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Exploring the Role of Propaganda in Shaping National Identity and International Relations: A Comparative Analysis of Azerbaijan, Lithuania, and Turkey in the 21st Century

Badanie roli propagandy w kształtowaniu tożsamości narodowej i stosunków międzynarodowych. Analiza porównawcza Azerbejdżanu, Litwy i Turcji w XXI wieku

• Abstract •

This study investigates the application of contemporary propaganda theories in analyzing national identity and international relations in the Caspian and Baltic regions during the 21st century. Focusing on the contrasting views of Lippmann, Bernays, and Chomsky, the research explores the relevance of their approaches in the digital age and the role of propaganda in shaping public opinion in Azerbaijan, Lithuania, and Turkey. Employing qualitative methods, the study identifies the significance of Lippmannian and Bernaysian propaganda approaches in these countries, while highlighting the limitations of Chomsky's perspective in promoting national identity-building and international relations. The research underscores the importance of critical thinking, expert guidance, and understanding the philosophical underpinnings of propaganda theories in navigating complex issues surrounding national identity and international relations. The

• Abstrakt •

Niniejsza praca bada zastosowanie współczesnych teorii propagandowych w analizie tożsamości narodowej i stosunków międzynarodowych w regionie Morza Kaspijskiego i Bałtyckiego w XXI wieku. Koncentrując się na przeciwstawnych poglądach Lippmanna, Bernaysa i Chomsky'ego, badaniu poddano znaczenie ich koncepcji w erze cyfrowej oraz rolę propagandy w kształtowaniu opinii publicznej w Azerbejdżanie, na Litwie i w Turcji. Wykorzystując metody jakościowe, w artykule rozpoznano znaczenie podejść propagandowych Lippmanna i Bernaysa w tych krajach, podkreślając zarazem ograniczenia koncepcji Chomsky'ego w promowaniu budowania tożsamości narodowej i stosunków międzynarodowych. Badanie podkreśla też znaczenie krytycznego myślenia, wskazówek ekspertów i rozumienia filozoficznych podstaw teorii propagandy w poruszaniu się po złożonych zagadnieniach dotyczących tożsamości narodowej i stosunków międzynarodowych.

findings contribute to a deeper understanding of the relationships between media, power, and public opinion, emphasizing the need for a context-specific approach to analyzing the role of propaganda.

Poczynione ustalenia mają szansę przyczynić się do głębszego zrozumienia relacji między mediami, władzą i opinią publiczną, uwypuklając potrzebę kontekstowego podejścia do analizy roli propagandy.

Keywords: propaganda theories; national identity; international relations; Caspian and Baltic regions; media and public opinion

Słowa kluczowe: teorie propagandowe; tożsamość narodowa; stosunki międzynarodowe; region kaspijski i bałtycki; media i opinia publiczna

Introduction

The reason why Lippmannian, Bernaysian, and Chomskian propaganda were chosen over other propaganda theories by authors such as Willi Münzenberg, N. Bukharin, or Dr. J. Goebbels is that the thesis is not focused on totalitarian propaganda. Rather, the research is interested in the ways of constructing public opinion and the manufacture of consent from a constructive point of view. Therefore, the American tradition and its perspective were chosen instead of the communist or Nazi traditions, which are ineffective and outdated in countries such as those of the Caspian and Baltic regions.

Furthermore, the main opposition of the thesis is drawn between the democratic vision of Lippmann and the conservative concept of Bernays, which are the most relevant theories for understanding the propaganda mechanisms in these countries. However, it is important to update these theories and take into account the new realities of the modern world, such as the impact of the Internet, social networks, communication bubbles, and the new political agenda.

In the 21st century, the relations between Azerbaijan and Lithuania have been characterized by their mutual interests in economic cooperation, energy security, and regional stability. Both countries have been proactive in establishing and maintaining strong diplomatic relations. Lippmannian and Bernaysian propaganda theories have played a significant role in shaping public opinion and the manufacture of consent in these countries.

Relevance of article: In the digital age, where information is abundant and easily accessible, understanding how propaganda operates is crucial for people to make informed decisions. Lippmann's belief in the need for expert guidance to ensure good governance remains a relevant issue today, especially in the context of complex issues such as national identity and international relations.

Bernays' emphasis on using psychological techniques to shape public opinion is also relevant in the digital age, where social media algorithms and targeted advertising can be used to tailor messages to specific groups of people. This can have implications for relationship development between Azerbaijan, Lithuania, Ukraine, and Turkey as propaganda can be used to influence public opinion towards particular countries or groups of people.

The research revolves around the contrasting views of Noam Chomsky, Walter Lippmann, and Edward Bernays on propaganda, censorship, and control of information, and how their approaches are relevant in the digital age, particularly in the context of national identity building in the Caspian and Baltic regions. This essay explores these differences and argues that the Lippmannian democratic and Bernaysian conservative propaganda approaches are more effective than Chomsky's anarchist perspective.

