

# THE PUBLIC DIPLOMACY READER



J. MICHAEL WALLER  
Copyrighted Material

# Contents

<b>Introduction</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>Definitions:</b>	
<b>What is Public Diplomacy, and What Is It For?</b>	<b>23</b>
Foundational definition: To influence foreign publics	23
<i>Edward R. Murrow Center for Public Diplomacy (1965)</i>	
A basic human right	24
<i>Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948)</i>	
Transnational government and non-government interaction	24
<i>Edward R. Murrow Center for Public Diplomacy (1965)</i>	
Programs to inform and influence	24
<i>U.S. Department of State (1987)</i>	
The open exchange of ideas and information	24
<i>Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy (1991)</i>	
A promoter of the national interest and national security	24
<i>Edward R. Murrow, U.S. Information Agency (1963)</i>	
A new dimension for foreign policy operations	26
<i>House Foreign Affairs Committee (1964)</i>	
A form of international political advocacy	27
<i>Paul A. Smith (1989)</i>	
To supplement and reinforce traditional diplomacy	27
<i>Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy (1985)</i>	
At it most successful, it's straightforward	28
<i>Carnes Lord (2007)</i>	
A strategic instrument to shape ideological trends	29
<i>National Security Decision Directive 130 (1984)</i>	
To promote the national interest with information	30
<i>U.S. Advisory Group on Public Diplomacy for the Arab and Muslim World (2003)</i>	
A means 'to win support for U.S. foreign policy goals'	31
<i>U.S. Department of State (2007)</i>	
Part of a larger whole	31
<i>Carnes Lord (2007)</i>	



## Contents

<b>Introduction</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>Definitions:</b>	
<b>What is Public Diplomacy, and What Is It For?</b>	<b>23</b>
Foundational definition: To influence foreign publics	23
<i>Edward R. Murrow Center for Public Diplomacy (1965)</i>	
A basic human right	24
<i>Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948)</i>	
Transnational government and non-government interaction	24
<i>Edward R. Murrow Center for Public Diplomacy (1965)</i>	
Programs to inform and influence	24
<i>U.S. Department of State (1987)</i>	
The open exchange of ideas and information	24
<i>Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy (1991)</i>	
A promoter of the national interest and national security	24
<i>Edward R. Murrow, U.S. Information Agency (1963)</i>	
A new dimension for foreign policy operations	26
<i>House Foreign Affairs Committee (1964)</i>	
A form of international political advocacy	27
<i>Paul A. Smith (1989)</i>	
To supplement and reinforce traditional diplomacy	27
<i>Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy (1985)</i>	
At it most successful, it's straightforward	28
<i>Carnes Lord (2007)</i>	
A strategic instrument to shape ideological trends	29
<i>National Security Decision Directive 130 (1984)</i>	
To promote the national interest with information	30
<i>U.S. Advisory Group on Public Diplomacy for the Arab and Muslim World (2003)</i>	
A means 'to win support for U.S. foreign policy goals'	31
<i>U.S. Department of State (2007)</i>	
Part of a larger whole	31
<i>Carnes Lord (2007)</i>	



<u>We're better at the 'inform' than we are at 'influence'</u>	31
<i>Charlotte Beers (2002)</i>	
<u>As part of post-9/11 strategy</u>	32
<i>Patricia S. Harrison (2004)</i>	
<u>Different from public affairs</u>	32
<i>U.S. Department of State (1997)</i>	
<u>Different from traditional diplomacy</u>	32
<i>USIA Alumni Association (2002)</i>	
<u>A component of strategic communication</u>	33
<i>Defense Science Board (2004)</i>	
<u>An essential element of psychological strategy</u>	34
<i>Stephen Tanous (2003)</i>	
<u>An asset built in fits and starts, and not always seriously</u>	35
<i>Juliana Geran Pilon (2006)</i>	
<u>'It takes two hands to clap'</u>	37
<i>Karen P. Hughes (2005)</i>	
<u>Is 'influence' no longer a core function in new strategy?</u>	39
<i>U.S. Department of State (2007)</i>	
 <b><u>An American Tradition</u></b>	 40
 <u>Appeal to the Inhabitants of Quebec</u>	 41
<i>Continental Congress (1774)</i>	
<u>Petition to the King</u>	49
<i>Continental Congress (1774)</i>	
<u>Address to the People of Great Britain</u>	55
<i>Continental Congress (1774)</i>	
<u>Letter to the Inhabitants of Canada</u>	63
<i>Continental Congress (1775)</i>	
<u>Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of Taking Up Arms</u>	66
<i>Continental Congress (1775)</i>	
<u>Petition to the King</u>	73
<i>Continental Congress (1775)</i>	
<u>Letter to the Inhabitants of Great Britain</u>	77
<i>Continental Congress (1775)</i>	
<u>Letter to the Lord Mayor of London</u>	85
<i>John Hancock (1775)</i>	
<u>Address to the Assembly of Jamaica</u>	86
<i>Continental Congress (1775)</i>	
<u>To the Inhabitants of the Island of Bermuda</u>	90
<i>George Washington (1775)</i>	

