THE ROLE OF CINEMA IN UNITED STATES FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY

AUTORA: Chaves Cristóbal, Marta

DNI: 01949226E

TUTOR: Garrido Rebolledo, Vicente

En Toulouse, a 6 de julio de 2023

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

1. OBJECT AND MOTIVATIONS

1.1 Object

This project aims to analyze the role of cinema, especially Hollywood, in the crafting of the United States Foreign Affairs and Security Policy from the 1950s to our days. With this objective, we will investigate the influence of culture and soft power in International Relations, the use of cinema by the United States and the relationship of certain movies with the US international strategy.

1.2 Motivations

Concepts related to culture, soft power, ideology or 'Western society' are a main point of study in several subjects of the International Relations degree and appear repeatedly during its study. In this sense, it is relevant to increase the research on these topics, sometimes ignored in favor of other theories, seeing as International Relations is a multidisciplinary discipline that shall explore as many points of view as possible.

The focus on Hollywood's cinema comes from a personal interest on the impact these movies have on the daily lives and beliefs of citizens all around the world. This shows us the power hold by those who create these films, since the events portrayed in them will, most likely, influence great audiences. This is true for films treating topics ranging from World War II to kids' movies, since they all, to some extent, reproduce the United States point of view, and are sold to countries overseas, who are to understand and adopt US ways of living through cinema and other forms of pop culture. This phenomenon, when used wisely, can become useful for those in power at the time.

1.3 State of the art

The matter of United States' soft power has been studied from various points of view. Even if, like authors like Persaud (2022), Gries, (2020), and Valle (2008) denounce, the issue of ideologies and the constructivist analysis are not given as much attention as others in the International Relations field.

Some authors like Nye (1990), Sun (2008) or Ford (2012) focus on the concept of soft power as such and the ways in which it is important for the United States. Others, like Rowley & Weldes (2016) center their study on the influence of American pop culture on a general level.

Finally, authors like De Zoysa and Newman (2002), and Webber (2021) focus more extensively on the use of cinema by the United States, and Secker & Alford (2017), Villaseca (2019) or Vega (2020) expand this to get into the topic of the use of propaganda in American cinema.

2. OBJECTIVES

1. To determine whether or not we can speak of a propagandistic use of cinema by the United States.
2. To verify to what extent cinema influences the configuration of ideologies.
3. To analyze if cinema is an essential part of the foreign policy of states as an instrument of power.

3. HYPOTHESES

To fulfill these objectives, we will try to verify the following hypotheses:

1. Can we talk about propaganda in United States cinema?
2. Is Western ideology somehow or highly influenced by Hollywood productions?
3. Is cinema an essential instrument of power for the United States?

4. METHODOLOGY

International Relations as a discipline has traditionally been studied through a realistic perspective, focusing on concepts such as power, war, or balance of power. However, this point of view focuses exclusively on the use of what scholars call 'hard power' and forget about the importance of 'soft power'. This is why this exclusively realistic analysis is considered insufficient since we believe it necessary to focus on other elements such as language, cinema, or propaganda, that allow us to use other variables. This paper will apply the constructivist analysis, studying language and how things are said. This will be done through the study of movies, a perspective that other authors like Cynthia Webber (*International Relations Theory: A Critical Introduction*, 2021) have also used.

Contrary to the materialist theories like realism, constructivism focuses on ideational factors, especially those collectively held by society, which constructivists believe are the basis of identities. Identities are therefore socially constructed and changeable. Among the most important authors in the constructivist theory, we have Alexander Wendt (1999), Norman Fairclough (2012, 2013) or Michel Foucault (1966). We believed this theory was the best choice for this paper since the identities constructivists talk about can be constructed through cultural elements like cinema.

5. VARIABLES

The center of attention will be discursive and cultural aspects as well as ideology and soft power. This paper will not focus on variables such as economy or foreign policy as such.

6. SOURCES

The following research was conducted through specialized books and articles as well as films, which were the basis for the investigation, committing to the use of audiovisual elements in International Relations. Among the most consulted authors in this paper we find Nye, J. S. (with several of his works between 1990 and 2017 quoted in topics related to soft power), Secker, T., & Alford, M. (2017), Vega Durán, S. (2020), Villaseca, N (2019), Domenach, J. M. (1950), Valle de Frutos, S. (2008), or De Zoysa, R., & Newman, O (2002).

CHAPTER I: CULTURE, IDEOLOGY AND POWER

> *"Do ideas have an impact on political outcomes, and if so, under what conditions?"*
>
> *- Goldstein and Keohane, 1993*

In this chapter, we seek to analyze the concepts of culture, ideology, and power. To do so, we will define each concept and place them in the political context to see how they interact between each other.

1. THE ROLE OF CULTURE IN IR

The Collins dictionary defines 'culture' as "*a particular society or civilization, especially considered in relation to its beliefs, way of life or art*". Culture has been a key element for societies since the beginning of time: art, language, gastronomy… these are elements that have always been relevant for the formation and the identification with a certain society.

In the field of International Relations, culture is important for the concept of 'nation', that can be defined as "a *group of people who see themselves as a cohesive and coherent unit based on shared cultural or historical criteria*" (Flint, 2016). Many even consider culture to be a key part of contemporary societies, along with the techno-economic and the political structures (Valle, 2008). Bozeman (1994) goes so far as to believe that "*international relations are, by definition, 'intercultural relations'*".

In International Relations, there are many authors who have aimed to define culture and its ramifications. On the anthropological field, Wallerstein (1992) defined culture as "*the way of synthesizing the ways in which groups distinguish themselves from other groups*" or "*certain characteristics internal to a group as opposed to other characteristics of the same group*". Sociological authors usually focus more on the systems created by culture, like Bozeman (1994) who defines culture as "*those norms, values, institutions, and modes of thinking that survive change and remain meaningful to successive generations*" or Mazrui (1990): "*a system of interrelated values, active enough to condition perception, judgment, communication, and behaviour in a given society*".

An author that analyzed the influence of culture in politics in depth is Daniel Bell, in his book *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism* (1976). Here, he defines culture as:

> *"Culture, for a society, a group or a person, is a process continuum of sustaining an identity through the coherence achieved by a consistent aesthetic point of view, a moral conception of the self, and a lifestyle that exhibits those conceptions in the objects that adorn our homes and in ourselves, and in the taste that expresses those views".* (Bell, 1976).

He links the concept of culture to emotions and the intelligence that organizes those feelings. In his view, culture now takes the role taken before by religion when it comes to finding a justification for life and it also serves as a source of identity, through experience.

A key concept for him, when talking about culture historically is that of unity[1]. For him, values form ways of life and it is up to social institutions to transmit these. This is why he finds

---

[1] "*Historically, most cultures and social structures have shown unity. Classical culture expressed its unity through the fusion of reason and will in the pursuit of virtue. Christian culture showed coherence in the search for salvation in its social and aesthetic representations. The bourgeois culture and the*

that "*The principle of culture is, then, that of a constant return —not in its forms, but in its concerns*" (Bell, 1976) since he finds that, after conflicts or revolutions, the new order will be based on tradition, what keeps constant regardless of what happens[2].

From his research we can see how culture holds an extremely important role in societal organization and construction, in a similar way as religion. We see how the values with which we construct societies are based on the culture of that determined territory.

Another author that analyzed the role of culture in societies is Cee J. Hamelink in his book *Cultural Autonomy in Global Communications* (1983). He considered that cultural systems have three types of relationships: instrumental (techniques developed by human beings), symbolic (symbols with which we communicate) and social (patterns of interaction). In his view, 'national cultures' are irreal since cultural differences are not limited to political boundaries. This is something we can see in countries like Spain where each Autonomous Community has its own culture even if most share several 'national' identifications.

In this sense, he introduced several terms related to the cultural relations between countries (Hamelink, 1983):

a) Cultural autonomy: "*the capacity of a society to decide on the distribution of its own resources for an adequate adaptation to its environment*".

b) Cultural synchronization: A cultural phenomenon that aims to maintain the dependency links between the metropolis and its satellite countries. This is something we could clearly see during the Cold War, where the United States and the Soviet Union attempted to culturally dominate their satellite countries to differentiate them from their enemy's.

c) Cultural dissociation: The reaction against cultural synchronization. It is an "*active choice against imitation of foreign cultural systems and to design a cultural system suited to the country's specific environment.*". This is generally done through the adoption of national symbols that are combined with the foreign ones, in what he calls 'cultural self-assertion'. This was done by Algeria, that fought the introduction of French culture completely through their selective use of the veil, among others.

d) Cultural resistance: A phenomenon analyzed by this author through the case of Iran, as a country that embraces technological development but refuses to adopt cultural values from other countries. This refusal usually causes the isolation of said country in the international system.

From Hamelink's work, we can see how, despite the number of cultural models and phenomena proposed, the growth of Internet and technology makes it extremely difficult for countries to control the flux of information and influence from powerful countries like the USA to others. However, as authors like Valle (2008) point out, this integration of the US culture could not be possible without the combination of said values with the national ones of each country, since, like Wight (1977) stated, a system of States could not be so without a cultural integration between its members. This is something we can see in Western countries, where there is a constant cultural flow between the different states that allow them to incorporate the US culture while

---

bourgeois social structure forged their unity with order and work. The sphere of culture and the economy were historically linked, giving rise to the same structural character". (Bell, 1976)

[2] "*When the political order is overthrown by a war, a revolution, the task of building a new structure of society is long and difficult and must necessarily be built on the bricks of the old order: habits, customs and established traditional ways*". (Bell, 1976)

exchanging elements of their own. The concept of US culture and especially pop culture and its influence in Western countries will be analyzed in depth in the following chapter.

While in the past it was harder to know about other nation's cultures, nowadays, due to the technological revolution, there is a "*disorientation of the sense of space and time*" and a "*transformation of consciousness, of shared experience*" (Valle, 2008). Since, according to Bell, culture comes from experience, we could assume that this constant flux of information can affect cultural identities and ideologies.

2. IDEOLOGY AND CULTURE

Gries (2020) defines ideology as "*widely shared and comprehensive theories about how the world does and should work*", believing that they "shape both the world that we apprehend, and the world order that we desire" and talks about 'Big I' ideologies and 'Small 'i'' ideologies, as defined in the following table:
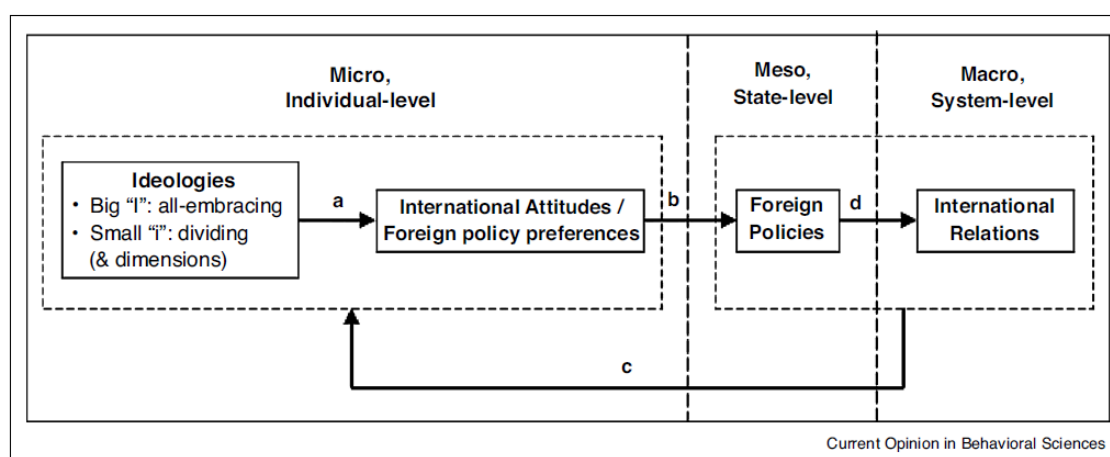

Figure 1. Ideologies, international attitudes, and international relations, an integrative model (Gries, 2020)

In his view, 'Big I' ideologies like Liberalism or Communism unite fellow individuals while 'Small I' ideologies like Conservatism dive us since there is a substantial difference in the views of human nature embedded in them.