Novelty of research: From a philosophical perspective, the novelty of this text lies in its exploration of the ethical and moral implications of propaganda, particularly in the context of the 21st century digital age. The text highlights the need for critical thinking and expert guidance in navigating the complex issues surrounding national identity and international relations in the face of propaganda.

Furthermore, the text emphasizes the importance of understanding the philosophical underpinnings of propaganda theories, such as the works of Lippmann and Bernays, in order to make informed decisions and engage in meaningful dialogue about the role of propaganda in society. It underscores the ethical implications of propaganda, particularly in the context of the psychological techniques used to shape public opinion, as advocated by Bernays.

Overall, the text highlights the importance of philosophical inquiry in understanding the implications of propaganda on national identity and international relations. It calls for a critical examination of the ethical and moral dimensions of propaganda and emphasizes the need for philosophical approaches to guide decision-making and dialogue in the face of propaganda.

Edward S. Herman, Mark D. Alleyne, Justin Lewis, John Stauber – there is a growing body of scholarship work that engages with the theories and works of Lippmann, Bernays, and Chomsky, and which explores and expands upon their analyses of propaganda, media, and public opinion. These works represent a rich and diverse range of disciplines and approaches, including political science, communication studies, sociology, psychology, and cultural studies, among others. Scholars working in this area have produced many novel insights and critiques, challenging and refining the original ideas put forth by these theorists, as well as adapting them

to new contexts and technologies. This ongoing dialogue and research promise to deepen our understanding of the complex and multifaceted relationships between media, power, and public opinion in the contemporary world.

One possible scientific problem for a research project on the application of propaganda concepts to different time periods, regions, beliefs, cultures, and geopolitical contexts might be: To what extent can the propaganda theories of Lippmann, Bernays, and Chomsky be applied to different time periods, regions, beliefs, cultures, and geopolitical contexts, and what are the limitations of such applications in light of the complex interplay between historical, cultural, and social factors?

This research question could be approached through a comparative analysis of propaganda techniques in different historical and cultural contexts, with a focus on identifying the commonalities and differences between propaganda campaigns in different regions and time periods. The goal would be to identify the key factors that shape the effectiveness of propaganda techniques in different contexts, and the ways in which these factors interact with each other to shape public perceptions.

By answering this research question, scholars could gain new insights into the universal and culturally specific aspects of propaganda techniques, and the ways in which they are shaped by historical, cultural, and social factors. This research could also contribute to a deeper understanding of the limitations of applying propaganda concepts across different regions and time periods, and the need for a nuanced and context-specific approach to analyzing the role of propaganda in shaping public perceptions.

The aim of this thesis is to critically apply contemporary propaganda theories influenced by Lippmann, Bernays, and Chomsky to analyze the multiplicity and particularity of persuasion and the manufacturing of consent in the Caspian and Baltic regions in the period of 21st century, mostly from Azerbaijan and Lithuania perspectives. The scientific problem that this research aims to address is the application of propaganda concepts to different time periods, regions, beliefs, cultures, and geopolitical contexts, and the limitations of such applications in light of the complex interplay between historical, cultural, and social factors.

To achieve this research goal, the following objectives have been set:

1. To study the Lippmannian and Bernaysian propaganda approaches in order to understand the historical and theoretical underpinnings of contemporary propaganda theories.
2. To analyze Chomsky's anarchist views on state power and propaganda and information filters in order to gain a nuanced understanding of the role of propaganda in shaping public perceptions and to compare it with the approach of Lippmann and Bernays.

3. To describe the problem of propaganda campaigns related to national identity-making in Azerbaijan and Lithuania, with a focus on the cultural and historical factors that shape these campaigns.
4. To analyze the role of religion, ideologies, and beliefs in internal and external propaganda activities in these countries, and to examine the ways in which these factors interact with each other to shape public perceptions.
5. To research the problematic relationship between Azerbaijan and Lithuania, with a focus on the geopolitical and economic factors that shape these relationships.
6. To reveal the challenges faced by Turkey in conducting good relations with these countries, and to examine the ways in which propaganda is used to shape public perceptions in Turkey.
7. To critically analyze the possibility of application of Lippmannian, Bernaysian and Chomskian concepts of propaganda to the politics of the Caspian and Baltic regions, in order to gain a deeper understanding of the complex interplay between propaganda, power, and geopolitics.

Methodological and theoretical basis of the research: One philosophical approach that could be used to analyze the relationship between Azerbaijan and Lithuania is utilitarianism. Utilitarianism is a moral theory that evaluates actions and policies based on their ability to promote the greatest amount of happiness for the greatest number of people (Patrick & Werkhoven, 2017). From a utilitarian perspective, the use of propaganda in Azerbaijan and Lithuania could be analyzed based on its impact on the well-being of the population and the promotion of social harmony.

