



Public Diplomacy and its Institutions in United States of America

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Abstract: Although, once, in the far past, sending gifts and missionaries was called a type of public diplomacy, today it is manifested as academic disciplines, policy making institutions, and multi-purpose organizations. The most important institutions of these kinds, now, exist in the US, whose purpose is to promote the politics of this country as Public Diplomacy and to follow local and international objectives. The present article is to answer the basic questions of what public diplomacy is and what institutions are responsible for decision making in the field of Public Diplomacy, in the present condition of Globalization.

Keywords: Public Diplomacy, Policy-making institutions, Radio and TV Networks, USA.

Introduction

Public Diplomacy has different definitions, but it, actually, describes how a government tries to communicate, directly, with the citizens of a foreign country to promote its foreign policies and to provide its national benefits. Public Diplomacy intends to provide people of other countries with information through radio, television, internet, books and other publications. A section of it deals with cultural diplomacy which encompasses holding art and music galleries, technical and occupational trainings and exchanging scientific groups. Practically, Public Diplomacy was initiated in World War I. Franklin Roosevelt followed the agenda of news broadcasting and affecting the opinion of the American citizens against the Nazi German situation in broadcasting. This was a part of the government plans to convince the citizens

that it was necessary to get involved in the war. Then after and during the Cold War, Public Diplomacy was more activated to stand against the Communist ideology. The Information Agency of the US (USIA) was an organization to direct propaganda against Communism, during the Cold War. There were three broadcasting agencies during the dispute between Communism and Capitalism: Free Europe Radio, Radio of Freedom, and the Radio of the Voice of America, which operated under the supervision of Information Agency. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, these agencies weakened, as well. During the 1990's there was discussion about continuing these activities because there was no more enemy, ideologically.

After September 11 and attacks to Iraq and Afghanistan, a new enemy with Islamic Ideology appeared and the agency was renovated with a

new mission. After these changes American foreign policy directed its attention toward the Middle East to the extent that the Public Diplomacy of this country, after 2001, focused on this area, only. The importance of the issue necessitated more recognition of institutes and policy makers of the Public Diplomacy in the US. This article aims at investigating the administrative institutes responsible for policy making and haws and whys of their cooperation, in the Public Diplomacy of the US. To answer the above questions, there will be a review on the history of Public Diplomacy, and then on the institutes present in the process of the application of Public Diplomacy in the US.

The History of Public Diplomacy

It is believed that Public Diplomacy initiation dates back to 1774 when the congress passed a resolution to sympathize the British, which were a few days after the American Revolution. It, also, passed a similar resolution for Canada and Ireland in 1775 (Egner, 2010: 18). In April 1917, Wilson, then the president of America established a committee to convince the citizens of other countries about the objectives of their foreign policy. This committee was active in making promotional films and brochures in different countries. It intended to effect on the public opinion of the people of America and those of the world to justify its involvement in the First World War (Robert, 2007: 53). The government benefitted from the Public Diplomacy during the Second World War, too. A little before attacking Pearl Harbor in 1941, Franklin Roswell, the president of the US at that time ordered to establish the committee for Foreign Intelligence to provide news for Asian and European countries and to advertise against Japan and Germany. This committee was later known as the "Voice of America". Voice of America started its programs in English, German, French, and Italian in February 1942. When World War ended and the Cold War started, two big powers of the world tried to challenge other

powers by using any available means. Because of this condition, other countries, also, attempted to benefit from Public Diplomacy. As a first attempt in 1953, Eisenhower founded American Intelligence Organization with the purpose of influencing the public opinion of the people in the world. He introduced the responsibility of this new institute as propaganda and instillation of the ideals of America for freedom, development, and peace. The organization was integrated with the cultural and educational unit of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, under the name of reconstruction plan "number two" in Carter's administration and continued its activities under a new title called America's International Communication Agency (Pratkanis, 2001: 72). On the other side, Russia was busy in propaganda against America by establishing great broadcasting organizations. With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of Cold War, Public Diplomacy gained a new appearance. September 11 was, especially, a turning point in the development of the concept of Public Diplomacy. Since that time, it was understood by many countries, especially America, that Public Diplomacy was a two way procedure in which mutual understanding and discourse were two important factors. The new view developed because of the change in the importance of real politics and in the significance of science-oriented policies. It can be stated that the behavior of science-oriented foreign policy requires the application of ideas, values, norms, and ethics by using soft power rather than the hard power. In this new policy, the role of non-governmental actors is as important as governmental ones, and they are required to involve in mutual cooperation. Arquilla defines Public Diplomacy as a policy based on science in which both actors have similar roles and, are required, to use soft power (Arquilla, et al, 1999: 47).

