# Strategic Communications and Public Diplomacy "Seen on the Web" (#52)

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This newsletter provides a compilation of news, articles, essays, and reports of interest to practitioners and scholars of strategic communications, Public Diplomacy, public affairs, U.S. government international broadcasting, and information operations. "Quotables" are gists of articles and reports available on the website of the Public Diplomacy Council. "Seen on the Web" entries provide key quotes and links. They:

- bring to busy overseas practitioners some of the academic and policy ferment in Public Diplomacy and related fields.
- from long speeches, testimonies, and articles, flag the portions that bear on Public Diplomacy.
- provide a window on armed forces thinking on the fields that neighbor Public Diplomacy military public affairs, strategic communication, information operations, inform-influence-engage, and cultural learning, for instance.
- introduce the long history of Public Diplomacy by citing some of the older books, articles, reports, and documents that are not available on the internet. These are labeled "Classic Quotables."

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## **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

### In the News

1. THE ADMINISTRATION

## **Professional Topics**

- 2. PUBLIC DIPLOMACY
- 3. BROADCASTING
- 4. COUNTERING VIOLENT EXTREMISM
- 5. SOCIAL MEDIA INTERNET
- 6. DISINFORMATION FAKE NEWS
- 7. INFORMATION WARFARE
- 8. INFORMATION OPERATIONS
- 9. HYBRID WARFARE
- 10. CYBER
- 11. NARRATIVE

- 12. ANTI-SEMITISM
- 13. PROPAGANDA
- 14. MEDIA SAVVY EDUCATION JUDGMENT
- 15. IDEAS, CONCEPTS, DOCTRINE
- 16. THE IDEA OF AMERICA

## **Countries and Regions**

- 17. RUSSIA
- **18. CHINA**
- 19. NORTH KOREA
- 20. CHINA AND JAPAN
- 21. PAKISTAN
- 22. SAUDI ARABIA AFRICA
- 23. NIGERIA
- 24. SRI LANKA
- 25. ISLAMIC STATE

#### **Toolkit**

- **26. PUBLIC AFFAIRS**
- 27. SPEECHWRITING
- 28. POSTERS
- 29. EXCHANGES

#### In closing

30. CHICKEN SOUP FOR THE PUBLIC DIPLOMACY OFFICER'S SOUL

# In the News

## 1. THE ADMINISTRATION

• The larger question perhaps is whether State can learn to "do ideology" – not just Islamism and jihadism – in a smart and effective way that makes sense given the skillsets and budget available at Foggy Bottom. Recognizing the ideological dimension of the problem and seeking to address it is a step in the right direction but it is also easy to be crude and clumsy in such a delicate task.

# **Trump Team Revamping the US State Department**

Paul Ebeling, Live Trading News, January 23, 2017

• . . . the Trump people may also have a low view of Public Diplomacy (PD), described in the article as "promoting U.S. arts and culture" or "promoting the arts and minority groups." This is not actually all that PD does, but is an accurate description of what is sometimes highlighted by the political leadership PD has often been afflicted with. Certainly, a long hard look at the work of USG broadcasting and the "PD Bureaus" at State (ECA, IIP, PA) is overdue, even though this represents a very small part of the Department's overall budget.

# Making The U.S. State Department Great Again: Why A Trump Refit Could Be Good News

Alberto M. Fernandez, Middle East Media Research Institute, January 23, 2017

• . . . let's consider some of the assumptions Trump and his team appear to bring to the table as they enter office. Some are about how the world works, while others concern the best way to design and implement U.S. foreign policy. Assumption #1: Calling it "Radical Islam" Makes a Difference \* \* \* \* \* Assumption #2: Foreign Public Opinion Doesn't Matter \* \* \* \*

**Seven Trump Foreign Policy Assumptions** 

Daniel Byman, Lawfare, January 20, 2017

• Tillerson ... may very well end up somewhere between the ceremonial role of the vice president, attending conferences and funerals, and simply overseeing the network of embassies that serve as America's <u>concierge</u> abroad, provide cover stories for the intelligence community, arrange official visits for fact-finding members of Congress, and host senior Washington policy makers in town to do the heavy lifting of international relations. State will still hold the monopoly inside government on critical matters like <u>sports diplomacy</u> and paying for <u>reality-TV</u> shows in Niger to influence those there with TVs.

**State of Irrelevance** 

Peter Van Buren, The American Conservative, February 1, 2017

# **Professional Topics**

#### 2. PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

• Irrespective of where you stand on the legality, morality and practicality of President Trump's refugee ban, the way in which it was communicated at home and abroad was abysmal. The announcement of an executive order of this magnitude on a Friday afternoon, with little or no briefings and explanation, ...left our friends confused and our enemies emboldened. It left an information void.... When a public information vacuum is created, the result is misinformation, disinformation or no information, and the result is always negative.

With travel ban, Trump fails Public Diplomacy 101

Tara Sonenshine, The Hill, January 30, 2017

• In the case of Afghanistan, immediately after 9/11, in terms of military action we should have done nothing initially. I now believe we should have taken the first year after 9/11 and sent 10,000 young Americans—military, civilians, diplomats—to language school; Pashtu, Dari, Arabic. We should have started to build up the capacity we didn't have. I would have spent that year with diplomats traveling the world as the aggrieved party. We had just been struck by al-Qaeda. I would have made our case around the world that this is a global problem and that the whole world has to deal with it.