For example, propaganda that promotes economic cooperation between Azerbaijan and Lithuania could be evaluated based on its ability to increase economic growth and prosperity for both countries. This could lead to increased happiness for the population and a stronger relationship between the two countries based on mutual economic benefit.

Another approach is postmodernism, which challenges the idea of objective truth and emphasizes the ways in which language and communication are used to construct and maintain reality (Bereiter, 1994). Postmodernism would be helpful in analyzing the ways in which propaganda works to construct narratives and shape public perception of events and ideas.

Constructivism is another theory that could be applied to the study of propaganda. Constructivism emphasizes the ways in which social and political realities are constructed through shared beliefs and values. This theory would be useful in analyzing how propaganda works to shape public opinion and construct particular realities and narratives (Wendt, 1992).

Overall, the choice of theoretical approach would depend on the specific research questions being asked and the particular context being studied. It is important to choose an approach that is appropriate for the research question and can provide meaningful insights into the ways in which propaganda functions in society.

The methodology used in this research primarily involves qualitative methods, specifically content analysis and comparative analysis of mainstream media and official ministries websites.

Content analysis involves systematically analyzing the content of media messages to identify patterns, themes, and trends. This method can be used to identify propaganda messages and to examine how they are framed and disseminated in different media sources (Krippendorff, 2018).

Comparative analysis involves comparing different media sources to gain insight into how propaganda messages are constructed and disseminated across different platforms. This method can be used to identify similarities and differences in propaganda messaging across different media sources, as well as to identify the potential influence of sources on public opinion (Kaid, 2004).

Overall, the research would involve an interdisciplinary approach that draws on insights from philosophy, media studies, and other related fields to gain a comprehensive understanding of the role of propaganda in shaping national identity and international relations in the Caspian and Baltic regions.

In empirical analysis, author have focused on several key aspects related to President Ilham Aliyev's speech and Turkic solidarity conferences, aiming to understand the persuasive strategies used to foster unity among different cultural groups in Azerbaijan.

The overview of literature: Public relations and propaganda are topics that have been extensively discussed in the academic world, especially since the 20th century. The following literature review aims to provide an overview of the works of the authors who have made significant contributions to the field of public relations and propaganda studies. Here is a literature review of selected scholars and their Lippmannian approach: Daniel C. Hallin and Paolo Mancini (2004), James W. Carey (2009), Robert W. McChesney (2013), Michael Schudson (2011), C. Edwin Baker (2006).

Propaganda and its impact on society has been a subject of great interest among scholars, with Edward Bernays being a central figure in the field. In the 21st century, several authors have analyzed Bernays and his approach to propaganda, providing valuable insights into the subject. Such authors are: Mark Crispin Miller (2002), Noam Chomsky (2002), Alex Carey (1997), Kalle Lasn (2007).

Chomsky's propaganda model, which argues that the mass media serves the interests of the powerful rather than the public, has been subject to significant analysis and critique in the 21st century. Here are authors who have contributed to this ongoing discussion: Will Straw (1996), Edward S. Herman, Robert W. McChesney (2013), Ben Bagdikian (2004).

Propaganda in contemporary society: expanding upon Lippmann, Bernays, and Chomsky's analysis to address affective manipulation, new technologies, and corporate

Propaganda is a ubiquitous force in contemporary society, shaping our beliefs, emotions, and actions in ways that are often invisible and insidious. While earlier scholars such as Walter Lippmann, Edward Bernays, and Noam Chomsky laid the groundwork for understanding the role of media and propaganda in shaping public opinion, contemporary writers and scholars have expanded upon their insights to address the ways in which new technologies, affective manipulation, and corporate consolidation have intensified the effects of propaganda.

One of the most significant developments in recent years has been the rise of social media platforms and their ability to spread and amplify ideological messages. Christian Fuchs (2019), in his article *Propaganda 2.0: Herman and Chomsky's Propaganda Model in the Age of the Internet, Big Data and Social Media*, argues that the algorithmic nature of social media platforms reinforces and intensifies ideological messages, creating echo chambers that further entrench beliefs and prevent meaningful dialogue. Social media also allows for the rapid dissemination of emotionally charged messages, often in the form of memes or videos, that can quickly go viral and shape public opinion.

To fully understand the ways in which propaganda operates in contemporary society, it is necessary to examine not only the content of media messages, but also the emotional and affective responses that they elicit. Furthermore, it is important to recognize the role of corporate consolidation and profit-driven media ownership in shaping media messages and limiting the ability of the media to serve as a check on power. By building upon the insights of earlier scholars and expanding our understanding of the ways in which propaganda operates in contemporary society, we can develop more effective strategies for resisting its influence and promoting a more informed and democratic public discourse.