Today, in most countries of the world, there is a special custodian who (which) makes policies in the relationship with other countries, and it has an

effective role in the international systems. Theoreticians and governmental groups are on the belief that they have to use Public Diplomacy if they are supposed to access the objectives of the countries. Its importance is to the extent that Josef Nay believes that Public Diplomacy, which targets public opinion, is as effective as the classical diplomacy.

The Concept of Public Diplomacy

The term "Public Diplomacy" with its new meaning, i.e. mutual relationship between governments and states is not that old. It has, however, changed and improved, historically. In 1963, Edward Moro, accounts the following concept for the Public Diplomacy: "It improves the national interests and security by influencing the public opinion by the use of communication instruments, like mass media; radio, libraries, publications, distribution of books, effective pictures and exhibitions" (Waller, 2007: 25).

Edmond Gulion, at about the same decade, believed that Public Diplomacy was defined as influencing the public understandings from the foreign policies by making interactions between groups and the private interests of one country with those of other countries, making communications between diplomats and foreign journalists, and establishing intercultural relations (www.usinfo.state).

Signitzer and Combus are on the idea that Public Diplomacy is a process through which governments, individuals, and groups influence public ideas and insights which directly or indirectly affects decision making in foreign policies of a country (Signitzer, 1992: 37).

Lee and Michael define Public Diplomacy as an obvious attempt to encourage common people in other countries to have inclinations, voluntarily, toward countries initiating these activities (Lee and Michael, 1991: 38-49).

Since mid-90's, the office of Public Diplomacy of America considered it as being related to the interests and ideals of the American Government

with people of other countries which are beyond their government control (US Department of State, 1995).

Josef Nay the outstanding scholar in international relations believed that information transfer and depiction of a positive picture as an important part of Public Diplomacy in 2004, and believed that it is a long term process (Nay, 2008). In fact, according to Nay's idea, globalization, information and communication revolution, and the role of non- governmental actors were integrated with that of the Public Diplomacy (Cooper, 2008: 251). Nay (2008, 195) accounted three dimensions for Public Diplomacy, as well: "Daily Communication" which includes dissection of political decisions for people, "Strategic Communication" in which a group of simple purposes and "Expansion of long-term relationships" like granting scholarships, seminars, and scientific conferences.

In his article entitled as "Public Diplomacy", Humphrey Taylor defined it as the attempts of a government to make relations with the people of another country to explain values, cultures, and policies or ideas to compensate for the loss in relations and their popularity in that country (Taylor, 2006).

The center for Public Diplomacy does not confine it to the governments. It enumerates organizations like United Nations as the ones which benefit from Public Diplomacy. This center considers Public Diplomacy centralized on the way a country or an organization makes relationships with shareholders, different groups and individuals, either intentionally or unintentionally. This relationship includes not only the real message but also the procedures for analysis and interpretation of the message (US Center of Public Diplomacy, 2008). As it was mentioned, public Diplomacy is defined differently by different academic centers, organizations for making decisions on foreign policies, and governmental institutes, but they all share the following common features:

1. Audience: Audience is considered as those who are supposed to be guided.
2. Function: Functions of Public Diplomacy can be categorized as notification, education, influence, encouragement, and involvement.
3. Objective: The objectives of Public Diplomacy depend on the type of government and the dominant ideology.

From above definitions it can be inferred that national security and securing national interests are the most important objectives of Public Diplomacy (Agner, 2009: 14).

Therefore, Providing information, getting involved in and encouraging the foreign audience to gain their support, recognizing the institutes of the countries and their values, making their values understood by the counterparts, and empowering the channels of relationship between two countries are among objectives that have to be actualized.