**An Interview with Stanley McChrystal** 

Michael Miklaucic, PRISM, December 7, 2016

#### 3. BROADCASTING

• A little more than seven weeks after the United States officially entered World War II, a live, 15-minute shortwave radio broadcast was transmitted into Germany from a small studio in New York City on February 1, 1942. It was introduced by the American patriotic song "The Battle Hymn of the Republic." Then, announcer William Harlan Hale's voice could be heard saying: "We bring you Voices from America. Today, and daily from now on, we shall speak to you about America and the war. The news may be good for us. The news may be bad. But we shall tell you the truth."

# **VOA Celebrates 75 Years on the Air**

Voice of America, February 1, 2017

• MBN was created to provide objective, accurate, and relevant news and information through television, radio, and the internet to 22 Arabic-speaking nations. MBN's Arabic-speaking editorial staff, headquartered in Springfield, Virginia, produces much of the programming content. MBN has bureaus and production centers in Baghdad, Erbil, Dubai, Beirut, Cairo, Jerusalem, and Rabat

<u>Inspection of the Broadcasting Board of Governors' Middle East Broadcasting Networks</u>
Office of the Inspector General, Department of State and Broadcasting Board of Governors,
February 2017

• On MSNBC...Rachel Maddow decried the "takeover" of the Voice of America by the Trump administration. The story was terrifying: Trump now has his own propaganda outlet! I, too, was upset about the dissolution of the VOA board and the shift toward using presidential appointees in place of a bipartisan group of governors.... Maddow's story, really, boiled down to: President will appoint people he is legally required to appoint. But that didn't stop my email inbox and Twitter stream from filling with panic about how "Trump has taken over American propaganda." Chill, America. Not every Trump outrage is outrageous.

Tom Nichols, The Washington Post, February 2, 2017

• The work of the U.S. government's largest public diplomacy program is currently being reviewed by two of President Donald Trump's former campaign aides. It would be difficult for the administration to have found less qualified candidates for the job. \*\* . . . [BBG CEO John] Lansing has decades of experience managing media bureaucracies, working with foreign journalism outlets, and working as a reporter himself. Trump has sent two hacks with little to no experience in journalism and none at all in public diplomacy or international relations to review Lansing's work.

Here Are The Hacks In Charge Of Broadcasting Trump's Propaganda Internationally Matt Gertz, Media Matters, February 1, 2017

- At the start of every administration, officials go to practically every agency to kick the tires, and it's possible Team Trump will leave public-diplomacy programs like Voice of America to run independently, as the Obama administration did. But the fears are understandable.

  Voice of America has concerns about Team Trump's takeover

  Steve Benen, msnbc.com, January 25, 2017
- The headlines were ominous: "<u>Trump to inherit state-run TV network with expanded reach</u>." "<u>Donald Trump to gain total control of US public broadcasting networks</u>." "<u>Trump TV could</u>

<u>really be a thing...</u> and on the government's dime." Such language was misleading and overblown.

# Settle Down. New Legislation Didn't Create Trump TV

Emily T. Metzgar, CPD Blog, January 19, 2017

• Perhaps the months or years ahead will bring change to this situation; but as of the end of 2016, the death of Fidel Castro in November had not lessened the Cuban government's hostility to outside broadcasters, any more than the restoration of U.S.-Cuban diplomatic relations did on July 20, 2015.

# Post-Fidel, the Broadcast Hostility Remains

James Careless, Radio World, February 1, 2017

• The <u>BBC</u> is to assemble a team to fact check and debunk deliberately misleading and false stories masquerading as real news. Amid growing concern ... about the impact of false information online, news chief James Harding told staff on Thursday that the BBC would be "weighing in on the battle over lies, distortions and exaggerations.

# BBC sets up team to debunk fake news

Jasper Jackson, The Guardian, January 12, 2017

- Voice of America's response to the 2014-2015 Ebola epidemic is a prime example of the role that targeted media messaging with factual information can play in crisis environments.

  Public Diplomacy in Action: Voice of America in Crisis Environments (p. 29ff)

  Kelu Chao, Crisis Diplomacy, University of Southern California, Summer 2016
- •... a chronological review of the history of international radio broadcasting as a communication strategy used by various countries up until World War II. I will then provide an historical review of the U.S. government's use of international radio broadcasting, covering both its diplomatic and military uses throughout several major conflicts ranging from World War II through the current war in Iraq.

A Brief History of U.S. International Radio Broadcasting and War: From the Voice of America to Radio Tikrit

Captain David Westover, USAF, psywarrior.com, April 22, 2003

## 4. COUNTERING VIOLENT EXTREMISM

• The Trump administration wants to revamp and rename a U.S. government program designed to counter all violent ideologies so that it focuses solely on Islamist extremism, five people briefed on the matter told Reuters.