Many authors (Persaud, 2022; Gries, 2020, Valle, 2008) have criticized the lack of attention given to the study of ideology or religion in the field of International Relations in favor of disciplines like ontology, methodology, geopolitics, or identity. According to Little and Smith (1988) this is because the most relevant studies about the systems of beliefs were developed through psychology, which was not taken into account in International Relations until the behavioral revolution.

According to Althusser (2020) "*Individuals (real living entities) are recruited, or 'hailed', into a comprehensive system (of knowledge and desire) where they are transformed into political subjects*". This is done through several ideological institutions, such as religion, education, family, politics, television, literature, arts, or sports.

In this sense we may distinguish between cultural approaches to ideology (RWA) and socioeconomic (SDO) (Duckitt, 2010; Feldman, 2014). RWA (Altemeyer, 1998) preoccupies with the defense of culture, tradition and status quo and are likely to be more conservative. In the United States it is usually associated to 'culture war' issues like drugs and the Christian Right

(Preston, 2012). SDO (Sidanius, 1999) usually see the world in zero-sum terms and focus more on trade or relative advantages between countries.

Religion and culture are, therefore, extremely important when it comes to the study of ideology and international relations. Before ideology, religion was what determined the collective conscience of a people (Bell, 1976) and we can see how it still determines the attitudes of politicians like George W. Bush after 9/11, where he reacted "*through his 'born-again' Christian view of evil—and the need to respond to it with force*" (Gries, 2014).

According to Valle (2008), ideologies have a functional component, with ideology being a conceptual scheme that creates the moral norms of conduct and that is embedded in the educational system, and an intellectual one that transforms the ideology in a belief that justifies reality. Religions and ideologies, therefore, are what sustain society and what change culture (Bell, 1976).

This way, we see how culture and ideology feed back to each other to create society. In fact, according to Bell (1976) crises arise due to the loss of ideologies, since it is them that create identity, meaning and symbols to understand life. Duroselle (1992) also supports this view by stating that "*the cultural boundaries of human groupings are marked by value systems*" and, therefore, ideologies.

When it comes to events like cultural synchronization, explained before, Duroselle believes that societies do not change their system of values easily. First of all, it is usually an individual process more than a collective one. Secondly, it depends on factors such as the disaggregation of the existing ideology, the attractiveness of the new ideology or the destruction of the existing ideology in an area with strong beliefs (Duroselle, 1992).

In this sense, it is interesting to see how the US system of values has grown so fast in most of the world. Most strategists believe that the US-led world order dominates International Relations (Persaud, 2022), with their 'Washington Consensus' ideology (Liberal Democracy) being predominant in most of the Western World (Gries, 2020), along with a great attention being paid to their popular culture. In fact, like in the realist zero-sum game, we can now see a confrontation between competing ideologies like Liberalism and Authoritarianism (Brands, 2018) to allow the states that wield them to gain more power and influence in the international system.

3. POWER AND INFLUENCE

The realist theory in International Relations has been and is one of the most relevant ones in the discipline ever since its conception. Some believing it started with authors like Thucydides (c. 460-c.400 B.C.E) it has evolved into more modern disciplines like Neorealism thanks to authors like Kenneth Waltz and books such as *Theory of International Politics* (1979) that aim to reform classical realism to adapt it to modern problems and debates.

Realism believes that the international system is essentially anarchic, with a "*lack of central government to enforce rules*" (Goldstein and Pevehouse, 2014), which is what causes a continued state of violence among states (Cudworth and Hobden, 2010) in a zero-sum competition dominated by a balance of power between states. According to the realist theory, the national interest of states is the acquisition and maximization of power.

One of the main authors of the realist theory is Hans J. Morgenthau (1904-1980). In his book *Politics among Nations* (1948), he establishes six principles of realism. The focus of his theory is "*interest defined in terms of power*", which is what moves the actions of political leaders, and it is determined by the cultural and political environment. In his view, power can be obtained through geography, natural resources, industrial capacity, population, military preparedness, or national character. Morgenthau believes that the only way for a state to wield power over others

is to make them believe that he is able to defeat them militarily since war begins as a disagreement over who holds more political power.

However, in the past decades, authors like Joseph Nye have tried to distance themselves from the realist theory through the introduction of concepts like 'hard power' and 'soft power'. Nye defines power as "*the ability to get others to obtain the outcomes you want*" and believes this can be done through sticks (coercion, especially in military terms), carrots (economic coercion or payments) or attraction (Nye, 2008). Hard power is essentially coercive (military, economic) and soft power is more about attraction (culture, media). This new aspect of power revolutionized the way many scholars analyzed International Relations.

After the two world wars, cultural advantage started to be key in International Relations to accumulate more power and influence. Culture became the "*new battlefield*" (Niño, 2019), since it allowed states, among others, to use certain techniques to change the way several events were told and remembered. This is why the importance of soft power increased internationally, as we will see in the following chapter

CONCLUSION

To conclude, we have seen how many authors have realized the importance of culture in International Relations and how that can be used as an element to change ideologies and acquire more power or influence. In fact, the Cold War showed how both the United States and the Soviet Union used their cultural arsenal to attract other states to their way of thinking and living and this way incorporate them to their 'side'. Ideology and culture are inevitably interrelated in every field, they construct each other. Going back to the example of the Cold War, we could see how the US ideology of liberalism and capitalism was associated to certain cultural elements (Levi's jeans, Rock music, Hollywood, McDonald's) that the Soviet Union did not accept since they were associated to said ideology, contrary to their own. This is something we will analyze in depth in the following chapter.

CHAPTER II: SOFT AND SMART POWER

*"When you can get others to
want what you want,
you do not have to spend as much
on sticks and carrots
to move them in your direction."*

-Joseph Nye, 2004b

In this chapter, we seek to define the concept of soft power linking it to the political tradition of the United States. With this objective in mind, we will also analyze terms such as smart power or public diplomacy. Finally, we will highlight the relevance of pop culture in International Relations and the use of it by the United States.

1. WHAT IS SOFT POWER?

Joseph Nye is one of the most important analysts when it comes to the study of soft power in International Relations. For this reason, we will generally rely on him for definitions on this subject.

Nye defines soft power as '*the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payment*" (Nye, 1990; 2008). While hard power arises from the use of these 'carrots and sticks', soft power comes from a country's culture (when it is attractive to others), political values (e.g.: democracy, freedom, if they fulfill them) and foreign policies (as long as they appear legitimate) (Nye, 2011).

This author has often considered soft power to be more effective than hard power. He has frequently referred to hard power with terms and expressions like 'coercion' (Nye, 2004c) or 'exporting fear' (Ford, 2012). In contrast, when referring to soft power, he usually talks about 'attraction' (Nye, 2004c) or 'inspiring optimism and hope' (Ford, 2012).

The United States have usually been considered the country with the highest level of soft power, essentially through popular culture (which we will discuss later in this paper). Many consider that soft power has been a "*key strategic resource in US foreign policy*" (Fraser, 2003). This has created the concept of "empire by invitation" (Lundestad, 1998), which purports to say that the Americans have created a global empire using soft power rather than hard power alone, as ancient empires did. In Joseph Nye's view, this is the best strategy for the United States, as he believes that attracting others into institutional alliances and avoiding the destruction of the ones they already have is the only way for them to achieve what they want in the globalized era (Nye, 2004a).

That being said, it is also true that the application of soft power is much more complicated and less controllable than that of hard power (Sun, 2008). However, politicians still have room to act in the realm of soft power. As Ford (2012) stated, "*taking a passive approach to 'soft power' isn't really exerting any power at all: it is just sitting back and hoping for the best*" (Ford, 2012).

Countries like China have recently realized the importance of soft power alongside hard power (Nye, 2017) and Ford (2012) believes that their governments are learning how to effectively manipulate it in ways that are impossible for the leaders of more democratic countries, even if their level of influence is still far behind that of the United States, he thinks that Americans should not assume that their soft power will work on their own, they should "*develop, articulate and implement real policy*" if they intend to counterattack their Chinese counterparts although for him Beijing has not yet arrived to the "*big leagues of 'soft' influence*" and will have done so when

"Americans adopt Sinic forenames in order to facilitate smoother interaction with Chinese who find Western ones difficult to pronounce".

Before moving on to a further conceptualization of soft power and the means to employ it appropriately, it is necessary to reflect briefly on the different schools of thought regarding the use of this tool and the use of soft power by the United States during some key moments of the 20th and 21st century.

To begin with, analysts like Walter Mead (2001) frequently refer to four types of US politicians when it comes to the study of their use of soft power: Hamiltonians, Jacksonians, Wilsonians and Jeffersonians, under the name of Alexander Hamilton, Andrew Jackson, Woodrow Wilson, and Thomas Jefferson respectively and inspired by their policies.

On the one hand, Hamiltonians and Jacksonians focus more on building hard power and are less concerned with moral attraction. On the other, Wilsonians and Jeffersonians support the deployment of soft power and lack or do not use hard power as often.

US use of soft power reached its peak during World War II and the Cold War. The Wilsonian theory dominated until the end of World War II and the United States created several official bodies in charge of implementing and controlling of soft power like the Committee of Public Information in 1917, the Cultural Relations Office in 1938, or the Office of War Information and the Office of Strategic Services in 1942. They also used their soft power to counter Axis radio broadcasts like Axis Sally or Tokyo Rose. During the Cold War, the United States became the leader of the 'Free World' movement (Sun, 2008) and used many of its soft power tools (cinema, music, TV…) to counter the Soviets.

However, the end of the Cold War triggered a decline in the interest in soft power, and many diplomacy programs were eliminated. The situation remained this way until the government had to reflect on 'Why they hated America so much' (Sun, 2008) after the 9/11 attacks. Nowadays, the United States exercises its soft power especially through the realm of popular culture and through the education field (with scholarships to foreign students, etc.).

2. SMART POWER: MIXING CARROTS, STICKS AND ATTRACTION

The combination of hard and soft power in the international relations strategies is called 'smart power', term created by Joseph Nye and later used by Hilary Clinton as secretary of state. Nye considered that, despite its usefulness, soft power was usually not sufficient on its own (Nye, 2017). As we saw before, according to Nye, foreign policy strategies are one of the elements of soft power. In this sense, we can see how hard power and soft power can interact in several ways, sometimes with a positive and others with a negative effect (Sun, 2008).

Smart power was successfully deployed by the United States during the Cold War but has not flourished as much since 9/11 and the onset of the War on Terror (Nye, 2008), with a preponderance of hard power over soft power, rather than the balance offered by smart power. While US soft power was at its lowest point during the Vietnam War (Sun, 2008), their appeal dropped dramatically with the start of the Second Gulf War (The Pew Research Center, 2004). Many authors believe that while its two other elements (culture and values) may still be relevant to US soft power, it is in decline due to the lack of appeal of the third element (foreign policy) (Nye, 2004a; 2017) because of the preponderance of Hamiltonians and Jacksonians in recent politics (Sun, 2008).

The aggressive actions taken by the United States in the beginning of the 21st century deeply damaged its image and linked its attempts at soft power to propaganda (Sun, 2008). While the United States have reportedly recovered from unpopular policies before, *"this was against the backdrop of the Cold War, in which other countries still feared the Soviet Union as the greater*

evil" (Nye, 2004a). This meant that they could recover from this loss of attraction with the collaboration of, especially, Europe. However, Nye reminded us that even Europe was not that keen towards the United States in the aftermath of the Gulf Wars, with a Eurobarometer poll showing that the majority of Europeans believe that the United States "*tends to play a negative role in fighting global poverty, protecting the environment, and maintaining global peace in the world*" (Nye, 2004a).

3. PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND ITS IMPORTANCE IN SOFT POWER

Public diplomacy can be defined as "interactions not only with foreign governments but primarily with nongovernmental individuals and organizations, and often presenting a variety of private views in addition to government views" (Murrow, 1963) or as "government-sponsored programs intended to inform or influence public opinion in other countries; its chief instruments are publications, motion pictures, cultural exchanges, radio and television" (US Department of State, 1987). Thus, we see how public diplomacy represents the governmental efforts to control and spread the elements of soft power at their disposal, from films to other cultural content. This content is to be received mainly by foreign civil societies and not by governments, therefore understanding the importance of ordinary people in the creation of a country's image.

