union. It means that there was a need to block the expansion of the Soviet power influence among the European countries in order to prevent the establishment of an international communist state. In this sense, the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan were the most influential foreign policy tools for the American decision-makers.

In 1947, Truman Doctrine was announced. It refers to the international aid given by the Truman administration which cost about “\$400 million for economic aid and military supplies for Greece and Turkey” (Hook and Spanier, 2010, p. 42). The need for an aid doctrine was necessary for the American decision-makers at that time because the World War II gave much damage to the American military. In other words, even though the USA was the party that survived after such a devastating world war, it still needed a recovery. For example, “total active-duty troop levels fell from more than 12 million in 1945 to less than 1.5 million in 1948” (Hook and Spanier, 2010, pp. 33-34). In this context, it can be said that the USA implemented the containment policy to recover both European states and itself. In this context, the main idea was to create a secure environment to improve its economy by selling its products while winning the hearts of the Europeans. The USA also wanted to convince them that the American foreign policy against the Soviet Union had to be followed to survive in such a chaotic international order.

However, this economic aid package was not only used as an aid to some states which were greatly damaged after the Second World War; it also had a political aspect which aimed at containing the spread of communism. For instance, Truman described his doctrine in a way that “it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures” (Merrill, 2006, p. 27). In this statement, what should not be underestimated is the tone of the anticommunist discourse. In other words, it can be stated that the Truman doctrine did not directly address to the Soviet Union as the party that needs to be contained. Instead, it approached its program as “the political support that enabled US leaders to act on their

beliefs about the relationship between politics, economics, and US security” (Painter, 2006, p. 19).

Another important point to remember is that the Truman Doctrine was implemented with a focus on Turkey and Greece. Through the Truman Doctrine, these two states were funded to improve their military strength for preparing them to a possible arms race which would be a key characteristic of the Cold War.

As an important part of the Containment policy, the Marshall Plan, which was first known as the European Recovery Program, played a substantial role in the American Cold War policies in many fields. Through the Marshall funds, the USA could have been able to support many cultural and social events to foster the American way of life to gain the governmental support for its foreign policy agendas. Obviously, the only aspect of the Marshall Plan was not limited to the international funds to gain support from the foreign publics. For instance, Kaufman (2014, p. 84) describes the main aim of the Marshall Plan as “to expand markets for its own goods and the need for stable trading partners that would not be tempted to turn to communism”.

In the context of gaining the political support to foster the American national economy which did not remain as national during the Cold War era, the role of the Marshall Plan should be understood to analyze the funding of the CCF by the USA through the CIA covert action plan. In other words, as Kay (2014, p. 53) argues in his study, the Marshall Plan was “an investment in the domestic sources of American power because it facilitated a generation of consumers in Europe who had a positive view of America and its products”.

Regarding the economic aspect of the Marshall plan, it can be said that the total cost of such a recovery program was about \$33 billion at that time (Hook and Spanier, 2010, p. 53). In addition, this program was implemented through “a series of bilateral loans made available after a specific plan of action” (Kay, 2014, p. 53). In this sense, it can be said that this fund was managed by the American officials strategically. In other words, how

to distribute such a fund had a strategic importance in parallel with the American foreign policies during the Cold War period.

There is also an important point to be clarified with regard to the distribution of such a recovery fund. Since the Marshall Plan never openly targeted the Soviet Union as a threat, the USA needed to specify the European states to support.<sup>19</sup> As it is mentioned in the related speech (“The Marshall Plan Speech” 1947): “Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist”. In this context, this fund provided to all European states including the Eastern Europe to emphasize the main aim of the USA as a support to misery and poverty, not being against directly to communism (Hook and Spanier, 2010, p. 53).

### **3.2.2. The Importance of the National Security Council Reports**

As mentioned above, the national security was the core element of the American Cold War policies for many different reasons. In this sense, what needs to be mentioned here is how the Americans formulized the national security in their foreign policy agenda. In this regard, it is possible to say that the National Security Council report known as the NSC-68 played a substantial role in forming the national security program for the USA. In fact, it can be clearly specified that the NSC-68 was the most important document claiming the American Cold War policies. In other words, it is possible to describe this document as “the seminal statement of US Cold War policies” (Painter, 2006, p. 4). At this point, the important issue to take into consideration is the international and political structure of the Cold War era at that time. In fact, what the Americans perceived as an existential threat may be related to the key message of this document.

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<sup>19</sup> Considering the targeted states for the Marshall Plan, it would be better to mention the reaction of those states to such a funding program. As mentioned above, the funding proposal was sent to all European states including the Eastern Europe, and the Soviet Union which responded negatively by Stalin. According to Kay (2014, p. 53), sixteen European states were involved in the Marshall Plan which means that those states received “a transfer of about \$13.3 billion between 1948 and 1951”.

From a historical perspective, there are two main factors that increased the level of American anxiety about the spread of the Soviet communism. At first, the Soviet Union publicly announced in 1949 that they developed their own atomic bomb. Following this announcement, China started to be ruled as a communist state as of 1949. These two issues fostered the fear that communism would become widespread according to the thought of the USA. Following the announcement of the Soviet Union which implied that they had improved their own atomic bombs, the USA reached the opinion that they could be destroyed. Morgenthau (1960, p.167) states that the atomic bomb threatened the American national security in two ways: “by raising a fundamental issue of military strategy and by calling into question the viability of the very foundation of America as a nation: the sovereign state”. In this regard, it cannot be concluded that this fear had both military and ideological grounds for the Americans. In relation to the containment policy which is discussed in the previous sections, it was important to determine for the USA how to stop the rise of the Soviet power in such an international environment.

In order to understand the basic motivations of the American national security understanding during the Cold War era, the point to be analyzed here is not the historical narrative saying that the Soviet communism was spreading and the Americans had to stop it. It does not mean that it was not a threat against the American national security; however, the basics of the American Cold War policies based on the American national security can be understood by looking at the speed of the rise of the Soviet communism in favor of the Red Army and the atomic bombs that the Soviet had. In other words, it can be stated that there was an American perception pointing out that “the future would not allow time to mobilize, that preparation would have to become something permanent” (Jablonsky et al., 1997, p. 7).

As a result of such an international political situation, the National Security Council prepared a report in 1950 to shed light on what to do in order to stop the rise of the Soviet Union. For the Americans, the Soviet Union was a huge threat to the whole world because of the atomic bomb. In addition, they had the Red Army which was supported by many European foreign publics, especially after the World War II.

From this point of view, the NSC-68 determined that there were three political and ideological objectives of the Soviet Union. According to the report (The Executive Secretary on United States Objectives and Programs for National Security 1950: 8), the first one was related to the internationalist view of the communism which was based upon the idea of Socialism in One Country developed by Stalin against Trotsky in the late 1920s.<sup>20</sup> In other words, the NSC-68 warned against the possibility of one strong communist country that could be established by the Soviet Union.