Exclusive: Trump to focus counter-extremism program solely on Islam - sources
Julia Edwards Ainsley, Dustin Volz, and Kristina Cooke, Reuters, February 2, 2017

• The question of how to best combat extremist propaganda and recruiting efforts online has been at the forefront of American foreign policy since the early days of the Iraqi insurgency. U.S. policy makers and practitioners are no stranger to the threat this poses to American interests. But poorly conceived and poorly executed information operations campaigns have plagued American efforts since this time.

The Truth about CVE Messaging

Matthew Wallin, American Security Project, January 31, 2017

• Violent extremists often utilize radical ideologies, beliefs, and values to foment intolerance and hatred and to justify the use of violence to address grievances. It is important to note that violent extremism is not limited to any single faith community. . . . . Over the past 50 years, however, the use of Islamic discourses to justify terrorism has become increasingly prominent. Building Resilience against Violent Extremism: A Community-Based Approach
Hedieh Mirahmadi, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,
November, 2016

#### 5. SOCIAL MEDIA • INTERNET

• America's success as a democracy stems from the multiple institutions that support it: its legislative and judicial branches of government; its free and freewheeling media (and let's not forget an explosive and pervasive social media); the armed forces; its 4,000-plus institutions of higher learning; its many religious institutions; the many state and local governments; and the innumerable groups and organizations that make up its civil society, probably the most active and prolific in the world.

# **Democracy in a Nation Divided**

Gary Grappo, Fair Observer, January 26, 2017

• The growing use of social media to contest reality, rather than narratives, may hold several implications for the future of diplomacy. From a practical perspective, such contestations may further impede the work of multilateral forums. How can the Security Council debate the Syrian Crisis if members cannot agree that a crisis exists?

# **On Post-Reality Digital Diplomacy**

Ilan Manor, CPD Blog, Jan 25, 2017

• The speed and diffusion of propaganda on social media can create a 360-degree effect for users, so that what they perceive is not seen so much as a coherent ideological message but as the natural and growing consensus of the crowd.

Fake news: Why the West is blind to Russia's propaganda today

Chris Zappone, Sydney Morning Herald, January 23, 2017

• SOCIAL MEDIA TRENDS...Social media – from participation to monetizing... Globalisation and consolidation of social media...Mobile revolution as a game changer . . . Towards closed networks...Social media content: less text, more image...Real time forms of communication . . . Future social media innovations . . . Social media as a source of news . . . From social exchange to powerful weapon . . . Attempts to control the internet . . .

# **New Trends in Social Media**

NATO Strategic Communications Centre of Excellence, December, 2016

• A decade's development I social media since Ukraine's 204 Orange Revolution critically enhanced the ability of Ukrainian dissidents to wage the Euromaidan opposition movement against former President Viktor Yanukovych in 2013-14. Social media was used to: rapidly break the government's monopoly on mass media; 2) proliferate images of regime abuses; 3)

recruit and organize a self-defense force; 4) supply and sustain thousands of protesters; 5) provide medical and legal aid; 6) disseminate tactical information on internal troop movements; and )7 conduct cyber operations against the state.

Ukraine: Dissident Capabilities in the Cyber Age (p. 4)

Katrina Elledge, Center for Strategic Intelligence Research, National Intelligence University, October 2015

## 6. DISINFORMATION • FAKE NEWS

• . . . one lesson to take away from the book [W. Joseph Campbell's new and revised edition of *Getting It Wrong: Debunking the Greatest Myths in American Journalism*] is that fake news, misattributions, and false memes have existed as long as news has been reported.

# There's Nothing New About Fake News

Joseph Bottum, Washington Free Beacon, February 4, 2017

• We learned from Russian state TV that Brussels is a dangerous place to live and that thousands - yes, literally thousands - of women are sexually assaulted on the streets on a daily basis <a href="http://bit.ly/2kKFx10">http://bit.ly/2kKFx10</a>. \* \* \* We also learned that the EU institutions don't actually play any role at all, and that everything will shortly be under the control of Berlin <a href="http://bit.ly/2kK7LtH">http://bit.ly/2kK7LtH</a>. Repeating <a href="http://bit.ly/2juL2zW">already debunked disinformation</a>, we read again that thousands of tanks are flowing into Europe to threaten Russia <a href="http://bit.ly/2juL2zW">http://bit.ly/2juL2zW</a>; . . . But happily none of the claims are factual.

# \*Trends of the Week\* Fabricated moral collapse

Disinformation Review, February 2, 2017

• While fake news is the flavor of the month in DC, here in Eastern Europe it is nothing new. The CGS Monitor, however, has taken fake news to new depths with its use of fake opinions. How do we really know who said what? Academics, scholars, politicians, and writers must now vigilantly manage their brand as a core part of their work. Your opinion, it turns out, may no longer actually be yours.

# From Fake News to Fake Opinion

Brian Mefford, Atlantic Council, February 1. 2017

• The 2016 U.S. presidential election showed that the fight for voters on social media May have resulted in the spread of false information, propaganda and disinformation. In Germany's upcoming election campaign, a similar scenario may unfold. To prevent it, the German government intends to take preventive measures, but against new forms of online threats they may prove insufficient.

# <u>German Proposals for Increased Control of Online Media after the U.S. Presidential Election</u>

Miłosława Fijałkowska, PISM: The Polish Institute of International Affairs, January 31, 2017

• In the midst of the media's sudden headline-blaring apoplexy over fake news, you won't hear much about the government's role in producing, planting, and peddling propaganda-driven fake news – often with the help of the corporate news media – because that's not how the game works.