According to Henry H. Sun, nation-states have been practicing this type of diplomacy ever since the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, in order to promote the images of their country to, among other objectives, build up their soft power (Sun, 2008).

We can speak about an old public diplomacy and a new public diplomacy. Old public diplomacy refers to "*state-driven activities such as scholarly exchanges, cultural events, and state-supported broadcasting to foreign audiences*" (Semetko, Kolmer and Schatz, 2011). It is characterized by a one-way flow of information (Pamment, 2012). New public diplomacy, on the other hand, is about activities that go beyond state actors (Servaes, 2012) thanks to technology and Internet. It has a greater focus on new actors, technologies, and dialogue (Hocking, 2005). In this sense, it focuses on engaging with foreign audiences and building relationships with other countries' civil societies (Melissen, 2005). This is the work of organizations such as the 'Instituto Cervantes' for Spain or the Confucius Institute for China.

Dominant characteristics	Old public diplomacy	New public diplomacy
1) Identity of international actor	State	State and non-state
2) Tech. environment	Shortwave radio	Satellite, Internet, real-time news
	Print newspapers Landline telephones	Mobile telephones
3) Media environment	Clear line between domestic and international news sphere	Blurring of domestic and international news sphere
4) Source of approach	Outgrowth of political advocacy and propaganda theory	Outgrowth of corporate branding and network theory
5) Terminology	"International image" "Prestige"	"Soft power" "Nation Brand"
6) Structure of role	Top down, actor to foreign peoples	Horizontal, facilitated by actor
7) Nature of role	Targeted messaging	Relationship building
8) Overall aim	The management of the international environment	The management of the international environment

Figure 2. Old and new public diplomacy (Hartig, 2014)

In the table above we can clearly see the differences between the old model of public diplomacy and the new one. The main paradigm change comes from the rise of the Internet, mobile phones and social media, since that changed the way states shared information from a 'physical' way through propaganda posters or radio messages to other, more visual channels. Moreover, globalization also made it more difficult to establish clear barriers between the information directed to one country and to another, since it usually travels freely along borders. Moreover, public diplomacy moved from a 'national image' perspective to a 'national brand' one, probably due to the increased marketization of the capitalist world.

Joseph Nye sees public diplomacy as having three main dimensions: 'daily communications' (explaining policy decisions), 'strategic communications' (other themes, similar to a political campaign) and "*the development of lasting relationships with key individuals*" (Nye, 2008). He frequently stresses the importance of this third dimension (Nye, 2004c; 2008), as he believes that "*effective public diplomacy is a two-way street that involves listening as well as talking*" (Nye, 2008) and that developing friendly relations with others will always be a useful asset for countries[3].

Sources of Soft Power	Referees for Credibility or Legitimacy	Receivers of Soft Power
Foreign Policies	Governments, media, NGOs, IGOs	Foreign governments and publics
Domestic values and policies	Media, NGOs, IGOs	Foreign governments and publics
High Culture	Governments, NGOs, IGOs	Foreign governments and publics
Pop Culture	Media, markets	Foreign publics

Table 1. Soft power sources, referees, and receivers (Nye, 2008)

In Table 1, we see the different sources of soft power, as well as their referees and receivers. We see how most of them target foreign governments as well as civil society except for popular culture, which only targets publics. In this sense, we see the relevance of ordinary citizens (objective of all soft power sources) when trying to develop a country's image, a point that will be developed further in the following sections.

International Organizations (IOs) are a great example of public diplomacy, since they help to enhance a country's image insofar as they form part of a group and promote the liberal and collaborative order.

4. POP CULTURE AS A KEY ELEMENT OF US SOFT POWER

John Fiske defines 'popular culture' as "the totality of ideas, perspectives, and norms in the mainstream, which is heavily propelled by the mass media and has an immeasurable impact on people's values and attitudes" (Fiske, 1989).

---

[3] "*Long-standing friendly relationships may lead others to be slightly more tolerant in their responses. Sometimes friends will give you the benefit of the doubt or forgive more willingly. This is what is meant by an enabling or a disabling environment for policy*" (Nye, 2008)

As we have seen before, popular culture or pop culture is one of the three elements of soft power established by Joseph Nye. In this paper, it will be the element in which we focus on most in the following chapters, especially when it comes to the influence of cinema.

Apart from Nye's definition of soft power (presented above), another definition that is frequently mentioned is the one created by Hendrik Hertzberg, who stated that soft power is "*ideals, diplomacy, moral authority. All about hearts and minds*" (Hertzberg, 2009). Linking this to Nye's idea that popular culture is an element of soft power as long as it is attractive to others, we could say that popular culture can be used to win people's hearts and minds to create a more favorable image of a country. Therefore, the importance of popular culture in foreign relations relies on the 'popular' element: the relevance of civil society and its opinions about a country.

However, many authors have criticized the lack of attention this particular form of soft power receives when analyzing international relations (Nye, 2008; Rowley & Weldes, 2016). Similar to Christopher A. Ford's statements when he denounced the insufficient attention paid by governments to the study of soft power, authors like Rowley and Weldes condemn that governments sometimes assume that the ideas behind the images they diffuse will just insert itself on people's minds without any further exploration on their part and remind us that it is obvious that we will be influenced by the popular culture content we consume daily[4]. (Rowley & Weldes, 2016).

These authors remind us that every member of society is an actor of the political arena to some extent and that their opinions should be considered when analyzing the image states reflect within and beyond their borders.

No country masters the art of "winning hearts and minds" through popular culture as well as the United States. Everyone watches US movies and shows, listens to US music, shops in US stores, dresses in US fashion… it's a global phenomenon.

Joseph Nye refers to this through the words of a French foreign minister (not mentioned in his work) who stated that Americans are powerful because they can:

"*Inspire the dreams and desires of others thanks to the mastery of global images through film and television and because, for these same reasons, large numbers of students from other countries come to the United States to finish their studies*" (Nye, 2008).

Although there have been culturally powerful empires in the past (Greece, Rome, the Soviet Union), Nye also believes that the case of the United States is different because they have created an "*empire where the sun never sets*", where their soft power goes well beyond their 'military borders' which is where the influence of the other empires was normally stopped (Nye, 2008). In this sense, many believe that it was this growing pop culture influence in the world what helped the United States 'win' the Cold War, by creating a way of living that wanted to be imitated even in Eastern Europe:

"*Long before the Berlin Wall fell in 1989, it had been pierced by movies and television. The hammers and bulldozers would not have worked without the years-long transmission of images of the popular culture of the West that breached the Wall before it fell*" (Nye, 2004b).

---

[4] "*Given the amount of time that many people, as children and as adults, spend immersed in various popular cultural texts and practices – e.g., TV, films, music, tourism, novels, news and social media, sports, digital games – their foreign policy and other political beliefs and consequent behaviours are likely to be influenced by, perhaps even to be the product of, those texts, institutions and practices*" (Rowley & Weldes, 2016)

Even countries that are supposed to be 'enemies' of the United States, like Russia or China, seek to be part of its popular culture: "*Soviet teenagers wear blue jeans and seek American recordings, and Chinese students used a symbol modelled on the Statue of Liberty during the 1989 uprisings*" (Nye, 1990a, 1990b).

America has used almost every element of soft power to its advantage, to enhance its image or its sphere of influence around the world. Hollywood movies are watched in (almost) every country, thus spreading US values and way of life far beyond its borders. Teenagers from all over the world dream of studying at universities such as Harvard or Yale and the United States has created cultural exchange programs like the Youth Exchange Program, focused on Muslim students (Rowley and Weldes, 2016). Regarding sports, the NBA also has a global influence, and the Super Bowl has become an international phenomenon followed around the world (Nye, 2004b) Even when it comes to fast food, McDonald's is an international brand, with such a high level of influence as to state that "*No two countries that both had McDonald's had fought a war against each other since each got its McDonald's*" (Friedman, 1999). Although this quote is not entirely true today (for instance, both Russia and Ukraine have a McDonald's) it shows the depth to which popular culture can be analyzed. The opening of a McDonald's in Moscow in 1990, a normal event in most Western countries, was seen as a major landmark in the context of the Cold War, since it meant the collapse of the Soviet Union[5]

This influence of popular culture may seem irrelevant to some. However, we must realize that US media also dominates the (Western) world, with USA Today and the New York Times newspapers among the largest sources of news around the world (Jesse, 2020). With a great part informing themselves through US media, the US perspective is also disseminated to non-Americans in the same way as it is spread to its citizens. Moreover, in more domestic terms, a 2016 study by Rowley and Weldes showed the influence of how US television shows and video games depicted torture on soldiers' perspective on the use of it in real life[6]. Thus, we see how the effects of popular culture as seen both inside and outside the United States, with an influence that can be extremely difficult to control in many cases.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of the second chapter was to define some of the main concepts that will be used in the rest of the paper. First, it was important to analyze the term 'soft power' as opposed to its antonym 'hard power' and the implications it has in US politics according to scholars. To further this analysis, we reviewed the concepts of 'smart power' and 'public diplomacy' as components of foreign policy and their relationship to soft power.

In this context, we saw how the analysis of soft power in foreign relations is sometimes ignored in favor of the analysis of hard power. We also studied the effects of the influence created by popular culture, which, as we saw, has been key in the foreign policy strategy of the United States, especially through Hollywood, which we will analyze in the following chapter.

---

[5] "*For Russians, the opening of a McDonald's restaurant, synonymous with capitalism and American culture, was a very tangible symbol of the impending collapse of the Soviet Union. After more than 80 years of socialism, people in Russia were awakening to new Western ways of eating, passing time, and spending money*" (Dean, 2022)

[6] "*The legitimization and normalization of torture helped to constitute a world in which the Abu Ghraib atrocities became possible, with resulting damage to the U.S.'s standing in worldwide public opinion*" (Rowley & Weldes, 2016)

CHAPTER III: UNITED STATES USE OF CINEMA

> *"Films represent power, economy,*
> *violence, propaganda, and education;*
> *they show who is calling the shots."*
>
> - Villaseca, 2019

In this chapter, we aim to observe the use of cinema as an element of soft power and how the United States have employed it. We will analyze whether we can find propagandistic elements in this utilization of cinema.

1. THE IMPORTANCE OF UNITED STATES CINEMA

As we saw in the previous chapter, soft power has had a great relevance in US foreign policy, when it comes to pop culture and, especially, through cinema (Vega, 2020). Most people around the world know about Hollywood and have, at least, watched one movie produced there.

The importance of US cinema has been studied by many scholars, and most of them agree about the 'sheer power of Hollywood' (Moretti, 2001). De Zoysa and Newman (2002) believe that US cinema is "*part of the socialization process*" and "*a prime mover in the globalization of consumerism and image making*". Similarly, Walt (2006) believes that US leaders have extensively used cinema as a way to "*persuade as many countries as possible to embrace their particular vision of a liberal-capitalist world order*".

Material evidence of this influence is the annual Oscar ceremony, which awards the best films of the year, with a vast preponderance of US movies. Despite the reduced number of foreign films in the ceremony, the Oscars are watched and followed all around the world. This is not the case for other national cinema awards, like the Goyas in Spain or the BAFTA in Great Britain, that do not receive the same level of relevance on the international sphere.

US movies represent around 70% of the total box office in the world (Keune & Frants, 2017) and 68% of the entries in Europe (Mitterrand, 2011). The growth of Hollywood in the 1920s started this internationalization of the American film, with the industry obtaining 35% of its annual profits overseas by the end of the decade and 50% after the Second World War (De Zoysa and Newman, 2002). The phenomenon was such that "*between 1968 and 1995, only four non-American films succeeded internationally*" (De Zoysa and Newman, 2002). This means that, during almost 30 years, most of the content absorbed by foreign audiences when they went to the cinema was created and produced in the United States, with the ideological impact that that entails.

