

A Fresh Look at Global Engagement

American Public Diplomacy Policy for the Obama Administration

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“I think that the election of Barack Obama is one of the most powerful statements of public diplomacy that the United States could make, because it demonstrated that we are truly, and remain truly, the nation of possibility. That we are a country that leads not only in word but, as has been demonstrated by his election, in deed; in equality of opportunity, in equality before the law. That we are a nation that is open to people from all the world, in terms of migration and immigration, and that anybody can come to this country and even if fifty percent is luck, if they work hard enough, the possibilities for growth and reaching the top are there. So his election automatically, in my view, enhances our public diplomacy overnight.”

Ambassador Edward P. Djerejian

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

“A Fresh Look at Global Engagement” provides actionable recommendations for Secretary of State Clinton and the new administration for public diplomacy (PD) programs. After a brief examination of the field of PD and the developments during the Bush Administration, the report calls for significant scale-ups, modifications and changes across the wide range of entities and actors affiliated with PD.

The Obama Administration has the potential to use PD as an effective tool in an increasingly globalized world and with new communications technologies. To outline how this may be accomplished, the recommendations are organized into five central issues and entities of PD that include immediate, short term and long term suggestions.

U.S. State Department:

- Turn the page on the War on Terror paradigm and introduce a new operating philosophy and emphasis for PD
- Dramatically increase staffing and training budgets
- Introduce a new perspective on balancing security concerns and openness
- Create a new position to coordinate field PD efforts

Engaging new media technology and independent international media:

- Embracing “Up to the Minute” updates to communicate with foreign publics
- Increased and updated technology training for Field Officers
- Using the Internet to share resources and provide education opportunities
- New efforts to support indigenous media through training and existing outlets

Professional and educational *exchange programs*:

- Increase funding to allow for more participants in existing programs
- Fully address the technical and security issues of the Visa process
- Expanded promotion efforts for the many viable existing programs

U.S. Government personnel, entities and programs *in the field*:

- Foster inspired leadership through new and increased training
- Encourage innovative and outgoing PAOs, FSOs and FSNs
- Provide adequate resources for staff to accomplish their assigned tasks
- Allow flexibility for staff on the ground to respond to new or urgent needs

American **Private Sector**, Non-Governmental and local communities:

- Encourage imaginative and mutually beneficial alliances with other societal sectors concerning PD
- Widening the perspective and global connectedness of the American public

As we leave behind the Bush Era and face an increasingly connected world, it is essential that the new Administration strengthen America’s PD capacity to effectively and accurately share our stories and values.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Background

Public Diplomacy and the Transition to the 21 st Century World.....	5
Public Diplomacy During the Bush Administration.....	6
Early Signs in the Obama Administration	10

Recommendations

Changing the Game In Washington.....	12-15
Adjustments to Public Diplomacy Philosophy	12
Improvements in Staffing And Training	13
Soft Power Requires Hard Dollars	15
Balancing Openness and Security Concerns	15
Engaging, Supporting and Adapting To New Media	16
Showcasing America, “Warts And All”: Exchange Programs	19 -23
Education Exchanges	20
Professional Exchanges	22
Surrogate White Houses: PD Personnel And Entities Abroad	23 - 25
American Centers and Libraries	25
Partnering With Private and Ngo Actors.....	25 -27
Outside Government Actors	26
Globalizing The American Public	27
Conclusion	28
Works Consulted	29-31

Public Diplomacy and the Transition to the 21st Century World

PD has two functions, both of which define the U.S. government's relationship with foreign publics. First, diplomatic personnel openly and purposefully work to advance policy goals by influencing and engaging with foreign publics. Secondly, PD staff and their projects seek to educate foreign publics of American intentions while also deepening their interest in and understanding of America. Although we cannot draw a direct causal link between negative foreign public opinion toward our country and specific outcomes in these areas, it is clear that growing Anti-Americanism does not help the U.S. achieve its economic, foreign policy and security goals. PD can take the form of listening, advocacy, exchange diplomacy, cultural diplomacy and broadcasting. While involving short-term projects and initiatives, PD is a long-term effort that requires consistent application.

PD by definition is not propaganda, nor is it interchangeable with Public Affairs. PD always deals with the "known facts," while propaganda is typically based on some combination of falsehoods mixed in with facts. Public Affairs, while reporting to the same Under Secretary within the State Department, is charged with providing information exclusively to the American public, press and other institutions concerning the goals, policies and activities of the U.S. government. However, with modern mass communication tools, it is increasingly difficult to contain information distributed by Public Affairs from reaching foreign publics and PD from reaching American audiences. Further adding to the confusion, top Foreign Service officers serving in embassies are titled "Public Affairs Officers" (PAO).

During the Cold War, PD was a major instrument in the war for hearts and minds throughout the world, but as perestroika set in, PD leadership waned and budget allocation declined. The U.S. Information Agency (USIA) orchestrated most of the government's PD projects, such as the radio programs from the Voice of America and also from surrogate broadcasting stations like Radio Free Europe, Radio Free Europe and the Martis; American Centers and Libraries, and cultural and educational exchange programs.

These channels exposed millions of people around the world to American culture, such as jazz music. For example, Willis Conover, host of *Music USA* on VOA from 1955 to 1996, described why jazz was the music of freedom. "Jazz is a cross between total discipline and anarchy. The musicians agree on tempo, key, and chord structure but beyond this everyone is free to express himself. This is jazz. And this is America... It's a musical reflection of the way things happen in America. We're not apt to recognize this over there, but people in other countries can feel this element of freedom."

The impact of this programming on former Czech President and civil rights leader Vaclav Havel was significant. "Listening to jazz kept hopes of freedom alive in the darkest days of oppression in communist Czechoslovakia," he wrote. Testimony such as President Havel's gave clout to the Cold War era PD programs, which developed into a sophisticated global network. According to the testimony of several Foreign Service

Officers (FSO), many of the directors of USIA during the administration of George H.W. Bush did not demonstrate the importance of PD through their leadership, and the budgets for these programs were drastically limited. PD infrastructure had already begun to weaken from lack of funding by the fall of the Berlin Wall.

Inheriting weakened PD mechanisms, the Clinton Administration focused more on domestic issues and allowed PD to continue to deteriorate. By this time, soft power had become so identified with fighting the Cold War that officials found it difficult to convince lawmakers to fund many of their historic programs. Embassy bombings in Africa in 1998 were added evidence of the risk of international outreach efforts.

In 1999, the USIA was merged with the State Department under the jurisdiction of a newly created Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs. However, with the advent of the information revolution, PD has become more important, not less. The U.S. Government continues to experiment with adaptations to PD considering the realities of the post-Cold war world, which had defined its role and importance for decades.

