



## Television Series Transcript *Public Diplomacy*

>> "GREAT DECISIONS 2004" IS PRODUCED BY THE FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION AND THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK NEIL D. LEVIN GRADUATE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND COMMERCE. FUNDING FOR "GREAT DECISIONS 2004" IS PROVIDED BY THE STARR FOUNDATION AND THE WILLIAM & KAREN TELL FOUNDATION.

>> WELCOME TO "GREAT DECISIONS 2004," I'M RALPH BEGLEITER. THE PHRASE "PUBLIC DIPLOMACY" WAS DELIBERATELY COINED IN 1965 TO DESCRIBE THE DIFFICULT PROCESS OF PRESENTING AMERICAN POLICIES TO A DUBIOUS WORLD -- EXPORTING IDEALS LIKE DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM, AND FORGING PERSONAL CONNECTIONS THAT WOULD ENDURE EVEN WHEN GOVERNMENTS DISAGREED.

IT HAD BEEN A FORCEFUL WEAPON IN BOTH WORLD WARS, AND WAS CENTRAL TO THE BATTLE AGAINST COMMUNISM IN MID-CENTURY. COMING FROM ANY OTHER NATION, ESPECIALLY FROM THE SOVIET UNION, IT WOULD STILL BE CALLED "PROPAGANDA." FROM THE U.S., IT WAS NOW "PUBLIC DIPLOMACY."

MANY AMERICANS WERE UNCOMFORTABLE ABOUT IT, EVEN WITH THE NAME CHANGE. CONGRESS BANNED IT FROM DOMESTIC RADIO AND TELEVISION, FOUGHT ENDLESSLY OVER WHAT SHOULD BE TOLD, AND AS SOON AS THE COLD WAR ENDED, CUT ITS FUNDING TO A TRICKLE. TODAY, SOME BELIEVE THE U.S. NEEDS IT MORE THAN EVER.

TODAY ON "GREAT DECISIONS 2004," "FAILURE TO COMMUNICATE: PUBLIC DIPLOMACY IN CRISIS."

FEW DOUBT THAT THE U.S. CAN DEFEAT ANY MILITARY FORCE. BUT IN THE WAR ON TERROR, IDEAS AND BELIEFS ARE WEAPONS. VIDEOTAPES OF MEN IN CAVES AND PICTURES OF CIVILIAN CASUALTIES ARE PITTED AGAINST IMAGES OF AMERICAN MOSQUES, DICTATORS CAPTURED, AND SPEECHES PROMISING A DEMOCRATIC FUTURE.

[ CROWD CHANTING ]

ONE RECENT SURVEY SAID THE BOTTOM HAS FALLEN OUT OF SUPPORT FOR AMERICA ACROSS THE ARAB WORLD. A MAINSTAY OF AMERICAN PUBLIC DIPLOMACY SINCE THE COLD WAR HAS BEEN INTERNATIONAL

BROADCASTING, RADIO AND TELEVISION PROVIDING NEWS IN LOCAL LANGUAGES. THE VOICE OF AMERICA NOW REACHES VERY FEW ARAB LISTENERS.

A NEW U.S. GOVERNMENT MUSIC STATION, RADIO SAWA, IS ACCUSED BY SOME OF BEING MORE INTERESTED IN WINNING RATINGS THAN HEARTS AND MINDS IN THE ARAB WORLD. THE ISLAMIC WORLD IS SWAMPED BY A WAVE OF NEW ARABIC-LANGUAGE SATELLITE TV CHANNELS, OFTEN LACKING A SIGNIFICANT OFFICIAL AMERICAN VIEWPOINT, SINCE ONLY A HANDFUL OF DIPLOMATS SPEAK ARABIC WELL ENOUGH TO APPEAR. THE U.S. RETURNED FIRE WITH INCREASED INTERNET WEBCASTING, WITH POLICY STARS LIKE SECRETARY OF STATE COLIN POWELL APPEARING ON GLOBAL TV BROADCASTS, AND WITH A GLOSSY ADVERTISING CAMPAIGN ABOUT AMERICAN RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE.

BUT IS THE MESSAGE GETTING THROUGH?

IN THE PAST, EXCHANGE PROGRAMS BROKE DOWN BARRIERS AND BUILT PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS. TODAY, BUDGET CUTS AND TRAVEL RESTRICTIONS ON FOREIGNERS ENTERING THE U.S. HAVE DECIMATED MANY SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAMS. IN THE ISLAMIC WORLD, A PERCEPTION OF ANTI-MUSLIM BIAS IN THE U.S. HAS DRAMATICALLY LOWERED THE NUMBER OF FOREIGN STUDENTS HERE.

ACADEMIC AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAMS HAVE BEEN CUT IN HALF, LIBRARIES AND READING ROOMS ABROAD CLOSED, EMBASSIES AND CONSULATES TURNED INTO FORTRESSES. AND OFTEN WHAT FUNDS DO EXIST, FOR BRINGING TOMORROW'S FOREIGN LEADERS TO AMERICA ARE STILL EARMARKED FOR YESTERDAY'S BATTLES.

MOST OF THE CUTS OCCURRED IN THE 1990s, WHEN THE END OF THE COLD WAR MADE BURNISHING AMERICA'S IMAGE SEEM LESS IMPORTANT. SINCE SEPTEMBER 11th, FUNDING IS BEING INCREASED. PUBLIC OPINION POLLS IN THE ARAB AND MUSLIM WORLD INDICATE MORE WORK NEEDS TO BE DONE, BUT HOW?