To the Inhabitants of Canada <i>George Washington (1775)</i>	92
Declaration of Independence <i>Continental Congress (1776)</i>	94
Dialogue between Britain, France, Spain, Holland, Saxony and America <i>Benjamin Franklin (1777)</i>	98
<b><u>The Power of Ideas and Values</u></b>	<b>101</b>
The Four Freedoms <i>Franklin D. Roosevelt (1941)</i>	101
The underlying conflict in the realm of ideas and values <i>Paul Nitze, NSC-68 (1950)</i>	102
Know the enemy and exploit its weaknesses <i>Paul Nitze, NSC-68 (1950)</i>	111
‘A call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle’ <i>John F. Kennedy (1961)</i>	115
Human rights as a cornerstone of U.S. foreign policy (The ‘inordinate fear of communism’ speech) <i>Jimmy Carter (1977)</i>	118
‘Ash heap of history’ – the speech at Westminster <i>Ronald Reagan (1982)</i>	126
Political action: An ideological thrust <i>Ronald Reagan (1983)</i>	136
The ‘Evil Empire’ speech <i>Ronald Reagan (1983)</i>	138
‘Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!’ <i>Ronald Reagan (1987)</i>	144
<b>Truth and Trust</b>	<b>152</b>
Truth-telling liar <i>Aesop (6<sup>th</sup> century B.C.)</i>	152
‘Act sincerely’ <i>Aesop (6<sup>th</sup> century B.C.)</i>	152
Biases color the perception of truth <i>Pericles (431 B.C.)</i>	152
Campaign of Truth <i>Harry S Truman (1950)</i>	153
Truth is the best form of propaganda <i>Edward R. Murrow (1963)</i>	159



Voice of America Charter <i>Voice of America (1960)</i>	160
RFE/RL Code of professional journalism standards <i>Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty</i>	160
<b>Cultural Diplomacy</b>	164
An art form since the Bronze Age <i>Richard T. Arndt (2005)</i>	164
The linchpin of public diplomacy <i>U.S. Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy (2005)</i>	166
‘Rock music helped bring down the Iron Curtain’ <i>Andras Simonyi (2003)</i>	191
Music’s role must be part of an idea-based strategy <i>Robert R. Reilly (2007)</i>	195
Keep the end purpose clear <i>John Lenczowski (2007)</i>	197
<b>Humanitarian Public Diplomacy</b>	200
‘He who does a kindness hath the advantage’ <i>Pericles (431 B.C.)</i>	200
Avoid one-way aid programs: Let the recipients plan <i>George C. Marshall (1947)</i>	200
USAID could not inform people how it was helping them <i>U.S. Advisory Group on Public Diplomacy in the Arab and Muslim World (2003)</i>	204
Congress calls on State Department to credit U.S. <i>Public Law 108-468 (2004)</i>	206
Medical diplomacy generates large-scale goodwill <i>Terror Free Tomorrow (2006)</i>	207
<b>Religion and Public Diplomacy</b>	210
‘Religion and morality’ in diplomacy <i>George Washington (1796)</i>	210
Proposal for Christian-Muslim ‘common moral front’ <i>U.S. Consulate General, Dhahran, Saudi Arabia (1951)</i>	211
Script for Radio Jidda <i>Dean Acheson (1952)</i>	213