In the globalized early 21st century, the field has faced several transformational factors that force practitioners to revise their PD strategies and thrust PD back into the spotlight as American support abroad has waned. These include:

- Wide availability of media, which creates a potentially more informed and engaged public. User-created content has democratized the production of media, creating a constantly updating, reactive, interactive network structure that creates, shares and refines information. As scholar Joseph Nye observed, “In an era of mass communications and electronic transmission, the public matters. The ‘street’ is a potent force and can undermine even the best-crafted peace agreement.”
- Global growth of civil society has mobilized fragments into organizations worthy of government attention and that can engage in their own PD. This shifts emphasis to horizontal networks, as opposed to the state-based models.
- Proliferation of democracy and free markets, allowing more people to gain the political and economic freedoms to become involved with government. This has created more potential targets for PD.

Public Diplomacy During the Bush Administration

The Bush Presidency was a mixed bag for PD efforts. While many new programs were initiated, they were concentrated in the Middle East and many were unsuccessful in improving Arab public opinion concerning America. Overwhelmed by the broadly unpopular War in Iraq, War on Terror, globally exposed torture incidents and perceptions of unilateralism and bullying, the already weakened American PD infrastructure was fighting an uphill battle from the beginning. Misguided leadership from the State Department, inadequate funding, new security concerns and adapting to new technology compounded this already bad situation.

As President Bush stated in the first year of his Presidency, “If we’re an arrogant nation, they’ll resent us; if we’re a humble nation, but strong, they’ll welcome us.” This is an excellent guiding principle, if it had only been followed. The attacks of September 11th and the resulting wars in Afghanistan and Iraq under the banner of the War on Terror revealed the depth and breadth of the animus towards U.S. policies. Seeking to direct the message America was sending to the world, despite the presence of PD infrastructure within the State Department, the White House created an Office of Global Communications in July 2002 with a mission “to coordinate the Administration’s foreign policy messages and supervise America’s image abroad.” The Department of Defense (DOD) and the CIA also had their own PD programs, further complicating efforts to coordinate messages intended for foreign audiences.

The War on Terror battlefields and engaging Arab and Muslim communities became the overwhelming priority for PD efforts, although at times its purpose was misunderstood or misguided. As scholar Joseph Nye explained in 2002, the struggle against Islamist terrorism is not a clash of civilizations; it is a contest closely tied to the civil war raging within Islamic civilization between moderates and extremists. The United States and its allies will succeed only if they adopt policies that appeal to those moderates and use PD effectively to communicate that appeal.

Yet the United States, the world’s only super power and the leader in the information revolution, spends as little on PD as does France or the United Kingdom, and is all too often outgunned in the information war by fundamentalists hiding in caves. Charlotte Beers, the Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs appointed immediately after the September 11th attacks, testified on this point, and hoped to orchestrate campaigns to combat such misinformation. “We are talking about millions of ordinary people, a huge number of whom have gravely distorted, but carefully cultivated images of us - images so negative, so hostile that I can assure you a young generation of terrorists is being created. The gap between who we are and how we wish to be seen, and how we are in fact seen, is frighteningly wide.”*

This chilling picture of Muslim communities, unfortunately, did not result in an adequate funding increase for the State Department’s PD efforts. A bipartisan advisory group on PD for “the Arab and Muslim world” concluded in 2003, “to say that the financial resources are inadequate to the task is a gross understatement.”

For the new Under Secretary Charlotte Beers, branding became the shorthand theme for PD. “It’s almost as though we have to define what America is. This is the most sophisticated brand assignment I ever had,” Ms. Beers is quoted as saying. Carrying out the assignment within the State Department bureaucracy had its hazards, however. One problem was the Department’s decision to split control over information programs between Under Secretary Beers’ office and the regional political bureaus, the traditional centers of most day-to-day decision-making. The Beers office would be involved in big-

* Hearing on American Public Diplomacy and Islam, Committee on Foreign Relations, US Senate, February 27, 2003

picture planning, but not policy formulation; the political bureaus would control the details and personnel, including decisions on budgetary allocation of resources to overseas posts. This arrangement left little power for the Under Secretary, which was further complicated by White House, DOD and CIA PD programs.

Unfortunately, foreign audiences rejected many of the programs that did manage to get funding as “western propaganda.” Most notably, the State Department commissioned a series of television programs on Muslim life in the United States at a reported cost of \$10 million that were never aired by most Islamic television stations. Called a “catastrophe” by one State Department official, part of the problem was the failure to coordinate with embassies in the region during any part of the production and distribution process.

Facing criticism, Ms. Beers left the State Department, and was replaced briefly by Margaret D. Tutwiler, who remained in office for only a few months before moving to the private sector. President Bush left the office vacant for over a year before Tutwiler’s successor, Karen Hughes, was chosen. A close Bush advisor, Ms. Hughes left the country for several “listening tours” in the Muslim world soon after becoming the Under Secretary. Unfortunately, these tours seemed to further highlight cultural differences rather than serve as a sounding board for successful campaigns. In one well-publicized incident, a meeting between Ms. Hughes and a group of Saudi women reflected poorly on American understanding of Saudi public opinion. As one senior State Department official reflected, Ms. Hughes “just didn’t get the tone right.”

Throughout her two-year tenure as the Under Secretary, Ms. Hughes was able to use her close relationship with both Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and President Bush to push through some of the bureaucracy at the State Department and revise the department’s PD strategy. Veteran diplomat Edward P. Djerejian recounted one such experience that illustrated the effect of these relationships. Ambassador Djerejian had visited a rapid response department at the UK Foreign Office and brought the model back to the US:

I told Condoleezza Rice and Karen Hughes that I was so impressed by what I saw in London in the Foreign Office that we have to replicate it somehow in the State Department. And they did. Some nine months after I made my recommendations, Karen Hughes asked me to come up and they showed me the Rapid Response Unit on the second floor of the State Department. I was really moved by that experience, because it’s very rare that you make a recommendation and actually get to see something happen; something tangible, that you could put your arms around.*

* Edward P. Djerejian in the interview “Five Years After the Djerejian Report” as published in *Public Diplomacy Magazine*, Winter 2008

Using her pull with the Administration, the Under Secretary established a strategic framework for American PD efforts in 2005 and a National Strategy in 2007. The strategic framework includes three priority goals of the State Department's efforts:

- Offering foreign publics a vision of hope and opportunity rooted in America's most basic values.
- Isolating and marginalizing extremists.
- Promoting understanding regarding shared values and common interests between Americans and peoples of different countries, cultures and faiths.

She recommended that this be accomplished using five tactics: engage, exchanges, education, empowerment and evaluation.

The 2007 National Strategy, which had been called for by numerous GAO and think tank reports, serves as an important outline for modern PD implementation. However, given the lengthy time spent creating the report, it is surprisingly vague in its recommendations and should be expanded upon by the new Administration.