AND HOW FAST?

EDWARD R. MURROW, AN EARLIER DIRECTOR OF THE U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY DURING THE COLD WAR, SAID, "TRUTH IS THE BEST PROPAGANDA, AND LIES ARE THE WORST." ARE AMERICA'S INTERNATIONAL IMAGE PROBLEMS A RESULT OF BAD BRANDING, OR AMERICAN POLICIES THAT APPEAR TO OTHERS NOT TO MATCH AMERICA'S TOUTED IDEALS? TOUGH QUESTIONS, BUT HERE TO OFFER SOME ANSWERS ARE CHARLES DOLAN, WHO WAS, FOR A DECADE, VICE

CHAIRMAN OF THE UNITED STATES ADVISORY COMMISSION ON PUBLIC DIPLOMACY. HE WAS APPOINTED IN 1993 BY PRESIDENT CLINTON. MR. DOLAN IS ALSO SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT OF KETCHAM PUBLIC RELATIONS.

AND MARK HELMKE, SENIOR PROFESSIONAL STAFF MEMBER OF THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE. FOR NEARLY 30 YEARS, MR. HELMKE HAS WORKED FOR REPUBLICAN SENATOR RICHARD LUGAR, WHO IS CURRENTLY CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE.

WELCOME TO YOU BOTH.

>> THANK YOU.

>> LET ME ASK YOU FIRST TO MAKE THAT DISTINCTION -- WHAT IS THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND PROPAGANDA, CHUCK?

>> I THINK I WOULD AGREE WITH THE VENERABLE EDWARD R. MURROW. I THINK, TO ME, PROPAGANDA IS A MUCH MORE BLUNT INSTRUMENT THAN, SAY, PUBLIC DIPLOMACY. TO ME, PROPAGANDA WOULD BE THE MINISTER FOR INFORMATION IN IRAQ STANDING IN BAGHDAD, TELLING THE REPORTERS AND THE CAMERAS THAT THEY'RE WINNING THE BATTLES, WHEN AMERICAN TROOPS WERE RUSHING IN.

WE TEND TO TREAT PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AS, GIVE PEOPLE AN OVERALL VIEW OF AMERICA, WARTS AND ALL. AND THAT'S WHETHER IT'S THROUGH THE EXCHANGE PROGRAMS OR ACCESS TO PUBLIC OFFICIALS FOR INFORMATION. I KNOW, IN THE INFORM--WITH THE EXCHANGE PROGRAMS, WHETHER IT'S A DEMOCRAT IN THE WHITE HOUSE OR A REPUBLICAN IN THE WHITE HOUSE, THOSE PEOPLE ARE BROUGHT AROUND TO MEET WITH THE OPPOSITION PARTY AT THE SAME TIME WHEN THEY COME TO THIS COUNTRY.

SO IT'S NOT A CONTROLLED MESSAGE IN THAT SENSE, THAT WE'RE TRYING TO GET OUT.

AND I THINK THAT'S A BIG DIFFERENCE IN MY MIND, ANYWAY, BETWEEN PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND PROPAGANDA.

>> MARK, YOUR IDEAS?

>> I WOULD AGREE THAT THAT'S THE CRITICAL DIFFERENCE, IS CONTROL. I THINK PUBLIC DIPLOMACY HAS THREE BROAD COMPONENTS. ONE IS THE COMMUNICATION OF AMERICAN POLICIES.

NOW, THAT IS NOT BEING COMMUNICATED JUST BY A WHITE HOUSE -- IT'S BEING COMMUNICATED BY A WHITE HOUSE, A STATE DEPARTMENT, THE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, THE HOUSE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE -- A DIVERSE AND DIFFUSE, DIFFERENT VIEW OF WHERE AMERICA SHOULD BE GOING. THAT'S THE COMMUNICATIONS COMPONENT.

THE SECOND COMPONENT IS THE EDUCATION AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE COMPONENT, WHERE WE'RE TRYING TO BRING MORE FOREIGNERS TO THE UNITED STATES, BUT ALSO, MORE AMERICANS TO THE REST OF THE WORLD, TO HELP THEM UNDERSTAND THE VARIOUS DIFFERENCES AMONG US, TO HELP TO REACH COMMON UNDERSTANDING AND BUILD BRIDGES. AND A THIRD COMPONENT THAT WE'VE NOT DONE A GOOD ENOUGH JOB ON SO FAR, BUT SENATOR LUGAR IS REALLY FOCUSING ON, IS HOW DO WE GO OUT AND ACTIVELY HELP ENCOURAGE THE DEVELOPMENT OF FREE, FAIR, LEGALLY PROTECTED MEDIA IN COUNTRIES THAT DO NOT NOW HAVE THAT?

WE'VE BEEN DOING THAT A LOT IN THE FORMER SOVIET UNION, THE FORMER WARSAW BLOC COUNTRIES. BUT THAT IS A COMPONENT OF OUR PUBLIC DIPLOMACY THAT IS PROBABLY GOING TO BE INCREASED A LOT IN THE YEARS TO COME.