The second issue to deal with was the expansionism of the Soviet Union through the satellite states to establish such a big communist state. The last point to which the NSC-68 paid attention was the competitive features of the expansionist Soviet policies. In case that the Soviet Union was perceived as a threat to socialism in one country, they would undermine any of those threats including the USA.

From this point of view, it is important to analyze the recommendations of the NSC-68 in terms of the American Cold War strategies. At this point, the point to take into consideration regarding the NSC-68 is the objectives that needed to be followed by the USA for a free society and a secured international political order. In this context, there are three main objectives suggested in the NSC-68 (The Executive Secretary on United States Objectives and Programs for National Security 1950: 8) to protect itself and the whole world from the communism which was seen as the biggest obstacle against the American way of thinking and free society.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> The idea of Socialism in One Country refers to the Stalinist position against the Trotskyist understanding of the socialism and communism. In the literature, there are some studies which say that the idea of socialism in one country is not unique to the Stalin administration. For further information, it would be useful to follow up the study of Ree, E., V. 2010, 'Socialism in one country before stalin: german origins', *Journal of Political Ideologies*, vol.15, no.2, pp. 143-59.

On the other hand, this study approaches the idea of socialism in one country within the context of the Stalinist way of thinking. Therefore, what it refers basically is related to the establishment of the international communism as a one country.

<sup>21</sup> In this sense, these three objectives should be mentioned for having a better understanding about the Cold War era in terms of providing a free and secured society through the American liberalism. According to the NSC-68, the three main objectives were as follows;

- a.) "...we must make ourselves strong, both in the way in which we affirm our values in the conduct of our national life, and in the development of our military and economic strength.
- b.) We must lead in building a successfully functioning political and economic system in the free world. It is only by practical affirmation, abroad as well as at home, of our essential values, that we can preserve our own integrity, in which lies the real frustration of the Kremlin design.

Even though there were several directives that were established by the National Security Council (NSC) during the Cold War, another important document that needs to be analyzed for having a better understanding of the foreign information measurement is the NSC-4. This directive was prepared by the NSC within the context of the U.S. Information and Educational Exchange Act known as the Smith-Mundt Act (Kennedy and Lucas, 2005, p. 312).<sup>22</sup>

The NSC-4 defined the main problem in relation to the national security within the context of the foreign intelligence as “to strengthen and coordinate all foreign information measures of the U.S. Government in furtherance of the attainment of US national objectives” (National Security Council 1947). The main objective pointed out by the NSC-4 report shows that there was a strong relationship between the foreign information and the US national objectives during the Cold War period. As stated by Kennedy and Lucas (2005, p. 313), the NSC 4-A document was designed with a budget that was “set aside five percent of counterpart funds” for undefined operations.”

With regard to this objective, it is important to mention the approach of the USA to the issue of the foreign intelligence during the Cold War-era. According to the NSC-4 document, “the extension of economic aid to certain foreign countries, particularly in Europe, is one of the principal means by which the US has undertaken to defend its vital interests” (National Security Council 1947). It can be said that this perception based on

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- c.) ...our policy and actions must be such as to foster a fundamental change in the nature of the Soviet system, a change toward which the frustration of the design is the first and perhaps the most important step. Clearly it will not only be less costly but more effective if this change occurs to a maximum extent as a result of internal forces in Soviet society.”

Within the context of the NSC-68 document, what should be understood in the first place is related to the importance of the being powerful to affirm the American values and the American way of life to show the rest of the world associated with the military and economic capability. It means that the Americans implemented their security-related foreign policies during the Cold War era by developing their national economic and military strengths. Furthermore, what needs to be emphasized upon here is the methodology that was used by the States to foster a free world image in Europe to fulfil the American Cold War policies. In other words, the USA showed that there was a need for a political system for the Americans to sell their American values and identities.

<sup>22</sup> The Smith-Mundt Act was finalized in 1948 which “formalized government-sponsored educational and cultural exchanges between private American citizens and foreign nationals, created the American international broadcasting service, and established rules for dissemination of government-funded broadcasts abroad” (Metzgar 2012, p. 76).

the need for economic aid to defend the American national interest provided the political and institutional context for the implementation of the American public diplomacy through the international aids to several institutions and agencies in Europe.



## CHAPTER 4

### AMERICAN IDENTITY AND PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

As mentioned in the second chapter, an important part of the public diplomacy is about the branding of a nation to create a sphere for a positive image that can be followed in terms of the foreign policy. In this regard, this chapter aims to explore the American public diplomacy by focusing on the basics of the American identity which were influential on formulating the cultural aspects of the Cold War for the USA government. This chapter follows a path which implies that the American public diplomacy was used as a tool to reach its foreign policy objectives during the Cold War period. For having a better understanding and analyzing the American public diplomacy, the underpinnings of the American identity<sup>23</sup> in the context of the American public diplomacy during the Cold War are explored in the first place.

Secondly, what is also clarified in this section is the practice of the American public diplomacy during the Cold War period. To put it another way, the points that should be explained include the aims, tools, and some basic institutions that were established during the Cold War era on behalf of the American national interest. For this reason, as the first dimension of the American public diplomacy, the essential American public diplomacy objectives are explained. After focusing on this, the historical landscape and the basic logic of the American public diplomacy institutions are mentioned briefly.

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<sup>23</sup> More clearly, it should be mentioned that each historical period established its own discourse of the identity for states. Within this regard, two main underpinnings of the American identity played a substantial role in developing the foreign policy goals run by the USA during the Cold War period. In this regard, what is explained and analyzed within this context is the Manifest Destiny and the Puritan Heritage. Each of these concepts produced a unique outcome which generated the characteristics of the American identity. To sum up, the outcomes of the destiny and the heritage can be called as the underpinnings of the American identity. In this context, democracy and consumerism are the two essentials elements of these underpinnings.



#### **4.1. UNDERPINNINGS OF AMERICAN IDENTITY**

Apart from the theoretical basis of public diplomacy, what should be explained in this chapter is the main features of American identity for understanding what the USA tried to sell to European non-communist intellectuals through its public diplomacy agenda in the CCF. At this point, this chapter includes two main discussions. One of them is about the American identity focusing on puritan heritage and consumerism; and the other part is related to the American public diplomacy understanding in the Cold War period. Why American public diplomacy was explained apart from the American identity is related to the fact that the CCF was a part of this understanding of the USA, on the other hand, it is essential to focus on the general structure of this context for interpreting the CCF case.

In literature, American identity has a multidimensional structure, and this structure can be explained by many different disciplines such as Sociology, Political Science, and International Relations. While Sociology focuses on American identity concerning the social structure of American people, Political Science commonly centers upon the identity with respect to the discourse of freedom and the free world in this given context.