The Strategy identifies key influencers, vulnerable populations (youth, women and girls and minorities), and mass audiences as strategic audiences for PD programs. Expanding education and exchange programs, modernizing communications and promoting the diplomacy of deeds were put forth as the three highest priorities for PD in the immediate future. It also included several recommendations, such as more proactive media booking by FSOs and requesting all senior USG officials to add at least one PD event in every country they visit when traveling on official USG business, and designating, as well as commissioning "Special American Envoys" to help promote American values, such as sports, health, science, music and acting.

Around this time, the State Department's Bureau of International Information Programs (IIP) launched the America.gov website, which seeks to "tell America's story" and serves as a portal for American news, information and ideas. The site hosts four blogs that solicit responses from the world's citizens. However, this site has encountered some technical problems because much of its content is complex, requiring a fast Internet connection that many of its intended audience lack access to. Instead, the website is being simplified, maintaining the strongest elements of the current site, making it easier for people across the globe to benefit from its resources.

When Ms. Hughes signaled her intention to leave the Bush Administration, there was precious little time left to nominate and confirm a new Under Secretary. By the time James Glassman assumed the post, he had only months before the new Administration would come in and most likely remove him from his post. However, Glassman pressed on, embracing new technology and brainstorming new ways of engaging foreign publics.

Glassman's most significant accomplishment was the introduction of the "Public Diplomacy 2.0 strategy," an umbrella term for a variety of new initiatives, including:

- Contests on YouTube to encourage young people around the world to explore topics of democracy and intercultural dialogue.
- A social networking website Exchanges Connect for young people interested in interacting with participants in U.S. educational or foreign exchange programs.
- A series of “Blogger Forums” which allowed bloggers to ask questions directly to the Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy.
- A global summit of grassroots organizations to share knowledge and experience on how to use online tools against violence and extremism.

Early Signs in the Obama Administration

During the Bush Administration, America's enemies and even some traditional allies found it convenient and politically advantageous to disparage the United States. Certain leaders even reached higher levels of personal political successes based on their opposition to the United States. With the introduction of President Obama and his broad international appeal, this is unlikely to continue to be effective, and writing off American initiatives in many cases will no longer be so simple or attractive to foreign publics.

Academic Nancy Snow, a professor at Syracuse University, explained, “George W. Bush and Dick Cheney made it sound like we had to choose between love or respect, which reminds us of the damnable choices we had between (a) support for the terrorists or (b) support for the Bush administration. I chose (c) none of the above, though that answer was not part of the White House exam between 2001-2008.”

The very election of Barack Obama has broadly shifted international perception of America and therefore alters the dynamic of U.S. messaging abroad. President Obama’s interview with Al Arabiya, the executive order to close the detention center at Guantanamo Bay Cuba and the secret CIA prisons around the world were all big steps to addressing major internationally objectionable policies. As Career Foreign Service Officer Patrick Linehan stated, “I feel dignity has been restored. I have not been asked to say that night is day, or that black is white since January 20, 2009 at 12:01 p.m. I have not had to explain words like ‘rendition’, or that the Geneva Conventions don’t apply to the United States, or to explain why a medieval practice known as ‘water-boarding’ is NOT torture. I can represent U.S. foreign policy with my head held high.”

Most recently, President Obama visited Turkey, a predominantly Muslim country whose public, according to opinion polls, held a very negative opinion of the United States during the past Administration. As GlobalPost reported, for most Turks, his visit was proof of his commitment to serious engagement with the Islamic world and reflected the new Administration’s desire to enhance Turkey’s role in the region. “Turkey is very proud and happy about him choosing here. We feel that he cares about us, that he thinks Turkey is important,” said Burcu Eke, 27, a consultant at an American firm in Istanbul. Diplomatic gestures and visits to countries that stood against us during the previous Administration are imperative to sending a new message to foreign publics.

However, even with the change of Administrations, it is important to recognize that President Obama's persona conveyed through campaign speeches is what has captured the world's attention, and the realities of his Presidency have already put a damper on his international appeal. Notably, the Wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, as well as American support of Israel are still contentious policies that much of the world disagrees with. PD is not a magic bullet that can miraculously transform unpopular foreign policy, but serves to explain and gauge foreign opinion. It remains a dynamic process of engagement which can help to ensure that the best of a country's policies are known overseas and, if properly connected into the policy making mechanism, can help produce better policy.

REBUILDING AND ENHANCING AMERICAN PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

Recommendations for Action

This report calls for significant scale-ups, modifications and changes in attitude across the wide range of entities and actors affiliated with PD. The U.S. has the opportunity with a new Administration to regain the sophisticated PD infrastructure displayed under USIA while integrating the opportunities presented by an increasingly globalized world and new communications technology. The recommendations span five central issues and entities of PD: the U.S. Government in Washington, specifically the State Department; engaging new media technology and independent international media; exchange programs; U.S. Government personnel, entities and programs in the field; and the American Private, Non-Governmental and local communities. It is essential that the new Administration commit to strengthening America's PD capacity.

CHANGING THE GAME IN WASHINGTON

Adjustments to Public Diplomacy Philosophy

To demonstrate that change has truly come to Washington, the new Administration must start with modifying America's philosophic approach to PD. In the short term, this can be accomplished through several minor alterations from the Bush Administration's method.

Most immediately, all diplomatic personnel need to change some of their vocabulary to reflect political realities and a new tone. Firstly, we need to replace the terms "War of Ideas" "Battle of Ideas" or any reference to ideological combat. Many Bush Administration officials, including R. Nicolas Burns and James Glassman, repeatedly used these terms in reference to PD efforts. In an exit interview with *Public Diplomacy Magazine*, Glassman shrugged off the critique, claiming "we just haven't come across anything better."

For too long, American PD has been forced to work within the War on Terror paradigm. However, the justification for PD is much broader than fighting a single enemy with a single purpose. Instead, the new PD and Public Affairs Under Secretary should announce a new overarching theme to replace the Bush Administration's "war" framework. This would be in line with the Administration's efforts to highlight the broad range of objectives of U.S. foreign policy, rather than the polarizing War on Terror framework. As former Deputy Secretary of Defense Rudy deLeon commented, the U.S. has been at war for almost eight years now, and the country doesn't like to be at war for that long. It is now almost twice as long as our involvement in World War II or the American Civil War. The public gets tired of the battle mentality, and it has been proven ineffective with foreign audiences. We are now moving in a different direction, which presents new opportunities and new burdens for diplomacy.

In addition, officials should discontinue the use of the term "Muslim World." Practitioners and academics alike agree that it is a misnomer and brings to mind the Muslim Caliphate that extremists have been propagating. The United States has no

interest in suggesting that Muslim citizens of Indonesia, Pakistan, England, or for that matter Maryland and Texas, are part of some singular global unit. Instead, using a term such as “Muslim Communities” or those living in Muslim-majority countries would be more appropriate.