One such strategy is the cultivation of critical media literacy, which involves teaching individuals to critically analyze media messages and recognize the ways in

which they are shaped by ideology, corporate interests, and affective manipulation. This requires a recognition of the ways in which media messages are constructed, the biases and interests of media outlets and their owners, and the role of affect in shaping our responses to propaganda. By developing a critical media literacy, individuals can become more aware of the ways in which they are influenced by propaganda and better equipped to resist its effects.

Another strategy is the promotion of independent media outlets that are not beholden to corporate interests and can provide a critical counterpoint to the mainstream media. Independent media outlets can provide investigative journalism, in-depth analysis, and diverse perspectives that are often absent from corporate media. They can also serve as a forum for marginalized voices and perspectives that are often excluded from the mainstream media.

In recent years, Azerbaijan and Lithuania have been working to strengthen their economic ties, with a focus on trade and investment. A propaganda campaign emphasizing the economic benefits of a closer relationship between the two countries, such as increased job opportunities and economic growth, can influence public opinion in favor of stronger ties (Ismailov & Pipiya, 2016).

Cultural Exchange: Cultural exchanges between Azerbaijan and Lithuania, such as joint art exhibitions, music performances, and film festivals, can foster a sense of shared identity and promote mutual understanding. Propaganda highlighting these cultural connections can help to create a positive image of each country in the eyes of the other, thereby strengthening national identity (Aliyev, 2019).

Social cooperation initiatives, such as student exchange programs and joint research projects between Azerbaijani and Lithuanian universities, can create a sense of camaraderie between the two nations. Propaganda showcasing these collaborations can reinforce the idea that the two countries share common goals and values, contributing to the construction of a cohesive national identity (Azernews, 2023).

In the Caspian Sea and Baltic Sea regions, the relationship between national identity and propaganda is multifaceted. On one hand, propaganda can be used to promote a sense of shared identity and foster positive relations between countries. On the other hand, it can also be used to exploit existing divisions and create tension between different groups.

The Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict: The Nagorno-Karabakh conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia serves as an example of how propaganda can fuel existing tensions and solidify national identities. Media outlets on both sides have been known to propagate biased narratives, further entrenching the conflict and shaping national identities around the opposition to the other side (De Waal, 2013).

In the Baltic States, Russian propaganda has been used to influence the national identity of ethnic Russians living in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. By promoting a sense of Russian cultural and political superiority, this propaganda seeks to create divisions within these societies and undermine the sovereignty of the Baltic States (Kuczyńska-Zonik, 2017).

The power of propaganda: a philosophical exploration of its role in the construction of national identity in the digital age of multiculturalism

The concept of propaganda has been a subject of philosophical inquiry for many decades, particularly in the works of thinkers such as Walter Lippmann, Edward Bernays, and Noam Chomsky. These scholars have emphasized the role of propaganda in shaping public opinion and influencing the formation of national identity. In the digital age of multiculturalism, the power of propaganda has become even more significant, as it seeks to construct a shared sense of national identity in the midst of competing narratives and ideologies.

In his seminal work *Public Opinion*, Lippmann argued that the media played a key role in shaping public opinion and constructing a sense of national identity. He believed that the media acted as a filter, selectively presenting information to the public in a way that reinforced dominant narratives and ideologies (Lippmann, 2004). Similarly, Bernays, in his book *Propaganda*, emphasized the importance of using psychological techniques to shape public opinion and promote a particular agenda. He saw propaganda as a necessary tool for managing the complexities of modern society (Bernays, 2005).

Chomsky, on the other hand, has focused on the ways in which propaganda is used to maintain power and control over the population. He argues that propaganda operates through the manipulation of language and the creation of a false consensus, in which dissenting voices are marginalized or silenced (Mullen & Klaehn, 2010).

In the digital age, the construction of national identity has become even more complex, particularly in multicultural societies where competing narratives and ideologies can threaten social cohesion. Propaganda plays a significant role in the formation of national identity, as it seeks to reinforce dominant narratives and ideologies while marginalizing or suppressing dissenting voices.

One of the key strategies used by propaganda to build national identity is the use of symbolism and imagery. National flags, anthems, and other patriotic symbols are often used to evoke a sense of shared history, culture, and values. Propaganda

can also be used to create a sense of shared destiny, by promoting a vision of the future that is closely tied to the nation's past and present.

Both Lithuania and Azerbaijan have used propaganda to build their national identities through the use of symbolism and imagery. However, there are some differences in the way they have employed these tactics.

In Lithuania, the national flag has been a key symbol in building national identity. The flag features a horizontal tricolor of yellow, green, and red, which is meant to represent the nation's landscape, agriculture, and history. Additionally, the national anthem, which was written during Lithuania's struggle for independence from the Soviet Union, emphasizes the importance of the Lithuanian people's unity and resilience (Lietuvos Respublikos Prezidentė, n.d.).