# When It Comes to Fake News, the U.S. Government Is the Biggest Culprit

John W. Whitehead, River Cities Reader, January 18, 2017

## 7. INFORMATION WARFARE

- Norwegian security officials have revealed a cyberattack by suspected Russian intelligence operatives that is strikingly similar to what occurred during the U.S. presidential election. Hackers attempted to <a href="https://docs.presidential.org/break">breach communications</a> among members of Norway's Labour Party much the same way American intelligence agencies have determined that Russians targeted emails from within the Democratic National Committee during the U.S. campaign . . .

  As Trump Eases Russian Sanctions, Norway Reveals A Kremlin Cyberattack

  Mary Papenfuss, The Huffington Post, Bebruary 3, 2017
- Moscow is aware of its hard power limitations and prefers to avoid expensive conventional operations, instead making strategic gains through political warfare, special forces and other indirect means. There is a strong shift towards a system of nonnuclear deterrence, based around long-range conventional weapons and domains where it can readily retaliate, such as through cyber or information warfare.

The ABCs of Russian Military Power: A Primer for the New Administration Michael Kofman, The National Interest, February 2, 2017

• Earlier this month, the US intelligence community released a report that <u>blamed President Vladimir Putin</u> for ordering a campaign of cyberattacks, propaganda, and fake news to undermine public confidence in the democratic process and discredit Hillary Clinton's campaign. In light of this, Passcode's group of digital security and privacy experts said President Trump should roundly condemn the hacks – and impose serious consequences.

Influencers: US should hit Russia harder for political hacks

Jack Detsch, Christian Science Monitor, February 1, 2017

• Memes appear to function like the IEDs of information warfare. They are natural tools of an insurgency; great for blowing things up, but likely to sabotage the desired effects when handled by the larger actor in an asymmetric conflict.

<u>Is America Prepared for Meme Warfare?</u>

Jacob Siegel, Motherboard, January 31, 2017

• The tiny Baltic nation of Estonia is experimenting with the idea of cyber-conscription, a move that gives draftees with tech skills the chance to work shoring up their military's electronic infrastructure, an Estonian defense official said Tuesday.

**Cyberconscripts: Baltic draftees can choose IT over infantry** 

Raphael Satter, Associated Press, January 24, 2017

#### 8. INFORMATION OPERATIONS

• ...at MacDill Air Force Base, web crawlers scour social media for potential recruits to the Islamic State group. Then, in a high-stakes operation to counter the extremists' propaganda,

language specialists employ fictitious identities and try to sway the targets from joining IS ranks. At least that's how the multimillion-dollar initiative is being sold to the Defense Department.

U.S. military botches online fight against Islamic State

Desmond Butler and Richard Lardner, The Washington Times, January 31, 2017

• Arguing against the extremist narrative is a worthy cause, but you don't do it successfully by pretending you're someone else. You do it by having an inarguably better narrative.

The Truth about CVE Messaging

Matthew Wallin, American Security Project, January 31, 2017

#### 9. HYBRID WARFARE

• These isolationist leanings [in some Western countries] are the sorts of distractions that Putin will exploit in Ukraine by using tactical hybrid aggression – a combination of military posturing, disinformation warfare and use of paid local surrogates to carry the Kremlin's agenda.

If the world blinks, Putin will seize the rest of Ukraine

Natalia Arno, TheHill, January 31, 2017

#### 10. CYBER

• The Middle East, particularly the Gulf states, are quickly recognizing the urgent need for better cybersecurity, while regional adversaries such as Iran have begun weaponizing code as an extension of broader strategic goals within the region. What, though, is the Gulf's current cybersecurity atmosphere, and how does Iran's emerging use of offensive cyber capabilities fit into its broader strategy in the Middle East?

Cybersecurity in the Gulf: The Middle East's Virtual Frontline

Levi Maxey, The Cipher Brief, January 29, 2017

• . . . what explains Iran's interest in cyber? First, it fits well with elements of Iran's strategic culture: a preference for ambiguity, standoff, and indirection . . . enabling it to better manage this risk. Second, because of the difficulty attributing responsibility for a cyber attack quickly and convincingly . . . cyber may provide Tehran a degree of deniability. Third, international cyber norms remain inchoate . . . . Fourth, Iran's cyber activities support the regime's narrative that the country is an emerging scientific and technological force.

**Cyber: Iran's Weapon of Choice** 

Michael Eisenstadt, The Cipher Brief, January 29, 2017

## 11. NARRATIVE

• Before scoffing at the notion of a battle of narratives, the Trump Administration needs to recognize the importance of synchronizing the United States' words with its actions even if the action isn't dropping bombs. The Trump Administration should understand the narrative must support the counter-terrorism national strategy. For instance, the campaign gimmick line of 'extreme vetting' is neither a narrative nor a strategy.

**Improving America's Domestic Counter-Terrorism Narrative** 

Joel Harding, To Inform is to Influence, February 1, 2017

• Nations like Russia and China, as well as terrorist organizations like the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), are using narrative to motivate audiences, advance agendas and engage adversaries.