The values spread by US cinema lead to the formation of a similar mindset around the world (Örmeci, 2015). To find a clear example of this, we can turn back to Hollywood's golden age (between 1938 and 1960 approximately). Here, US movies had the task of projecting a uniform vision of politics and the world, according to their values[7]. This is especially important when we consider that that period of time is located in the context of the Cold War with the Soviet Union, where ideas and mental power had a key relevance.

Cinema exposes us to US values ever since childhood, making them familiar to us and making them part of our 'global consciousness' (Örmeci, 2015). We are also used to the way of living and events portrayed in US films, making us think that "*it's only natural to go to court a*

---

[7] "*Faith in the democratic order, the classless society, heroic individualism and the golden opportunities offered by the capitalist work ethic and enterprise*" (De Zoysa and Newman, 2002).

few times in your life" due to the number of times we have seen American characters in movies do so (Nye, 2004b). This is done through the influence of companies like Disney, whose movies are watched all around the world and that sell a 'universal vocabulary' (De Zoysa and Newman, 2002) that has made us take certain ideas for universal truths ever since childhood. For instance, winter and snow are a common association with Christmas due to Christmas movies set in America. However, half of the world experiences Christmas during summer and this is barely considered due to the Western and especially US dominance of pop culture.

American executives soon realized of the importance of cinema not only as a product to be sold but also as a way of "*selling American culture, values and the secrets of success*" (Pells, 1997). Films made in the 1980s mostly represent America as the "*civilizing, liberating, modern nation, always vigilant and ready to take part in any conflicts where the demonic was identified in order to bring peace*" (Kozlovic, 2016). Clear examples of this are *Superman* (1978) or *Rocky IV* (1985).

The influence of cinema is such that it may accidentally go against governmental messages in some cases. For instance, when it comes to the 'War on Drugs', the United States took up a gigantic media strategy to advise its population against drugs. However, these kept on catching on due to popular culture (Rowley and Weldes, 2016) and their representation in movies like *Scarface* (1984) or *The Wolf of Wall Street* (2013), two blockbusters that sell the message that 'drugs are cool' and that had a higher influence than government's messages.

2. CAN WE TALK ABOUT PROPAGANDA IN UNITED STATES CINEMA?

Edwards (1938), Lasswell (1927) and Pizarroso (1993) defined propaganda in their works. For the sake of this project, we will use a mixture of their definitions, defining propaganda as a communicative process that entails the manipulation of significant symbols with the intention to influence the opinions or actions of others through the dissemination, diffusion, and promotion of concrete ideas. Propaganda is usually a sustained process in time that is irreversibly related to discourse: whoever controls the discourse has the power (Mayr, 2008).

Propaganda is a historic phenomenon, usually associated to Nazi Germany in the 1930s and 40s. It was generally used to attack a certain country's enemies during the World War, were these to be other countries (the Axis countries against the Allies) or groups inside itself (Nazi propaganda against the Jews). However, it is still powerful nowadays, even in democracies, with many associating the concept of 'fake news' to propagandistic actions (Vega, 2020), a phenomenon essentially popularized by Donald Trump in the United States. Nevertheless, experts in soft power like Joseph Nye (2017) doubt the efficiency of propaganda, stating that "*propaganda is not credible and thus does not attract*" and that "*[propaganda] may also turn out to be counterproductive if it undermines a country's reputation for credibility*" (2008).

Cinema has proved its value as a tool to diffuse propaganda, especially during the Second World War, where it was used as part of the ideological war by many of the states involved (Vega, 2020). Here, the United States is once again a great example, with the movie series '*Why We Fight*' by Frank Capra, under the orders of the US government. During World War II, we can find a first period of neutrality manifesting a pro-intervention attitude (*The Great Dictator*), a second one after the attack on Pearl Harbor, looking to increase enlistment (*Mrs. Miniver*) or sustain morale (*Why We Fight*) and a third period to review said military intervention (*Casablanca*) (Villaseca, 2019).

During the Cold War, the attitude was more of a psychological war against the Soviet Union, sending propaganda to eastern countries in the form of music, art, dance and, obviously, movies that linked America to concepts such ad freedom, wealth, or opportunity (Nowaki, 2014).

In the United States, there were movies with strong American and patriotic characters such as Sylvester Stallone's *Rambo* (De Zoysa and Newman, 2002).

As we saw before, US films sell a series of values to the rest of the world, with a "*polarizing language*" and reflecting stories through a conception of "*ultimate good vs. ultimate evil*" (Alford, 2009). Whenever they found themselves immersed in a war, they would use cinema to promote "*patriotic, solidaristic messages supportive of country, family and home*". The state departments would help movies that promoted a positive view of the United States and condemn those that did not[8].

Vega (2020) took up an in-depth analysis of the use of propaganda in US cinema. He found out the following 9 main themes or underlying messages in most Hollywood movies:

1. "*Iron power, wise power*": representation of a determined and competitive government or army, able to admit its mistakes and always opting for good over evil. E.g.: *Argo* (2012, Dir.: Ben Affleck)
2. "*Iron power, fainthearted power*": representation of foreign governments (USSR, Japan, German Democratic Republic…) as corrupted and amoral, causing the audience to distance itself from said cultures. E.g.: *Rocky IV* (1985, Dir.: Sylvester Stallone)
3. "*The army of the people*": US soldiers are represented as part of the society: fathers, friends, or family, in a human and friendly way. Soldiers always look for the well-being and protection of their country. E.g.: *Flags of our fathers* (2005, Dir.: Clint Eastwood)
4. "*The threat to the West*": Foreign soldiers, on the other hand, are pictured as cruel and inhuman. The death and murder of these characters is usually inconsequential and is even portrayed as something spectacular. E.g.: *The Deer Hunter* (1978, Dir.: Michael Cimino)
5. "*What's right for America is right for you*": The main aim of those portrayed as heroes is to protect and maintain the US values. E.g.: *Captain America* (2011, Dir.: Joe Johnston)
6. "*Resist and you shall overcome*": US values as the way to change the world to be better, being the principles that everyone should acquire. E.g.: *Apollo 13* (1995, Dir.: Ron Howard)
7. "*American morality*": The US values, according to films, are usually bravery, solidarity, liberty, and justice. E.g.: *Hacksaw Ridge* (2016, Dir.: Mel Gibson)
8. "*Mentions of communism*": They follow Herman and Chomsky's fifth news filter in their propaganda model of 1988. E.g.: *Rambo III* (1988, Dir.: Peter MacDonald)
9. "*The formula for success*": The common good is understood as the prosperity of US society. E.g.: *Independence Day* (1996, Dir.: Roland Emmerich)

Nevertheless, these categories are incomplete, and we may add others like feminism (*G.I. Jane*, 1997, Dir.: Ridley Scott), globalization (*The Truman Show*, 1998, Dir.: Peter Weir), climate change (*Don't look up*, 2021, Dir.: Adam McKay), the development of technology (*Her*, 2013. Dir.: Spike Jonze) the fight against terrorism (*Zero Dark Thirty*, 2012, Dir.: Kathryn Bigelow), LGTB rights (*The Danish Girl*, 2015, Dir.: Tom Hooper) or successful businessmen (*The Social Network*, 2010, Dir.: David Fincher).

This way, we see how US movies generally focus on this expansion and revalorization of US values and organs, using an "Us vs. Them" perspective, where the United States society is

---

[8] "(…) *films are or may be economically profitable in and of themselves or because of successful formulas where only the content needs to be varied; such formulas would benefit from support and grants from the government and the armed forces to selected cooperative companies or individuals, either through positive aids, as was the case with the producers, actors, and directors who supported governmental policies, or through blacklisting them, which would deprive them of work on American soil, as was the case with those labelled as communists during the Hollywood witch-hunt period*" (Villaseca, 2019)

represented as open, good, and friendly while the 'enemy' is seen as culturally distant, inhuman, and amoral. Here, we see how these underlying messages can form or change audience's opinions about the United States and foreign societies.

A clear example of movies showing this kind of messages are superhero movies, where the hero, usually American or from a country that is in line with Western values, puts the common good in front of its own interests. We see the complete opposite when it comes to the villain, many times associated to the United States' enemies at the time, like in the case of Captain America, who fights against the Axis powers in the Second World War. Moreover, villains in superhero movies, usually move for their own interests and lead armies of soldiers without face or personality (Villaseca, 2019). This is the case, for example, for the organization 'Hydra', enemy of Captain America.

This form of propaganda is known as "entertainment propaganda" (Vega, 2020) and its aim is to relate the ideological influence on the production of entertainment content like films, in this case.

3. UNITED STATES STATAL INVOLVEMENT IN HOLLYWOOD

After analyzing the use of propaganda in US cinema, it is necessary to wonder who is behind the underlying messages found in their movies. The US government has been behind the cinema production for a long time, through the Pentagon.

During the Second World War, in 1942, Roosevelt created an Office of Wartime Information, that "worked to shape Hollywood into an effective propaganda tool, suggesting additions and deletions to many films and denying licenses to others" (Nye, 2008). Following the War, the Pentagon started to intervene in Hollywood in a confidential way (Alford and Secker, 2017), to control and exercise soft power. This way, films started to be "a two-sided business – the film industry side was controlled by the market laws, the State propaganda side by the Pentagon" (Villaseca, 2019).

According to Örmeci (2015) the US government was able to exercise influence in the movie industry through four control mechanisms:

1. Ownership of movie studios: The cinema industry was in control of a reduced number of companies, which allowed the government to exercise influence through the maintenance of a close relationship with said companies.
2. "Hays code" or "Motion Picture Production Code": Moral principles that were to be followed by United States movies between 1930 and 1968.
3. "Smith-Mundt Act": According to the Act itself, it aimed "to promote the better understanding of the United States among the peoples of the world and to strengthen cooperative international relations", so, as a form of public diplomacy, it specified how to represent the country in its foreign relations, including through cinema.
4. Political pressures from politicians and FBI officials against those who were criminals or suspected pro-Communists.

Nowadays, the Pentagon and movie studios have a relationship that is based on an exchange by which the Pentagon allows the use of military equipment, locations, and personnel if the producer permits them to change movies' plots whenever they refer to the United States' government or army (Vega, 2020). The relationship is such that Philip Strub, the liaison between Hollywood and the Pentagon between 1989 and 2018, is "*the person who appears the most in the acknowledgements of the top 200 commercial films made between 1997 and 2016 being mentioned in the credits of 35 different films*" (Vega, 2020). According to Rowley and Weldes (2016), the Pentagon has influenced a great number of movies, including some that do not seem

related to the army, like the *Mickey Mouse Club*. The Department of Defense and the CIA engage themselves in distancing movie producers from 'sensitive' topics and ensure a favorable portrayal to themselves (Alford and Secker, 2017).
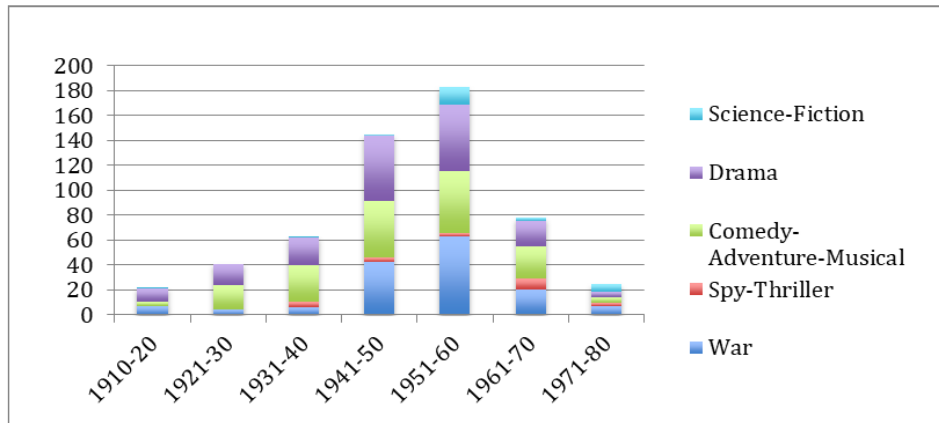