Institutions Responsible for the Public Diplomacy in the US

In 1900's Public Diplomacy was considered as an important part of policy making procedure in America, in a way that it was officially included in the American tertiary education. There is a center in America called "Moore Center for Information and International Communication Studies" in Taft University for studying and investigating on Public Diplomacy. There are, also, colleges like the School of International Services and Annenberg School of Communication in the University of South California which offer courses in this field. In the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it is the first policy making institute in the governmental system (Ashena, 2005).

- Ministry of Foreign Affairs

According to the doctrine of the National Security published in 2002, United States of America was

engaged in an ideological war in which it had to make a perfect use of the opportunity of the international society and use a more effective public diplomacy to promote the free passage of information to keep hope for freedom (Nakamura and Weed, 2009: 2). The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of America proposed twelve strategic objectives in its executive plan of 2004, eleventh of which included Public Diplomacy and Public Relations. Subsections of the Ministry in this area were International Office of Information Programs, Cultural and Educational Committee, and the International Radio and Television Broadcasting Office (Darvish, 2005: 270).

- Counseling Committee for the Public Diplomacy

The Counseling committee for the Public Diplomacy has been established by the Congress, and its members are assigned by the will of the president. This commission, which was established in the 1950's, has the responsibility of warning and improving the weak points in the activities of the government, evaluating the policy making in the Public Diplomacy and the programs of the foreign policy, and supervising the foreign missions and those of other institutes of the country (Ibid, 270).

- The Office of Global Communication of the President

The committee responsible for coordinating the policy of foreign communications and the office of President's communication are responsible for executing different aspects of Public Diplomacy of White House. In January 21st of 2003, President George Bush established the Office of Global Communication of the Presidency. This office which is headed by the manager of global communication has to establish agenda and send them to the heads of the Ministries and the subordinate offices in the executive force. These programs include execution of the following issues:

1. Coordination in the quality and quantity of the messages sent by the government and its different organizations.
2. Prevention of misunderstanding of the foreigners when they hear about objectives and policies of the US.
3. Providing a supportive atmosphere for the policies, among its allies.
4. Informing the foreign audiences.

This office has, also, the responsibility of directing strategic activities of global communications and public diplomacy of the US in the following three categories:

1. Daily messages
2. Communication activities and
3. Long term strategies (Johnson and Dale, 2003: 3-4).

The ultimate goal of this office is to manage the messages (information and news) coming to and going from America in different issues, to provide the best possible picture of the behavior of the government, among foreigners. When attacking Iraq, a team of this group was established in Qatar, and during the elections of Loui Jerge in Afghanistan, another team was established in Kabul. They were in close contact with the army forces and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to deliver the White House the messages in their best possible ways, to the media and people of the world (Georgian, 2005: 104).

The information office of the presidency gives a short and effective report of the agenda to the embassies of the US in the world, and all offices and ministries in Washington, every day, with the purpose of making interactions with foreign audiences, as a global messenger. In the body of this daily message, official quotations and the most important policies and official stance of the government is presented in its best possible way (Ibid, 105).

- **US Intelligence Agency**

In 1942, Franklin Roosevelt, the president of the time, adhered to the Public Diplomacy to show reactions to anti-American propaganda devised by the Nazi Germany. He amplified the American Foreign Intelligence Services which had twenty three translators and provided programs and propaganda in twenty seven foreign languages. These activities were expanded after that time, and in August 1953 it turned into United States Information (Intelligence) Agency during the administration of Eisenhower. When establishing this institute, it was announced that its responsibility was to tell the people of the world that the objectives of the US were coordinated with their own objectives to achieve freedom, growth, and peace. In this way they could gain support (Wilson, 2001: 21-22).

- **The Council of National Security**

The Council of National Security is an organization which has met changes in programming, executors, members, and constructs during different administrations and has never enjoyed necessary condition to design, direct, and manage long-term projects. In 1982 during the presidency of Reagan, and in 1999 during the time of Bill Clinton administration, it was attempted to constitutionalize practical patterns for the activities of Public Diplomacy and strategic communications. Later evaluations showed that the procedures adopted were not satisfactory and they had a weak and non-centralized turn out. In September 2004, scientific counselors of Pentagon suggested establishment of President Counselor in the global communication who could be active in giving advices both in National Security and in Communications and sending messages of the US (Epstein, 2006: 8-10).