Similarly, Azerbaijan has also used national symbols to build a sense of shared identity among its citizens. The national flag of Azerbaijan features a tricolor of blue, red, and green, which is meant to represent the nation's Turkic heritage, progress, and Islam. Additionally, the national anthem emphasizes the importance of national unity and the nation's historical achievements (*State Symbols of Azerbaijan*, n.d.).

However, one notable difference between Lithuania and Azerbaijan's use of symbolism and imagery is the role of religion. While the Lithuanian flag and anthem do not reference religion, the flag of Azerbaijan features a crescent moon and star, which are common symbols in Islamic countries. Additionally, the national anthem of Azerbaijan mentions the importance of Islam in the nation's history and culture.

In conclusion, both Lithuania and Azerbaijan have used propaganda to build national identity through the use of symbolism and imagery, with a focus on shared history, culture, and values. However, Azerbaijan has emphasized the role of religion more than Lithuania in its national symbols and propaganda.

The digital age has seen the emergence of new technologies and platforms that have made it easier to spread messages and manipulate public opinion. Social media platforms, in particular, have become a key battleground for the construction of national identity, as they allow individuals and organizations to disseminate messages to a global audience with unprecedented speed and reach.

However, the proliferation of new technologies and platforms has also given rise to new challenges for propaganda. In a world where information is constantly changing and evolving, it has become more difficult for propaganda to maintain a consistent narrative. The Internet and social media have also made it easier for marginalized groups to organize and amplify their voices, challenging the dominance of mainstream narratives.

Propaganda can also be used to promote a more inclusive and diverse vision of national identity, one that celebrates and embraces the contributions of all cultural groups within a society.

Propaganda in the digital age can have several benefits in terms of national identity-building, multiculturalism policy, and secularism. Some examples of these benefits are:

1. Creating a shared vision of national identity: Propaganda can be used to promote a shared understanding of what it means to be a citizen of a particular nation. Through social media platforms, it is possible to disseminate messages that celebrate national symbols, cultural heritage, and shared values, helping to create a sense of belonging among diverse communities.

2. Promoting multiculturalism: Propaganda can also be used to promote a more inclusive and diverse vision of national identity that celebrates the contributions of all cultural groups within a society. By highlighting the achievements and contributions of minority groups, propaganda can help to create a sense of pride and unity among all citizens, regardless of their background.

3. Advancing secularism: In some cases, propaganda can also be used to promote secularism and reduce the influence of religion in public life. By emphasizing the importance of reason, science, and rationality, propaganda can help to create a more tolerant and inclusive society.

One example of how propaganda has been used to promote national identity and multiculturalism is the case of the Azerbaijani community's social media campaign to communicate with Europe and Turkey. The Azerbaijani community used hashtags on Twitter and other platforms to highlight their culture and achievements, and to connect with other communities around the world. This campaign was successful in building relationships with Turkey, Lithuania, Italy, and Hungary, and helped to promote a more inclusive and diverse vision of national identity.

Another example is the signing of new energy, military, social, and economic agreements between Azerbaijan, Turkey, and other countries. These agreements were based on a shared commitment to secularism and multiculturalism and helped to promote tolerance and understanding between different cultural groups.

Overall, propaganda in the digital age can be a powerful tool for promoting national identity, multiculturalism, and secularism. However, it is important to use propaganda in an ethical and responsible way, and to ensure that all voices are heard and represented in the narrative.

The significance of propaganda in international relations: a constructivist, postmodernist approach in the 21st-century digital era

The role of propaganda in international relations has been a topic of interest for scholars and policymakers for many years. The 21st century has brought with it new challenges and opportunities, particularly in the context of the digital age and the proliferation of new media technologies. From a constructivist perspective, propaganda plays a significant role in shaping the shared norms, values, and identities that underpin international relations. Lippmann, Bernays, and Chomsky's ideas on propaganda remain relevant in the contemporary international system, particularly in terms of the role of media ownership and the manipulation of public opinion.

Constructivist theorists argue that propaganda can shape the shared norms, values, and identities that underpin international relations. The constructivist approach emphasizes the role of shared meanings and ideas in shaping the behavior of actors in international relations. Propaganda can be used to promote certain ideas, values, and beliefs, and to shape the way in which actors in the international system understand and respond to particular issues. Lippmann, Bernays, and Chomsky's ideas on propaganda fit into this constructivist approach, as they all emphasize the role of propaganda in shaping public opinion and mobilizing support for particular policy objectives.

Lippmann's notion of the 'manufacture of consent' highlights the role of propaganda in shaping public opinion and creating a sense of national identity and purpose. He argued that the manipulation of public opinion was necessary for maintaining social order and promoting particular policy objectives. Similarly, Bernays believed that propaganda could be used to create a sense of national identity and purpose among different groups. Both Lippmann and Bernays believed that propaganda could be used to shape public opinion and mobilize support for particular policy objectives.