Figure 3. Genres of Pentagon-subsidized films between 1910 and 1980 (Villaseca, 2019)
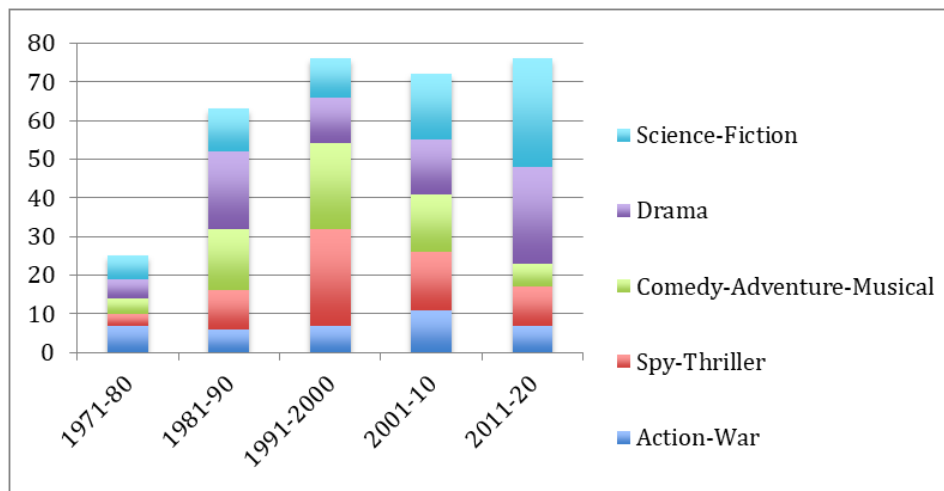

Figure 4. Genres of Pentagon-subsidized films between 1971 and 2020 (Villaseca, 2019)

In figures 3 and 4, we see the genres of pentagon-subsidized films in the periods of 1910-1980 and 1971-2020, according to the 770 films listed by Alford and Secker (2017). In the first period we see how the 1950s was the decade with the highest Pentagon intervention, coinciding with the beginning of the Cold War. We can also see how, while in the beginning comedies or musicals would be the most common, war movies would increase in the 1940s, although the other genres would continue being almost as relevant as war movies. In the second period, we see how the number of war-related films is reduced but spy and science fiction films increase, the second essentially due to superhero films, also supported by the Pentagon (Villaseca, 2019).
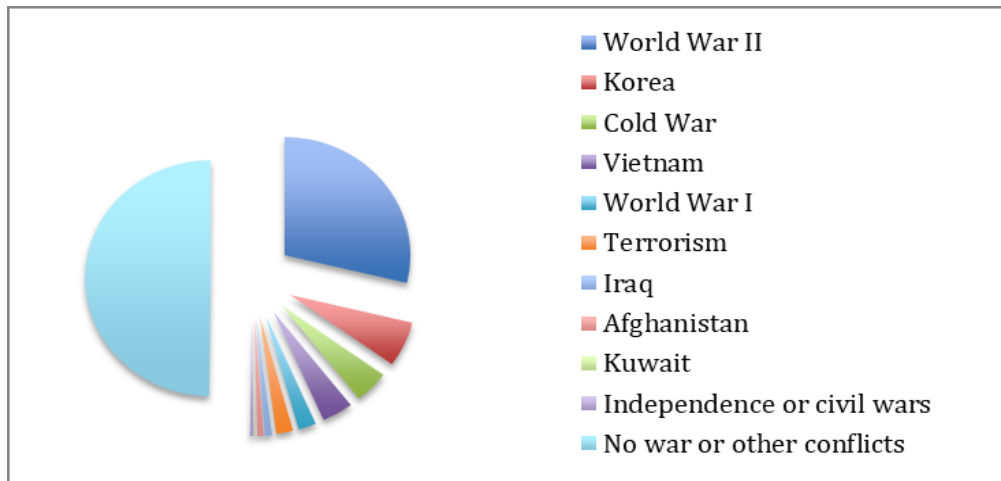
Figure 5. Conflicts represented in Pentagon-subsidized films (Villaseca, 2019)

In figure 5, we see how most Pentagon-subsidized films do not have a conflict involving the United States as a central topic. From 770 films, 347 are conflict-related while 423 are not: "*This means that over one-half of films included propaganda and conveyed the American model without showing the US Army in a real conflict*" (Villaseca, 2019).

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this chapter was to analyze the governmental uses of cinema. First, it was necessary to see how the United States makes use of cinema as a form of popular culture. Finally, we moved on to see the use of cinema by the US government.

In this context, we saw how the Pentagon intervenes in Hollywood on a regular basis, in a wide range of films. This will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, focusing on certain films and the messages and implications they have for US foreign policy.

CHAPTER IV: *CAPTAIN AMERICA, APOCALYPSE NOW* **AND** *ARGO* **– CASE STUDIES OF PROPAGANDA?**

> *"Hollywood has become today's source of mythology, a new bible, and a record of history and reality."*
>
> - Villaseca, 2019

In this chapter, we aim to analyze the relationship between Domenach's propaganda model and three films that focus on different periods of US history: *Captain America: The First avenger* (2011), *Apocalypse Now* (1979) and *Argo* (2012). To do so, we will firstly define Domenach's propaganda model. Then we will see the links between the chosen films. Finally, we will analyze each film individually relating it to Domenach's model to see whether they follow these rules: a film will be considered as possible propaganda as long as it successfully fulfills more than three out of the five rules. This will be done in a chronological order following the conflicts portrayed in each film, and not their date of release.

1. DOMENACH'S PROPAGANDA MODEL AND ITS VINCULATIONS TO CINEMA

In 1955, the French intellectual Jean-Marie Domenach wrote '*La propagande politique*' (Paris, Presses universitaires de France), where he described a classic propaganda model. Here, he established five rules and techniques to create propaganda:

1. Rule of simplification and single enemy: Simplifying the message as much as possible, directing the enmity towards a single group or person to make the slogans easier to understand and spread.
2. Rule of exaggeration and disfigurement: Deforming information and hiding propaganda to allow for an unquestioned reception of the message.
3. Rule of orchestration: Repeating the central theme through different challenges to facilitate a better reach.
4. Rule of transfusion: Basing the propaganda on pieces of historical facts.
5. Rule of unanimity and contagion: Unifying opinions so that everyone is inclined to think alike. (Vega, 2020)

We decided to adopt this model to the films in question after finding several similitudes between the rules established by Domenach and the content observed in the films. Moreover, experts in the subject of this paper have also made statements that could be linked to this model, like Secker and Alford (2017)[9].

2. PRESENTING THE CHOSEN FILMS: SUMMARY AND RELATION BETWEEN THEM

To carry out this analysis we have chosen the three films mentioned in the beginning of this chapter:

- *Captain America: The First Avenger* (2011, Dir: Joe Johnston)

---

[9] "*Films that are somewhat inspired by real events such as Captain America: The First Avenger, which is set in World War II, are fantasized versions of history where both the protagonists and antagonists are exaggerated and stereotyped.*"

- *Apocalypse Now* (1979, Dir: Francis Ford Coppola)
- *Argo* (2012, Dir: Ben Affleck)

Captain America: The First Avenger (later referred to simply as *Captain America*, since it is the only film from the saga to be analyzed in this paper) tells the story of Steve Rogers, a rejected military soldier that undergoes an experiment that makes him a superhuman. After being used as propaganda by the government, he then embarks into an adventure to fight Nazi Germany's secret department: HYDRA.

Apocalypse Now talks about the secret mission given to U.S. Army Captain Willard to search for Colonel Kurtz, who has crossed the Vietnamese border to Cambodia along with his army and was committing hit-and-run missions against the Viet Cong unsupervised by the United States. After accepting his mission, Willard will encounter many other members from the army in the Vietnamese jungle until reaching his destination.

Argo, based on a true story, starts with the Iranian attack on the U.S. Embassy in Tehran in November 1979, where 56 Americans were made hostage. However, six Americans could escape and hide in the Canadian Ambassador's house for some months. The CIA and the US Department intervene to create a plan to get them back to the United States safely thanks to the CIA Agent Tony Mendez, who proposes that the Americans simulate to be a Canadian film crew scouting locations for their science fiction film 'Argo'.

Each movie is based on a different period or conflict in the United States history. *Captain America* is based in World War II, *Apocalypse Now* takes place during the Vietnam War and *Argo* is placed in the Hostage Crisis in Iran. However, we can see several similitudes and links between the three films.

First of all, as we will see later in further detail, both *Captain America* and *Argo* had a direct intervention from the American State: from the Pentagon and the CIA, respectively (Alford and Secker, 2017). There are rumors that *Apocalypse Now* could also have had state intervention, but nothing definitive, although we do know that it received help from the Filipino government, that allowed them to use official army helicopters that were used to battle the leftist guerrillas (Solomon, 2007).

We can also see a clear difference in the tone and representation of 'victories' (World War II or the Hostage Crisis) and 'defeats' (Vietnam). Both *Argo* and *Captain America* maintain a triumphalist and heroic subtone, with strong and proudly American main actors. *Apocalypse Now*, however, gives away a chaotic image of war and the psychological effects it had for US soldiers, focusing more intensively on the human side of the fighters (except for the main character), more than on the heroic one.

The three of them show male, strong and patriotic protagonists that are willing to do whatever it takes to fight for their country. Captain America shows in several moments of the film his intention to die for the United States: his main ambition in the beginning of the movie is to become a soldier for his country, it is his willingness to throw himself over a grenade to save his fellow soldiers what makes him chosen to undertake the 'superstrength' experiment and the movie ends with him 'killing himself' to save the United States. Captain Willard is a serious and obedient soldier whose only aim seems to be to fulfill the orders that were given to him in the beginning of the movie, regardless of his personal opinion of them (we can see in several fragments how he begins to admire the man he has to kill). He is also one of the few characters who seem to be indifferent to the chaos of the war, and he even seems to enjoy it, as we see in the opening sequences, where he is desperate to return to the Vietnamese jungle. This gives viewers the impression that Captain Willard is also mentally stronger than the rest of his crew, that engage on more 'mundane' activities like surfing or listening to the radio. Tony Mendez is also portrayed as a mentally strong and very intelligent man that is willing to separate himself from his family to

go to a dangerous country to help fellow Americans. Contrary to Willard, he does break official orders to do what he believes to be best for the sake of the mission, which does not make him look less patriotic, as the film will later remind the audience, with a US flag waving in the background of the final scene where Tony finally gets to return home and embrace his wife.

Finally, the three movies were blockbusters when they came out and are even considered 'cult' movies by many cinephiles. *Argo* won three Academy Awards, including Best Picture and Best Adapted Screenplay, while *Apocalypse Now* and *Captain America* were also nominated and won several other awards. This means that they are movies that are highly regarded and widely watched around the world, with many people identifying with the main characters or believing the stories told in these movies.

3. CAPTAIN AMERICA: THE SUPERHERO AMERICANS CAN IDENTIFY WITH

Captain America is one of Marvel's most famous superheroes. His Americanism is clear starting with his own name and continuing with his suit, with the colors and symbols of the US flag. However, it is important to see if his figure could be considered as a propagandistic one or just patriotic. To do so, we will analyze the film in relation to Domenach's five main rules of propaganda:

3.1. Rule of simplification and single enemy.

Captain America is based on World War II and the main enemy in the film is Hydra, a Nazi research department headed by Johan Schmidt, known as the 'Red Skull'. The enemy is clear from the beginning of the film, where we learn that Schmidt underwent the same procedure as Rogers (Captain America) but with a negative result. The fact that Rogers came out of the procedure as a superhuman, and Schmidt came out disfigured for life could be interpreted as a sign that only those that aim to follow good (or US values) deserve to become superheroes. Moreover, the fixation with Schmidt continues during the film, with him and his men being guilty of the assassination of Dr. Erskine (creator of the serum that made Rogers a superhero) and Sgt. James "Bucky" Barnes, Roger's best friend. This way, we see how we, as spectators, are bound to feel sympathy towards Captain America and hate towards his enemy.