>> AFTER DECADES OF FOCUSING ON RADIO, AS YOU JUST MENTIONED, AND DURING THE COLD WAR, THE UNITED STATES STARTED RADIO SAWA IN THE ARAB WORLD RECENTLY.

HOW IS THAT DOING? IS IT DOING WELL, IS IT HAVING THAT DESIRED EFFECT, AND IS IT DOING WHAT YOU, MARK, SAID WAS THE GOAL, WHICH WAS TO ENCOURAGE INCIPENT FREE MEDIA IN THE REGION? OR IS IT DOING SOMETHING ELSE?

>> RADIO SAWA HAS BEEN VERY SUCCESSFUL, AND IT HAS NOW BEEN INCLUDED WITH THE MIDDLE EAST TV NETWORK, WHICH THE BROADCASTING ENTITIES HAVE SET UP. IT ALSO INCLUDES NOW A SATELLITE TELEVISION STATION THAT IS VERY EFFECTIVE. THE ONE ISSUE THAT WE'RE DEALING WITH IN CONGRESS IS, HOW DO WE MOVE FROM THIS COMMUNICATION ACTIVITY, OF LETTING PEOPLE KNOW MORE ABOUT AMERICA, TO HEAR AMERICA NOT SPUN BY SOMEBODY ELSE, BUT JUST PRESENTED AS AMERICANS WOULD ON PUBLIC BROADCASTS THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES.

THE QUESTION WE'RE FACING YET IS, OKAY, HOW DO WE GET -- AT THE END OF THE DAY, LET'S SAY THAT WE HAVE DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS THROUGHOUT IRAQ AND OTHER PARTS OF THE MIDDLE EAST, AS THE

PRESIDENT HAS CALLED FOR. WHEN DO WE TRANSFER THAT WORK TO LOCALS, TO INDIGENOUS PEOPLE?

>> CHUCK, WHAT ABOUT YOU, DO YOU THINK RADIO SAWA IS DOING WELL?

>> I THINK RADIO SAWA IS DOING WELL.

ONE OF THE THINGS, WHILE I'VE BEEN ON THE COMMISSION, THAT I'VE ADVOCATED, IS TRY NEW THINGS. EVEN IF IT'S RISKY, BECAUSE THERE'S NOT A GREAT DEAL OF EXPENSE IN IT, AND WE NEED TO GET TO THAT YOUNGER POPULATION IN THE MUSLIM WORLD, AND I THINK RADIO SAWA IS HAVING AN IMPACT THERE, AND WE'RE MAKING INROADS.

>> YOU DESCRIBED IT A MOMENT AGO, MARK, AS A PROGRAM THAT WOULD BE JUST PRESENTING THE UNITED STATES JUST THE SAME WAY IT'S PRESENTED IN THE UNITED STATES. AND YET THOSE PROGRAMS, RADIO SAWA AND THE TV PROGRAM, ARE OFFICIALLY BANNED FROM PRESENTATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

>> WE HAVE A PROBLEM WITH THE LAW THAT WAS PASSED AT THE BEGINNING OF THE COLD WAR IN THE LATE '40s, THAT SAID THAT "NONE OF THESE BROADCASTING ENTITIES SHALL BE USED TO PROPAGANDIZE THE AMERICAN PUBLIC." IT'S BECOME ONE OF THOSE ARCHAIC LAWS THAT IS, AT THIS POINT IN TIME, MOOT, IN A SENSE. ANYBODY WITH INTERNET ACCESS CAN WATCH AND LISTEN AND READ WHAT THESE PROGRAMS SAY. ANYBODY WITH A SATELLITE DISH AND THE WHEREWITHAL TO PULL DOWN THE FEEDS CAN LISTEN TO IT ON THEIR TV STATION ANYWHERE IN AMERICA.

THE PROBLEM WITH THESE RESTRICTIONS IS THAT THEY'RE OFTEN THROWN BACK INTO OUR FACES, WHERE AMERICANS HAVE SAID, WELL, SEE, THIS MUST BE PROPAGANDA, BECAUSE IT'S NOT PERMITTED TO BE BROADCAST IN THE UNITED STATES. WE SHOULD GET RID OF THESE RESTRICTIONS, AMERICANS SHOULD SEE THESE PROGRAMS, BECAUSE THEY ARE VERY DIVERSE. AT THE VOICE OF AMERICA AND OTHER PLACES, THEY BRING IN JOURNALISTS FOR CONVERSATIONS, REPRESENTATIVES OF DIFFERENT POLITICAL PARTIES AND DIFFERENT VIEWPOINTS FOR ROUND-TABLE DISCUSSIONS LIKE THESE.

THIS IS VERY AMERICAN, VERY FREE PRESS, IT'S NOT PROPAGANDA AT ALL.

>> DO YOU THINK THAT RADIO MARTI, AIMED AT CUBA, RADIO FREE ASIA, AIMED AT CHINA, RADIO SAWA, AIMED AT THE ARAB WORLD,

OUGHT TO BE SEEN AND HEARD – IN THAT CASE, HEARD -- IN THE UNITED STATES?

>> THEY ABSOLUTELY CAN BE – I MEAN, PEOPLE CAN GET THEM ON THE INTERNET. SO THAT RIGHT NOW, IT'S – THIS IS A CASE WHERE THE TECHNOLOGY HAS GONE PAST THE LAW, AND THERE ARE ENOUGH CHANNELS, ENOUGH SOURCES OF INFORMATION IN THE UNITED STATES, THAT I'M NOT OVERLY CONCERNED THAT SOMEBODY LISTENING TO A GOVERNMENT BROADCAST IS GOING TO BE OVERLY INFLUENCED.

