

PUBD520: Regional Issues in Public Diplomacy: Central and Eastern Europe and Eurasia

Instructor: Anne M. Chermak

Time and Location: ASC 331, Wednesday, 2:00-4:50 p.m.

Chermak Office: ASC Center on Public Diplomacy, Suite 103

Phone: 1-2056

Hours: Tues. 10-11; Thur. 11-12.

E-mail: chermak@usc.edu

Course Overview

This course will examine U.S. approaches to public diplomacy in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and Eurasia from the second half of the 20th century to the present, with special focus on the period immediately leading up to and following the Fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. We will study the ways in which the U.S. responded to the challenges of practicing public diplomacy in closed communist societies and how it assisted the newly independent nations in the region in making the transition to democracy and free market economics. We will also explore the development of public diplomacy by these countries in the post-communist era.

Class time will be divided between background presentations by the professor and guest speakers and examinations of case studies individually and in small teams.

Course Objectives

1. To gain a greater understanding of public diplomacy's role in the furtherance of U.S. foreign policy objectives in a critical region at a time of historic change.
2. To develop skills for critical analysis of central questions in public diplomacy and to express views persuasively, both orally and in writing.
3. To learn how to devise and implement public diplomacy strategies in support of policy goals.

Availability

The course is open to graduate students, and to seniors with permission of instructor.

Course Requirements

Attendance and participation: 10%

Case study examination and presentation: 50%

Research and presentation of final project: 40%

Outline of Classes:

Jan. 16- Course introduction and overview

Jan. 23- The Cold War: Public Diplomacy and Propaganda: The Way We Were

Jan. 30- Glasnost and Perestroika. Case Study: The Chernobyl Crisis

Feb. 6 - And the Walls Came Tumbling Down: Free at Last!

Feb 13 - A New Marshall Plan for Europe/Eurasia? The PD Strategy Development and Implementation Process

Feb. 20- The Balkans: Progressives Become Pariahs. Case Study: Bosnia and the Dayton Accords. Current situation. “The Mediterranean as it once was...”

Feb. 27- Case Study: Supporting Free Media Development in Central Europe

March 4 and March 6 – Individual Consultations: Proposals for Papers Due

March 5- Good-bye USSR, Hello Fifteen New Countries!

March 12 – Case Study: Democracy Development in Ukraine. The Orange Revolution.

March 19 SPRING BREAK

March 26- Now It’s Our Turn: Public Diplomacy Russian Style

April 2- The Central Asian Perspective. Image building and branding: Kazakhstan as Borat Nation. Failed revolutions?

April 9- Caucasian Chalk Circle: Frozen Conflicts, Rose Revolution

April 16- Case Study: American Corners as New Public Diplomacy Platform

April 23- Lessons Learned. The Way Forward.

April 30- Presentation, Critique of Final Projects. Last day of class.

Detailed Schedule and Readings:

Jan. 16- Course introduction and overview

This week will define the geographic and conceptual scope of the course and highlight key approaches.

Jan. 23- The Cold War: Public Diplomacy and Propaganda: The Way We Were

This week will look at how public diplomacy was conducted during the Cold War by the U.S. in the region, and by the USSR in the U.S. and Europe.

Yale Richmond, *Cultural Exchange and the Cold War: Raising the Iron Curtain*, (State College, Pennsylvania: Penn State University Press, 2003), Chapters 1-5, 9-10 and 17.

Hans N. Tuch, *Communicating with the World: U.S. Public Diplomacy Overseas*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990), Chapters 2-3 and 9.

Wilson P. Dizard Jr., *Inventing Public Diplomacy: The Story of the U.S. Information Agency*, (Lynn Rienner Publishers, Inc., Boulder, Colorado, 2004), Chapters 3-4.

David Caute, *The Dancer Defects: The Struggle for Cultural Supremacy During the Cold War*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), Intro pp. 1-16, Chapters 17-18.

Jan. 30- Glasnost and Perestroika. Case Study: The Chernobyl Crisis

This week will examine the transitional 1980's, the new openness and efforts at restructuring in the USSR, and nascent democratic movements. The Chernobyl Crisis as catalyst for change will be reviewed in depth.

Manuel Castells and Emma Kiselyova, *The Collapse of Soviet Communism: A View from the Information Society*, Los Angeles, Figueroa Press, 1995, 2003.