'Interpret the Moslem religion on the basis of tolerance and to condemn terrorism' <i>American Embassy, Beirut (1952)</i>	214
Propaganda in Saudi Arabia 'will not be tolerated' <i>American Embassy, Jeddah (1952)</i>	215
Country plan for Iran <i>American Embassy Tehran (1952)</i>	217
Early public diplomacy funding of Islamic event <i>U.S. Department of State (1953)</i>	218
Never fail to stress the spiritual factor <i>Dwight D. Eisenhower (1958)</i>	221
A sample of a U.S.-funded religious broadcast <i>Fr. George Benigsen, Radio Liberty (1988)</i>	222
An inability or unwillingness to come to terms with religion <i>Adda Bozeman (1988)</i>	224
The case for a religion attaché <i>Douglas M. Johnston (2002)</i>	224
Effective ideological engagement requires understanding of religion <i>Jennifer A. Marshall (2006)</i>	233
A civil society approach to public diplomacy <i>Jennifer A. Marshall (2006)</i>	238
'Islam is part of America' <i>Karen P. Hughes (2006)</i>	243
Engage Muslim communities . . . <i>U.S. Department of State (2007)</i>	245
... but alienate them if we must <i>U.S. Agency for International Development (2007)</i>	245
A model fatwa <i>Islamic Commission of Spain (2005)</i>	247
<b>Broadcasting as a Mission</b>	254
RFE/RL Mission Statement <i>Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty</i>	254
Bringing news to people who need it <i>Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty</i>	255
VOA Journalistic Code <i>Voice of America (1995)</i>	257
An instrument of national security policy <i>Ronald Reagan, NSDD-45 (1982)</i>	260



A clear and continuing mission	263
<i>Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty</i>	
Democracy and security in U.S. foreign policy:	264
The role of RFE/RL	
<i>Thomas A. Dine (2001)</i>	
Communicating to the world's most volatile hotspots	270
<i>Thomas A. Dine (2004)</i>	
Mission, vision, priorities, strategic goals and objectives	279
<i>Broadcasting Board of Governors (2007)</i>	
<b>Words and Language</b>	283
Aphorisms about words	283
<i>Proverbs, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams,</i>	
<i>Thomas Jefferson, Mark Twain, Pope John Paul II, et al.</i>	
Distortion of language in wartime	284
<i>Thucydides (5<sup>th</sup> century, B.C.)</i>	
Thought corrupts language, and vice-versa	285
<i>George Orwell (1946)</i>	
When a word is true and false	285
<i>Václav Havel (1989)</i>	
Carelessness in adopting the language of our opponents	286
<i>Fred Charles Iklé (1970s)</i>	
Semantic infiltration	286
<i>Daniel Patrick Moynihan (1979)</i>	
Defenses against distortions of language	287
<i>Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy (1984)</i>	
Take back the language	288
<i>Ronald Reagan (1983)</i>	
Know the traditional meanings of Islamic terms	288
<i>Layla Sein (2002)</i>	
Reclaim the true meanings	289
<i>Asma Afsaruddin (2002)</i>	
Qur'an and Muhammad made emphatic distinctions	289
<i>Sayyid M. Sayyid (2003)</i>	
What we should be saying is . . .	290
<i>Jim Guirard (2001)</i>	
Islamic words, ideas and customs can be our best ally	291
<i>J. Michael Waller (2007)</i>	



<b>Psychological Planning and Strategy</b>	293
Every policy can have a psychological dimension	293
<i>Psychological Planning Board (1952)</i>	
Political and psychological offensives can	295
outflank us militarily	
<i>Dwight D. Eisenhower (1958)</i>	
Wisdom requires the long view	296
<i>John F. Kennedy (1962)</i>	
‘Relatively low priority’	298
<i>House Foreign Affairs Committee (1964)</i>	
Origins of U.S. psychological strategy	299
<i>Stephen Tanous (2003)</i>	
Management of public diplomacy relative to national security	316
<i>Ronald Reagan, NSDD-77 (1983)</i>	
U.S. international information policy	319
<i>Ronald Reagan, NSDD-130 (1984)</i>	
Restructuring public diplomacy	324
<i>Bill Clinton (1998)</i>	
Useful reminder: Be there at takeoff,	330
not just at crash landings	
<i>Edward R. Murrow (1961)</i>	
<b>Public Diplomacy and Propaganda</b>	332
U.S. officials disagree on difference	332
<i>USIA Alumni Association (2002)</i>	
Propaganda agency	332
<i>Edward R. Murrow (1963)</i>	
Call it what you want	333
<i>Richard Holbrooke (2001)</i>	
Books are weapons	333
<i>Franklin D. Roosevelt (1942)</i>	
Propaganda battle: from VOA to bulletins to health campaigns	334
<i>Edward W. Barrett (1951)</i>	
Public diplomacy, propaganda and rhetoric	335
<i>Mark Blitz (1986)</i>	