As President Obama and Secretary Clinton have already demonstrated, it is critical to encourage dialogue or multi-party talks between the United States and persons in other countries whenever possible and at all levels. As distinguished Ambassador Edward P. Djerejian recently stated, “Talk is not a concession unless you have such a low opinion of yourself that you think you’re going to give away the barn by just talking to people.” In addition, it is critical to recognize that the future of PD is based on partnerships with like-minded actors on the international stage, whether other states or NGOs. Taking advantage of a fresh start with some international actors provides new fuel for collaboration.

Lastly, in the spirit of the Obama Administration’s calls for bipartisanship, it is critical for government officials to acknowledge that the core values of America are not tied to any party or policy. Resisting the urge to vilify those responsible for the happenings of the previous administration is important. Instead, focus on communicating the American values outlined in the 2007 Public Diplomacy strategy through words and actions.

Improvements in Staffing and Training

Since the USIA merger and the deconstructing of PD infrastructure and staffing domestically and abroad, PD has been impeded in completing its mission. The new Administration must revive and partially reconfigure the American PD system to ensure effectiveness, efficiency and long-term stability.

In the field, it is clear that resources of all kinds are lacking for PD efforts. As a recent GAO report conceded, even if budgets and PD personnel were significantly increased, there is wide recognition that the machinery of our current PD operations within the State Department is crippled and require realignment. PAOs, FSOs and FSNs are the all important “people on the ground” that engage with foreign opinion makers and media on a daily basis. Without adequate support and training, even their best efforts will be inadequate to accomplish their PD goals. Plagued by vacancies, language deficiency and overburdened with administrative tasks, Washington has the responsibility to supply its embassies and field officers with adequate resources and training to accomplish their jobs. As one current FSO recently confided, “To be honest, I never feel that we get all that much support from Washington in the first place. In fact I feel that much of the time we get our job done *in spite* of Washington.” To this end, the following actions are recommended:

- If not a return to former staffing levels of the USIA, increase PD personnel over the next five years by a factor of two to three, including both American officers and Foreign Service Nationals (FSNs).

- Expand language training for PD personnel in the countries or areas to which they are assigned, which includes funding both more language sessions at post and providing year-long training at posts with hard language demands. This is critical to encourage local engagement and should be available to FSOs and in some form to Ambassadors.
- Develop a PD reserve corps to augment the PD resources and capability of the State Department in emergency and critical circumstances worldwide.
- Reinstigate and provide resources for PD officers to monitor public opinion in their post countries to be collected and sent to relevant policy makers in Washington. In the past, this was done by developing connections with local polling entities including newspapers, and regularly collecting public opinion concerning the U.S. and its policies.
- Strengthening Washington-based PD training through more courses on Americana, new communication technologies, and more practical workplace exercises. For example, in 2008 the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy recommended that the department's Foreign Service Institute develop courses, comparable to graduate-level university courses, in the area of communication theory, with special emphasis on political communication and rhetoric, advertising and marketing theory, and public opinion analysis; and that the Department establish a nine-month in-depth PD course for mid- to senior-level PD officers modeled on that currently offered to rising economic officers. This should include training opportunities for FSNs, with a particular emphasis on training in the United States, both in Washington and throughout the country. In addition, PD officers should have special training alongside their DOD counterparts to encourage collaboration in Washington and the field.

Washington's communications relationship with its FSOs and embassies can be vastly improved through adjustments within State. As former FSO David Hitchcock described the current structure, "An organizational chart today shows that PD is entwined in myriad dotted lines, and stuck in Bureaus with much heavier political and economic responsibilities, and for whom the work of their PD staffs is often an afterthought." To recognize the importance of PD in the structure of State, the following recommendations should be implemented.

More Autonomy to Field Officers: To heighten our PD agility in responding to media and in crafting programs, in creating exchange opportunities, Washington should cede more autonomy to PD field officers. These FSOs and FSNs are our eyes, ears and mouths on the ground and are best suited to developing programs in their post country. When they have been given flexibility in the past, our creative PD officers have implemented engaging and appropriate programs. For example, the two-year series of programs held in Japan surround an exhibit of historic New York photographs was incredibly successful in gaining national attention in Japan and increased understanding of American culture and values at a time when their support was critical for U.S. war efforts. The staff in Washington must demonstrate confidence in its overseas public diplomats in an environment that they have been trained to study and interpret.

New Position for Field Interaction, Coordination: Establish an Assistant Secretary for Field PD with deputies for each region in their bureau. This person would answer to the Under Secretary of Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs and coordinate the PD process in the field. Their new geographic staff would possess country expertise and advise on and support to all programming. The “nuts and bolts” of PD program support would fall to these new desk officers, removing this responsibility from the regional bureaus.* This structure has been advocated by a multitude of former FSOs, who have pushed the reform congressionally and to the State Department directly over the past few years. It is a logical step to filling the gap between field officers and Washington.

Best Practices Sharing: After adopting this structure, one of the additional duties of the Assistant Secretary should be to facilitate and coordinate best practices sharing between field offices. While done on an informal basis now, providing an official mechanism for exposing successful projects in a timely manner would make it easier for other PD field officers to adapt the project to fit their unique circumstances.

Soft Power Requires Hard Dollars

The Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs oversees an annual budget of hundreds of millions of dollars, which funds the activities of program bureaus in Washington and the activities of nearly 700 PD officers located at more than 260 posts around the world and domestically. Program efforts include academic and professional exchanges, English language teaching, information programs and media relations activities. However, the funding of PD efforts is not only insufficient for the importance of the tasks assigned to it, but it is inconsistent year to year. As multiple government reports and surveys have concluded, financial resources are grossly inadequate to the task.

As has and will be elaborated upon in other sections of these recommendations, this report advocates a major increase in staffing, training, and available financial resources for PD. This funding increase should include increased language, media and technology training as well as funding for educational and cultural programs, especially exchanges. Although the 2010 budget has not yet been released for PD, the Obama Administration should send a clear message to Congress that PD plays a large role in “smart power” and should be scaled up accordingly.

Balancing Openness and Security Concerns

Security concerns have forced embassies to close publicly accessible facilities around the world, such as American Centers and Libraries, which were staples to the global PD strategy. As a result, embassies have had to find other venues for public compounds, where precautions designed to improve security have had the ancillary effect of sending

* As suggested in the report “Public Diplomacy, A powerful instrument for American foreign policy” Edited and Compiled by Fred A. Coffey, Jr., Stan Silverman, William Maurer and Ambassador William Rugh, 2004

the message that the United States is unapproachable and distrustful. A recent USAID-State report concluded, security concerns often require a ‘low profile’ approach during events, programs or other situations, which, in happier times, would have been able to generate considerable good will for the United States.