- **Ministry of Defense**

The Ministry of Defense is less active when following Public Diplomacy, but it is active in the

field of controlling, communicating, commanding, informing, and assisting the deputy of defense in the policy making activities. After September 11 and vivacity of the role of this ministry in the foreign policy of America, Donald Rumsfeld asked his military managers and Pentagon to make the framework and diplomatic programs and strategic communications of the Ministry of Defense in the following areas:

1. Public relations: informing
2. Psychological operations: managing mental images and deception (Samei, 2010: 3)

Radio, Television, and Internet as Instruments Applying Public Diplomacy

The activities of the American International Media are conducted under the supervision of International Broadcasting Administration. In 1990, organizational interactions of the US Media were integrated in a specific organization. About the same period, International Broadcasting Organization of the US integrated three institutes of the Voice of America, Television and global film services, and Marti radio television. They, then, established an institute which was directed under the supervision of the technical and technological office (Rhonda, 2005: 6-7).

In 1994, during the presidency of Clinton, International Radio and Television Broadcasting were established in the Agency and supervised all the international radio and television activities.

The number of staff working in this organization was 3791 and its budget was estimated to be 757.7 million dollars in 2010. This organization produced and broadcasted programs for about three thousand hours in a week. The number of its audience increased to about 71 percent since 2003. The programs of this organization included the following:

(1) Voice of America

Voice of America was established in 1942 by using private sector facilities. This radio which is the largest international radio program of the U.S., possesses 206.5 million dollar budget for broadcasting. It produces and broadcasts 1500 hours program, in 44 different languages, including news, educational and cultural issues, live programs, telephone contacts, and the like (www.bbg.gov, 2011: 1).

(2) Radio of Free Asia

With passing the law of international radio and television in 1944, Radio of Free Asia was founded by a private company in 1996. In the resolution of this radio, the mission of this company is mentioned as follows: Broadcasting news and information for Asian audience who have no access to free and enough information or they are deprived of the right of free speech. This radio is produced and broadcasted for nine Asian languages and its programs include news, analysis, interpretations and cultural programs (Ibid, 2).

(3) Marti Radio and Television (Cuba)

Marti Radio started its programs in 1985 and Marti Television in 1990. Reflecting the local and foreign news of Cuba is the responsibility of this media. As the authorities of the administrative assembly of American Broadcasting has expressed development of democracy and freedom for the Cuban people, without any support is the main choice of this media.

A large number of news channels broadcasting is specified to the Middle East. This part of the world has an indispensable position in the Foreign Policy of America and the non-democratic systems in this area along with their young and prospective population encourages America to direct a large number of its radio and television channels toward this area.

(4) Sowa Radio (in Arabic)

Sowa broadcasts radio programs in 24 hours seven days a week. The programs covered by this radio include music, news interpretations, interviews, sports, and a widespread quantity of political and cultural issues. The stations of this radio are located in Washington and Dubai, and their programs are broadcasted in Jordan, Kuwait, Emirates, Palestine, Qatar, Bahrain, Lebanon, and Sudan (www.bbg.gov, 2002: 1-3).

(5) Al- Horeh Television

Alhoreh is a satellite commercial television channel which produces and broadcasts news and information in Arabic.

This media broadcasts programs like discussions, entertainments, sports, scientific and similar programs for 22 countries in the Middle East, like Iraq and Pakistan. With expansion of fundamentalism in Pakistan and violent confrontations which are the outcomes of religious bias and economic poverty, the media tries to follow an educational approach in relation with its audience (Tamilson, 2007: 1).

(6) Radio of Free Europe (Radio of Freedom)

Radio of Free Europe broadcasts news and information to 19 different countries in which, according to the U S view, there is no or less freedom for the press. The radio broadcasts its programs from Prague to other countries. Radio Farda, which produces programs for Iranians functions under the supervision of this media.

(7) Radio Farda

By the establishment of Free Europe National Committee in New York in 1949, there seemed to be a need for mass media. Because of that managers of this committee attempted to found the Central Office of Free Europe Radio in Munich Germany. This radio broadcasted its initial programs in 1950 for Czech and Slovak areas. The first manager of this whole was John Foster Dulles, the

minister of the Foreign Affairs of America during the presidency of Eisenhower.