David Remnick, *Lenin's Tomb: The Last Days of the Soviet Empire*, New York, Random House, 1993.

Marlin Fitzwater, *Call the Briefing*, Times Books, Random House, 1995. Chapter 7, pp. 128-164.

Kennan Institute Papers on 20th anniv. of Chernobyl Disaster

Laurie Garrett, *Betrayal of Trust: The Collapse of Global Public Health*, New York, Hyperion, 2000. pp. 143-151.

Wilson P. Dizard Jr. and Blake Swensrud. "Gorbachev's Information Revolution: Controlling Glasnost in a New Electronic Era". Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1987.

Feb. 6 - And the Walls Came Tumbling Down: Free at Last!

This week will examine the democratic revolutions in Central Europe and the U.S. government response to the opening up of these societies.

Graham T. Allison, Jr.; Robert P. Beschel, Jr., "Can the United States Promote Democracy?" *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 107, No. 1. (Spring, 1992), pp. 81-98.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0032-3195%28199221%29107%3A1%3C81%3ACTUSPD%3E2.0.CO%3B2-4>

Gyorgy Szondy, "The role and challenges of country branding in transition countries: The Central and Eastern European experience", *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy* Vol. 3, 1, 8_20, Palgrave Macmillan Ltd., U.K. 2007

Eva Hoffman, *Exit into History: A Journey Through the New Eastern Europe*, Penguin Books, New York, New York, 1993.

Timothy Garton Ash, *The File, A Personal History*, New York, Random House, 1997, Chapters 14,15, pp. 228-256.

Films: "The Lives of Others"; "East-West"

Feb 13 - A New Marshall Plan for Europe/Eurasia? The PD Strategy Development and Implementation Process

This week will examine in-depth the strategic and legislative process of providing assistance for democratic and free market development in the region.

Text of SEED Legislation available on-line.

SEED Legislation Testimony by EEA Coordinator James H. Holmes, U.S. Dept of State

Simon Anholt, "Public Diplomacy and Place Branding: Where's the link?", *Place Branding* (2006) 2, pp. 271-275, Palgrave Macmillan Ltd, U.K., 2006.

Feb. 20- The Balkans: Progressives Become Pariahs. Case Study: Bosnia and the Dayton Accords. Current situation. "The Mediterranean as it once was..."

This week will spotlight the Balkans, primarily the break-up of Yugoslavia and the way in which its independent states have developed and conducted their public diplomacy.

Richard C. Holbrooke, *To End a War*, 1998.

Charles A. Kupchan, "Independence for Kosovo", *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2005

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20051101facomment84603/charles-a-kupchan/independence-for-kosovo.html>

Getting to Dayton: KSG Case Study.

Feb. 27- Case Study: Supporting Free Media Development in Central Europe

Presentation/ Discussion with Mark Dillen, Dillen Communications LLC, former Foreign Service Officer

This week will focus on support for free media as a key element in public diplomacy and democratic transition strategy.

“The Oligarchs: Wealth and Power in the New Russia,” by David E. Hoffmann, Public Affairs, New York, 2002. Pages 166-174 regarding Vladimir Gusinsky.

“The Media Missionaries,” by Ellen Hume. Available at:

http://www.ellenhume.com/articles/missionaries5_easterneurope1.html

“IREX Announces \$14 Million in New Media Projects,” found at:

http://info.irex.org/pipermail/irex-l_info.irex.org/2001-October/000095.html

“Media Sustainability Index – Europe and Eurasia, 2006/07,” published by IREX (International Research and Exchanges Board), Washington, DC. Found at:

http://www.irex.org/programs/MSI_EUR/2006/exec.asp

“Russian Police Raid U.S.-funded Educated Media Foundation,” Article in the International Herald Tribune, April 19, 2007. Found at:

<http://www.iht.com/articles/ap/2007/04/19/europe/EU-GEN-Russia-NGO.php>

“Putin Invites Aslamazyan to Return to her Home Country ‘Without Worry,’”

Article in Novaya Gazyeta, August 27, 2007. English text found at:

http://www.internews.org/articles/2007/20070829_novayagazeta_emf.shtm

“The Efficacy of American Assistance to the Media in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union,” by William Dunkerley