This does not have to be the case, and the Obama Administration acknowledges that remaining true to American values does not have to be at the sake of security. Such centers should aim to be security conscious, not security dependent. With imposing security at the entrances to embassies, it has been more difficult to engage with foreign citizens. It is important that FSOs reach out, and not just invite locals in. An excellent current example of how they can still function and directly contribute to open, democratic practices is the American Center in Rangoon. The feasibility of reopening American Centers should be reevaluated, especially in strategic locations.

In addition, we must develop policies and practices that more effectively balance security and engagement at our borders, in immigration and visa policies and at our overseas embassies. This will be further addressed in the exchanges section of these recommendations. Pilot programs initiated in the last Administration to complete visa applications and make appointments online, as well as use digital video conferencing in visa processing were admirable efforts in that direction and should be expanded to more locations.

ENGAGING, SUPPORTING AND ADAPTING TO NEW MEDIA

PD’s relationship with the media is two-pronged. On the one hand, PD officials are constantly anticipating and reacting to the news and issues of the day, as well as presenting and explaining Administration policy to foreign audiences. This “fast media” is ephemeral and requires a broad range of expertise to intelligently respond to the world’s events and represent Washington’s decisions to the world. Unfortunately for PD officers, no matter how good his or her techniques are, the effectiveness of the fast media category is dependent on U.S. policies and their perceptions, which are conveyed through an ever-increasing number of channels and technologies.

In addition to fluid communication between leadership in Washington and its constituents abroad, it is critical to utilize and promote new information technology in PD efforts to keep up with fast media and the publics that use it. However, it is important to note that the majority of the world does not have access to the internet, and concerted efforts to reach these populations should also be continued, as should efforts to increase access levels in developing countries. In light of these developments, the State Department should adopt the following policies.

Up to the Minute Updates: As other governments have already embraced, and the Obama Campaign utilized to great success, much of today’s information is gained mobilely. For example, in the most recent Gaza offensive, the Israeli Consulate in New York “tweeted”

information to those who had signed up for such updates on their website. In addition, they chose the microblogging website to organize a “Citizens’ Press Conference” and make the case for Israel’s actions in Gaza. The unprecedented debate was attended by thousands of bloggers and generated vast media attention.

In addition, some U.S. embassies have begun to experiment with text messaging to keep journalists abreast of fast-breaking events and make it easier to contact American personnel for their perspective for relevant stories. Instituting such programs at American Consulates and Embassies would be simple, quick and increase interaction with the general public exponentially, especially the critical foreign youth demographic. As FSO Patrick Linehan explained, this demographic is critical for PD outreach. “Young people are the future, young people might still have the flexibility to change, to expand their horizons, to take on new ideas and to share their new ideas with us.”

Increased Training for Field Officers: Although some new training programs were introduced in the final years of the Bush Administration, this should be further expanded, especially to field personnel. As senior IIP advisor Christine Elder stated, “By the time we get a press statement issued, it has now already been tweeted, blogged, and emailed about. Serving in Washington gives me greater access to training, but the landscape is changing faster than we can train and equip our folks on the front lines.” This training should be available to all levels of embassy staff. Ms. Elder recounted, “One recently-posted (career) ambassador bravely took part in our first “new media” training course, and said it was the best use of two days she’d had in 30 years with the USG.”

Using the Internet to Share Resources: America has the distinct advantage of being the birthplace of 9 of the top 10 global traffic sites (and the 10th is Yahoo Japan). The most pervasive language in the Internet is English. This is America’s medium, and our PD programs should take advantage of and reflect this. The PD 2.0 strategy developed during the previous Administration was a step in the right direction, but was not implemented pervasively. Notably, this represented a shift in the role of PD that complements the attitude of the Obama Administration and reflects the realities of the 21st century.

The 2.0 initiative is, on one hand, a modern application of the fundamental concept of PD as a two-way process of engagement and exchange of ideas in an interactive environment. The more noteworthy aspect of the initiative, however, is that it represents a shift in the role of government away from directly managing narratives toward acting as a mediator—thereby only indirectly shaping an environment conducive to the achievement of its goals. As FSO Mark Davidson explained, this is a part of a broader cultural shift in PD to the “zen of communications.” PD has moved on from the days of government-produced shortwave radio and air-freighted newsreel and its theoretical framework should reflect the transforming impact of new technology, of the blurring of the old boundary between a domestic and an international sphere, and the necessity to adapt to a world where peer-to-peer communication is king. This should be embraced by the State Department, as the debate among diverse opinions in online forums is a truly American way to communicate.

Internet Education Utilization: An opportunity for PD support for new technology, as well as an example of engaging the private sector, field personnel should promote the OpenCourseWare (OCW) system and other free American educational outlets. Through OCW and iTunesU, anyone with Internet access can download thousands of complete courses from America's top universities for free. Its international appeal has already been documented. A university in Ghana has used OCW to benchmark its computer science curriculum and revise its courses. OCW coordinators report that an underground university uses OCW as a primary resource to educate its 1,000 or so students, who are members of a repressed minority in their country and are not permitted to attend college or university.

There are already fifty OCW initiatives in the United States, China, Japan, France, Spain, Portugal, and Brazil. Thirty more initiatives are being planned in South Africa, the United Kingdom, Russia, and elsewhere. Support and promotion of this system would build on America's long-standing strength in higher education but presents little or no cost to the Department.

The other prong of Media PD utilizes America's longstanding tradition of journalistic excellence and free press to promote independent media. As outlined in the previous section, this has expanded from just newspapers, radio and television to include Internet service providers and online content providers (such as bloggers). The importance of free press is well recognized, serving as an "advance guard for democracy" by facilitating multi-party elections, freedom of expression, transparency of both government and business, improved human rights and better treatment for women and disenfranchised minorities. To this end, the following actions are recommended.

New Effort to Support International Media: International media assistance, including strengthening the capacity of locally owned media in the local language, should be adopted as a core development strategy across all sectors of PD, with funding levels adopted accordingly. As IIP coordinator Christine Elder suggested, "We know that people are more inclined to listen and are more receptive when you convey the information or engage them in their language, whether that is on a blog, handing out a booklet, blasting audio over remote locations via radio, or presenting a feature on the website." The publicly declared goal should be universal access to quality local information and will include State Department collaboration with USAID to accelerate the spread of independent media and digital communications technologies worldwide. It is critical to ensure that American assistance is no strings attached – even when those media criticize America. In the end, journalism training often results in coverage that is more consistent with U.S. values of openness and tolerance.

This can be done through activities such as support for independent media outlets, especially those that reach the information-poor; distributing circumvention software in closed societies to avoid government censorship; advocating for laws and policies that open Internet and mobile phone markets and lower connectivity costs through telecom

competition; and providing education and training for professional and citizen journalists to enhance the quality of news and information.*

Training and Resources: The professional training of local journalists represents another opportunity for collaboration with non-governmental entities. U.S. media NGOs have trained tens of thousands of journalists in techniques, standards, and practices in the field and have helped start thousands of independent television and radio stations as well as print and online publications which reach hundreds of millions of people in strategically important regions of the world. In addition to NGO partnerships, journalism students from American Universities can host training sessions during semesters abroad, with curriculums for professionals as well as young aspiring journalists.