Dennis (1974, p. 404) defines America as “a modern expression of an old civilization with its roots deep in the Christian, feudal, medieval West”. There are many scholars who define America in the context of religion like Susman (1984), and what also needs to be highlighted as an identity-based context is the religion itself. From this perspective, it is important to understand how IR discipline explains American identity by focusing on its relationship with the political power of the USA in the relevant period. It means that this study narrows the discussion revolving around American identity and its usage through American governments. At this point, there are two main concepts which can be related to the CCF case in the Cold War period. These concepts are puritan heritage and consumerism with their historically unique outcomes.

Explaining the message that the USA tried to sell through its public diplomacy activities during the Cold War depends on understanding the historical backgrounds based on religion in this case. Before explaining these two concepts, it should be noted that puritan

heritage and manifest destiny had their own unique historical progresses in different regions geographically. However, these two concepts eventually play an important role in understanding the American way of life and the basics of the American foreign policy perception at a certain level. Therefore, it is important to briefly discuss these concepts as the first part of the underpinnings of American identity.

#### **4.1.1. Puritan Heritage**

Puritanism is a religious movement based on the Protestant religion and having cultural underpinnings with a strong historical background of the New England. According to Dennis (1974, p. 405), puritanism “was the common heritage of all English Protestants” Even though defining puritanism is not very easy since it is a comprehensive concept, it is necessary to define it for having a better understanding regarding its impacts on the American politics. For this reason, this part tries to explain the historical background of puritanism and its main impacts on American way of life. Additionally, understanding the history of this concept results in having a detailed knowledge on the definition of puritanism.

From a historical point of view, it is possible to say that puritanism was a religious movement which aims at purifying the Church and “establish a middle course between Roman Catholicism and the ideas of the Protestant reformers” (Kang, 2009, p. 148) starting from the 16<sup>th</sup> century in the case of New England, however, this did not remain as it was. At this point, Kang (2009, p. 149) highlights that “puritanism is not only a religious belief, but a philosophy, a combination of life styles with living values” This expression plays an important role in understanding the American puritanism and its effects on American society.

In this sense, what needs to be explained here is what puritans planned to purify in the given century. There are plenty of dynamics and issues that can be related to the puritans’ disturbance, however, the main concern of the puritans can be summarized as “unsettling social conditions and the disruption of traditional ways of life” (Dennis, 1974, p. 405). At this point, the idea of remaining the same as a society was an important dynamic for

American puritanism which is related to the idea of American exceptionalism that will be discussed in the following parts.

The interconnectedness between the English puritanism and the American version can be explained within the context of the changing location of the English puritans. Kang (2009, p. 148) states that “puritanism reached North America with English puritans who were usually referred to as the English Pilgrims”. It helped to spread the puritan thought on American society and politics. One of the most influencing tenet of American puritanism is related to the idea of to be chosen by God as the sinful and saved one. This point has also distinctive characteristic on American exceptionalism, because it basically contains the belief that America was the only one which was not sinful since Americans were an exception that were sent by God to save the world.

#### **4.1.2. Manifest Destiny**

In order to understand the American national identity, it is important to define the meaning of the Manifest Destiny. In this context, the reason lying behind the importance of this doctrine in shaping the American national identity might be related to the relationship between such a discourse and its effect on the American foreign policy throughout the history. More clearly, the Americans followed their foreign policies by using this discourse as an important feature of the Christian nationalism<sup>24</sup> which implies that the Americans were destined to bring the peace and freedom to the world which was given by the God.<sup>25</sup> To put it another way, the Manifest Destiny can show “the continuity and change over time in how Americans have self-identified in religious terms since their origin as a collection of colonial, and later independent, polities” (Wisley, 2017, p. 1).

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<sup>24</sup> In order to understand the Christian nationalism within the context of the American way of life and American liberal thought, it would be useful to apply for these two studies: Wisley, J., D. 2017, ‘Our country is destined to be the great nation of futurity: john o’sullivan’s manifest destiny and christian nationalism, 1837-1846’, *Religions*, vol.8, no.4, pp. 1-17.; and Goodnight, E. 2017, ‘William apess, pequot pastor: a native american revisioning of christian nationalism in the early republic’, *Religions* vol.8, no.2, pp. 1-17.

<sup>25</sup> Another important point to remember regarding the relationship between the American national identity and the religion is related to the idea that O’Sullivan’s studies characterized “America as a sinless agent of God’s will, possessing a messianic destiny to initiate a global democratic transfiguration and redeem the world from tyranny” (Gomez 2012, p. 236). It means that there was a discourse based on the idea of that there was an exceptional relationship between the American society and the God.

Another important point to remember here is that the idea of Manifest Destiny was coined by John L. O’Sullivan in 1838 by describing the USA “as being effectively the hand of God” (Gomez, 2012, p. 238).

Another key dynamic that should be concentrated on is the historical path that the idea of the Manifest Destiny followed. At this point, Kaufman (2014, p. 16) made an important contribution to the field by saying that unilateralism and engagement were the two prominent political positions for the American history. According to the Kaufman’s study (2014, p. 18), the idea of the manifest destiny was framed as a case for the unilateralism “for geographic expansion (...) to strengthen economically trade and industrialization”. The second aspect of this historical path is related to the idea of the engagement for the USA “to become actively engaged in all aspects of international relations” (Kaufman, 2014, p. 18) which was mostly used by the end of the Second World War.

#### **4.1.3. The Interaction Between Heritage and Destiny**

To understand the interaction between heritage and destiny, how these concepts affected the American national identity is among the important issues to explain. In this context, it can be stated that this part aims to provide a brief discussion on the American national identity because the discussed topic is related to the impacts of the American national identity on the Cold War period and the usage of a national identity as a nation-branding tool of the traditional public diplomacy. The only aspect that needs to be clarified considering this issue is related to the idea that this heritage aims to purify the corrupted elements of the American society governed by a state having a sacred mission to bring democracy and freedom as a destiny.

It can be inferred from the interaction between heritage and destiny that the Americans had a sacred mission to fix the world. As an important part of this mission, what needed to be done was to grow economically in order to fulfil the God’s mission. From this perspective, it can seem like a constructed fallacy; however, what should be kept in mind that the idea of freedom seemed like the property of the Americans that needed to be preserved during the centuries. In this context, it is also important to note that the national

economy and the national identity have overlapping characteristics in the broadest sense. To put it another way, Bond, McCrone, and Brown (2003, p. 372) emphasize that these two concepts “reconcile the need to construct an identity appropriate to contemporary requirements with the fact that national identities tend to be most strongly grounded in features associated with the past.”

#### **4.2. AMERICAN PUBLIC DIPLOMACY DURING THE COLD WAR**

The following part of this study focuses on the American public diplomacy during the Cold War period. There are four subsections that explain the basics of the American public diplomacy. In the first part, the history of the American public diplomacy is addressed briefly. After understanding this context, the essential institutions that the USA formed while implementing its public diplomacy activities are evaluated in the second part. In this regard, it is important to remember the basic mechanism of public diplomacy to understand the American public diplomacy. As mentioned above, one of the main aims of public diplomacy is the nation-branding to be successful in the implementation process. From this point of view, what was tried to be sold by the USA as a public diplomacy message during the Cold War period is discussed by evaluating the basic characteristics of the American way of life.