Narrative, Cyberspace and the 21st Century Art of War

Brad D. Williams, Fifth Domain, January 22, 2017

## 12. ANTI-SEMITISM

• For a phenomenon often dubbed "the world's oldest hatred," anti-Semitism is not well understood.... it's well worth debunking common misconceptions that impede our ability to fight it. Myth No. 1: Anti-Semitism largely subsided after the Holocaust. \* \* \* Myth No. 2: Anti-• Semitism comes predominantly from the right. \* \* \* Myth No. 3: Criticism of Israel is generally anti-Semitic. \* \* \* Myth No. 4: Criticism of Israel cannot be anti-Semitic. \* \* \* Myth No. 5: Anti-Semitism mostly threatens Jews.

Five myths about anti-Semitism

Yair Rosenberg, The Washington Post, February 3, 2017

• The Protocols of the Elders of Zion is the most notorious and widely distributed antisemitic publication of modern times. Its lies about Jews, which have been repeatedly discredited, continue to circulate today, especially on the Internet. The individuals and groups who have used the Protocols are all linked by a common purpose: to spread hatred of Jews.

**Protocols of the Elders of Zion** 

Holocaust Encyclopedia, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum

#### 13. PROPAGANDA

• The way we glibly admire Russian art from the age of Lenin sentimentalises one of the most murderous chapters in human history. If the Royal Academy put on a huge exhibition of art from Hitler's Germany there would rightly be an outcry. Yet the art of the Russian revolution is just as mired in the mass slaughters of the 20th century.

<u>We cannot celebrate revolutionary Russian art – it is brutal propaganda</u> Jonathan Jones, The Guardian, February 2, 2017

• One of the first things viewers see at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum's traveling exhibition "<u>State of Deception: The Power of Nazi Propaganda</u>," which recently opened at the U.N., is a quote from 1924 by Adolf Hitler: "Propaganda is a truly terrible weapon in the hands of an expert." And, as the exhibition will show, the Nazis, primarily Joseph Goebbels, Hitler and Julius Streicher, were true masters of the form.

Why Nazi Propaganda Is Not As Relevant As You Might Think Jake Romm, The Forward, February 1, 2017

• Radio propaganda was a prominent part of World War II and perhaps no on-air propagandist was more well-known than Iva Toguri, also known as "Tokyo Rose."

<u>The Fascinating story of Tokyo Rose – an American woman forced to broadcast WW2 propaganda by the Japanese</u>

George Winston, War History Online, February 1, 2017

• If pro-Kremlin media stories are to be believed, Ukraine is at risk of being taken over by Nazis, Germany has criminalized the criticism of immigration laws and Austrian courts are acquitting refugees of child rape. Propaganda's new mission is not necessarily to be believable, but to sow doubt.

Propaganda's New Goals: Create Confusion, Sow Doubt

Marisa Endicott, US News and World Report, January 31, 2017

#### 14. MEDIA SAVVY • EDUCATION • JUDGMENT

• Fake news can be hoax websites like <u>The Onion</u>. Fake news can come from "news outlets" like <u>RT News</u>, the first Russian 24/7 English-language news channel formerly known as "Russian Today" and produces stories with approval from the Russian Government. Fake news can be supermarket tabloids like <u>The Globe</u>.

**Teaching Aid for Educators on "Fake News" and Alternative Facts** 

Andrew Selepak, medium.com, January 29, 2017

## 15. IDEAS, CONCEPTS, DOCTRINE

• This is a study about us, namely, the 'transatlantic community'—a community we consider to be based on democratic values. This study seeks to answer an essential question: how can it be that countries, which enjoy leading positions in terms of prosperity, freedom, solidarity, innovation, economic competitiveness, and seemingly unlimited normative power based on the long-standing democratic traditions have neglected or ignored (intentionally and unintentionally) the manipulative redefinition of their core democratic values.

Redefining Euro-Atlantic Values: Russia's Manipulative Techniques

NATO Strategic Communications Centre of Excellence, 2017

• Too many in the mainstream press are responding to the big, bold, in-your-face actions of the White House with over-the top rhetoric, historical ignorance, an utter lack of proportion and, in some cases, just plain bias. Some nights on cable TV feel more like a feeding frenzy than journalists covering a new administration.

Amid storm of Trump developments, a call for calmer, more centrist media David Zurawik, The Baltimore Sun, February 5, 2017

• The ...U.S. president should adopt a grand strategy of building and maintaining an open international order based on three pillars: open societies, open governments, and an open international system. The essential fault line of the digital age is not between capitalism and communism or democracy and autocracy but between open and closed.

**How to Succeed in the Networked World** 

Anne-Marie Slaughter, Foreign Affairs, November/December 2016

#### 16. THE IDEA OF AMERICA

• That American myth was embraced and lived out by everybody from Washington to Lincoln to Roosevelt to Reagan. It was wrestled with by John Winthrop and Walt Whitman. It gave America a mission in the world — to spread democracy and freedom. It gave us an attitude of

welcome and graciousness, to embrace the huddled masses yearning to breathe free and to give them the scope by which to realize their powers.