Dittmer (2005) considered that we can see Captain America as a "*territorial symbol*" that allows for the construction of a clear differentiation of the United States and the rest of the world. This can be true in the sense that the following Captain America movies will change the enemy according to the United States enemy at the time but will always come from a US point of view due to this main character.

3.2. Rule of exaggeration and disfigurement.

According to Secker and Alford (2017) the creation of Captain America as such aims to be a metaphor for the United States transformation during World War II. Steve Rogers transforms from a weak man to a super-soldier, meaning that "*prior to World War II, the United States was not a warlike nation*" although we know that, as they also state "*the United States has fought overseas wars almost since its inception as a nation*". Moreover, the fact that Captain America's main weapon is a shield contributes to the narrative that the United States "*only acts in the name of security, not empire*" (Dittmer, 2005) and therefore has a defensive nature. In the beginning of the movie, we see how Rogers complains about hating war but feeling a sense of responsibility to fight for what is good and noble, in a similar tone with several United States official statements.

We can also see a change of opinion regarding the protagonist nation, as in movies like *Rocky IV*, we see how the fact that the Soviet Union provided drugs to his fighter was badly portrayed in opposition to the US fighter Rocky, who trained traditionally. However, in *Captain America*, we see a completely different picture, where an unnatural superhuman is highly praised.

3.3. Rule of orchestration.

In this case, we could talk about an orchestration on the topic of Captain America when we look at the whole saga created around him, as well as the *Avengers* saga, where he is a key character and other similar movies like *Captain America: Civil War* (2016). In all these movies, the message of patriotism continues to be sent through different formats, storylines, and along different characters.

3.4. Rule of transfusion.

As mentioned above, *Captain America* is based in the context of World War II and the fight against Nazis. It is relevant to notice that during the whole fight against the Nazis, there is barely any mention of the Russian sacrifices in the war, but we do see several cases of Captain America (and therefore the United States) sacrificing himself for the well-being of his nation, even if "*in reality Russia sacrificed the most of all the Allies*" (Alford and Secker, 2017). This being said, we will not consider historical inaccuracy a propagandistic characteristic since it is never specified that this movie aims to be a historically accurate one, like other movies such as *Argo* do.

3.5. Rule of unanimity and contagion.

Dittmer (2005) stated that "*Captain America is a character that is familiar to several generations of Americans*" since the character of Steve Rogers portrays the American dream of the1940s[10] and probably because of the feeling of responsibility in the context of World War I and II and others like Vietnam or Afghanistan. This way, he becomes a symbol that can be more visible than the flag or the anthem and can make the audience keener to the idea of fighting and embracing one's country, with their national identity being showcased on the big screen.

Even the US Army (2011) publicly embraced the character of Captain America and agreed to support the movies, stating that:

The Army is represented well in the character of Captain America, a former WWII GI brought back to life in contemporary America. Following feedback to producers – including strengthening connection of legacy Army to today's Soldiers – OCPA LA has agreed to requests for support.

3.6. Results

When comparing *Captain America* to Domenach's analysis, we can consider that it successfully fulfills four out of the five rules that he stated, this being: Rule of simplification and single enemy, Rule of exaggeration and disfigurement, Rule of orchestration and Rule of unanimity and contagion. We will not consider that the Rule of transfusion is totally fulfilled since it does not aim to be a realistic movie, even if it is based on a true conflict and many members of the audience could believe the events portrayed.

Seeing as it fulfills four out of the five rules and it is supported by the US Army itself, we could consider *Captain America* as a propagandistic movie according to Domenach.

---

[10] "*Blonde-haired, blue-eyed Steve Rogers (with his almost obsessively Anglo-American name*" (Dittmer, 2005)

4. APOCALYPSE NOW: THE ANTIWAR MOVIE THAT EMBRACES MILITARISM

Apocalypse Now shows a different case than the other two movies because it is the only one that shows a defeat. However, as we will see, the tone can be considered as patriotic as that of the other two.

4.1. Rule of simplification and single enemy.

In *Apocalypse Now* the 'enemy' is more ambiguous. Locating it in the context of the Vietnam War, we could consider the Vietnamese to be the main enemies. However, other analyses have also considered the main enemy in the movie to be the war as such and the trauma caused by it (Greer, 2016) or those that go against the US Army and its discipline (Solomon, 2007).

In this sense, we cannot consider *Apocalypse Now* to be a movie that clearly focuses the viewer's attention against a certain person or group because even if several Americans do get killed or injured by Vietnamese forces, we barely ever see the Vietnamese as such more than in a couple scenes, in which we see them running away scared more than in a threatening way. This way, the audience does not develop a sense of hatred towards them because they are barely shown. Other movies on this topic, like *The Deer Hunter* (1978, Dir.: Michael Cimino), do show the Vietnamese torturing Americans and therefore emphasize the sense of enmity towards them.

Another plausible enemy in the movie could be Colonel Kurtz. However, there are many who consider that Willard's opinion of him is far from being negative, seeing as he admires the war crimes Kurtz committed against the orders of the Army. Moreover, contrary to the book in which the movie is based, *Heart of Darkness,* representation of Kurtz as dying and crazy, *Apocalypse* Now represents him as strong and conscious. Solomon (2007) believes that this admiration "*hardly seem consistent with any idea of horror*" since the movie frequently refers to the Vietnam War as 'the horror' and "*they [don't] seem consistent with any claim to the film's antiwar status*".

The explanations of a less clear and more invisible enemy, like trauma and pro-militarism seem to be more accurate, as we will see in the following subsection.

4.2. Rule of exaggeration and disfigurement.

As we just saw, however, we can consider *Apocalypse Now* to have a militarist nature hidden under its apparent antiwar character. This can be seen from the very first scene in the movie, where Willard is shown as being psychologically damaged by the war and harming himself. However, the tone of the scene is less in the lines of PTSD and more in the lines of a soldier longing to get back to war, as being in the civilization is making him weak[11]. This is a line of thought that Willard repeats further through the film. For example, during the USO show or the beach party that Kilgore threw, both scenes where the Captain rejects the 'softness' of the men, in opposition to Charlie, who "*didn't get much USO*" and whose only ways home were "*death or victory*" (Coppola, *Apocalypse Now*, 1979). In addition, when Willard finally meets Kurtz (to whom, as we have seen, he shows more admiration than hatred), the Colonel will similarly embrace the attitude of Vietnamese fighters in opposition to Americans[12]. The viewer, therefore, will not receive an 'antiwar' message but a view that had it not been for the 'weak mentality' of US soldiers, the United States could have won the war with more men like Willard and Kurtz.

---

[11] "*Getting softer [...] Every day I sit in here, I get weaker, and every day Charlie squats in the bush, he gets stronger.*" (Coppola, *Apocalypse Now,* 1979)
[12] "*You have to have men who are moral, and at the same time, who are able to utilize their primordial instincts to kill without feeling, without passion. Without judgment. Because it's judgment that defeats us*" (Coppola, *Apocalypse Now,* 1979)

The movie's production is also significant when it comes to its 'antiwar' status, since it was filmed in the Philippines using helicopters and arms that were provided by the Filipino government but were often requested by them to fight the leftist guerrillas in the country (Solomon, 2007). Moreover, the visual production does not give the viewer a frightening vision of war but rather a mystical and aesthetically pleasing one of it (Solomon, 2007).

4.3. Rule of orchestration.

While *Apocalypse Now* is considered a cult movie by many moviegoers, we did not find sufficient evidence that proves that it was financed or used by the United States government or army in any official way. This is why we have not considered that this movie fits into Domenach's third rule.

4.4. Rule of transfusion.

The movie is based on a real war (Vietnam) and a mission that did exist. However, it does not claim to be truthful in its facts or representation of them since the important thing about it is the message it gives to audiences.

4.5. Rule of unanimity and contagion.

Apocalypse Now is usually considered as a means of "*emphasizing American perceptions of American experience*" (McInerney, 1979). This is done through dialogue, production and different representations of Americans and Vietnamese.

Dialogues are important in what characters say and do not say. On the one hand, we constantly see characters like Kilgore reducing the importance of Vietnamese language ("*What's the name of that goddamn village? […] Damn gook names all sound the same*" (Coppola, *Apocalypse Now*, 1979)) or even their people, referring to them as "*savages*". On the other hand, the Vietnamese rarely speak as such and when they do they only speak in Vietnamese and without being offered subtitles, so they are incomprehensible to most of the audience and, therefore, impossible to relate or empathize with in any way. Cambodians in Kurtz's temple, as well, just stare inexpressively at Willard and his men when they arrive, without saying a word (Greer, 2016).

Production, as we saw before, is also relevant when it comes to the aesthetically pleasing way in which they picture war. In addition to that, the camera view always remains American, especially in scenes like aerial operations, where we just see the US soldiers but rarely how this affects the Vietnamese (Solomon, 2007). The trauma produced by sounds like the helicopter, a recurrent sound effect in the movie, is also unilateral, as we only see the reactions of Americans to it (Greer, 2016).

When it comes to character representations, as we will see in *Argo*, the Americans are represented as humans with whom you may feel identified in many cases, while Vietnamese rarely appear and, when they do, they are only shown as killers. This can be seen with the way injuries are shown in the movie: while US injuries are shown as terrible and we see the soldier's reaction and suffering (as with the soldier whose leg has been damaged or the dramatic death of Clean, one of the main characters, who dies while listening to a message from his mother), Vietnamese deaths are shown as 'entertainment' and without importance (Solomon, 2007). This way, by Vietnamese being shown as the 'Other' during the whole movie, the audience will only understand or identify with the US soldiers.

4.6. Results.

When comparing *Apocalypse Now* to Domenach's analysis, we can consider that it successfully fulfills two out of the five rules that he stated, this being: Rule of exaggeration and disfigurement and Rule of unanimity and contagion. The Rule of simplification and single enemy, the Rule of orchestration and the Rule of transfusion are not considered to be followed since the

real enemy is unclear, there was not enough evidence to prove and orchestration and although it is partly based on real events it does not aim to be a realistic representation of them.

Seeing as it only fulfills two out of the five rules and it did not receive a clear governmental support, we will not consider *Apocalypse Now* as a propagandistic movie according to Domenach, even if we could consider it a militaristic one.

5. ARGO: THE TRUE MISSION RIDDLED WITH HISTORIC ERRORS

The case of *Argo* is different because it is the only movie that explicitly states that it is based on true events. Moreover, it was highly praised by the Academy Awards, winning three Oscars.

5.1. Rule of simplification and single enemy.

In the case of *Argo,* we can see that the enmity is directed towards the Iranian people, who are presented as evil and hating of America and its people. Moreover, an interesting characteristic that is also employed in *Apocalypse Now* is the fact that Iranians are never offer subtitles, so we are never able to understand what they say, something that drives us away from Iranians and makes us more sympathetic to the American characters, who we do understand. *Argo* differs from *Apocalypse Now* in the fact that we do see Iranian people committing crimes like attacking, torturing, or threatening Americans, who are usually portrayed as victims. Iranian characters do not seem to show a personal mindset away from the governmental one. This portrayal of Iranian people is said to have offended several Iranians living in the US, regardless of their opinions towards the regime in power at the time (Kambiz, 2012).

5.2. Rule of exaggeration and disfigurement.

One of the main problems and critiques towards *Argo* is the lack of historical accuracy in some of its fragments. This inaccuracy was not only towards Iran but also to some of the United States allies like Canada, New Zealand or Great Britain, whose role or actions were reduced to enhance those of the United States.

The case of Canada is the most notorious one, since it was the Canadian ambassador himself, Ken Taylor, who denounced this by saying that he believes they were portrayed as "*innkeepers who are waiting to be saved by the CIA*". Director Ben Affleck tried to solve this aggravation by adding a postscript that the CIA complemented the Canadian efforts (Shaw, 2017) while the original stated that Ken Taylor was allowed to take public credit for the rescue until the CIA declassified the operation (Alford and Secker, 2017), leading the audience to assume that the Canadian role was merely ceremonial.

British and New Zealand officials also had objections to the movie since they were mistakenly accused of having rejected the hostages. However, these did not receive any public apology (Alford and Secker, 2017).