THOSE LAWS WERE PASSED IN THE DAYS WHEN THERE WERE THREE MAJOR NETWORKS ON THE RADIO STATIONS AND THERE WAS NO TELEVISION. NOW, MY TELEVISION HAS 90, OR 100 AND SOMETHING, TV STATIONS.

>> PART OF OUR PROBLEM IS OUR GOAL IS SO MUCH DIFFERENT TODAY THAN IT WAS DURING THE COLD WAR. DURING THE COLD WAR, WE HAD AN IDENTIFIABLE ENEMY. EVERYBODY IN AMERICA KNEW THE THREATS THAT WE ALL FACED FROM THE SOVIET UNION AND FROM THE NUCLEAR STANDOFF. TODAY, THE THREAT IS MUCH DIFFERENT. WE DON'T REALLY UNDERSTAND THE THREAT. AND I THINK THAT'S WHY A LOT OF OUR PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND OUR BROADCASTING ARE STRUGGLING TO CATCH UP WITH, WHAT ARE THE THREATS WE FACE TODAY, AND WHAT'S THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAY TO COMMUNICATE AMERICAN POLICY, TO COMMUNICATE AMERICAN INTERESTS, AND TO FOSTER THE DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS IN COUNTRIES THAT DO NOT HAVE THAT.

AND WE ALL KNOW THAT A FREE, FAIR PRESS IS A CORNERSTONE OF SUCH DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS. AND SO WE'RE TRYING TO REDIRECT ALL THOSE ENTITIES WITHIN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT RIGHT NOW, GIVE THEM THAT KIND OF VISION AND STRATEGY, AND MOST IMPORTANTLY, THE MONEY. THE AMOUNT OF MONEY WE SPEND ON THIS IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS PALTRY -- IT'S SO SMALL IT'S RIDICULOUS.

>> HOW MUCH IS IT, ROUGHLY?

>> IT'S NOT EVEN \$1 BILLION. WE SPEND \$400 BILLION ON THE PENTAGON. WE HAVE TO FOCUS OUR ATTENTION AND SAY, THIS IS VERY IMPORTANT TO NATIONAL SECURITY. THIS IS A NATIONAL SECURITY ISSUE TO PROTECT AMERICANS HERE AT HOME AND AMERICANS ABROAD, AND AMERICAN INTERESTS ABROAD. AND WE HAVE TO GIVE IT THE SAME KIND OF FUNDING AND SUPPORT THAT WE GIVE TO OTHER NATIONAL SECURITY INTERESTS.

>> Dolan: TO PUT IT IN CONTEXT, THIS COUNTRY WON THE COLD WAR PARTLY THROUGH OUR PUBLIC DIPLOMACY -- GETTING THE INFORMATION THROUGH THE IRON CURTAIN, BREAKING THROUGH, GETTING THESE MESSAGES ACROSS. AND AFTER WE WON THAT, A LOT OF PEOPLE SAID, "WHY DO WE NEED A PUBLIC DIPLOMACY PROGRAM ANYMORE?"

AND SENATOR LUGAR HAS LONG BEEN A CHAMPION AND AN ADVOCATE FOR PUBLIC DIPLOMACY, AND FOR A WHILE THERE, I THINK HE WAS A LITTLE BIT OF A VOICE IN THE WILDERNESS, BECAUSE NOBODY ELSE WAS LISTENING, BUT HE WAS RIGHT. HE WAS TRYING TO GET THE ADEQUATE FUNDING, AND AT A TIME WHEN PEOPLE WERE SAYING, "NO, WE DON'T NEED IT ANYMORE."

>> SPEAKING OF SENATOR LUGAR, HE HAS BEEN ONE OF THE VOICES -- LET'S LISTEN TO SOMETHING HE SAID ABOUT THIS, AND ALSO TO ANOTHER TOP U.S. OFFICIAL, ON THE QUESTION OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY.

>> THE RANKING MEMBER AND I HAVE OBSERVED FOR SOME TIME THE UNFORTUNATE IRONY OF AMERICAN PUBLIC DIPLOMACY EFFORTS. WE'VE ASKED IN VARIOUS WAYS HOW THE UNITED STATES CAN BE SO OFTEN ALL THUMBS AT PUBLIC DIPLOMACY WHEN WE ARE SO EXPERT AT THE STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF PUBLIC RELATIONS, MARKETING, AND ADVERTISING IN OUR DOMESTIC LIFE. NUMEROUS REPORTS HAVE CONCLUDED THAT AMERICAN PUBLIC DIPLOMACY IS DYSFUNCTIONAL AND REQUIRES MAJOR REFORM.

>> I BELIEVE IT WOULD BE FAIR TO SAY THAT THROUGH BOTH REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATIONS, WE HAVE NOT BEEN AS FOCUSED AND ENGAGED AS WE ALL NOW KNOW THAT WE SHOULD HAVE BEEN. WE HAVE DONE AND CONTINUE TO DO A VERY GOOD JOB OF GOVERNMENT-TO-GOVERNMENT WORK. WE CONTINUE TO DO A FAIRLY GOOD JOB WITH THE ELITES AND OPINION LEADERS; HOWEVER, WE HAVE NOT PLACED ENOUGH EFFORT AND FOCUS WITH THE AVERAGE PERSON, THE NON-ELITES WHO, TODAY, HAVE A MUCH STRONGER VOICE WITHIN THEIR COUNTRIES THAN THEY DID IN THE PAST.