Lippmannian propaganda, which focuses on the construction of public opinion through the dissemination of carefully crafted messages, has played a crucial role in shaping the perception of the bilateral relationship between Azerbaijan and Lithuania. This can be seen in several instances:

a. Energy Security Cooperation: Media outlets in both countries have highlighted their mutual dependence on energy resources, particularly Azerbaijan's vast hydrocarbon reserves and Lithuania's strategic location in the Baltic region. This narrative has emphasized the importance of diversifying energy sources and reducing reliance on Russia, thereby fostering a positive image of their partnership.

b. Trade and Investment: Lippmannian propaganda has also been used to promote bilateral trade and investment opportunities. Media coverage of high-level meetings between Azerbaijani and Lithuanian officials has emphasized the potential for growth in various sectors, including agriculture, tourism, and technology. This has contributed to a favorable perception of the relationship in the eyes of the public.

The Bernaysian approach to propaganda, which involves the use of public relations and marketing techniques to manipulate public opinion, has also been evident in the relations between Azerbaijan and Lithuania.

a. Cultural Diplomacy: Both countries have engaged in cultural diplomacy initiatives, such as organizing cultural events and exchanges, to foster positive images of each other. Bernaysian propaganda techniques have been employed to create a sense of shared values and history, thus strengthening the bond between the two nations.

b. Political Messaging: Bernaysian propaganda has been used to highlight the shared political interests of both countries, such as their commitment to European integration. By framing their relationship in this light, it has become easier for the public to understand and accept the importance of their partnership.

c. Social Media and Digital Diplomacy: The rise of social media and digital diplomacy has provided new avenues for the application of Bernaysian propaganda. Both Azerbaijani and Lithuanian governments have been active on social media platforms, using them to promote their partnership and share positive stories about their cooperation. This has allowed them to reach a wider audience and further shape public opinion.

In summary, the use of Lippmannian and Bernaysian propaganda theories has played a significant role in shaping the public perception of Azerbaijan–Lithuania relations since 2000. These techniques have been employed to highlight the mutual interests and shared values between the two countries, fostering a positive image of their partnership and paving the way for further cooperation in various sectors.

Chomsky's propaganda model also fits into this constructivist approach. The model argues that the concentration of media ownership in the hands of a few large corporations creates a media landscape that is increasingly beholden to the interests of its owners.

Chomsky's propaganda model is a postmodernist approach to understanding the media and its role in shaping public opinion. The model proposes that the concentration of media ownership in the hands of a few large corporations creates a media landscape that is increasingly beholden to the interests of its owners, and that this can lead to the manipulation of public opinion.

One example of how the propaganda model can be applied in a postmodernist approach is the case of Russia's use of propaganda and misinformation in the

post-truth era. Russia has been accused of using propaganda and misinformation to influence public opinion in the United States and other Western countries, with the goal of undermining democracy and promoting its own interests (Wardle & Derakhshan, 2017).

However, the propaganda model can also be used as a filter to prevent the spread of misinformation and fake news. By analyzing the media through the lens of the propaganda model, it is possible to identify sources of bias and misinformation, and to take steps to prevent their spread.

For example, during the 2016 U.S. presidential election, social media platforms like Facebook and Twitter were used by Russian operatives to spread fake news and propaganda. However, following the election, these platforms took steps to identify and remove fake accounts and propaganda, and to prevent their future use (Gessen, 2017).

Similarly, news organizations can use the propaganda model as a filter to ensure that their reporting is unbiased and free from the influence of corporate or political interests. By maintaining editorial independence and adhering to rigorous journalistic standards, news organizations can help to prevent the spread of propaganda and misinformation, and to promote a more informed and engaged public.

In conclusion, while Chomsky's propaganda model has been criticized for being overly deterministic, it can still be useful as a tool for understanding the media and its role in shaping public opinion. In the post-truth era, the propaganda model can play an important role in preventing the spread of misinformation and propaganda, and in promoting a more informed and engaged public.

Exploring the interplay of propaganda and shared meanings in Azerbaijan–Lithuania relations: a constructivist philosophical perspective

from a Lippmannian perspective, propaganda plays a significant role in shaping public opinion and national identities in both Azerbaijan and Lithuania. The media landscape in both countries is influenced by a few large corporations, and the narratives put forward by these corporations can shape the way that citizens understand and relate to each other. In the context of Azerbaijan and Lithuania, propaganda may be used to promote a particular set of ideas and values related to the relationship between the two countries, such as emphasizing their shared cultural heritage or highlighting their political and economic ties.

Similarly, Bernays' approach to propaganda highlights the ways in which public opinion can be manipulated to serve the interests of those in power. In the case of Azerbaijan and Lithuania, propaganda may be used by political elites or other powerful actors to shape the public's understanding of their relationship and to advance interests.