Iranians were also critical towards the film. First of all, the initial sequences of the movie, that aim to be a summary of Iranian history in the 30 years preceding the attack on the U.S. embassy, were considered highly inaccurate and corrected by several authors like Hakakian (2012) that denounced afterwards that "*the misguided account [was] meant to legitimize Tehran's wrath toward Uncle Sam*", Kadivar (2013) that believed these showed a high level of ignorance by Americans "*when it comes to taking any interest beyond their cultural horizon*" or Kambiz (2012) that classified them as "*one-dimensional*" and believed that "*very little about the first few minutes of Argo can be describes as accurate*". Moreover, many were also offended by the portrayal of Iranians in the movie, especially by one of the final scenes that shows the Iranian Revolutionary Guardsmen chasing and shooting at the plane that carries the Americans in it, which portrays

Iranians as "*crazy, utterly hateful of Americans and recklessly violent*" (Alford and Secker, 2017). Kambiz (2012) also denounced this by stating that Affleck's portrayal of Iranians "*perpetuates the unfortunate contemporary stereotype that Iranians somehow 'hate' Americans*" while "*the Iranians [Americans] meet go to special lengths to receive them with hospitality*". Finally, the stereotypical portrayal of Iranians as Arabs while most of them are Persians also seemed misguided or ignorant by many (Alford and Secker, 2017).

The direct involvement of the CIA in *Argo* is also notorious. This was analyzed by Shaw (2017), who stated that the film could be made thanks to the CIA publicity campaign that started in 1997 and that declassified many operations, including that of Tony Mendez. Moreover, he talks about the efforts put in the film by the CIA's Public Affairs Office to cultivate strong links with cast and crew even allowing them to use their headquarters in Virginia. In an interview with Brian D. Johnson (2012), Ken Taylor believed that the magnification of the U.S. role in the operation was "*absolute nonsense*". He denounced that the film is not truthful as to the role of Tony Mendez, who "*did not become involved until a month after we'd taken over. He spent two days here*". The movie is based on Mendez's book '*The Master of Disguise*' (2002), where he had to alter facts to avoid censorship from the CIA and an article wrote on *Wired* magazine in 2007. Mendez himself states that his book is "*populated by composite characters*" (Johnson, 2012). *Argo* shows a more human and altruistic side of the CIA's work, in opposition to the one usually shown in movies at the time, that portrayed the agency as a colder and inhuman organization. It is also shown to be uninterested, as we see towards the end of the movie, when the CIA allows Canada to have all the merits for the operation and they state that "*if we wanted applause we would have joined the circus*" (Affleck, *Argo*, 2012). Shaw (2017) believes that the movie serves as positive advertising for the CIA by "*rewriting history in its favor*" and by turning their failure to predict the Iranian revolution into a "*story of joyful redemption*".

5.3. Rule of orchestration.

Apart from being successful in American cinematic awards, *Argo* was also praised in several other sectors. US television companies used sequences from the movie to illustrate US-Iranian relations as news footage, spy exhibitions showed art pieces from the original Argo and the CIA displaying an oil painting in honor of the Iranian mission in the beginning of 2013, coinciding with the popularization of the film (Shaw, 2017). In this sense, we see how the United States and the CIA accepted and supported the diffusion of the film in as many areas as possible.

5.4. Rule of transfusion.

As we discussed above, one of *Argo*'s sources of attraction to the audience is the fact that it is said to be based on a true story. Additionally, the final credits show us images comparing the real hostages to the actors showed to display them as well as real footage from the seizure of the embassy to the scenes of the movie to enhance the realistic and historical feeling of the movie. This, added to the diffusion of the movie by the media, makes many people believe that *Argo* is a "*slice of real history*" (Shaw, 2017).

5.5. Rule of unanimity and contagion.

In general, as we have seen, the tone of the movie promotes a sense of familiarity and unity towards the Americans, showing their point of view exclusively, disregarding that of Iranians or even their own allies like Canadians. This makes the audience develop a higher proximity to the vision of the United States. The portrayal of Iranians, as well, makes it hard to feel any empathy towards them so the spectator's attention is always drawn to the feelings and the point of view of Americans.

5.6. Results.

When comparing *Argo* to Domenach's analysis, we can consider that it successfully fulfills all the five rules that he stated, this being: Rule of simplification and single enemy, Rule of exaggeration and disfigurement, Rule of orchestration, Rule of transfusion and Rule of unanimity and contagion.

Seeing as it follows all the rules and it openly received support, information, and praise from the CIA itself, we could consider *Argo* as a propagandistic movie according to Domenach.

CONCLUSION

Out of the three movies that we analyzed: *Captain America: The First Avenger*, *Apocalypse Now* and *Argo*, we knew that two of them (*Captain America* and *Argo*) received support, information or funds from the United States Army or the CIA. After comparing the three movies to Domenach's five-rule system to identify propaganda, we saw that it was these two movies that showed a propagandistic nature. From this we can consider that government-funded films are more likely to show a propagandistic nature than those that are not, even if all of them have other similarities when it comes to the style of the characters or the patriotic or militaristic nature of the film itself. The selection of *Apocalypse Now* as a non-case study was meant to prove this point, since it is a militaristic movie that was not (at least openly) government funded.

CONCLUSION

The objective of this TFG was to verify the following hypotheses:

A. Can we talk about propaganda in United States cinema?
B. Is Western ideology somehow or highly influenced by Hollywood productions?
C. Is cinema an essential instrument of power for the United States?

With respect to these, we found the following conclusions:

Regarding our main hypothesis (A), we believe we can talk about propaganda in United States cinema when it comes to government funded films. As we saw in the analyses presented in chapter III, the United States has intervened in a great number of films ever since the beginning of the use of cinema as an element of soft power or propaganda. The reasons for said intervention were usually to make sure that a positive image of the United States or its organs was sold to the world. However, this intervention was not limited to political or war-related films, but to other films that did not seem to be related to the United States' image in a political sense.

Our case studies (few due to space limitations) proved this hypothesis, as we saw that, when comparing two government funded films (*Argo* and *Captain America: The First Avenger*) and one that was not (*Apocalypse Now*) to Domenach's propaganda model, the two first films proved to be accurate to the propaganda model while the latter did not.

In this sense, we can see how the United States has understood the effects that their cinema has on worldwide audiences and is making use of it to enhance or modify the opinions other countries have about them, increasing the role they had on certain events (like we saw in *Argo*) or using fiction to create a powerful image of the country (like in *Captain America*).

Our second hypothesis (B) is highly related to our first. In chapter II we saw the influence of United States pop culture in the rest of the world, especially in the Western World, ever since the Cold War. While pop culture encompasses many elements, like music, fashion, or sport, we could say that cinema has been one of the key aspects of this cultural export. Hollywood is one of the biggest cinematic industries in the world (alongside others like Bollywood) and is undeniably the biggest one in the Western World. Hollywood movies and actors are known all around the world, United States cinema is the main winner in the Oscars (arguably the most respected cinematic award) and even foreign actors aspire to work in the US industry.

Hollywood productions are, therefore, very respected around the world, and so are the stories they tell. While obviously propagandistic movies will probably be criticized and not receive as much praise as others, movies like the ones we analyzed in Chapter IV, that could also be considered propagandistic, used this aspect in a way that most of the spectators will not notice but still interiorize. This is especially obvious when it comes to the 'American dream', a phenomenon sold by the United States during the past century through their popular culture and, among others, their movies. Selling the image of the United States as a dreamlike country where business thrives, and people can speak and live freely has inevitably make many foreigners believe that the United States is the place to live.

When it comes to international conflicts, the high amount of US films picturing wars where their country was involved can also affect the way we learn about those conflicts. While schoolbooks may or not show the true story of several conflicts, films will for sure show these events in a way that most people will remember better than when studying them, which is why the way these are told is essential.

Our third hypothesis (C) encompasses what we saw on the other two. We believe that, even if the realistic paradigm is still strong in International Relations, the use of soft power has

increased in the past decades and the United States is one of the leaders of said increase. As we studied, American popular culture is relevant all around the world, ranging from Levi's jeans to the NBA and, obviously, Hollywood.

This use of soft power has allowed the United States to be regarded as the 'land of dreams', with New York being considered the "concrete jungle where dreams are made of" in Alicia Keys and Jay Z's popular song, *Empire State of Mind*, a myth continued by the immense quantity of movies located in said city and that also sell the 'American dream'.

In this sense we can see how soft power is an increasingly important element in US foreign policies is, with cinema being one of the most relevant aspects of said policy, as we see when we analyze the numerous governmental interventions in US films as well as the state organs that were created to control the movie production at the time (like the Office of War Information).

Finally, we have seen the relevance of soft power in International Relations from the point of view of, arguably, one of the biggest superpowers. In this sense, we saw the importance of culture when it comes to the creation of ideologies that create overseas power. We focused on the use of popular culture and especially cinema to achieve so.

For the moment, the United States is still considered the biggest exporter of popular culture around the world and, therefore, the one that has the highest influence in the creation of ideologies by those means. However, regarding the near future, we are now seeing a big rise in the relevance of Asian culture, especially South Korean one, through K-Pop, K-Dramas or Anime. This phenomenon is also travelling overseas really fast, and some say that it may rival the United States in the future. Only time will tell if the level of influence will also be as big as the one created by the United States through their Hollywood 'empire'.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. BOOKS

Bell, D. (1976). *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism*. New York: Basic Books Inc.

Bozeman, A.B. (1994). *Politics & Culture in International History: From the Ancient Near East to the Opening of the Modern Age*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.

Brands, H. (2018). *Democracy vs authoritarianism: how ideology shapes great-power conflict*. London: Survival

Domenach, J.M. (1950). *Le propagande politique*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Duroselle, J.B. (1992). *Tout Empire Périra* : *Théorie des Relations Internationales*. Paris: E. Armand Collin Èditeur

Edwards, V. (1938). *Group Leader's Guide to Propaganda*. New York: Institute for Propaganda Analysis.

Fairclough, N. (2013) *Critical discourse analysis: the critical study of language*. (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.

Fiske, J. (1989). *Understanding Popular Culture*. London: Unwin Hyman Ltd.

Flint, C. (2016). *Introduction to geopolitics* (3rd ed.). London: Routledge.

Focault, M. (1966). *Les mots et les choses*. Paris: Éditions Gallimard.

Fraser, M. (2005). *Weapons of Mass Distraction: Soft Power and American Empire*. London: Macmillan.

Friedman, Thomas L. (2000). *The Lexus and the olive tree*. New York: Anchor Books

Goldstein, Judith, & Robert O. Keohane. (1993). *Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions and Political Change*. New York: Cornell University Press.

Goldstein, J.S. and Pevehouse, J.C. (2014). *International relations*. Boston: Pearson.

Hamelink, C.J. (1983). *Cultural Autonomy in Global Communications*. New York: Longman Inc.

Laswell, H.D. (1927). *Propaganda Technique in the World War*. New York: Knopf.

Little, R. y Smith, S. (1988). *Belief Systems and International Relations*. Oxford and New York: Basil Blackwell Inc.

Lundestad G. (1998). *"Empire" by Integration: The United States and European Integration*, *1945–1997*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mayr, A. (2008). *Language and power: An introduction to institutional discourse*. London and New York: Continuum.

Mazrui, A.A. (1990). *Cultural Forces in World Politics*, London: Heinemann

Mead W.R. (2001). *Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How It Changed the World*. New York: Knopf.

Morgenthau, H. J. 1. (1954). *Politics among nations: the struggle for power and peace*. (2nd ed.). New York: Knopf.

Nye, J.S. (1990b). *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power*. New York: Basic Books.

Nye, J.S. (2004b). *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York: PublicAffairs.

Nye, J.S. (2011). *The Future of Power*. New York: PublicAffairs.

Pells, R. (1997). *Not like us*. New York: Basic Books.

Pizarroso, A. (1993). *Historia de la Propaganda, Notas para un Estudio de la Propaganda Política y de Guerra*. Madrid: EUDEMA.

Preston A. (2012). *Sword of the Spirit, Shield of Faith: Religion in American War and Diplomacy*. New York: Knopf.