AS MUCH AS WE WOULD LIKE TO THINK WASHINGTON KNOWS BEST, WE HAVE TO BE HONEST AND ADMIT WE DO NOT NECESSARILY ALWAYS HAVE ALL THE ANSWERS. WE SHOULD MORE CAREFULLY LISTEN TO THE PEOPLE OF OTHER COUNTRIES AND BE MORE SENSITIVE TO EXPLAINING OURSELVES IN WAYS THAT RESONATE IN THEIR COMMUNITIES.

>> MARK, YOU KNOW, IN THE ARAB WORLD, THAT'S NOT NECESSARILY THE BEST THING TO BE BRAGGING ABOUT ONE'S OWN GOODNESS, OR TO SPEAK PLAINLY AND DIRECTLY -- THERE'S A DIFFERENT CULTURE THERE. WHAT ABOUT THAT QUESTION OF SPEAKING TO PEOPLE IN WAYS THAT ARE MOST COMPATIBLE FOR THEIR OWN CULTURES?

>> I THINK MARGARET TUTWILER IS EXACTLY CORRECT ON THIS POINT, AS YOU ARE. FOR TOO MANY YEARS, OUR DIPLOMATS HAVE BEEN TRAINED TO TALK TO OTHER DIPLOMATS, THEY HAVE NOT BEEN TRAINED TO TALK TO PUBLICS, AND THE DIVERSE GROUP OF DIFFERENT PUBLICS THAT THERE ARE IN THE WORLD TODAY, THAT'S THE CRITICAL CHALLENGE WE FACE THROUGHOUT THE DIFFERENT AREAS OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY.

WE NOT ONLY NEED TO HAVE DIPLOMATS WHO CAN TALK TO PUBLICS, BUT COLLEGE PROFESSORS AND STUDENTS AND OTHER PEOPLE WHO UNDERSTAND THE DIVERSE CULTURAL DIFFERENCES THERE ARE IN THIS WORLD TODAY, AND HOW AMERICA CAN WORK WITH THEM AND FOSTER THE DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS.

THAT'S GOING TO TAKE TIME TO GET THOSE PEOPLE MOTIVATED IN THE FIELD, AND IT'S GOING TO TAKE A LOT MORE MONEY TO MAKE THAT HAPPEN.

>> CHUCK, YOU'VE TRAVELED A LOT, ESPECIALLY WHILE YOU WERE ON THE COMMISSION, TO MANY DIFFERENT COUNTRIES. IS THIS AN ISSUE THAT'S ESPECIALLY A PROBLEM IN THE ARAB AND MUSLIM WORLD, OR IS IT SOMETHING THAT APPLIES ACROSS THE BOARD?

>> I THINK IT APPLIES ACROSS THE BOARD, AND IT RAISES AN ISSUE THAT I SPOKE ABOUT AND WROTE ABOUT WHILE I WAS ON THE COMMISSION, WHICH IS, ONE OF THE THINGS THAT WE OUGHT TO BE DOING WITH THESE EXCHANGE PROGRAMS, AND WE'RE JUST STARTING TO DO IT NOW, BUT WE HAVEN'T DONE A GOOD ENOUGH JOB OF IT IS WHEN WE BRING PEOPLE OVER HERE -- WE'VE HAD PEOPLE HERE ON

EXCHANGE PROGRAMS, LIKE MARGARET THATCHER, ANWAR SADAT -- WHEN THEY COME, THAT SHOULD BE THE BEGINNING OF THE RELATIONSHIP, NOT THE END, AND TOO OFTEN, A LOT OF OUR EXCHANGE PROGRAMS HAVEN'T STAYED IN TOUCH WITH THESE PEOPLE. AND WHAT I WOULD LIKE TO SEE WOULD BE GOING BACK INTO THESE COUNTRIES WHEN AN ISSUE COMES UP THAT WE CARE ABOUT, CALLING THEM UP AND ASKING THEM, "DO YOU AGREE WITH US ON THIS, DO YOU AGREE WITH EVEN 70% OF OUR POSITION ON THIS?"

AND IF THEY DO, ASK THEM TO SAY SOMETHING ABOUT IT, TO ACT AS,

SAY, A THIRD-PARTY VALIDATOR FOR U.S. POLICY. THAT HAS A LOT MORE OF AN IMPACT THAN THE AMBASSADOR, NO MATTER HOW GOOD THE AMBASSADOR IS.

>> AND YOU TOUCH ON A VERY IMPORTANT POINT, TOO – BECAUSE OF THE LIMITED FUNDING FOR THE EDUCATION AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAMS, WE'VE HAD A TENDENCY TO SHIFT MONEY FROM EUROPE TO THE MIDDLE EAST. NOW, SENATOR LUGAR FEELS. STRONGLY, YES, WE NEED MORE CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAMS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, BUT THAT DOESN'T MEAN WE STOP EDUCATION AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAMS WITH GREAT BRITAIN, GERMANY, AND FRANCE.