In the USA case, it would not be wrong to say that American public diplomacy shaped the way of implementing public diplomacy for many other states. In this sense, it is important to note that public diplomacy was coined by the American scholars at the first time. This situation shows the importance of the American effects on the concept of public diplomacy. In this sense, what needs to be understood here is the main purposes of the American public diplomacy. In addition to this, it is important to point out that the historical background of the American public diplomacy cannot be understood only by looking at the Cold War period. It can be clearly said that public diplomacy formed today’s landscape during the Cold War period; however, there is a historical background of American public diplomacy that needs to be explained. That is why the second part of this section aims to discuss the historical background.

#### **4.2.1. American Public Diplomacy Aims**

It cannot be denied that the USA needed to communicate with foreign publics at different levels like many other states. In this regard, this study aims to analyze the American public diplomacy understanding during the Cold War period. At this point, it can be stated that the USA implemented its public diplomacy for two primary purposes considering the Western bloc of the Cold War. First, the international system started to change in terms of the possibility to use the nuclear weapons which altered the attitudes of the great powers. Within this sense, the understanding of the national security shifted to a different phase than it was before. On behalf of the USA, the main challenging issue was the rise of the Soviet Union in Europe. The strategic importance of Europe for the USA should be well-considered to understand the American Cold War perspective.

In relation to the strategic importance of Europe for the USA, the American power could have been negatively affected in case that the Soviet Union gained control over the continent. However, how to prevent the potential rise of the Soviets was a challenging process for the USA due to the possibility of the nuclear blasts. If the USA approached the European states by putting forward the hard power capacity, it would be hard for the European states to internalize. To be more specific, the USA would have gain control over the Europe in short-term by just using its hard power capacity; however, the decision-makers were well-aware of the fact that the long-term goals required a much more complicated power mechanism.

In parallel with the regime types of the European states, the USA implemented its public diplomacy through many different channels. Its aim was to convince the foreign publics by showing that the USA had a mission over the continent to protect the international system during the Cold War period. In this way, the USA insistently showed that its foreign policy objectives during this period had to be followed by the European states for their survival.

In addition to the security-related foreign policy concerns of the USA, another purpose of the American public diplomacy can be analyzed within the context of the ideological

basis of this period. As discussed in the previous chapters, the ideology was an important factor of the Cold War policies for both superpowers. In this regard, it can be mentioned that each party of the Cold War period used its national identity at different levels. In this regard, it is possible to state that the second purpose of the American public diplomacy was to sell the American way of life. To put it another way, what was the core message of the American public diplomacy was about “to persuade living behind the Iron Curtain” (Szondi, 2008, p. 2).

#### **4.2.2. Historical Background and the Institutional Design of the American Public Diplomacy in the Cold War Period**

This section aims to explain the historical background of the American public diplomacy, especially during the Cold War era, by focusing on some acts that formed the important American public diplomacy institutes. It is important to emphasize that the historical progression and the American public diplomacy institutions cannot be understood separately, because each historical period created its own public diplomacy needs for the USA. It means that there was a historical landscape that affected the American public diplomacy discourses and institutions.

The first institution that should be mentioned to understand the American public diplomacy perspective during the Cold War era is the Office of War Information (OWI) which was established in 1942 by the Roosevelt administration. According to Koppes and Black (1977, p. 88), the essential objective of the OWI was “to coordinate the war-information activities of all federal agencies; and to act as the intermediary between federal agencies and the radio and motion picture industries”. In other words, the USA did not implement public diplomacy as in the Cold War period; instead, it was a part of the propaganda war of the Second World War.

Another important point to focus on is the establishment of the United States Information Agency (USIA) in 1953 through the support of the Eisenhower administration as the most important and efficient American public diplomacy institution. It is possible to state that the role of the OWI changed in the parallel with the requirements of the historical

conditions of the Cold War period. According to Chodkowski (2012, p. 2), the core mission of the USIA was “to understand, inform and influence foreign publics in promotion of the national interest, and to broaden the dialogue between Americans and U.S. institutions, and their counterparts abroad”. What should be focused on the mission of the USIA is related to the relationship between the American public diplomacy and the national interest. The USIA was designed as the main driver of the American public diplomacy agenda in terms of the American national interest during the Cold War period. In this sense, the American public diplomacy literature was mostly studied by focusing on the USIA’s activities (Kennedy and Lucas, 2005, p. 312).

In order to understand the importance and the roles of the USIA within the Cold War context on behalf of the USA, it is important to clarify the primary message that was given through the public diplomacy to the foreign publics. In this sense, such a message can be summarized as “telling America’s story to the world” (Snow, 2009, p. 5). In addition to the core messages that the USIA actively used during that period, it should be noted that the field of public diplomacy was a landscape for the most activities of USIA. As Cull (2006) mentioned, the public diplomacy concept was useful “to cover every aspect of USIA activity and a number of the cultural and exchange functions”.

In this context, it can be noted that telling the story of the USA to the world was an important tool for creating a public opinion for the European publics during the first phase of the Cold War. In this regard, American decision-makers used the USIA to sell the American identity to justify the American Cold War policies in the eyes of the European states that possibly created a threat for the spread of the communism.

Another important point to explain is the establishment of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in 1947 with a political purpose of gathering foreign intelligence data and organize covert actions plans during the Cold War era as an important impact of the NSC-4 report which was explained in the fourth chapter of this study. As stated in the Palgrave Macmillan Dictionary of Diplomacy (2012, p. 54), “its analytical role has latterly been subsumed under the National Intelligence Council”.



Even though the role of the CIA was described as an American foreign policy tool for ideological propaganda during the Cold War period, the situation was different. In order to understand the American public diplomacy during the first phase of the Cold War, what needs to be explained here is some major figures in the CIA that played an important role in organizing the covert action plans as a part of the American public diplomacy through the international funds to some European states and institutions.

In this regard, one of the main roles of the CIA while promoting the American way of life as a public diplomacy discourse was to be “battle between contesting hegemonies over the post-war world” (Scott-Smith, 2002, p. 84). The CIA mostly contacted with “a transnational network of elite groups and institutions in political and civil society in order to solidify any social-ideological consensus” (Scott-Smith, 2002, p. 72).