(<http://www.vii.org/monroe/issue54/dunkerley.htm>) and a Response by Eric Johnson

(<http://www.vii.org/monroe/issue54/johnson.htm>)

International Center for Journalists Website, Eastern Europe/Central Asia section:

<http://www.icfj.org/OurWork/EasternEuropeCentralAsia/tabid/225/Default.aspx>

USAID Moscow Media Activities: Independent Television

(<http://russia.usaid.gov/en/main/documents/index.shtml?lang=en&id=803>),

Foundation for Regional Press

(<http://russia.usaid.gov/en/main/documents/index.shtml?lang=en&id=1587>)

“World Press Freedom Review, 2006, Russia” International Press Institute, Vienna.

Found at:

(http://www.freemedia.at/cms/ipi/freedom_detail.html?country=/KW0001/KW0003/KW0078/&year=2006)

“The Media and Democracy: A Dialogue,” Adam Michnik and Jay Rosen, Journal of Democracy, Vol 8, Number 4, October 1997, pp. 85-93.

March 5- Good-bye USSR, Hello Fifteen New Countries!

This week will focus on the demise of the USSR and U.S. support for the Newly Independent States.

Matthew Kaminski, “U.S. Backed Broadcasts Remain the Ultimate in Soft Power”, Wall St. Journal, December 29, 2007

David Remnick, *Resurrection: The Struggle for a New Russia*, New York, Random House, 1997, Chapter 8, pp. 241-259.

The Muskie/FSA Graduate Program Evaluation

Anna Politkovskaya, *Putin's Russia*, 2004.

“Poland to Begin News, Cultural Broadcasts to Belarus in Attempt to Bolster Democracy”
AP, December 7, 2007

Marshall R. Singer, “Language Follows Power”, *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 1998.

Stephen Sestanovich, “Russia Turns the Corner”, *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 1994

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/19940101faessay8552/stephen-sestanovich/russia-turns-the-corner.html>

March 12 – Case Study: Democracy Development in Ukraine. The Orange Revolution.

This week will examine Ukraine’s transition as an independent state, with special focus on the Orange Revolution and subsequent media and cultural diplomacy developments.

Adrian Karatnycky, “Ukraine's Orange Revolution”, *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2005
<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20050301faessay84205/adrian-karatnycky/ukraine-s-orange-revolution.html>

Adrian Karatnycky, “Thermidor in Ukraine?”
foreignaffairs.org, September 28, 2005
<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20050928faupdate84578/adrian-karatnycky/thermidor-in-ukraine.html>

Yuliya Tymoshenko, “Containing Russia”, *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2007
<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20070501faessay86307/yuliya-tymoshenko/containing-russia.html>

Andrew Wilson, “After the Orange Revolution: The Nature of Post-Soviet Democracy in Ukraine and Russia,” *University of Cambridge, UK*, February 23, 2007

March 19 SPRING BREAK

March 26- Now It’s Our Turn: Public Diplomacy Russian Style

This week will look at Russia’s approach to public diplomacy and how it is projecting its image to the rest of the world.

Richard Pipes , “Flight From Freedom: What Russians Think and Want” Foreign Affairs, May/June 2004

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20040501facomment83302/richard-pipes/flight-from-freedom-what-russians-think-and-want.html>

Dimitri K. Simes, “Losing Russia”, Foreign Affairs, November/December 2007

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20071101faessay86603/dimitri-k-simes/losing-russia.html>

Stephen Sestanovich, “Were There Two Yeltsins?” foreignaffairs.org, May 2, 2007

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20070502faupdate86376/stephen-sestanovich/were-there-two-yeltsins.html>

Michael McFaul and Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, “The Myth of the Authoritarian Model” Foreign Affairs, January/February 2008

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20080101faessay87105/michael-mcfaul-kathryn-stoner-weiss/the-myth-of-the-authoritarian-model.html>

Peter Finn, “Russia Pumps Tens of Millions Into Burnishing Image Abroad,” Washington Post, March 6, 2008

Control of the Media: A Neo-Soviet Model? Symposium on the Post-Soviet Media, Europe-Asia Studies, Dec. 2007, Vol. 59, No. 8

Lilia Shevtsova, *Lost in Transition*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2007, chapters 18-21.

Jonathan A. Becker, Putin and the Dawn of the New Authoritarians, November 30, 2007, The Globalist.