# **A Return to National Greatness**

David Brooks, The New York Times, February 3, 2017

# **Countries and Regions**

## 17. RUSSIA

• . . . the Kremlin disinformation campaign "works very hard to portray the European leaders according to their inclination to support Russia. The more favourable those personalities are to Vladimir Putin's regime, the stronger voice in the international community they have according to the Russian-speaking outlets".

Orbán is a tool in Putin's information war against the West Panyi Szabolcs, Index, February 4, 2017

• Russia is "weaponising misinformation" to create a "post-truth age" in a sustained campaign of destabilisation against Nato and the West, the defence secretary has warned. \* \* \* \* \* Sir Michael said the West needs to do more to "call out" the messengers such as the Kremlin-backed RT television station and Sputnik news agency, which he said were responsible for spreading "Soviet-style misinformation".

Russia 'weaponising misinformation' to create 'post-truth age' and destabilise the West, defence secretary warns

Samuel Osborne, Independent, February 3, 2017

• Russia uses a consistent seven-stage trajectory of policies to reimperialize the former Soviet republics. This trajectory begins with soft power and cycles through humanitarian policies and compatriot policies, which create institutions, laws and policies to co-opt the Russian diaspora. This proceeds to information warfare...the general trajectory involves cooptation of the Russian diaspora to achieve territorial expansion under the guise of compatriot or minority protection. All of this occurs under the veil of a blitz of information warfare.

**Empire by Other Means: Russia's Strategy for the 21st Century** 

Agnia Grigas, YaleGlobal Online, February 2, 2017

• The precise nature of Russian state-backed interference in the last November's U.S. presidential election and the contact, if any, between Russian officials and members of President Trump's election campaign, may never be fully known. But the apocalyptic stylings of Russian disinformation have reached across the Atlantic.

<u>How to Survive a Russian Hack: Lessons from Eastern Europe and the Baltics</u> Linda Kinstler, The Atlantic, February 2, 2017

• To understand and combat the effects and goals of disinformation, we must understand the concept of reflexive control and how it fits into greater Russian strategy. . . . Reflexive control is a "uniquely Russian" concept based on *maskirovka*, an old Soviet notion in which one "conveys to an opponent specifically prepared information to incline him/her to voluntarily make the predetermined decision desired by the initiator of the action".

**Disinformation and Reflexive Control: The New Cold War** 

Annie Kowalewski, Georgetown Security Studies Review, February 1, 2017

- "The information attacks, the propaganda, the cyberattacks ... We've lived through all the things they tested first in Ukraine," Natalie Jaresko, the country's former finance minister told David Axelrod on The Axe Files podcast, a joint production of CNN and the University of Chicago's Institute of Politics. "It's shocking that they would take the risk of doing that in the United States. And now it appears -- I've seen reports -- Germany, France and elsewhere. "

  Former Ukraine finance minister: Russia wants to upend Western democracy

  Samantha Neal, CNN Politics, January 30, 2017
- The Russian regime is convinced that the West has become so good at mastering the technique of "Color Revolutions" that they can induce regime change where it suits their geopolitical interests. The technique includes an enormous informational offensive, funding NGOs, using special services, and diplomatic pressure all in the name of democracy.

  Gen. McChrystal is right in fact, Russian leaders think they already are at war Oscar Jonsson, Foreign Policy, January 30, 2017
- Those in the West who fear government-sponsored Russian hackers must keep in mind that these are not people who willingly subject themselves to any kind of military discipline. They aren't necessarily patriots, either. An FSB officer, recruited from the hacking community, can use his rank and position to obtain compromising material and sell it to wealthy clients.

  How Russian Hackers Became a Kremlin Headache

  Leonid Bershidsky, Bloomberg View, January 30, 2017
- A senior official in the Russian cyberintelligence department that American officials say oversaw last year's election hacking has been arrested in Moscow on charges of treason, a Russian newspaper reported Wednesday.

<u>Top Russian Cybercrimes Agent Arrested on Charges of Treason</u> Andrew E. Kramer, The New York Times, January 25, 2017

• But if Russian interference to boost Mr Trump is now beyond doubt, this does not mean that Russia caused his victory. "While the correlation is clear, the causation is not," says Peter Pomeranzev, an expert on Russia's disinformation.

Russia has often tried to influence elections, with little success

The Economist, December 16, 2017

## **18. CHINA**

• Xi's stated commitment to openness does not prevent him from presiding over China's "Great Firewall," perhaps history's largest censorship project. Google, Facebook, YouTube, Twitter, Instagram and Tumblr are all banned in China. Xi said during his Davos speech that "We need to relentlessly pursue innovation," suggesting he is probably aware that China's restrictions on information flow are a drag on China's economic development.

Look at China's reality, not Xi's rhetoric

Denny Roy, Pacific Forum CSIS, February 2, 2017

•... the general failure of Chinese films, television and musical acts to catch on overseas doesn't offer much reason for optimism. But video games, unlike TV shows, are easily adapted for foreign audiences. And Tencent -- which has been collaborating with the world's top game developers for years -- knows how to do it as well as anyone.

China's New Weapon? Video Games.

Adam Minter, BloombergView, July 5, 2016

## 19. NORTH KOREA

• The North Korean regime depends on isolation from the outside world to maintain its grip and conduct untrammeled pursuit of its international objectives. The regime is deadly afraid of what it terms "ideological and cultural poisoning": what we could call foreign media, international information, cultural exchanges, and the like. We should be saying: bring on the "poisoning"! The more external contact with that enslaved population, the better....