As a consequence, American public diplomacy played a substantial role in being a modern model of the public diplomacy mechanism for many other states. Its uniqueness is in relation with that public diplomacy was conceptualized by American scholars. However, American public diplomacy developed an institutional model which was incredibly important to understand the American public diplomacy as a foreign policy tool by selling an American identity in order to persuade the European states about the spread of communism.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **THE CONGRESS FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM (1950-1979)**

This chapter provides an overview regarding the CCF which was founded in 1950 by some European intellectuals for many different reasons which are discussed below. The core point of this part is the American support to different sections of the CCF through the CIA covert funding programs. In order to understand this covert action plan, it is necessary to review the general structure of the CCF. The first dynamic to discuss is the historical foundation and prominent figures of the CCF. With regard to the historical framework, how the CCF was funded by the CIA is discussed by addressing the historical framework in the second part of this section. In the third section, the conceptual background of the CCF, such as the ideology and cultural freedom, is explained to understand which part of the American identity was sold out as a public diplomacy discourse by the USA. The last part of this chapter analyzes the impacts of the CIA support to the CCF.

#### **5.1. THE ORIGINS OF THE CONGRESS FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM**

In this part, what is explained is the historical foundation of the CCF by explaining the major figures in this case. In this regard, the first point to discuss is the historical path of the CCF before its foundation in 1950. Following this discussion, the main tools of the CCF are explained with regard to this historical narrative. The last point to mention is the prominent figures of the CCF who played a subsequent role in forming this institution.<sup>26</sup> These prominent figures are essential to analyze this case because, as it can also be seen

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<sup>26</sup> Even though the CCF was organized as a series of events among the non-communist leftist European intellectuals, it gained an institutional characteristic in the course of time. For Aronova (2012, p. 309), the CCF aimed at promoting “its transatlantic institutional structure”. Like Aronova, Scott-Smith (2002, p. 1) also states that the CCF was established “as an institution created and shaped by the political demands of the Cold War.” On the other hand, such an institutional characteristic was not formed without any intervention or economic budget. For Scott-Smith (2002, p. 1), the CCF “was institutionalized by the US government as an ideological force representative of the free society of the West.”

in the next part of this chapter, the relationship between the CIA and the CCF was established through these personal relations.

### **5.1.1. The Historical Path**

The Congress for Cultural Freedom was an organization founded by some intellectuals in Europe in 1950 “with a major conference” in the West Berlin (Scott-Smith, 2002, p. 437) which critically approached to the Stalin administration for many different reasons with regard to the social discontent against the Soviet interference to the social life of society in general. In this context, it can be stated that the CCF was an attempt that should be examined within the context of the Cold War. It is not only because of the fact that the USA supported the CCF through covert funds but also it is about the political debates during a series of seminars of the CCF which were meaningful in the Cold War context. However, this study focuses on how the CCF was used as a public diplomacy tool in the Cold War period. While discussing this, the main point to emphasize is why the USA used such a cultural based anti-communist leftist congress in Europe. At this point, this section aims to explain how the CCF was founded by whom and for which purposes. In this way, it becomes easier to have a better understanding of the American public diplomacy motivations.

From a historical point of view, the CCF started to work with its full capacity in 1950, and lasted until the 1967; however, there was a history behind the CCF which is explained below. Even though, it lost its influence among some intellectuals because of the CIA fund, it affected lots of academic and cultural studies. Within this context, it is important to note that the impacts of the CCF can be understood from the historical path which led European intellectuals to organize such a congress. With regard to this historical path, the first noteworthy event was the one organized at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in 1949 by the Cominform which had a similar logic with the CCF, but they were ideologically opposite. In other words, the Waldorf conference was an attempt of the Soviets to affect the Western camp of the Cold War.

According to Pullin (2013, p. 47), the CCF had one subsequent aim in its program which was “to promote an international anti-communist consciousness among intellectual liberals and non-communist leftists”. The emphasis upon the non-communist leftists (NCL) is important to understand the targeted groups for the USA. Because all these NCLs had been a partisan for the Soviet Union at a certain level before the Cold War period. However, the main argument of the leading European intellectuals that was the basis of the CCF is related to the rise of totalitarian way of governing by Stalin.<sup>27</sup> For Scott-Smith (2002, p. 437), the CCF was a huge chance for the NCL intellectuals as “a fascinating meeting-point between politics and culture, or, more broadly, between power and ideals”.

For having a better understanding on the structure of such a meeting point for the supporters of this organization, what needs to be explained here is the main tools of the CCF. Although there were many tools used by the CCF in this period such as “conferences, magazines, lecture tours, exhibitions, and events staged by the CCF” (Stephan, 2006, p. 2), some of them were much effective and common while giving their messages to the rest of the world.

In order to understand the historical path continuing until the establishment of the CCF, what needs to be clarified is the counter-position of the CCF intellectuals within the context of the American support through the CIA funding. It is important to focus on the connection between the CCF and the end of ideology which was a popular discourse. At this point, it would not be wrong to say that this concept was debated since the end of the Second World War among some scholars like Edward Shills and Raymond Aron. In this regard, Jost (2006, p. 76) states that the end of ideology can be theorized within the four major arguments which say that “ideologies such as liberalism and conservatism lack cognitive structure, motivational potency, substantive philosophical differences, and characteristic psychological profiles”.

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<sup>27</sup> From this point, it can be noted that the main leading intellectuals who played an important role in forming the CCF was Sidney Hook, Arthur Koestler, Mary McCarthy, Nicholas Nabokov, Ignazio Silone, Raymond Aron, Daniel Bell, Irving Kristol, Nicola Chiaromonte, Leopold Labedz, and Hannah Arendt. (Shils and Coleman, 2009, p. 437), (Hogeschwender, 2003, p. 9).

The meaning of the end of ideology discourse is important to analyze the critical stance of the CCF against the Soviet communism. In this sense, Aronova (2012, p. 309) tends to view this discourse as “an umbrella term for various reconciliations of free market and centralized planning in the political economy of the post WWII world”. Furthermore, the concept of the cultural freedom is debated within the context of the neo-Marxist literature as it is mentioned above. For this reason, what needs to be explained in the first place is the differences between Marxism<sup>28</sup> and neo-Marxism. In this regard, it can be argued that the neo-Marxist theory focuses on the systemic forces that explain the class inequalities.

In addition to the main characteristics of the CCF, one of the important points is that the CCF should be examined internally and externally. Succinctly, it is right to say that the CCF created a discussion based on the discourse of cultural freedom used by mostly European intelligentsia during that period. Furthermore, it can be said that the CCF was used as a foreign policy tool by the USA regarding American public diplomacy agenda. It means that addressing the CCF as a foreign policy tool in American public diplomacy agenda requires systemic or external nature of world politics instead of focusing on the internal debates about the polarization among those intellectuals or the disagreements on how to organize such a congress during that period.

### **5.1.2. The Main Tools of the Congress for Cultural Freedom**

The first important tool of the CCF between 1950 and 1967 was “the literary- political magazines” (Shils and Coleman, 2009, p. 437) all around the participant states, such as Encounter, Preuves, Tempo, Presente, Der Monat, Quadrant. It can be stated that each of them had different concerns and topics with regard to their national context; however, what was common among them is “the launching of the debate on the end of ideology since 1955” (Hochgeschwender, 2003, p. 17). This debate was the common approach for those magazines to combat with the communist ideology. Within this context, it can be stated that magazines were used not only as a combat against the communist ideology,

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<sup>28</sup> In this study, the usage of the Marxism refers to the orthodox Marxist thought as an ideological force of the Soviet communism.

but also, they created a sphere for “freedom of expression within a free society” (Scott-Smith, 2002, p. 438).