Supporting Existing Outlets: While the legacy of Voice of America and other American international broadcasting entities is undisputed, the new Administration should focus should be more on existing Arab outlets and bringing them on our side rather than creating our own TV and radio stations. The new Under Secretary should continue the attitude Karen Hughes exhibited while Under Secretary, encouraging aggressive participation in satellite television programs whenever possible. This would be preferable to continued reliance on the questionably effective American-produced media.

Former Ambassador to Egypt and Jordan Nicholas Veliotos recounted a telling example of the reception of American-produced media. “An Egyptian-American scholar was in an Egyptian cafe in Alexandria and noted that the radio was tuned into the American radio station, which was playing music. The owner switched stations at a certain point and when asked why, he replied that it was time for the news and he only listened to the U.S. station for the music since he did not trust the propaganda.” With programs and support for local independent media, we as Americans should trust in the resilience of fair journalism and truth when given the right environment to be heard when possible. At the same time, it is important to recognize that in some communities, there is no access to independent media, and U.S. initiatives should seek to foster such outlets.

SHOWCASING AMERICA, “WARTS AND ALL”: EXCHANGE PROGRAMS

Coordinated primarily through the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, exchange programs for students and professionals are widely regarded as the most effective, albeit long-term, method of fostering positive impressions of Americans, our society and ideals. As former Ambassador Kenton Keith testified to the Senate in April 2004, “These well-established programs – Fulbright and other academic programs, International visitor, and citizen exchanges – continue to demonstrate their relevance and effectiveness as changing threats, challenges and opportunities present themselves in a rapidly evolving world.” In foreign countries, while visiting Americans can make a dent in stereotypes of

* As advocated by David Hoffman in his “Memorandum to Secretary of State Hillary Clinton” *Public Diplomacy Magazine* Winter 2008

America and Americans, the most effective spokespeople are indigenous surrogates who understand American virtues and faults through first-hand experiences in America. This fact makes exchange programs all the more critical to advancing U.S. interests abroad. The breadth of American exchange programs coordinated by the State Department and Foreign Service is not the issue. Instead, the areas for improvement for the State Department are the promotion of these programs, the technical and security issues many foreign exchange visitors face when coming to the United States, and increasing funding to allow for more participants.

Education Exchanges

Professional and academic consensus regarding the importance and effectiveness of educational exchanges has allowed many admirable programs to be initiated, all with various levels of support. The problem, therefore, is not a lack of existing programs that have the potential to foster goodwill towards the U.S., but their funding and logistics. New program concepts should be designed and implemented as well, but priority should go to supporting existing infrastructure. Some notable programs fostered in the previous Administrations that should be continued and expanded include:

- State Department scholarships for summer study abroad for American students to learn Middle Eastern Languages through immersion experiences.
- Future Leaders Exchange Program (FLEX), for Eurasian high school students to spend a year in America, living with an American family and attending an American high school. This program currently receives more than 50,000 applications for 1,300 slots.
- The Youth Exchange and Study Program (YES), a two-way exchange, bringing hundreds of high school students from Muslim societies to the U.S. to go to public high schools around the country and live with American families. In addition, 35 American students are supported in Muslim-majority countries for one year of high school study and immersion.
- Partnerships for Learning Undergraduate Studies Program (PLUS) supported college students from the Middle East, North Africa, and South Asia to complete their B.A. degrees at American universities from 2004 to 2008. This program should be initiated continuously, and not in one cycle, given its success in the initial round.
- The New Century Scholars Program, which brings together 30 scholars and practitioners (10 American, 20 from countries with an operational Fulbright Scholar Program) to engage in debate and dialogue based on multidisciplinary research.
- The Fulbright Program, which has been and should remain an educational exchange mainstay in the State Department's catalogue of programs, has branched out to include several subsidiary programs. These are all admirable endeavors that deserve attention and increased funding to allow for expansion. One such subsidiary is the Islamic Civilization Initiative, a grant program

- designed to encourage projects that will enhance knowledge and understanding of Islam and the Islamic world, broadly defined.
- Gilman Fellowship Program, which supports undergraduates who have been traditionally underrepresented in US study abroad and those with high financial need. The program aims to encourage students to choose nontraditional study abroad destinations, especially those outside of Western Europe and Australia and includes but is not limited to, students with high financial need, community college students, students in underrepresented fields such as the sciences and engineering, students with diverse ethnic backgrounds, students with disabilities, and students of nontraditional age.

For international students interested in applying for these programs, the State Department runs hundreds of Educational Advising/Information Centers (collectively titled EducationUSA) around the world. In addition to these official venues for information, NGOs and private organizations working overseas, such as the Overseas Educational Advising Network, assist students, scholars, and trainees interested in opportunities for education, research, and training in the United States. Both official and private outlets often provide programs and services to prepare students for living and studying in the United States and for reentering their home culture. This is a critical resource and State should encourage the expansion of their services to the broadest range of potential international students.

Moving forward, it is critical that students without regular Internet access, or that lack the resources to take advantage of advising, can learn about and apply for programs through their local schools. In-country staff that interact with educators or visit schools should be supported in distributing tangible information and applications whenever possible. Special efforts should also be made to have this information in the local language in as well as English. In addition, there does not seem to have been a domestic effort to inform American students that these programs exist or can be applied for. While information is available through government websites (and the Facebook group is a step in the right direction), only the most well-informed high school student would even know where to look for it. Instead, high school counselors at public and private high schools should be sent information, including brochures, posters and electronic information, which is then disseminated to their qualified students.

Universities in the United States are important collaborators in the pursuit of increased international students, and past partnerships have produced positive results for both the Government and the participating colleges. For example, the U.S. Government led a delegation of University Presidents to Japan, Korea and China. Efforts such as this and other initiatives spread the word that the U.S. is a welcoming environment for international students who will become goodwill ambassadors for our nation when they return to their home countries. One of the participants, President of Indiana University Adam Herbert testified after the trip that they had expanded international recruiting and established programs to help students work through visa problems and other processing issues after receiving more applications from the countries he visited. In addition, he used donations from alumni and foundations to encourage more study abroad by his American

students. Collaborating with American Universities to increase the number of foreign students studying in the U.S. is a win-win for both actors, and should be facilitated by more delegation trips and increased communication between the schools and the State Department.