April 2- The Central Asian Perspective. Image building and branding: Kazakhstan as Borat Nation. Failed revolutions?

This week will examine the difficult transitions taking place in the newly independent countries of Central Asia, from oil-rich Kazakhstan to strife-ridden Uzbekistan.

Charles William Maynes, “America Discovers Central Asia,”

Foreign Affairs. New York:Mar/Apr 2003. Vol. 82, Iss. 2, p. 120-132

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20030301faessay10343/charles-william-maynes/america-discovers-central-asia.html>

Kenneth Neil Cukier, “No Joke,” foreignaffairs.org, December 28, 2005

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20051228faupdate85176/kenneth-neil-cukier/no-joke.html>

Martha Brill Olcott, “Democracy Promotion in Central Asia: From High Expectations to Disillusionment,” presented at CORE Workshop on Democratization in Central Asia, Hamburg, Germany, February 10, 2007

April 9- Caucasian Chalk Circle: Frozen Conflicts, Rose Revolution

This week will explore democratic transition efforts in a complex region of proudly ethnic peoples caught between tribal conflict in the Russian Caucasus and strife in the Middle East.

Charles King, "A Rose Among Thorns: Georgia Makes Good," Foreign Affairs, March/April 2004

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20040301facomment83203/charles-king/a-rose-among-thorns-georgia-makes-good.html>

Charles King, "Tbilisi Blues," foreignaffairs.org, August 25, 2004

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20040825faupdate83575/charles-king/tbilisi-blues.html>

April 16- Case Study: American Corners as New Public Diplomacy Platform

This week will examine the most successful new public diplomacy outreach model of this decade: the American Corner, initiated by the U.S. Embassy Moscow.

April 23- Lessons Learned. The Way Forward.

Muskie-FSA Graduate Executive Summary.pdf

April 30- Presentation, Critique of Final Projects. Last day of class.

For further reading:

Carnes Lord, *Losing Hearts and Minds? Public Diplomacy and Strategic Influence in the Age of Terror*, Praeger Security, 2006,

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20030501facomment11216/john-n-paden-peter-w-singer/america-slams-the-door-on-its-foot-washington-s-destructive-new-visa-policies.html>

John C. Campbell, "The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe," Foreign Affairs, Spring 1987

Western Broadcasting Over the Iron Curtain. Edited by K.R.M. Short. New York: St. Martin's, 1986,

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/19980101facomment1354/adrian-karatnycky/christian-democracy-resurgent-raising-the-banner-of-faith-in-eastern-europe.html>

Helena K. Finn, "The Case for Cultural Diplomacy: Engaging Foreign Audiences," Foreign Affairs, New York:Nov/Dec 2003. Vol. 82, Iss. 6, p. 15-20

Alan Heil, *The VOA*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Joseph S. Nye, Jr. and William Owens, "America's Information Edge," *Foreign Affairs*, March-April 1996.

Council on Foreign Relations: *Finding America's Voice: A Strategy for Reinvigorating Public Diplomacy*. New York, Council on Foreign Relations, 2003.

Juliana Geran Pilon, "Obsolete Restrictions on Public Diplomacy Hurt U.S. Outreach and Strategy," *The Heritage Foundation, Backgrounder*, December 3, 2007.

Russia Today TV Broadcasts in English

Useful websites:

Freedom House www.freedomhouse.org

National Endowment for Democracy: www.ned.org

Russiatoday.ru

www.state.gov link to U.S. Embassy websites in the region.

Eurasianet.org

Russiaprofile.org

<http://Rbth.rg.ru>

Academic Integrity Policy

The Annenberg School for communication is committed to upholding the University's Academic Integrity code as detailed in the Campus Guide. It is the policy of the School for Communication to report all violations of the code. Any serious violation or pattern of violations of the Academic Integrity Code will result in the Student's expulsion from the School of Communication.

Statement for Students with Disabilities

Any student requesting academic accommodations based on a disability is required to register with Disability Services and Programs (DSP) each semester. A letter of verification for approved accommodations can be obtained from DSP. Please be sure the letter is delivered to me (or to TA) as early in the semester as possible. DSP is located in STU 301 and is open 8:30 a.m.–5:00 p.m., Monday through Friday. The phone number for DSP is (213) 740-0776.