It is important to specify that some of these magazines played an important role in the political debates within the CCF, which was one of the core elements of the American public diplomacy implementations during the Cold War period. In this regard, it can be stated that *Minerva*, for instance, has concentrated on “national policy debates in the U.S. during the 1960s” (Aronova, 2012, p. 317). This feature of the CCF’s magazines focusing on the political debates was a substantial part of attracting Europeans; however, what needs to be highlighted here is that the role of these magazines played a significant role in shaping the political perception of the European publics.

Apart from the role of the magazines as a public diplomacy tool on behalf of the USA, it is important to point out that these periodicals could be seen as a free space for European intellectuals for expressing themselves without fearing from the Soviet government. In this context, Aronova (2012, p. 308) supports this idea of a free space for European intellectuals by saying that “the CCF developed into an important center for prominent American and Western European intellectuals with an anti-communist stand, but in other respects very different in outlook and opinion”. The main argument of Aronova plays an essential role in the basics of these magazines. In other words, these publications were a huge chance for some European intellectuals with different ideological stance which was a prominent element of the concept of the cultural freedom.

In some cases, this feature was criticized by some participants of the CCF because there was “a characteristic tone of ultra-sophistication” (Aronova, 2012, p. 312). In this regard, it is possible to note that this critique can be related to the discussion of the end of ideology which is discussed in this chapter. The relationship between being ultra-sophistic and the end of ideology would be meaningful within the context of the politics of the Cold War.

The second vital tools of the CCF are the congresses and conferences which played an essential role in forming the CCF. It would be not wrong to say that these types of cultural activities were a chance for the parties of the CCF for making their politics based on the

idea of the cultural freedom. However, what needs to be explained here is the relationship between these congresses and the external political interventions, such as the international aids by the third parties. In other words, there were a series of activities which were organized within the CCF context; however, this section does not focus on explaining all of them but instead focuses on the critical ones for showing the American support to this Congress. Particularly, what should be analyzed as the main conferences in this part is a series of events that affected the CCF in general such as Berlin conference in 1950, the Paris conference in 1952<sup>29</sup>, the Hamburg conference in 1953, the Berlin conference in 1960 as “milestones of the CCF’s internal and external development” (Hochgeschwender, 2003, p. 17).

Figuring out the main dynamics of the CCF’s conferences requires a historical background. In this regard, it should be noted that the historical context matters a lot to analyze the structure of the CCF in terms of the congresses and seminars. After a year from the foundation of the Cominform, the World Peace Conference (WPC) was held in Waldorf Astoria Hotel in 1949. According to Klefstad (2012), this conference was seen in some magazines “as pro-communist propaganda, and the protestors picketed the streets outside the Waldorf”. This was an important cultural attempt by the Cominform during the Cold War period on behalf of the fans of the communist ideology. The importance of the WPC lied behind the fact that this conference was “the first to convene in a Western country (...), and to meet organized and articulate opposition” (Warner, 1995, p. 90). This feature of the WPC should not be underestimated because it was publicly known during that period. In this regard, Sidney Hook, T.S. Elliot, and other intellectuals in Europe developed a counter position to criticize this conference. It can be stated that such a counter position to the WPC played a vital role in forming the CCF.

One of the vital impacts of the WPC was the foundation of the American Committee for Cultural Freedom (ACCF) founded by Sidney Hook and John Dewey “to attack both Communism and Nazism” (Warner, 1995, p. 90). In relation to this political stand, it can be noted that this committee played a vital role in forming the cultural freedom context

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<sup>29</sup> By the Festival of the Twentieth Century in 1952, two vital CCF magazines started to be published more commonly, like *Preuves* and *Encounter*. For Scott-Smith (2002, p. 438), it was an important step for “solidifying the CCF’s profile.”

of the CCF. Harrington (1955) describes the main characteristic of the ACCF as “the quasi-official opinion of intellectual liberalism”.

The second prominent conference of the CCF was held in 1950 in West Berlin. It can be stated that this conference played a substantial role in forming the CCF in general. The main targeted groups for the CCF was the youth (Stephan, 2006, p. 77). The Berlin Conference was the first event that was funded through the CIA. According to Pullin (2013, p. 57), this fund was given as “slush fund by diverting 200,000 dollars to the CCF from the Marshall Plan”. In this context, Irving Brown played a significant role in funding the CCF as “European representative of the American Federation of Labor’s Free Trade Union Committee” (Scott-Smith, 2000, p. 275). As discussed in the following part of this study, each prominent figure approached the CCF in parallel with their point of views and interests.

It is important to note that such a fund given by the CIA was covert on behalf of some participants of the CCF; however, the main figures of this congress were aware of this funding and they approached this relationship between the CCF and the CIA as a win-win situation. On the one hand, the CCF needed to be funded to make a progress on their activities to show a critical front against the Soviet communism. On the other hand, the CIA played an important role during the Cold War for Americans to create a positive image among Europeans by selling an American way of life. For this reason, what the CIA needed was an appropriate landscape in which the Stalin administration was criticized.

The importance of the Berlin conference is related to the future of the CCF at a certain level. Some key figures like Arthur Koestler and James Burnham affected the Berlin conference in terms of the future CCF activities (Scott-Smith, 2002, p. 440). On the very first day of the CCF, Koestler read the Freedom Manifesto to show the political and the cultural stance of the CCF to the rest of the European intelligentsia, and most importantly to the Stalin administration. However, it is hard to say that Koestler had a fully positive image on the European intelligentsia. For instance, Aronova (2012, p. 310) states that his speech was an important symbol for the CCF, but it was thought that “Koestler’s



liberalism was militant” by some intellectuals. This point is vital to see how the CCF had a heterogeneous structure in terms of the main characteristics of the European intelligentsia. In other words, what the CCF objected was not only the Soviet government in terms of politics, but also the core point was the totalitarian mindset of the Soviet government on behalf of the CCF. It can be stated that the main concerns of the CCF groups were similar with the American way of life in terms of the democratic values and cultural freedom. For this reason, the CIA decided to fund the CCF as a covert action plan instead of supporting any other organizations during that period.

In this sense, it should be noted that this conference determined the institutional characteristic of the CCF. The headquarters of the Congress was established in Berlin. This was an important symbol for both the CCF and the CIA for the Soviet governments in a political context. However, what was more essential than the first headquarter of the CCF was the shift from Berlin to Paris in 1951. For Scott-Smith (2000, p. 277), this shift might be seen as “the more direct influence of the CIA, keen to confront the sympathies for communism and neutralism among the French intelligentsia”. In this context, it is important to say that Europe cannot be viewed as a whole; instead, the concept of Europe should be examined within the context of the individuality of each components of the Europe. Besides, what also needs to be understood is the political and historical landscape of the given period. In this context, it can be said that the CIA and the CCF approached Europe from this point of view and organized different sets of activities in terms of their agendas.