WE HAVE NEW GENERATIONS CONSTANTLY MOVING UP, CONSTANTLY MOVING INTO POSITIONS OF POWER AND INFLUENCE. WE NEED TO MAINTAIN THOSE RELATIONSHIPS ON AN ONGOING BASIS AS PART OF OUR PUBLIC DIPLOMACY EFFORTS.

>> COMING BACK TO THE MIDDLE EAST FOR JUST A SECOND, YOU'VE BOTH MENTIONED THE NEW TELEVISION NETWORK WHICH IS GOING TO BE CALLED *AL HURRA* -- I GUESS IT MEANS "THE FREE ONE." IT'S GOING TO BE U.S. GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES IN THE UNITED STATES BROADCASTING NEWS AND INFORMATION TO THE ARAB WORLD. THE MASS MEDIA IN THE ARAB WORLD, FOR DECADES NOW, HAVE BEEN DISTRUSTED BY MOST ARABS BECAUSE THEY'VE BEEN GOVERNMENT-OPERATED. WHAT MAKES YOU THINK THIS IS GOING TO BE A SUCCESS IN THE REGION?

>> IT WILL BE A SUCCESS BECAUSE AS ANOTHER PART OF OUR PUBLIC DIPLOMACY, WE ARE ALSO OUT ACTIVELY HELPING TO CREATE, FOSTER THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDIGENOUS FREE AND FAIR PRESS IN THESE COUNTRIES. SO THE TV STATION AND THE RADIO STATION ARE JUST ONE COMPONENT OF OUR OVERALL STRATEGY. IT'S TO ENSURE THAT THEY GET GOOD NEWS AND OPEN INFORMATION, AND THEY HAVE A CHANCE TO GET IT NOW, AND AT THE SAME TIME, WE WANT TO CREATE REAL FREE PRESS IN ALL THOSE COUNTRIES. GIVE THEM THE JOURNALISM TRAINING, HELP THEM BUY THE EQUIPMENT IF THEY NEED IT. THOSE ARE THE SORTS OF THINGS THAT WE NEED TO CONTINUE.

>> AND I WOULD ADD TO THIS THAT WE WERE SUCCESSFUL DOING THIS IN THE SOVIET BLOC, WHICH WAS PROBABLY THE MOST CONTROLLED INFORMATION OF ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD. AND IT WILL HAVE TO BE MUCH LIKE OUR EFFORTS THEN -- IT'S GOING TO HAVE TO BE QUALITY, IT'S GOING TO HAVE TO BE CREDIBLE, AND OVER TIME, IT WILL GAIN THE CREDIBILITY IT NEEDS.

>> MAYBE TIME IS THE KEY -- I'M THINKING BACK TO AFTER 9-11 WHEN

THE PENTAGON ISSUED THAT OSAMA BIN LADEN VIDEOTAPE, WITH U.S. GOVERNMENT TRANSLATORS TRANSLATING HIS WORDS IN ARABIC. THAT TAPE IS TODAY STILL WIDELY VIEWED AS A U.S. GOVERNMENT FORGERY -- PEOPLE JUST DON'T BELIEVE IT. I GUESS THAT, TO ME, IS THE QUESTION -- DO YOU THINK IT MIGHT TAKE YEARS BEFORE THIS CHANNEL IS ACCEPTED IN THE REGION?

>> I DON'T KNOW HOW LONG IT'S GOING TO TAKE, IT WON'T BE OVERNIGHT, THOUGH. PUBLIC DIPLOMACY HAS, THERE ARE LOTS OF DIFFERENT ELEMENTS TO IT -- SOME ARE -- YOU'RE RESPONDING TO AN INCIDENT AND YOU'RE HOPING TO HAVE AN IMPACT THAT DAY OR THAT WEEK, AND OTHER THINGS OCCUR OVER TIME, LIKE EXCHANGES, THE THINGS WE WERE TALKING ABOUT EARLIER. THOSE EXCHANGES PAY OFF 20 YEARS LATER.

>> Begleiter: SHOULD *AL-HURRA* BE SEEN IN THE UNITED STATES?

>> Helmke: YES, IT SHOULD BE SEEN -- AMERICANS SHOULD BE ABLE TO SEE WHAT THEIR TAX FUNDS ARE HELPING TO PROMOTE. BUT I THINK TO GO TO YOUR PREVIOUS POINT ABOUT AMERICAN EMPLOYEES DOING THIS WORK, SENATOR LUGAR IS VERY INTERESTED IN FINDING MECHANISMS TO BRING THE PRIVATE SECTOR IN AMERICA INTO A LOT OF THESE PROGRAMS. IT SHOULD NOT JUST BE LET UP TO AMERICAN GOVERNMENT. MEDIA COMPANIES IN THE UNITED STATES SHOULD BE PART OF THIS PROCESS OF HELPING TO DEVELOP FREE, FAIR, INDEPENDENT MEDIA IN COUNTRIES THAT DO NOT HAVE IT TODAY.

UNIVERSITIES AND BUSINESSES AND OTHER FOUNDATIONS SHOULD ALSO BE INVOLVED WITH THE CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE PROGRAMS. WE DON'T HAVE THAT RIGHT NOW IN OUR GOVERNMENT, BUT WE INTEND TO SOON.