In terms of logistics, the current system for visa and entry for international students and educators basically requires the assistance of knowledgeable educational advisors to navigate through the protocols of international education. Since November, complaints from foreign students studying in America have increased, pushing many of them to leave the country due to technicalities or their inability to reach a visa official. The quest to make this process more user-friendly and significantly increase staff devoted to this process should be continued by the State Department in this new Administration.

The association of international educators reports that, despite the declining share of the market for international students, “The U.S. government seems to lack overall strategic sense of why exchange is important... In this strategic vacuum, it is difficult to counter the day-to-day obstacles that students encounter in trying to come here.” There is, for example, little coordination of exchange policies and visa policies. As the educator Victor Johnson has noted, while greater vigilance is certainly needed, this broad net is catching all kinds of people who are of no danger whatsoever.

Professional Exchanges

In addition to educational exchanges, professional and citizen exchanges and government-sponsored trips are instrumental in cross-cultural collaboration and exposing all involved to new ideas and perspectives. Similar to the breadth of educational exchanges, there are many notable exchanges in this category that should be further developed through increased funding and staffing.

Since the early 1950's, the International Visitor Leadership Program (and their hosts at International Visitor Councils around the country) has provided immeasurable positive experiences for emerging business, academic and political leaders from over 120 countries. Through this program, the participants are exposed to the United States through a several week, five-city trip to interact with their professional counterparts and experience American life through dinner with families in private homes and attending a variety of cultural events. This is arguably the most successful exchange program for fostering positive associations with the United States in the world's future leaders. The program was even nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize in 2001. Interviews with staff working in embassies around the world consistently request more opportunities to send emerging leaders to the United States through this program.

Going the other direction, the U.S. Speaker and Specialist Program also has a proven record of success in improving the American image abroad. Through this program, U.S. experts are invited to deliver lectures, serve as consultants and conduct seminars, either overseas or from the United States via teleconferences. As Australian FSN Trevlyn

Gilmour explained, “I can tell you my Australian contact base remember Ambassador Derek Shearer’s speaker tour here in 2004, let alone his recent trip out. I guess this really supports the old adage that in diplomacy it is the last three feet that count!”

The State Department also sponsors several professional fellowship programs that have supported the best and brightest in furthering their academic and professional careers from inside the U.S. One such program is the Humphrey Fellowships, which annually provides a year of professional enrichment in the United States for 160 experienced professionals from designated countries throughout the world. Begun in 1978, the program now has a network of over 3,700 alumni in 156 countries around the world working to improve their communities and the lives of those in need.

A similar program that has regained its importance and should be revived is the Contemporary Issues Fellowship, which for ten years provided opportunities for experienced professionals from Eurasia to conduct four months of independent policy-oriented research in the United States with the goal of playing an active role in sustaining the transition to democracy, free markets, and civil society in their home countries.

Lastly, in regards to all the exchange programs highlighted and proposed, the State Department should create and manage a formal alumni mechanism to connect or reconnect participants, survey them to gauge the effectiveness of their programs and involve them in embassy events and activities. This will go far in furthering the connections participants make during their initial visit and will develop their bond to those with similar American experiences.

SURROGATE WHITE HOUSES: PD PERSONNEL AND ENTITIES ABROAD

Embassies and consulates should embody the best of America in their respective locations, bringing together great thinkers, performers, activists, persons from every background but each uniquely American. The home base for cultural diplomacy and a catalyst for exchanges, our posts and personnel abroad are typically the first exposure a foreign person will have with the American government. However, all of this potential can be wasted without inspired leadership at the Ambassadorial and PAO level, innovative and outgoing FSOs and FSNs, adequate resources to accomplish their assigned tasks and flexibility to respond to new or urgent needs.

Without institutional support, cultural diplomacy is not systematic, but capricious and sporadic, and often reflecting the interests of individual ambassadors. In other cases, the climate of the embassy is not conducive to creative cultural diplomacy. For example, while John O’Leary US Ambassador to Chile during the Clinton Administration, he suggested that the US embassy provide transportation for Poet Laureate Rita Dove while she participated in a poetry festival in Santiago. Embassy staff told him that such a gesture would violate regulations since Ms. Dove was not traveling on official US business. With less than three million dollars budgeted for cultural presentations during

the Bush Administration, embassies can only achieve viable cultural programs by leveraging private visits such as those of Ms. Dove. Without an ethos inside the State Department that values such initiatives, and that rewards them through the promotion process, embassies will not take advantage of the opportunities afforded by private visits. While PD and outreach is references in appointment letters for Ambassadors, their training is minimal and should be further developed to ensure proactive leadership in PD at the country level.

Even in the first few months of the Obama Administration, the first family has “opened the White House” by hosting numerous events with musicians and other artists, educators, students, in addition to lawmakers. President Obama’s ambassadors should emulate the President in this way and apply this attitude to their embassies. This could entail inviting cultural figures, including musicians, athletes and scholars to the embassy for dinners, speaking engagements and other appropriate events for interacting with the local population.

To assist them in this task, Ambassadors should better and more frequently utilize the Culture Connect program, which sends the best in American culture to places off the beaten path for an intense program of concerts and master classes. In addition, embassy staff should offer assistance in the creation and implementation of American Studies courses at local universities, which could be visited or taught by visiting American professors. The message America is trying to sell about pluralism, freedom, and democracy need not always be delivered by the U.S. government. Often an officer is not necessarily the medium of exchange that takes place, but the mediator between an American presence and a foreign contact.

In the vein of increasing interaction with the local community, the Ambassador’s Fund should be increased in size and scope. With only a million dollar annual budget, the Ambassador’s Fund for cultural and historical preservation has had a positive impact disproportionate to its size. Together with colleagues from their host countries, Ambassadors serving in developing countries select historical preservation projects that meet local needs and priorities and finance them with money from the Ambassador’s Fund. In addition to these worthy projects, Ambassadors should have reserves to provide American moderate financial support in times of natural disasters. Another modification should include the funding of small grants to worthy local institutions that share American values.

In addition to leadership in cultural diplomacy events, the Ambassador and senior staff at embassies and consulates should develop Country-Specific Communications Plans that most closely resemble campaign strategies in U.S. elections. This method of coordination has already been adopted by DOD and USAID and was used by USIA prior to 1999. The plans will include details on core messages and themes, target audiences, and research on key opinion leaders, audience attitudes and the local media environment. Current three to four page plans present in some posts have not been shown to be adequate to this task. This will help correct the critique presented by the most recent GAO report, which

observed that the PD efforts were an “ad hoc collection of activities designed to support such broad goals as promoting mutual understanding.”

American Centers and Libraries

There should be an infusion of new American Centers, called by that name (as opposed to IRCs, which isn't recognizable and is difficult to translate), containing all the technological aids that information resource centers already possess, but in addition, existing in a accessible public space to provide crucial interaction of foreigners with knowledgeable PD staffers. They would also allow, especially for students, a chance to truly discover the United States through thoughtful reading in a learning climate that is specifically American and has an American staff.