Another important issue to mention at this point is the Hamburg conference as another important step which was taken in 1953 for the CCF for delving the scientific discussions among European scholars and intelligentsia. As pointed out by Scott-Smith (2002, p. 438), the Hamburg conference included “the CCF’s first major conference since Berlin” which was titled as “Science and Freedom”. The third major conference of the CCF was the Milan conference that was organized in 1955. The importance of this conference is related to the end-of-ideology discussion that will be explained in the next part of this chapter. For Scott-Smith (2002, p. 444), the end-of-ideology discourse was programmatic goal for the CCF by the Milan conference. Scott-Smith is not the only one stressing out

the fact that such a slogan became a motto of the CCF. In addition, Aronova (2012, p. 311) quotes from Polanyi who views such a slogan as “an expression of the CCF predominant aims and our official pronouncement”.

With regard to the importance of the Milan conference, it is important to mention that the end-of-ideology discourse was not the only predominant factor in this conference. It can be stated that the political and cultural discussions were deepened by the CCF conferences during time. For instance, the participants of the CCF started to discuss with each other. In other words, “the left-wing liberal politicians, intellectuals, and the leading figures of Keynesian economic theory met each other” (Hochgeschwender, 2003, pp. 18-19).

## **5.2. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CIA AND THE CCF**

The relationship between the CCF and the CIA has been an important debate among many scholars. Even though the official CIA documents about the funding has not been revealed by the officials; it is a well-known the fact that there was a covert action plan between them. In this regard, the point to focus on is regarding how the CIA supported the CCF and how and when that support emerged. After understanding this process, it would be easy to follow up the impact of that funding among the European intellectuals who took place an important role in the CCF. According to Pullin (2013, p. 47), the New York Times and Ramparts<sup>30</sup> “has offered criticism of politics and culture exposed the ‘secret’ that the CIA had covertly funded the CCF since its establishment in 1950”.

It is important to analyze how the CCF is described in the literature to understand the role of the CCF during the Cold War period. Within this sense, the literature tends to focus on that the CCF was only a tool of the CIA. For Tweraser (2005, p. 158), the CCF is explained as “an international organization under the administration of the CIA”. How

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<sup>30</sup> The revealing of the fact that the CIA secretly funded and supported the CCF created a negative image on some European intellectuals. For instance, Paget (2005, p. 134) states that the revealing of the CIA covert action plan was described as “precipitating one of the worst operational catastrophes in CIA history.” However, this thesis does not focus on the impacts of such a public diplomacy fund. For further information about the funding process including its impacts, the following studies can be viewed: Saunders, F., S. 2000, *The cultural cold war: the CIA and the world of arts and letters*, Granta Books, New York.

Tweraser sees the CCF is efficient but not enough the role of the CCF within the context of the American foreign policy. Stephan (2006, p. 2) adds this definition of the CCF and explains the historical framework by saying that “the U.S. supported the creation and development of a European community designed to counter any threat from Germany and at the same time to mobilize the economically and politically destabilized Western Europe against the adversary in the East”. What is understood from this historical context is related to the role of the CCF after the World War II.

As discussed in the previous chapters, there was a threat about the rise of communism because of the historical fact that the Nazis were stopped by the Soviet Union. In this regard, the CCF was a group of people that was supported by the CIA that was “organized a battle of minds against communism” (Stephan, 2006, p. 2). In that sense, the CCF had a characteristic which aimed “to win over the world’s intellectuals to the liberal-democratic cause during the Cold War” (Shils and Coleman, 2009, p. 437).

Explaining the CCF only as a tool of the CIA is lack of a historical perspective. Because it is important to emphasize that the support of the CIA was not only a single-way intervention; however, how the CIA perceived the CCF was “an intelligence-gathering organization, but simply as a body devoted to pressuring the intellectual elite who influenced Europe’s political decision-makers” (Wilford, 2003, p. 105). The approach of the CIA regarding the CCF plays an important role in understanding the American public diplomacy agenda discussed in the previous chapters.

Another important factor that should be discussed here is the nature of the relationship between the CIA and the CCF. In this sense, Hochgeschwender (2013, pp. 14-15) clarified such an interdependent relationship to show their common motivations. First of all, their relationship was based on the mutual interests meaning that both of them needed each other to fulfil their agenda. On the one hand, the CIA perceived the CCF as a way of reaching and communicating with the European states to stop spreading communism and find a way to sell the American way of life. On the other hand, the CCF included many intellectuals who were deeply against the Stalin’s policies and his way of intervening the way of people’s life. They needed money to organize such a counter Stalinist event. It

means that they had a common enemy with different motivations. Another important point was the CCF's institutional design which was described as "a flexible framework of national and transnational activities in order to secure U.S. hegemony and the hegemony of liberal capitalism in Western Europe" (Hochgeschwender, 2003, p. 15).

In the context of the American funding, it is important to state that this funding was planned as a covert action plan "for domestic political reasons" (Pullin, 2013, p. 51). The reason lying behind this is related to the fact that there was a rise of anti-Americanism among the European states. It would not be wrong to say that the rise of the anti-Americanism was related to the political outcomes of the WWII. In other words, that the rise of the Nazis was stopped by the Red Army that played a significant role in the rise of Stalin government on the eyes of the European policy makers. At this point, how to convince these European states in order not to follow the Soviet communism was difficult for the USA. For this reason, the American decision makers preferred to implement a public diplomacy agenda by focusing on the covert action plans through the CIA funding.

From this perspective, there are two essential elements of the relationship between the CCF and the CIA. The first one is related to the structure of the CIA funding as a covert action plan; the second one is about how this covert CIA fund was revealed publicly. What does not need to be mentioned about such a relationship is the impacts of this relationship.