>> LET ME ASK YOU THIS QUESTION. YOU'VE BOTH MENTIONED THAT THIS IS A PROBLEM THAT'S WORLDWIDE, NOT JUST IN THE ARAB AND MUSLIM WORLD. SHOULD THE UNITED STATES BE ENGAGED IN PUBLIC DIPLOMACY OR PROPAGANDA EFFORTS TARGETED AT OTHER COUNTRIES, INCLUDING FRIENDS AND ALLIES -- YOU MENTIONED FRANCE, BRITAIN, AND GERMANY A FEW MOMENTS AGO -- SHOULD THE U.S. GOVERNMENT BE SENDING NEWS AND INFORMATION TO FRANCE AT A TIME WHEN THE U.S. AND FRANCE ARE IN SOME DISAGREEMENT OVER TRADE, OR EVEN A MILITARY OPERATION?

>> WE NEED TO HAVE SPOKESMEN IN FRANCE WHO CAN DESCRIBE AMERICAN POLICIES. WE NEED TO HAVE EDUCATION AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAMS WITH FRANCE. WE NEED TO MAKE SURE THAT THE FREE AND FAIR PRESS THAT LIVES IN FRANCE, THAT IS FRENCH,

RECEIVES ALL THE INFORMATION THAT AMERICAN TELEVISION AND RADIO AND NEWSPAPERS RECEIVE.

>> BUT NOT A TELEVISION NETWORK.

>> NOT A TELEVISION NETWORK, AT LEAST IN FRANCE.

>> SO THE MIDDLE EAST IS SOMEHOW DIFFERENT IN THAT REGARD.

>> I THINK THE STANDARD HAS TO BE -- AND THIS IS SOMETHING THAT SENATOR LUGAR HAS US WORKING ON AT THE COMMITTEE -- IS, ESTABLISH SOME CRITERIA FOR WHAT ARE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS, AND WE ALL KNOW THAT THERE ARE CRITERIA FOR FREE, FAIR, LEGALLY PROTECTED MEDIA IN CERTAIN COUNTRIES. AND THAT'S THE CRITERIA HE'S TRYING TO LOOK AT -- WE DO CERTAIN THINGS UP UNTIL A TIME WE'VE ESTABLISHED THAT THERE IS A FREE, FAIR, LEGALLY PROTECTED MEDIA IN A COUNTRY, BUT THEN WE MAINTAIN CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAMS, WE MAINTAIN OUR SPOKESMEN TALKING TO THOSE TV STATIONS, RADIO STATIONS, AND NEWSPAPERS. THAT SHOULD BE THE STRATEGY.

>> HOW -- GO AHEAD.

>> I THINK WE'RE GOING TO BE HELPED BY UNDERSECRETARY TUTWILER, BECAUSE SHE UNDERSTANDS COMMUNICATIONS, SHE'S BEEN AN AMBASSADOR IN THE MIDDLE EAST, BUT IN TERMS OF EUROPE, IT'S VERY INTERESTING -- THE DIFFERENCE OF WHAT HAPPENED TO PUBLIC OPINION IN EUROPE BEFORE WE WENT INTO AFGHANISTAN, AND THEN GOING INTO IRAQ, BECAUSE THERE WAS TREMENDOUS SUPPORT FOR THE UNITED STATES GOING INTO AFGHANISTAN, AND THEN IT ALL SORT OF FELL APART, TO THE POINT WHERE WE HAD THE PRESIDENT VISITING LONDON, ONE OF THE MOST CIVILIZED CITIES OF THE WORLD, AND HE COULDN'T GO AROUND, BECAUSE THERE WOULD BE TOO MANY DEMONSTRATIONS.

THERE WAS A BREAKDOWN IN OUR PUBLIC DIPLOMACY IN WESTERN EUROPE, SO I THINK ABSOLUTELY, WE NEED TO HAVE A STRONGER PUBLIC DIPLOMACY PROGRAM THERE.

>> AFTER 9-11, THE SAUDI GOVERNMENT STAGED A PUBLIC RELATIONS CAMPAIGN IN THE UNITED STATES -- THEY MIGHT CALL IT PUBLIC DIPLOMACY -- IN WHICH THEY TRIED TO BURNISH THE IMAGE OF SAUDI ARABIA AT A TIME WHEN MANY AMERICANS THOUGHT THEY WERE, SO MANY OF THE HIJACKERS OF 9-11 WERE SAUDIS. WHAT IF FRANCE, GERMANY, BRITAIN, AND OTHER FRIENDS AND ALLIES BEGAN ENGAGING IN THAT KIND OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY, IF YOU WILL, IN THE

UNITED STATES?

HOW SHOULD AMERICANS VIEW THAT?

>> Dolan: THEY HAVE IT RIGHT NOW, THEY DO IT.

>> THE AMBASSADORS OF FRANCE AND GERMANY AND U.K. ARE ON AMERICAN TELEVISION ALL THE TIME.

>> Begleiter: THESE WERE TELEVISION COMMERCIALS, THEY WEREN'T THE AMBASSADORS.

>> COMMERCIALS ARE DIFFERENT, BUT AGAIN, THEY HAD SPOKESMEN HERE WHO SPEAK ENGLISH, WHO GO ON AMERICAN TALK SHOWS, WHO TALK TO MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, WHO GO OUT INTO THE UNITED STATES AND MAKE SPEECHES AT UNIVERSITIES. THAT IS THEIR RIGHT. AND IT'S A RIGHT THAT AMERICANS BELIEVE IN, THAT OTHER COUNTRIES CAN COME HERE, TALK TO THE PUBLIC, TALK TO MEMBERS OF CONGRESS AND TRY TO INFLUENCE THEIR COUNTRY'S POSITION THROUGH THAT MECHANISM.