Similarly, and especially in lesser-developed capitals and cities, more full-service American Centers should be re-established. Current realities would require some practical security elements, but these should not override openness to foreign visitors. A reasonable goal for President Obama's first term is the establishment of one or two American Centers in strategic cities within each regional bureau. As a part of the overall increase in human resources advocated above, consideration should be given to at least doubling the number of Library Specialists or knowledgeable PD staff over the next five years and installing them, where possible, in American centers and libraries, where they can interact directly with foreign publics. The lack of direct interaction with Americans is a major criticism of the American Corners that were put in place of the American Libraries in high-risk zones.

In addition, a goal for the first term is the establishment of 10 new American Centers, equally distributed throughout the geographic regions. Special attention should be given when possible to resuscitating press and cultural activities in areas relatively ignored in recent years, such as Latin America, Africa, Russia and the CIS countries, and the Far East. This downsizing to shift resources to the Middle East has meant that many of the complex PD field programs have been crippled or eliminated.

PARTNERING WITH PRIVATE AND NGO ACTORS

As with any grand American project, the U.S. Government should not be the exclusive instrument of PD. In an increasingly globalized world, it is only logical to maximize partnership possibilities with internationally engaged Americans. Americans are already the most generous public in the world, giving over \$70 billion annually in private donations. Our corporations have also demonstrated this desire for global improvement through development, human rights and other issues. For example, in recent years Citigroup has made \$100 million in loans to 132 microfinance institutions in 39 different countries. These circumstances are ripe for increasing partnerships and provide impressive examples of the American values in action. Responsible business, academic,

research, and other nongovernmental organizations should be enlisted to carry out PD, and when necessary, motivated through a competitive bidding process.

Outside Government Actors

Corporations, foundations, universities, and other nongovernmental organizations – as well as governments – can all help promote the development of open civil society. For example, the Young President’s Organization, approaching its 60th anniversary, connects more than 10,000 young global leaders in 80 countries in a peer network. In addition to networks, the private sector has also facilitated summits to connect businesspeople across sectors and cultures. In 2005 Fortune Inc., in coordination with the State Department, hosted the “Most Powerful Women Summit,” where businesswomen from 10 countries had the opportunity to spend time with some of America’s most powerful and influential women executives, from which both sides reportedly learned a great deal.

Corporations can follow the example of IBM and Microsoft and offer technology to modernize educational systems. In addition, they can create local opportunities to win internship opportunities in the US, provide English language training and overseas studies for disadvantaged students, provide incentives for the non-U.S. workforce to visit America and for the American workforce to travel overseas. All of these programs would constitute a win-win for any company seeking to strengthen its international ties and American PD efforts as a whole.

Another area for government-private collaboration should include the translation into and out of English of the most important literary intellectual, philosophical, political and spiritual works from this and other countries. As recommended in the Djerejian report on Public Diplomacy, the State Department should coordinate the creation of the American Knowledge Library, translating thousands of the best American books in many fields of education into local languages and making them available to libraries, American Studies centers, universities, and American libraries and corners.

This knowledge library initiative should be coupled with a recommendation to the National Endowment for the Arts to create a fund for international literature to ensure that the American reading public has access to a broad array of contemporary international literature. This could be facilitated by assisting publishers in paying for translation fees for international titles they accept for publication, thereby increasing the number of publishers marketing these titles once they are produced.*

Veteran PD officials recall the success of translation during the Cold War, including David Hitchcock, who remembers instigating the translation of James Madison’s *The Federalist Papers* into Hebrew in the 1980’s. Sharing contemporary and founding

* As laid out in the 2005 report “Cultural Diplomacy: The Linchpin of Public Diplomacy” September 2005

American literature and philosophy is a part of the broader cultural exposure that is critical to PD efforts.

Globalizing the American Public

The national security and well being of the United States is weakened if its populace has too limited knowledge and understanding of global events. One way to mobilize citizen diplomats and strengthen the connection between the America and the PD process is for the old and new agencies to be geographically dispersed. This should include building up regional resource centers for citizen diplomacy through the nodal points to serve the International Visitor Councils, which could start with such major cities as Boston, Chicago, Atlanta, Denver, Austin, and San Francisco. These nodal points would strengthen the exchange element and could extend the functions of the foreign press centers, presently limited to Washington, DC and New York City.

Supporting the effort to expose Americans to more international culture are programs such as the Global Cultural Initiative, which links private art institutions with federal cultural agencies in coordinating artist exchanges and exhibitions in support of U.S. diplomatic efforts. The Initiative establishes international literary exchanges to attract writers from Russia, Mexico, Pakistan, and other key countries to the United States. The American Film Institute brings in foreign filmmakers and sends Americans abroad to participate in cinema workshops.

For emerging citizens, private and public schools can do their part to encourage students to study and engage the global community. One notable example worthy of attention is the United World College program, which placed one of its 12 global campuses in New Mexico. The College brings together high school graduates from more than 75 countries in every class, fostering lasting bonds between international students and broadening the children's global perspective. This model should be expanded, and its basic tenants should be emulated by other private schools seeking to broaden their student body.

In addition, local governments can beef up their individual PD efforts (and attract tourism dollars) through proven programs like Culture Connect in Atlanta. Similarly, the Sister Cities program has been a staple in connecting disparate towns across the globe, and should be revived throughout the country. Cities can be called upon to have increased exchanges with their sister cities around the globe, host cultural festivals representing each others cultures or start a school e-pal program.

One previously successful program that should be replicated is a trilateral exchange between mayors in the U.S. and two other countries. As coordinator Christine Elder explained, the program rotated the meetings between the three countries and selected officials keen to further international engagement. Initially, the series, paid for by the participants, included one meeting in each of the three countries over a two-year period. As a result of those meetings, working groups were formed, and individual projects, exchanges, and business deals were initiated. It is connections like this that should be fostered with the help of the State Department.

CONCLUSION

“A Fresh Look at Global Engagement,” has presented not only analysis, but also actionable recommendations for Secretary of State Clinton concerning PD programs. The new Administration has the potential to use PD as an effective smart power tool in an increasingly globalized world and with new communications technologies. Turning the page on the Bush Administration has presented the opportunity to reinvigorate PD’s damaged infrastructure, but at a much lower cost given the new technologies available to this Administration.

Overall, the report advocates for significant scale-ups, modifications and changes in attitude across the wide range of entities and actors affiliated with PD. The recommendations range across the State Department initiatives, proposals for engaging new media technology and independent international media, enhancing professional and educational exchange programs, supporting U.S. Government personnel, entities and programs in the field and connecting with American private, non-governmental and local communities on PD projects and goals. As we leave behind the Bush Era and face an increasingly connected world, it is essential that the new Administration strengthen America’s PD capacity to effectively and accurately share our stories and values.

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