In order to understand and analyze the CIA funding, what needs to be mentioned is the organization of the Americans for Intellectual Freedom which was formed by Sidney Hook.<sup>31</sup> To understand the relationship between the CIA and the CCF intellectuals, the important point to highlight is "the eagerness of a field agent of the CIA named Michael Josselson to the activities of Sidney Hook, and other anti-Stalinist leftist" (Hochgeschwender, 2003, p. 10). During this period, Lasky played a major role in the CCF about the CIA funding and the American support to the CCF. First, Lasky was

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<sup>31</sup> In the USA, there were several anti-communist groups or institutions that were in a relation with the CCF directly or indirectly. To give an illustration, the Union of Democratic Americans (UDA), the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), the American Federation of Labor (AFL) were the ones which were supported by John Dewey and Sidney Hook (Hochgeschwender, 2003, p. 8).

working for *Der Monat* which was one of the substantial magazines of the CCF which had “a circulation of some 20.000” (Hochgeschwender, 2003, p. 10). In addition, through Lasky’s personal contacts, the CCF had been able to find an economic source from the CIA. The importance of the lack of the required funding to organize such an event like the CCF affected many internal and external dynamics of the CCF-CIA relationship. In the very early years of the events, the AFL started to fund the European intellectuals through the indirect funds of the CIA (Hochgeschwender, 2003, p. 13).<sup>32</sup>

With regard to the external approach to this issue, the CCF played an essential role in the Cold War period for many states in their foreign policy agendas. However, not all of them put the CCF on their public diplomacy agenda, but the USA did by funding the Congress secretly. Though it was never publicly admitted by the CIA that they had supported the CCF, there are many studies which included some interviews done by high-level official names indicating the existence of that American funding that will be explained later.<sup>33</sup>

As a consequence, the CCF’s activities and editorial materials were funded through the CIA within the context of the Marshall Plan as a covert action plan as a part of the American public diplomacy agenda. The aim was to form a useful ideological sphere including the support of the European foreign publics on the rise of the Soviet communism to contain the Europe regarding the economic and security-related concerns.

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<sup>32</sup> The amount of the aid which was done through the AFL costed about 800.000 dollars at that time and it was funded through the indirect institutions. In this context; Hochgeschwender (2003, p. 14) points out that these helps came from some foundations like the Ford Foundation, the Fleischmann Foundation, and the Rockefeller Foundation.

<sup>33</sup>For further information, it would be useful to apply to these studies: Pullin, E. 2013. ‘The culture of funding culture: the CIA and the congress for cultural freedom’ in C. R. Moran and C. J. Murphy (eds.), *Intelligence Studies in Britain and the US: Historiography since 1945*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, pp. 47-64.; Scott-Smith, G. 2002, *The politics of apolitical culture: the congress for cultural freedom and the political economy of american hegemony 1945-1955*, Routledge, New York.; Scott-Smith, G. 2002, ‘The congress for cultural freedom, the end of ideology and the 1955 milan conference: defining the parameters of discourse’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol.37, no.3, pp. 437-55.

## CONCLUSION

The present study was designed to understand, explain, and analyze the reason of the American support to the CCF during the Cold War period. In this discussion, the major aim was to assess the American support to the CCF within the context of the public diplomacy considering the political condition during the first period of the Cold War in terms of the security-related American foreign policy paradigm. Returning to the question posed at the beginning of this thesis, it is now possible to state that the USA approached to the CCF as a way of affecting the European politics by economically funding them through the CIA as a part of the American public diplomacy perspective.

One of the more significant findings emerging from this discussion is that the USA supported the CCF through the covert action plan conducted by the CIA to affect the foreign publics in the European states for creating an impact upon those European states. The reason lying behind the need for the change over the European states foreign policies on behalf of the USA is related to the security concerns during the Cold War. It is important to note that the level of the favorability of the Soviet Union policies among the European countries started to increase, which could be seen as a major threat to the USA national interest during the Cold War period.

In relation to the American national interest perspective, it is important to note that economy was a major element of the American national interest. Within the Cold War context, the main economic threat to the American national interest was the expansion of the Soviet power. In this way, the American economy could have been damaged because of the density of the level of the Soviet economic growth. From this perspective, the American decision-makers assumed that the USA could no longer be associated with some European states to sell its products in case of the Soviet economic growth. This study argues that the USA also needed to contain the spread of the Soviet communism both geographically and economically. For this reason, the USA approached to the Europe as a major place to sell the American products and implemented the containment policy for stopping the rise of the Soviet power.

Another essential finding that should be discussed here is related to the idea that the American national identity was influential over the American foreign policy throughout the critical junctures for the American history. Considering the American national identity literature, it can be easily seen that there was a given right to protect the whole world for the sake of the humanity. Even though this was a discourse constructed by the Americans, it created an impact over the American foreign policy as a tool for justifying the American interventions. Within this context, this thesis shows that the USA supported the CCF for selling the idea of the America, which included the values of the freedom and democracy in a historical context. In other words, the USA supported the CCF economically to show that there was a threat of the Stalinism for the European states and it needed to be stopped by the Americans. For this reason, they had a right to democratize to any given place of which was conceptualized through the perspective of the manifest destiny and the puritanism, for the sake of the territorial integrity and economic freedoms of the European states.

Another significant finding about the CCF case can be understood by focusing on how the USA supported the CCF and how it was conceptualized. In this regard, the present thesis claims that this indirect funding of the USA can be considered as a public diplomacy tool. The major reason lying behind such a conceptualization is related to the meaning of the public diplomacy of which is defined as a way of communication with the foreign publics to affect their countries foreign policy choices. In this regard, the USA openly implemented its American public diplomacy program since the earliest days of the Cold War through its public diplomacy institutions, such as the USIA and the CIA.

Within this context, this research also contributes to existing knowledge about the public diplomacy as a foreign policy tool by discussing that the indirect economic supports might be evaluated as a public diplomacy tool. In other words, the major element of the traditional public diplomacy is to change the foreign policy agenda of another states. In this context, the USA economically supported the CCF through the CIA funds as a core part to the Marshall Plan to affect and change the European states perception and the

foreign policy attitudes concerning the European security which was threatened by the rise of the Soviet Union.

At this point, it is important to note that the CCF and the USA shared the similar values like the freedom and the democracy at a certain level. In addition, what should not be underestimated here is that the participants of the CCF were a part of the democratic political culture where people were effective on the decision-making process in the foreign policy of those countries. It can therefore be assumed that the USA was well aware of the fact that the intellectuals in the Europe, who participated in the CCF, could create an overlapping interest with the Americans concerning the Europe. In this respect, the present study discusses that the USA funded the CCF to change, or at least affect, the European states foreign policy and show that the American Cold War policy had to be followed in order to survive in an anarchical international political order where there was a threat of the rise of the Soviet power.

Although widely accepted, the present study suffers from some limitations due to the lack of knowledge about the public opinion polls during the Cold War period. As discussed earlier, there was an increase in the favorability of the Soviet Union concerning the perception of the Red Army after the end of the Second World War. Because of the lack of the necessary public opinion perception among the European states about the rise of the Soviet Union, the quantitative research methods could not be implemented. In this regard, another limitation in the public opinion polls during the Cold War period involves the issue of the American favorability among the European states. It is possible to state that it suffers from the same limitations associated with the lack of the public opinion polls during the Cold War period.

This study contributes to the common understanding of the traditional public diplomacy by focusing on the American support to the CCF during the earliest period of the Cold War. The contribution of this study is to confirm that the public diplomacy was not only core to the making communication among states through the foreign publics. Instead of focusing the communication aspect of the public diplomacy field, the present thesis shows that the public diplomacy could be used as an impactful tool for the states foreign policies.



As a result, the analysis of the American support to the CCF, has extended the knowledge of the basics of the public diplomacy by discussing that the indirect economic supports might create a similar impact with the ones that the traditional public diplomacy has.



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