The constructivist approach, however, emphasizes the role of shared meanings and ideas in shaping the behavior of actors in international relations. In the case of Azerbaijan and Lithuania, the relationship between the two countries may be shaped by shared cultural, historical, and economic ties, as well as by their shared membership in organizations such as the European Union. Propaganda in this context may be used to reinforce these shared ties and to promote a particular vision of their relationship.

One example of how propaganda has played a role in shaping public opinion and national identities in Azerbaijan and Lithuania is the promotion of their shared cultural heritage. In Azerbaijan, the government has emphasized the country's ancient history and the contributions of Azerbaijani poets, artists, and intellectuals to world culture. In Lithuania, the national flag and anthem have been important symbols of the country's cultural identity, and the government has promoted Lithuanian art, music, and literature to the world (*Azerbaijan–Lithuania Relations*, n.d.; *Lithuanian Culture*, n.d.).

Another example is the use of propaganda to promote the economic and political ties between Azerbaijan and Lithuania. In recent years, Azerbaijan and Lithuania have signed several agreements related to trade, energy, and transportation, and propaganda has been used to emphasize the benefits of these agreements for both countries. For example, Azerbaijani media has highlighted the importance of the Baku–Tbilisi–Kars railway for the transportation of goods between Azerbaijan and Lithuania.

Additionally, propaganda has been used to promote a particular vision of the relationship between Azerbaijan and Lithuania within the context of the European Union. Both countries are members of the EU's Eastern Partnership program, and propaganda has been used to emphasize the importance of this program for promoting regional stability and prosperity. For example, Lithuanian media has highlighted the role of Azerbaijan in supporting the EU's energy security, while Azerbaijani media has emphasized the importance of Lithuania as a gateway to the EU market (*Azerbaijan–EU Relations*, n.d.).

Postmodernist critiques of propaganda in the 21st century: exploring Lippmannian, Bernaysian, and Chomskian conceptual frameworks

Postmodernist critiques of propaganda in the 21st century explore the ways in which power asymmetries and the global distribution of media ownership shape the dissemination of information and the construction of meaning.

One empirical case example of the postmodernist critiques of propaganda in the relations between Lithuania and Azerbaijan is the way the media landscapes of both countries can influence the narratives and public opinion about the other. For example, the concentration of media ownership in Azerbaijan can lead to narratives that emphasize the country's cultural heritage and political and economic ties with other countries (*Azerbaijan's Media Landscape…*, n.d.) in the Caspian region. Meanwhile, Lithuania's media landscape is characterized by its diversity, but its concentration in the hands of a few large corporations can lead to narratives that emphasize its ties with the European Union and NATO.

Another example is the way that propaganda can be used to influence public opinion on specific issues. For instance, propaganda may be used to promote a particular stance on energy security in the Caspian and Baltic regions. Azerbaijan's state media may use propaganda to promote the benefits of the Southern Gas Corridor for energy security in the region, while Lithuanian media may use propaganda to promote the benefits of the Klaipeda LNG terminal for energy security in the Baltics (Mammadov, 2018).

When analyzing politics in the Caspian and Baltic regions, the conceptual frameworks of Lippmann, Bernays, and Chomsky can be useful in identifying power asymmetries and the ways in which propaganda can be used to shape public opinion. For example, the Lippmannian framework can be used to analyze the concentration of media ownership in Azerbaijan and its potential influence on the narratives put forward by the media. The Bernaysian framework can be used to analyze the ways in which political elites in both Azerbaijan and Lithuania may use propaganda to advance their interests. Finally, the Chomskian framework can be used to analyze the ways in which propaganda can be used to manipulate public opinion on issues related to energy security and other political issues.

Overall, while postmodernist critiques of propaganda in the 21st century emphasize the power asymmetries and concentration of media ownership that shape the dissemination of information and the construction of meaning, the frameworks of Lippmann, Bernays, and Chomsky can provide a useful lens through which to analyze propaganda in the Caspian and Baltic regions.

Propaganda and power dynamics: a critical theory perspective

Critical theory provides a lens through which propaganda can be analyzed as a tool for maintaining power dynamics and reinforcing dominant ideologies in society. From a Lippmannian perspective, propaganda can be seen as a way to manipulate public opinion and maintain social order through the manufacture of consent. Similarly, Bernays believed that propaganda could be used to create a sense of national identity and purpose among different groups. From a Chomskian perspective, propaganda can be seen as a product of the concentration of media ownership, leading to a narrow range of viewpoints being represented in the media.

