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PREFACE

# Public Diplomacy in a Changing World

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Wars bring new words and phrases to public notice. World War I taught the world *camouflage*, World War II brought *Blitzkrieg* and *Kamikaze*, while the cold war gave us *containment* and *deterrence*. The “War on Terror,” which began in the wake of September 11, 2001, has also brought new prominence to a number of words and phrases, one of which, *public diplomacy*—meaning an international actor’s attempt to advance the ends of policy by engaging with foreign publics—is the subject of this collection. Such new words typically merely attach a new name to an old concept. In the case of public diplomacy, the concept covers a number of well-established—even ancient—activities that have been in use for many years.

The term *public diplomacy* is a product of American activity in the middle years of the cold war. In 1965, Edmund Gullion, a retired diplomat who became dean of diplomacy at Tufts University, unveiled the term with the launch of the Edward R. Murrow Center for Public Diplomacy. But the U.S. government had been engaged in activities associated with the term for a generation prior. Seventeen years had passed since President Harry Truman signed legislation authorizing massive peacetime expenditures on international information programs, twelve years had passed since President Dwight Eisenhower created the United States Information Agency (USIA) to provide a single administrative home for such work, and arguably public diplomacy has been part of America’s wartime activity as far back as the Revolutionary War. Gullion’s intent in the mid-1960s was in large part to aid America’s practice of international information and exchange by liberating it from the taint of the dominant term for such work in previous decades: *propaganda*. USIA staffers welcomed a phrase that spoke to their role as diplomats rather than as advertising or public relations

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agents. Moreover, the logic of public diplomacy was easily translated into an argument for giving the USIA dominion over all aspects of U.S. official engagements with foreign publics, including the independently minded Voice of America radio operations and the Fulbright programs, which their namesake, Senator J. William Fulbright, had embedded in the State Department. The term gathered use gradually in official and legislative circles. Representative Dante Fascell of Florida was especially taken with it. In 1978 the old Advisory Commissions for Information and Culture amalgamated into a single U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy. The 1980s lifted both usage of the term and budgets even further as the indefatigable Charles Z. Wick took over the USIA and the Reagan administration treated information services as a vital tool to be used in confronting the Soviet Union.

The political changes of 1989 and after played out with bitter irony for America's public diplomats. For many governments around the world, the spectacle of the fall of the Berlin Wall spurred a new interest in international communication as a tool or set of tools to be used more effectively in diplomacy. The vocabulary and functions of public diplomacy also grew as a vital component of the work of nation-states and other international actors. Public diplomacy provided a convenient framework for thinking about the impact of the "communications revolution" on the practice of foreign policy. Yet at the same time conservative American legislators, eager for a "peace dividend," tightened a financial grip on the USIA and, aided by leading members of the administration of President Bill Clinton, eventually affected its merger into the Department of State in 1999. In the wake of 9/11, as America asked, "Why do they hate us?" and opinion polls revealed mounting levels of anti-Americanism, even casual readers of the American press became suddenly familiar with the phrase *public diplomacy* and with the hard-pressed cast that labored to turn back the tide of negative international opinion toward the United States. Fairly or not, President George W. Bush's three under secretaries of state for public diplomacy and public affairs—Charlotte Beers, Margaret Tutwiler, and Karen Hughes—all managed to attract a wide range of critics. All left office prematurely.

While public diplomacy has been an important force in international relations for decades, it has only recently begun to attract serious academic attention. This collection seeks to explain the concept of public diplomacy, to put it into an academic framework, and to examine it as an international phenomenon and an important component of statecraft. Because it has been neglected in academic circles, scholarship around public diplomacy has until recently been dominated by practitioners, frequently with an institutional axe to grind. Many of the contributors here—including coeditor Geoffrey Cowan, Joseph Nye, Bruce Gregory, Nancy Snow, and Ernest Wilson—bring practitioner experiences to their contributions, but they write from the perspective of academic disciplines. Although this collection is grounded in American scholarship, the concept of public diplomacy is truly international, a function and concern of all nations and of multinational organizations such as the European Union and United Nations. Reflecting the international range of scholarship in the field, there are a number of pieces

by people who grew up or live in a range of societies, including Manuel Castells (Spain), Nick Cull (United Kingdom), Eytan Gilboa (Israel), Giles Scott-Smith (United Kingdom), Peter Van Ham (Netherlands), and Yiwei Wang (China). The authors include some of the distinguished pioneers of the field including Nye, Castells, Gilboa, and Monroe Price and a number of younger researchers including Amelia Arsenault, Michael Bustamante, Susan Haas, and Drew Margolin. Working behind the scenes, Lauren Movius provided insightful support to the editors and has also left her mark on this collection.

The essays in this volume are arranged in three sections. First are six theoretical papers (Cowan/Arsenault, Cull, Gilboa, Castells, Nye, and Wilson), which draw on the disciplines of communication, international relations, history, and politics to establish a framework for analyzing public diplomacy. Next we examine the tools of public diplomacy, considering place branding (Van Ham), international broadcasting (Price/Haas/Margolin), and exchange programs (Scott-Smith). The final section presents nationally specific case studies examining the United States (Snow), Venezuela and Cuba (Bustamante/Sweig), and China (Wang). A final essay (Gregory) surveys the development of scholarship in the field of public diplomacy and looks to the future.

The reader will notice that many of the authors here have a connection to the University of Southern California, where in 2003 the Annenberg School for Communication and the School of International Relations founded a Center on Public Diplomacy, headed by Joshua Fouts. This center has provided a platform for scholarship in the field of public diplomacy and brought together several of the scholars represented in this collection to launch the world's first master's degree in public diplomacy or to act as advisers to or senior fellows at the center. The USC thread that links these articles is testament not to the partiality of the editors but to the effort of the wider public diplomacy team at USC to engage many of the world's leading scholars in this important conversation. Indeed one scholar—Ernest Wilson—who agreed to participate in the collection subsequently moved to USC and joined the faculty as the new dean.

The editors and contributors present the collection not as the last word on the subject, but rather as an early attempt to examine the current state of the field; to stimulate research and open debate; and to provide a resource for interested scholars, practitioners, and students. As we approach the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century, few fields are as relevant, compelling, or ready for serious study. Few reveal so much neglect and past folly, but few contain so much hope for the future.