Rowley, C., & Weldes, J. (2016). From Soft Power and Popular Culture to Popular Culture and World Politics. Bristol: University of Bristol.

Sidanius J, Pratto F (1999). *Social Dominance: An Intergroup Theory of Social Hierarchy and Oppression*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Valle de Frutos, S. (2008). *CULTURA Y CIVILIZACIÓN: Un acercamiento desde las ciencias sociales*. Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva.

Wallerstein, I. (1991). *Geopolitics and Geoculture: Essays on the Changing World-System*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Walt, S. M. (2006). *Taming American Power*. New York: WW Norton.

Webber, C. (2001). *International Relations Theory: A Critical Introduction*. London: Routledge.

Wendt, A. (1999). *Social Theory of International Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wight, M. (1977). *System of States*. New Jersey: Leicester University Press.

2. ACADEMIC ARTICLES

Alford, Matthew (2009), "The Propaganda Model for Hollywood", *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture*, 6 (2), pp. 144-156.

Altemeyer B (1998). "The other 'authoritarian personality.'". *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 30, pp- 47-92.

Bardos, A. A. (2001). "'Public diplomacy': An old art, a new profession". *The Virginia Quarterly Review*, 3(77), pp. 424-437.

Childs, J. (2014). "Apocalypse Now, Vietnam, and the Rhetoric of Influence". *Matlit Revista Do Programa de Doutoramento Em Materialidades Da Literatura*, 1(2), pp. 11–24. https://doi.org/10.14195/2182-8830_1-2_1

Cudworth, E. & Hobden, S. (2010). "Anarchy and Anarchism: Towards a Theory of Complex International Systems". *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 39(2), pp.399–416.

De Zoysa, R., & Newman, O. (2002). "Globalization, soft power and the challenge of Hollywood". *Contemporary Politics*, 8(3), pp. 185–202. https://doi.org/10.1080/1356977022000025678

Dittmer, J. (2005). "Captain America's Empire: Reflections on Identity, Popular Culture, and Post-9/11 Geopolitics". *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 95(3), pp. 626–643. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8306.2005.00478.x

Duckitt J, Sibley CG (2010). "Personality, ideology, prejudice, and politics: a dual-process motivational model". *Journal of Personality*. 78. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6494.2010.00672.x6

Everhart, K. (2014). "Captain America and Thriller: How Artistic Expressions Shape Mobilization Processes in Social Movements: How Artistic Expressions Shape Mobilization Processes". *Sociology Compass*, 8(3), pp. 268–281. https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12137

Fairclough, N. (2012). "Critical Discourse Analysis". *The Routledge handbook of discourse analysis*, pp. 9-20.

Feldman S, Johnston C (2014). "Understanding the determinants of political ideology: implications of structural complexity". *Political Psycholology*, 35(3), pp- 337-358.

Ford, C. A. (2012). "Soft on 'Soft Power'". *SAIS Review of International Affairs*, 32(1), pp. 89–111. https://doi.org/10.1353/sais.2012.0000

Gardels, N., & Medavoy, M. (2015). "China Cracks Down on 'Western Values'" in Textbooks, but Embraces Hollywood's 'Captain America'". *New Perspectives Quarterly*, 32(2), pp. 2–7. https://doi.org/10.1111/npqu.11508

Greer, A. (2016). "'This is the End, My Friend': Aural Focalizations of Trauma in Apocalypse Now (1979) and Vietnam Combat Films". *The Journal of American Culture*, 39(3), pp. 313–322. https://doi.org/10.1111/jacc.12571

Gries, P., & Yam, P. P. C. (2020). "Ideology and international relations". *Current Opinion in Behavioral Sciences*, 34, pp. 135–141. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cobeha.2020.03.006

Hartig, F. (2014). "New Public Diplomacy Meets Old Public Diplomacy – the Case of China and Its Confucius Institutes". *New Global Studies*, 8(3). https://doi.org/10.1515/ngs-2014-0029

Kadivar, D. (2013). "Escape from Tehran (ARGO): Ben Affleck's geo political thriller, for which he won two awards in January, unearths an unknown chapter of the Iran US hostage ordeal". *The Middle East*, 440, pp. 62–64.

Keune, O., & Frants, V. (2017). "Cinema as an Element of a State's Soft Power System". *Discourse-P*, 27(2), pp. 154–162. https://doi.org/10.17506/dipi.2017.27.2.154162

Kozlovic, A.K. (2016). "Superman as Christ-Figure: The American Pop Culture Movie Messiah". *Journal of Religion and Film* 6(1): article no. 5.

McInerney, P. (1979). "Apocalypse Then: Hollywood Looks Back at Vietnam". *Film Quarterly*, 33(2), pp. 21–32.

Mitterrand, F. (2011). "Analyse géopolitique du cinéma comme outil de soft power des États". *Géoéconomie*, 58(3), p. 9. https://doi.org/10.3917/geoec.058.0009

Moretti, F. (2001). "Planet Hollywood". *New Left Review*, 9 (Second Series).

Niño, C., & Sánchez, J. (2020). "La securitización del cine en el siglo XX: Interpretaciones sobre la cultura y el poder". *Via Inveniendi Et Iudicandi*, 15(1), pp. 189-217. https://doi.org/10.15332/19090528/5746

Nowaki, R. (2015). "American Idol: American Pop Culture and Soft Power in Cold War Europe". *University of Hawaii at Hilo*, 13.

Nye, J. S. (1990a) "Soft power". *Foreign Policy*, 80, pp. 153-171.

Nye, J. S. (2004a). "Soft Power and American Foreign Policy". *Political Science Quarterly*, 119(2). https://www.jstor.org/stable/20202345

Nye, J.S., & Kennedy, J. F. (2004c). "Weapons of Mass Distraction: Soft Power and American Empire by Matthew Fraser". *International Journal*, 59(3). https://www.jstor.org/stable/40203964

Nye, J. S. (2008). « Public Diplomacy and Soft Power". *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 616(1), pp. 94–109. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716207311699

Nye, J. S. (2017). "Soft power: The origins and political progress of a concept". *Palgrave Communications*, 3(1). https://doi.org/10.1057/palcomms.2017.8

Ortega, M. (2007). "Un mundo de cine: Relaciones internacionales y séptimo arte". *Política Exterior*, 21(118), pp. 39–44.

Persaud, R. B. (2022). "Ideology, socialization and hegemony in Disciplinary International Relations". *International Affairs*, 98(1), pp. 105–123. https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiab200

Secker, T., & Alford, M. (2017). "Why are the Pentagon and the CIA in Hollywood?". *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 76(2), pp. 381–404. https://doi.org/10.1111/ajes.12180

Servaes, J. (2012). "Soft power and public diplomacy: The new frontier for public relations and international communication between the US and China". *Public Relations Review*, 38(5), pp. 643–651. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2012.07.002

Shaw, T., & Jenkins, T. (2017). "From Zero to Hero: The CIA and Hollywood Today". *Cinema Journal*, 56(2), pp. 91–113. https://doi.org/10.1353/cj.2017.0004

Solomon, K. (2010). "The Spectacle of War and the Specter of 'The Horror'". *Journal of Popular Film and Television*, pp. 22-31

Sun, H. H. (2008). "International political marketing: A case study of United States soft power and public diplomacy". *Journal of Public Affairs*, 8(3), pp. 165–183. https://doi.org/10.1002/pa.301

Vega Durán, S. (2020). "Hollywood y el Pentágono. La producción cultural propagandística del Departamento de Defensa de los Estados Unidos". *Vivat Academia. Revista de Comunicación*, pp. 81–102. https://doi.org/10.15178/va.2020.150.81-102

Villaseca, N. (2019). "Administration, Violence, and Cinema: The United States and the Conquest of the West (which Ends in the East)". *The International Journal of New Media, Technology and the Arts*, 14(2).

Yüksel, H. (2018). "Cold war ideology: The Rocky 4 movie". *Journal of Labor and Society*, 21(3), pp. 385–414. https://doi.org/10.1111/wusa.12351.

3. NEWSPAPERS AND MASS MEDIA

Ahmari, S. (2012, October 17). "Ben Affleck's War on the Ayatollahs". *Wall Street Journal*.
https://online.wsj.com/article/SB10000872396390444354004578060400188496128.html

Atabai, K. (2012, December 31). "What 'Argo' Gets Wrong About Iran". *The Daily Beast*. https://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2012/12/31/what-argo-gets-wrong-about-iran

Dean, G. (2022). "McDonald's Russian restaurants have just reopened. Photos show thousands of people queueing for their first Big Mac when the chain arrived in Moscow in 1990".

Business Insider. https://www.businessinsider.com/mcdonalds-russia-history-big-macs-soviet-union-american-ukraine-restaurant-2022-3

Hakakian, R. (2012, October 27). "What Ben Affleck's 'Argo' Misses About Iran". *The Daily Beast*. https://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2012/10/27/what-ben-affleck-s-argo-misses-about-iran

Hertzberg, H. (2009, January 18). "Smart Power". *The NewYorker*. https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2009/01/26/smart-power

Johnson, B. D. (2012, September 12). "Ben Affleck rewrites history". *Macleans.Ca*. https://macleans.ca/culture/movies/ben-affleck-rewrites-history/

4. MOVIES USED IN THE ELLABORATION OF THIS PROJECT

Affleck, B. (Director). (2012). *Argo* [Motion Picture].

Bigelow, K. (Director). (2012). *Zero Dark Thirty* [Motion Picture].

Cimino, M. (Director). (1978). *The Deer Hunter* [Motion Picture].

Coppola, F. F. (Director). (1979). *Apocalypse Now* [Motion Picture].

Donner, R. (Director). (1978). *Superman* [Motion Picture].

Eastwood, C. (Director). (2006). *Flags of Our Fathers* [Motion Picture].

Emmerich, R. (Director). (1996). *Independence Day* [Motion Picture].

Fincher, D. (Director). (2010). *The Social Network* [Motion Picture].

Gibson, M. (Director). (2016). *Hacksaw Ridge* [Motion Picture].

Hooper, T. (Director). (2015). *The Danish Girl* [Motion Picture].

Howard, R. (Director). (1995). *Apollo 13* [Motion Picture].

Johnston, J. (Director). (2011). *Captain America: The First Avenger* [Motion Picture].

Jonze, S. (Director). (2013). *Her* [Motion Picture].

MacDonald, P. (Director). (1988). *Rambo III* [Motion Picture].

McKay, A. (Director). (2021). *Don't Look Up* [Motion Picture].

Scott, R. (Director). (1997). *G.I. Jane* [Motion Picture].

Stallone, S. (Director). (1985). *Rocky IV* [Motion Picture].

Weir, P. (Director). (1998). *The Truman Show* [Motion Picture].

5. OTHERS

Captain America: The First Avenger (2011) - Plot - IMDb. (n.d.). Retrieved April 26, 2023, from https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0458339/plotsummary/

Culture definition and meaning | Collins English Dictionary. (n.d.). Retrieved January 5, 2023, from https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/culture

Jesse. (2020, June 1). Top 10 Newspapers in the World 2020, Best Newspapers in the World | Global Newspaper Industry Factsheet. Bizvibe Blog. https://blog.bizvibe.com/blog/top-newspapers-world

Korab-Karpowicz, W. J. (2018). Political Realism in International Relations. In E. N. Zalta (Ed.), The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Summer 2018). Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University. https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2018/entries/realism-intl-relations/

Örmeci, O. (2015). Hollywood: A Tool For American 'Soft Power' Or A 'Global Brand'?. TEDx Talk.

Pew Global Attitudes Project. (2004). A Year After Iraq War: Mistrust of America in Europe Ever Higher, Muslim Anger Persists. The Pew Research Center for the People & the Press.

Power (International Relations). (n.d.). Retrieved April 26, 2023, from https://encyclopedia.pub/entry/28758.

The Deer Hunter. (1979, February 23). - Plot - IMDb. (n.d.). Retrieved April 26, 2023, from https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0077416/.

U.S. Department of State. (1987). Dictionary of International Relations Terms.