>> Dolan: IN 1988, I WAS INVITED TO GO TO EUROPE AS PART OF THE EUROPEAN VISITORS PROGRAM, AND IN EACH OF THE COUNTRIES I WENT TO, THOSE EMBASSIES HAVE STAYED IN CONTACT WITH ME OVER THAT PERIOD OF TIME. AND I'VE BEEN INVITED BACK TO EUROPE BY -- IT WAS THEN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, NOW THE EUROPEAN UNION. THEY'RE DOING THIS.

DR. WALTER ROBERTS, WHO WAS THE DIPLOMAT IN RESIDENCE AT GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY, ONCE SAID THAT WHEN THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT PICKS AN AMBASSADOR TO COME TO THE UNITED STATES, THEY ASK THE QUESTION FIRST, "WHAT WILL HE LOOK LIKE, OR SHE LOOK LIKE, ON THE SUNDAY MORNING TALK SHOWS, OR *MacNEIL/LEHRER*, AT THAT TIME.

>> LET ME ASK YOU THIS -- THIS PROGRAM IS CALLED "GREAT DECISIONS," AND I'D LIKE TO PUT YOU BOTH IN THE POSITION OF BEING AT THE TOP IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, AND YOU'VE GOT TO MAKE ONE OF THESE DECISIONS. SHOULD THE UNITED STATES SPEND WHAT PERHAPS COULD BE SEVERAL BILLION DOLLARS -- YOU BOTH SAID THERE WASN'T ENOUGH BEING SPENT NOW -- ON INTERNATIONAL BROADCAST NEWS AND INFORMATION NETWORKS DESIGNED TO INFLUENCE PUBLIC OPINION IN OTHER COUNTRIES, INCLUDING FRIENDS AND ALLIES OF THE UNITED STATES?

CHUCK?

>> I'M NOT SURE THEY NEED TO SPEND THE MONEY ON THAT -- I'LL TELL YOU WHERE I'D LIKE TO SEE THE MONEY SPENT. I'D LIKE TO SEE MORE MONEY PUT INTO RESEARCH -- THAT IS, POLLING RESEARCH. NOT THAT PUBLIC OPINION SHOULD DICTATE U.S. FOREIGN POLICY, BUT AS WE CRAFT OUR MESSAGES, IN WHATEVER MEANS WE GET THEM OUT THERE, WE NEED TO HAVE SOME IDEA OF WHAT KIND OF IMPACT THEY'RE GOING TO HAVE, HOW THEY'RE GOING TO BE RECEIVED. GOING BACK TO WHAT MARK WAS TALKING ABOUT, THE CULTURAL BUSINESS -- I MEAN, CERTAIN WORDS PLAY DIFFERENTLY IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES AND DIFFERENT REGIONS, AND WE NEED TO UNDERSTAND THAT AS WE'RE SENDING THOSE MESSAGES OUT.

>> WE NEED MORE MONEY. I WOULD NOT SAY WE NEED MORE MONEY JUST FOR BROADCAST. BROADCAST IS NOT THE ONLY MEDIUM TO TRY TO EDUCATE AND INFLUENCE FOREIGN PUBLICS. WE NEED SPOKESPEOPLE, WE NEED CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAMS, AND WE NEED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FREE, FAIR PRESS, SO THAT THOSE SPOKESPEOPLE HAVE AVENUES TO COMMUNICATE AMERICAN POLICIES AND THE DIVERSITY OF AMERICAN POLICIES AND DIFFERENCES.

>> AND DO YOU THINK THAT BROADCASTING IS SOMETHING -- IT'S GOING TO TAKE THE MOST AMOUNT OF MONEY OF ANY OF THOSE THINGS -- SHOULD IT RECEIVE THAT KIND OF ATTENTION?

>> RIGHT NOW, ABOUT HALF THE AMOUNT OF MONEY WE SPEND GOES TO BROADCASTING. AND I DON'T THINK --

>> BUT YOU SAID THAT WASN'T ENOUGH.

>> I DO, BUT I THINK TOTALLY, WE'RE NOT SPENDING ENOUGH MONEY. I WOULD NOT PUT ALL OF THAT MONEY INTO BROADCAST. WE NEED TO PUT MORE MONEY INTO CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE PROGRAMS. WE NEED TO PUT MORE MONEY INTO HELPING TO DEVELOP FREE, FAIR PRESS -- THOSE ARE THE THREE COMPONENTS THAT SENATOR LUGAR WANTS TO SEE US FOCUSED ON, AND AS A GREAT DECISION, WE NEED TO MAKE SURE THAT THIS IS SOMETHING THAT'S IMPORTANT TO OUR NATIONAL SECURITY, AND IT DESERVES THE KIND OF SUPPORT AND FUNDING WE GIVE TO OTHER COMPONENTS OF NATIONAL SECURITY.

>> THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR JOINING US, MARK HELMKE AND CHUCK DOLAN, AND YOU, OUR AUDIENCE. UNTIL NEXT TIME, FOR "GREAT DECISIONS 2004," I'M RALPH BEGLEITER.

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