<u>From "Engagement" to Threat Reduction: Moving Toward a North Korea Strategy That</u> Works

Nicholas Eberstadt, Testimony before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, January 31, 2017

• It might be surprising to learn that Stalinist North Korea actually has a private university. But it's true: Since 2010, the Pyongyang University of Science and Technology (PUST), which is funded largely by western donors, has been educating many sons of the country's political elite.

A Secretive North Korean University Makes a Secretive Visit to America

Ethan Epstein, The Weekly Standard, February 2, Feb 02, 2017

## 20. CHINA AND JAPAN

• "China is losing the propaganda wars against Japan for one simple reason: China's rhetorical insistence on its peaceful rise suffers from a credibility problem," [Giulio] Pugliese told me. "In particular, China's decision to go 'all in' in the South China Sea around late 2014 aided Japan's strategic narrative of a coercive China that acts in defiance of international law."

Sino-Japanese propaganda wars are heating up

Jeff Kingston, Japan Times, January 28, 2017

#### 21. PAKISTAN

• A huge cache of weapons, laptops, explosives, and ISIS leaflets were recovered. The cell members were inspired by ISIS ideology and wanted to bring about the caliphate under the banner of ISIS in Pakistan. The cell had pledged online allegiance to Baghdadi and were all former members of Jamaat ut Dawa, the political wing of LeT.

The Islamic State in Pakistan: Growing the Network

Farhan Zahid, Fikra Forum, The Washington Institute, Last accessed February 6, 2017

#### 22. SAUDI ARABIA – AFRICA

• With the exception of a handful of countries, none of which are in Africa, Saudi Arabia, that is to say the government, the religious establishment and members of the ruling family and

business community, does not fund violence.... It has, however, over the last half century launched the <u>single largest public diplomacy campaign in history</u>, pumping up to \$100 billion into ultra-conservative interpretations of Islam.

<u>Creating Frankenstein: Saudi Arabia's ultra-conservative footprint in Africa</u> James M. Dorsey, International Policy Digest, January 27, 2017

## 23. NIGERIA

• Devise a communications strategy that bolsters the government's legitimacy in the eyes of the local population. Present a realistic and consistent depiction of the conflict, articulate the government's strategy for ending the conflict and improving security, dispel Boko Haram's narrative against the government, and state how the government of Nigeria will address the immediate humanitarian needs of the affected populations.

Rethinking the U.S. Approach to Boko Haram: The Case for a Regional Strategy Julia McQuaid and Patricio Asfura-Heim, Marine Corps University Journal, Fall 2015

#### 24. SRI LANKA

• A comprehensive information program should have been launched by the government well ahead of the proposed new agreements to clearly explain their benefits to the public. In this day of WikiLeaks and whistle-blowers, it is no longer possible to negotiate such initiatives under a veil of secrecy.

<u>Sri Lanka & India: Bilateral Negotiations to Avoid Conflict</u> (p. 18ff) Sarala Fernando, Crisis Diplomacy, University of Southern California, Summer 2016

## 25. ISLAMIC STATE

• There are two types of lone wolves, although there can be significant overlap. The first type is driven by psychological factors.... The second type of lone wolf terrorist is more common and more dangerous, because he is motivated by ideological or nationalist sentiments.

Lone Wolves: The Identities of Non-Affiliated Terrorists

Sayf Hemazi, Fikra Forum, The Washington Institute, Last accessed February 6, 2017

• "The virtual planner model has revolutionized jihadist external operations. ISIL has taken advantage of recent advances in online communications and encryption to engineer a process by which the group's top operatives can directly guide lone attackers, playing an intimate role in the conceptualization, target selection, timing and execution of attacks," . . .

'Virtual planners' of Islamic State on dark side of the Internet

Ed Blanche, UPI, January 23, 2017

• Quilliam further created a database of propaganda used by the extremist and terrorist organisations of Islamic State, Taliban, al-Qaeda, al-Shabaab, and Boko Haram that refers to refugees and IDPs.... The most dominant theme in propaganda was 'preaching' (53.07%) (calls from fighters and citizens to Muslims to wage jihad) ...

**REFUGE: Pathways of Youth Fleeing Extremism** 

Haras Rafiq and Nikita Malik, Quilliam Foundation, February, 2017

• . . . the ISIS brand is contracting. Indeed, in recent months, the geographic scope of ISIS' media has narrowed, with dormancy levels the highest at the periphery. At its height in 2015, no fewer than 40 individual propaganda "offices" were producing media. As of mid-January 2017, just 19 outlets were active. These days, the caliphate brand is associated almost entirely with Iraq and Syria . . .

Is ISIS Breaking Apart? What Its Media Operations Suggest

Charlie Winter and Colin Clarke, Foreign Affairs, January 31, 2017

• The plan seeks public diplomacy, information operations, and cyber strategies to isolate and delegitimise ISIS and its radical Islamist ideology; identification of new coalition partners in the fight against ISIS and policies to empower coalition partners to fight ISIS and its affiliates; and mechanisms to cut off or seize ISIS's financial support, including financial transfers, money laundering, oil revenue, human trafficking, sales of looted art and historical artifacts, and other revenue sources.