Noam Chomsky, a linguist, philosopher, and political activist, developed the propaganda model which suggests that the media is biased towards powerful interests. According to Chomsky, the mainstream media serves the interests of the elite and powerful, acting as a means of control and manipulation rather than an impartial source of information. Chomsky's anarchist approach to information control calls for the destruction of filters that hinder the free flow of information, which may lead to misinformation, societal polarization, and potential destabilization.

Chomsky's critiques of media manipulation and censorship are essential for sparking debate and challenging the status quo. However, his anarchist approach may not provide a sustainable solution for information control in the digital age, particularly in the context of national identity-building. The Lippmannian democratic and Bernaysian conservative propaganda approaches provide a more reliable framework for information control, ensuring that the media contributes to the development of positive relationships between countries in the Caspian and Baltic regions.

Noam Chomsky, an anarchist critic of propaganda, created the main model of propaganda, which is widely used today. His views on propaganda and information filters provide valuable insights into how media can be manipulated to serve the interests of powerful elites. Chomsky's critiques of propaganda are especially relevant in the Caspian region, where media outlets may be influenced by political and economic interests.

Chomsky's approach to propaganda is based on the idea that the media serves as a filter, censoring or canceling out information that does not fit with the interests of the elite. This filtering process prevents disinformation, black propaganda, and fake news from spreading and distorting public opinion.

Chomsky's anarchist stance differs greatly from Lippmann's democratic approach and Bernays' conservative outlook. This article argues that the Lippmannian democratic and Bernaysian conservative propaganda approaches are more effective than Chomsky's anarchist perspective.

Noam Chomsky, a linguist, philosopher, and political activist, is best known for his criticism of media manipulation and the propaganda model. Chomsky does not promote or support the propaganda model; rather, he updates it in order to criticize and destroy filters. As an anarchist, he opposes censorship and advocates for the destruction of filters that hinder the free flow of information. This approach, however, can lead to the dissemination of misinformation and the potential destabilization of society.

However, it is important to note that propaganda is not inherently negative or harmful. In different several cases, propaganda can be used to promote positive social change and challenge dominant ideologies. For example, propaganda was used by social movements like the civil rights movement and the feminist movement to promote ideas of equality and justice, and to challenge the status quo of racial and gender-based oppression. From a critical theory perspective, it is important to analyze the power dynamics at play and the ways in which propaganda is being used, in order to determine whether it is reinforcing or challenging dominant ideologies and power structures.

Overall, critical theory provides a valuable lens through which to view the role of propaganda in contemporary society. By analyzing propaganda within the context of power dynamics and dominant ideologies, we can better understand its impact on society and work towards creating a more equitable and just world.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this research has explored the application of contemporary propaganda theories to the analysis of national identity and international relations in the Caspian and Baltic regions in the 21st century. Specifically, the research has focused on the contrasting views of Lippmann, Bernays, and Chomsky on propaganda, censorship, and control of information, and how their approaches are relevant in the digital age. The research has also explored the role of propaganda in shaping public opinion and the manufacture of consent in Azerbaijan, Lithuania, and Turkey, as well as the challenges and limitations of applying propaganda concepts to different time periods, regions, beliefs, cultures, and geopolitical contexts.

Through qualitative methods such as content analysis and comparative analysis of media messages and official websites, the research has identified several key insights into the use of propaganda in these countries. Firstly, the Lippmannian and Bernaysian propaganda approaches have played a significant role in shaping public opinion and the manufacture of consent in Azerbaijan and Lithuania, particularly in

the areas of economic cooperation, energy security, and regional stability. Secondly, Chomsky's anarchist views on state power and propaganda and information filters provide a nuanced understanding of the role of propaganda in shaping public perceptions, but may be less effective in promoting national identity-building and international relations in these countries. Thirdly, the use of religion, ideologies, and beliefs in internal and external propaganda activities is an important factor in shaping public perceptions and requires further examination in future research.

The philosophical approach used in this research has emphasized the need for critical thinking and expert guidance in navigating the complex issues surrounding national identity and international relations in the face of propaganda. The research has highlighted the ethical and moral implications of propaganda, particularly in the context of the psychological techniques used to shape public opinion, as advocated by Bernays. Furthermore, the research has emphasized the importance of understanding the philosophical underpinnings of propaganda theories, such as the work of Lippmann and Bernays, in order to make informed decisions and engage in meaningful dialogue about the role of propaganda in society.

Overall, the research has contributed to a deeper understanding of the complex and multifaceted relationships between media, power, and public opinion in the contemporary world, and has highlighted the need for a nuanced and context-specific approach to analyzing the role of propaganda in shaping national identity and international relations. The research has provided several empirical examples of the use of propaganda in Azerbaijan and Lithuania, and has identified several key challenges and limitations in applying propaganda concepts to different regions and time periods. By emphasizing the importance of philosophical inquiry and critical thinking in understanding the implications of propaganda on national identity and international relations, this research provides a valuable contribution to the ongoing dialogue and research on this important topic.

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