Today, Radio Farda broadcasts political, cultural, social, and art news with emphasis on the issues in Iran.

Free Europe Radio/ Radio of Freedom broadcasts its international programs to the East and South East Europe, Russia, Kazakhstan, Middle Asia, Middle East, and South East of Asia with the purpose of the development of democracy. This radio expanded its activities and cooperation with 240 international organizations since 1996 and increased the number of its audience, by using new technological and informative instruments. Free Europe Radio renders its programs in one thousand hours in a week and translates them to 28 languages of the world, like Albanian, Armenian, Arabic, Azeri, Bosnian, Chechenyan, Dari, Pashto, Persian, and the like.

Radio Farda is a sub category of free Europe Radio or Radio of Freedom and is managed under the control and supervision of the Assembly of American Managers (Khalaji, 2007: 1-2).

American Public Diplomacy after September 11

After the Cold War and the event of September 11, America reconstructed its institute and activities in the section of Public Diplomacy and defined new sections and responsibilities for the ministries of Defense and Foreign Affairs. In fact, September 11, like Cold War, can be considered as the focal point in policy making in the domain of Public Diplomacy of America. These policies are centered on facing the phenomenon of Fundamentalism in the Middle East, where most of the attacks against American interests are supported.

Bush administration adopted frequent activities to improve the effectiveness of Public Diplomacy. This center is responsible for coordinating news conferences and critical issues interested by the US, and their spread to the world. A little after

that the Office of Global Communications was founded with the objective of strategic coordination with the global audience.

In September 2002, Condoleezza Rice established the committee for coordinating strategic relations with the objective of coordinating into organizational activities and expansion of the White House messages and their propaganda in the world.

Other institutes which were established during Bush administration, to help precede the Public Diplomacy were as follows:

1. Coordinating committee for making policy of relationship with the world of Islam, with the order of the president.
2. The office of policy making and planning the resources in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and its subsection of Public Diplomacy and General Affairs.
3. Institute for making the road map of Public Diplomacy in the Ministry of Defense in 2003 with the objective of supervising military propaganda and other information related to the war with terrorism, outside the country.

Public Diplomacy programs in the Ministry of Defense, International Development Agency of the US, and the Assembly of the Federal Radio and Television are all sub sections of White House and National Security Assembly, and its budget has increased. The amount of this budget increased to 1.2 Billion Dollars in 2005.

In October 10th of 2001 the Public Diplomacy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs devised four key issues designed by Bush, as the guide for Public Diplomacy of the US.

1. Attacks to the World Trade Center and Pentagon were not anti-American attacks, but against the whole world.
2. Anti-Terrorism War is not Anti Islam War, but Anti Terrorists and their supporters.

3. America supports people of Afghanistan, and because of that has specified 320 million dollars as humanitarian donations to the people of this country.
4. All countries should get united to fight and uproot international terrorism.

This section published and distributed the first pamphlet in 36 languages of the world. In this pamphlet, pictures of the victims of the September 11, along a map of Alqadeh terrorist network in 45 countries is shown.

In the second message, a television program was produced under the title of "shared values" in 15 million dollars, in which the Muslims of the US were shown who have ordinary life and involve in activities like fire-fighting, bakery, medicine, and the like. Another pamphlet was, also, distributed with the title of The Muslims' Life in America, including pictures of Muslims, with the purpose of showing their religious tolerance and freedom. Establishment of Sawa Radio in Arabic had the purpose of communicating with Arab young generation in the Middle East. This radio which is broadcasted from Dubai, received 35 million dollars from the Federal Government, in 2003.

The other activities of this section included the expansion of the American Corners Program which included libraries or cultural activities in American style to be presented in American Embassies with the objective of showing a better picture of the American culture and American life style outside the country (Ron Burnham, 2009: 1-5).

Some programs were, also, produced with the purpose of interacting with the youth and their education, in 61 million dollars to make it possible for Muslim students from the Middle East, North Africa, and South Asia to travel to the US and continue their studies to change the Public Diplomacy as an indispensable part in the planning and execution of foreign policy of the US, by passing the law of popularizing freedom in 2002.

According to this law, 135 million dollars was specified to the broadcasting television programs in the Middle East, in addition to supporting the cultural interchanges and programs for educating foreign Journalists.