Trump gives US military 30 days to prepare anti-ISIS strategy

Press Trust of India, www.india.com, January 29, 2017

• ISIS has been trying for years to convince Muslims around the world that the West — and especially the United States — is at war with Islam. President Donald Trump's new executive order on immigration will make it much easier for it to make its case.

Trump's "Muslim ban" is a huge gift to ISIS

Jennifer Williams, Vox.com, January 29, 2017

• ISIL's extensive information operations (IO) contribute to all four modalities [traditional, catastrophic terrorism, irregular, or disruptive technology/criminal activities] in much the same manner that IO supports multiple lines of effort in joint doctrine. Also, there is considerable overlap between the traditional and irregular modalities as well as the irregular and criminal modalities. Most importantly, ISIL acts very much like a nation-state even though it is a nonstate rogue actor.

**Hybrid Threat Center of Gravity Analysis: Taking a Fresh Look at ISIL** 

Michael D. Reilly, Join Force Quarterly, January 26, 2017

• Given the focus that the Islamic State places on its media activities, it is important for those fighting the group to have a level of familiarity with the breadth, content, and nature of these activities. The goal of this report is twofold. First, it attempts to examine declassified documents captured from the group's predecessors to provide a baseline understanding of its present-day media structure and operations. Second, through an examination of over 9,000 Islamic State official media products, this report offers detailed insight into what the group is saying and what a study of its propaganda can tell us about its strengths, weaknesses, and struggles.

**Communication Breakdown: Unraveling the Islamic State's Media Efforts** 

Daniel Milton, Combating Terrorism Center at West Point, United States Military Academy, October 2016

## **Toolkit**

## **26. PUBLIC AFFAIRS**

• Congratulations, Mr. President-elect! \* \* \* Rule No. 1: Don't assume all media members are bad. Like most human beings, reporters come in all stripes. \* \* \* Rule No. 2: Be careful about the word "media." \* \* \* Rule No. 3: Remember this quote often attributed to Mark Twain: "Never pick a fight with people who buy ink by the barrel." \* \* \* Rule No. 4: People matter. 4 media tips for Trump

Tara Sonenshine, TheHill, January 18, 2017

#### 27. SPEECHWRITING

• We watch them giving speeches. Their delivery is enthusiastic, fiery, full of pathos. They pause at length, as if to think. They continue talking. They are applauded for their eloquence and their sincerity. Yet, on either side of their podium, we spy a set of transparent boards, on which a text is screened for the speaker, to help maintain the illusion of naturalness.

What the teleprompter tells us about truth, Trump and speech

Nana Ariel, aeon.co, February 2, 2017

## 28. POSTERS

• There is a worldwide poster renaissance going on right now, due to increasing resistance to oppression, increasing desperation in the world, and the ease of digital communications. But paper posters are still being printed and carried in demonstrations and posted on walls everywhere in the world.

The Power of the Poster (p. 23ff)

Carol A. Wells, Crisis Diplomacy, University of Southern California, Summer 2016

#### 29. EXCHANGES

• Our project "American Seasons in Russia" was a yearlong U.S. Embassy generated celebration of the depth and diversity of culture in the U.S. with the purpose of showing Russians something about the U.S. beyond their daily diet of what they saw about us on TV. For this, the Embassy raised \$2 million in the private sector and convinced [Under Secretary Judith] McHale to match us. The centerpiece was the concerts by the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, and at least 50 projects to cover the country from Moscow to Vladivostok, among them: Alvin Ailey, Momix, City Dance, Bill Jones and Arnie Zane, Herbie Hancock and Dee Dee Bridgewater . . . . Former USG Public Affairs Officer in Moscow American Embassy Michael Hurley (Facebook comments on public diplomacy)

John Brown's Public Diplomacy and Press and Blog Review, February 4, 2017

• More than 80 U.S. Department of State-sponsored Fulbright Program participants from Afghanistan visited the University of Arkansas last semester to participate in a Fulbright Enrichment Seminar . . . . The program aimed to help the participants — known as "Fulbrighters" — increase their knowledge of U.S. academic life, culture and history. University of Arkansas Hosts 80 Fulbrighters From Afghanistan

# In closing

## 30. CHICKEN SOUP FOR THE PUBLIC DIPLOMACY OFFICER'S SOUL

• For all the talk of "carnage" and the very real problem of violent crime plaguing a handful of its neighborhoods, most of Chicago is doing just fine and some of it is spectacular. South Florida's low-rent good-fun vibe has figured out a way to coexist with serious business.... And outside of the big cities, American farmers are prospering beyond the imagining of their forebears only a generation ago, with high-tech 21st-century agriculture having grown into something that's influenced a lot more by what they're doing in Palo Alto than by what they used to do in Muleshoe.

**Sweet Land of Liberty** 

Kevin D. Williamson, National Review, February 5, 2017

• Some of you have asked if recent events have left me disgruntled. The answer is No; I am probably the most gruntled person in the room.

<u>Tom Countryman's Farewell: A Diplomat's Love Letter to America</u> Diplopundit, February 2, 2017