<b>Counterpropaganda:</b>	337
<b>Don't Let the Other Side Control the Story</b>	
Keep the enemy in the wrong	337
<i>Samuel Adams (1775)</i>	
Insulate the homefront against foreign intrigue	337
<i>George Washington (1796)</i>	
We need resources to combat covert propaganda	339
<i>Philip Habib (1986)</i>	
Counterpropaganda: An absolute essential	340
<i>Herbert Romerstein (2006)</i>	
How to identify misinformation	341
<i>U.S. Department of State (2005)</i>	
Definitions of misinformation and disinformation	346
<i>U.S. Department of State (2005)</i>	
The interagency Active Measures Working Group:	349
An eyewitness account of U.S. counterpropaganda strategy	
<i>Herbert Romerstein (2006)</i>	
A counterinsurgency approach to counterpropaganda	357
<i>Andrew Garfield (2006)</i>	
 <b>Integration of Intelligence, Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs</b>	 363
A model white paper	363
<i>U.S. Department of State (1981)</i>	
 <b>Public Diplomacy After 9/11</b>	 377
New target: Networks	377
<i>George W. Bush (2003)</i>	
A three-dimensional strategy	377
<i>National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon     the United States (2002)</i>	
A new strategy: 'Beyond elites to strategic communities'	380
<i>Patricia S. Harrison (2004)</i>	
Strategy still needed	389
<i>Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy (2004)</i>	
Nothing at the top	390
<i>National Security Council (2005)</i>	



'Lack of clarity' in Saudi Arabia – five years after <i>Office of the Inspector General, U.S. Department of State (2006)</i>	391
'Transformational public diplomacy' <i>Karen P. Hughes (2006)</i>	392
2006 Audit: 'Strategic approach still lacking' <i>Government Accountability Office (2006)</i>	402
'Guided by our tactics' <i>U.S. Department of State (2006)</i>	411
An urgent appeal <i>Eleven former VOA Directors (2007)</i>	423
2007 Audit: Still no visible strategy <i>Government Accountability Office (2007)</i>	424
A strategy emerges <i>U.S. Department of State (2007)</i>	434
<b>Technology Challenges and Opportunities</b>	468
They jammed our satellite. Now what? <i>Broadcasting Board of Governors (2003)</i>	468
Uncle Sam's blog <i>Hampton Stephens (2005)</i>	471
Enhanced technology initiatives <i>U.S. Department of State (2006)</i>	474
Perhaps the State Department should try the Internet <i>Hampton Stephens (2006)</i>	475
Virtual Diplomacy Initiative <i>U.S. Institute of Peace (1997- )</i>	478
<b>Citizen Public Diplomats</b>	481
Ten things Americans can do to support public diplomacy <i>U.S. Department of State (2007)</i>	481
World citizen's guide: Practical advice for Americans traveling abroad <i>Business for Diplomatic Action</i>	482
Public diplomacy advocacy <i>Public Diplomacy Council (2007)</i>	486
<b>What the Law Says</b>	489
Founding law: the Smith-Mundt Act and its amendments	489

Ban on domestic USIA activities	492
<i>Zorinsky Amendment (1985)</i>	
Foreign Affairs Reform & Restructuring Act	492
<i>U.S. House of Representatives, Report 105-432 (1998)</i>	
International Broadcasting Act of 1994	494
<i>U.S. Senate (1994)</i>	
Foreign Affairs Reform and Restructuring Act (broadcasting)	495
<i>U.S. House of Representatives (1998)</i>	
Post 9/11 public diplomacy: what Congress passed into law	495
Federal law calls for public diplomacy offensive	496
in Saudi Arabia	
<i>Public Law 108-468 (2004)</i>	
Federal law calls for ideological campaign in Muslim world	496
<i>Public Law 108-468 (2004)</i>	
Federal law calls for political action against	498
Islamic dictatorships	
<i>Public Law 108-468 (2004)</i>	
Federal law calls for Muslim broadcast programming	499
<i>Public Law 108-468 (2004)</i>	
Public diplomacy responsibilities of the Department of State	500
<i>Public Law 108-468 (2004)</i>	
Public diplomacy training: A top congressional priority	503
<i>Public Law 108-468 (2004)</i>	
Promotion of democracy and human rights	504
<i>Public Law 108-468 (2004)</i>	
Expansion of Islamic scholarship and exchange programs	506
<i>Public Law 108-468 (2004)</i>	
Grants to U.S.-sponsored schools in Muslim countries	508
<i>Public Law 108-468 (2004)</i>	
International Youth Opportunity Fund	510
<i>Public Law 108-468 (2004)</i>	
The use of economic policies to combat terrorism	511
<i>Public Law 108-468 (2004)</i>	
Middle East Partnership Initiative to promote rule of law	512
<i>Public Law 108-468 (2004)</i>	
Toward a comprehensive global strategy against terrorism	512
<i>Public Law 108-468 (2004)</i>	
<b>About the Editor</b>	<b>515</b>
<b>About The Institute of World Politics</b>	<b>517</b>