Concerning material assistance, also, the American Organization of International Development, which provided American allies in the Middle East with annual financial facilities, was assigned by the congress to play a more effective role in the Public Diplomacy after September 11 and to spend these sources in Humanitarian Plans to improve the image of America in the world or in Islam. After September 11, Its Public Diplomacy was centered on the following issues:

Establishing an organization active in Public Diplomacy to coordinate it with that of other governmental Institutes, Organizing Public Diplomacy in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, More coordination of White House with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the field of Public Diplomacy, Increasing the financial and humanitarian resources, increasing the use of technology, increasing the cooperation of the private sector, providing American academic programs in Arab and Muslim countries, and designing a project shared by public and private sectors with the name of "Foundation of the Future of the World" to provide an ongoing budget separated from that of the Federal, for the programs of international exchanges (Tiedeman, 2004: 23-26).

Public Diplomacy of the U S is concentrated on the World of Islam, after September 11. On this basis, to fight against the Anti- American trend in the region, after the occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq, Public Diplomacy of this country in the Middle East was centered on popularizing democracy.

Publication of journals in 50 thousand copies and making websites in Arabic, in 2003, with the budget of 4.5 million dollars, annually, are other activities of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to familiarize the youth in the Middle East and in the

North of Africa with the American culture, values, and the life style.

In addition to the radio and television networks, internet has also changed to a field for executing the Public Diplomacy and the culture of America in the region, specially, in Egypt. In this regard, Egyptian political activists and webbloggers in the University of Colombia held a conference. Some of the participants in this conference were organizers of the public revolt against Hosni Mubarak, in Al tahrir Square (Ibid, 28-30).

In 2008, eight Egyptian Webbloggers were invited to the U S to observe and make a report of the American Election. In fact, this activity was a part of Kamal Adham Center's program to educate journalists and researchers in the University of Cairo, which received budget from the Federal Government.

Along the mentioned activities, America adopted traditional approaches in Public Diplomacy in the form of cultural interactions to have more influence in Egypt. The most important objective of these activities was providing a better understanding of the American culture by the people of Egypt; programs like concerts, lectures, cultural festivals, and travel tours to the U S. Educational programs were also intended for Egyptian young people to teach them the American life style.

America gives scholarship to 25 Egyptian students and sends 50 American students to this country, every year. During recent years, programs related to the American cultural Diplomacy have been focused on the countries of the region, specially, teaching English language to the Egyptians.

In the program of Cultural Diplomacy for the countries, and specially, for the Egypt, dispatching English teachers, journalists, and leaders of women movements are also planned (Ibid, 31-33).

After September 11, America concentrated on encouraging democracy and economic freedom among Muslim communities. The objective has

been to increase the understanding of the Muslim Youth of the American values, policies, norms and cultures to propagate its life style in the Middle East.

Conclusion

The use of Public Diplomacy by the foreign policy of the US can be divided into two periods: Establishment of the American Intelligence Agency since the beginning of the Second World War to the end of the Cold War. The significance of this Agency was to concentrate on the confrontation with the Nazi Germany and later with the Communism in news broadcasting during the time of the War. It seems that the involvement of America in war, especially, when dealing with ideologies which had the intention of dominating the world, had a direct role in systematizing its Public Diplomacy. This ideological involvement was activated when America itself became the promoter of Liberalism and Capitalism. The emphasis of institutes responsible for Public Diplomacy was on prevention of the expansion of communism to the West Europe, the Middle East, and Eastern Asia, during the Cold War period. Many of the broadcasting networks which were at the service of Public Diplomacy of America were established at this period.

The second stage of Public Diplomacy was the bulk of activities performed after September 11 as follows:

1. Special attention and specification of budget to the broadcasting networks of Al Horeh- radio of freedom, most of whose programs were in Arabic and Persian.
2. Founding new offices in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
3. Specification of budget to the Ministry of Defense to give coverage to the news of war in the region, and,
4. Increasing cultural interactions with the citizens in the region.

In the recent decade, America relied more on its software and cultural powers to confront Fundamentalism, while keeping its power and influence in the Middle East. This has been the most challenging issue in the foreign policy of the U S in Public Diplomacy.

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