

# The New Public Diplomacy Imperative

America's Vital Need to Communicate Strategically

Matthew Wallin

August 2012

## IN BRIEF

- **Public Diplomacy is a vital element of national security which requires strategic long-term planning.**
- **Listening to foreign publics allows the U.S. to craft policy and messaging that better achieves strategic objectives.**
- **Communicators must be credible to the target audience.**
- **Messaging loses credibility if actions are not taken to provide support. Failure to support communication with policy results in an erosion of trust.**
- **Appropriate metrics must be developed to measure program effectiveness.**
- **In order to maximize the effectiveness of public diplomacy, the U.S. must first and foremost strengthen the quality of its narrative and strategic messaging.**
- **Digital communication does not substitute other effective mediums. A variety of mediums must often be used to achieve desired results.**

## CONTENTS

Introduction	2
Defining Public Diplomacy	3
Public Diplomacy is an Important Element of National Security	4
The Structural Problem	5
The Challenge	6
Case Studies	7
Best Practices	21
Connecting Best Practices to the Case Studies	32
Evaluating Public Diplomacy	33
Conclusions	34

# Introduction

In 2008, the American Security Project (ASP) outlined its vision for building *A New American Arsenal*, highlighting diplomacy as a crucial element of our national security strategy. Diplomacy in itself has many facets—some conducted behind closed doors and some conducted very visibly.

ASP is concerned that since the end of the Cold War, the United States has exercised neither coherent nor strategically minded communication with overseas populations.

Since that time, these “publics” have also expressed reservations over the intentions and credibility of American foreign policy. This has had broad implications for national security, leading us to identify *public diplomacy* as an area needing greater focus.

In this increasingly interconnected society, ASP believes that in order to enhance our national security, diplomacy must be about more than governments talking to other governments.

More than ever before, the populations of countries play a greater role in international discourse. The changing nature of our world, reduced in size by advances in transportation, communications technology, and economics, means that otherwise disparate populations now have deeply shared interests.



President Reagan at the Brandenburg Gate.

Not only does our foreign policy affect the lives of populations overseas—the success of much of it is now dependent on the cooperation of those publics. Their cooperation has implications for U.S. national security as we often rely on the vigilance of people overseas to protect American lives and interests.

Over the past decade, the military has taken on a large share of the responsibility for communicating American policies overseas. It has increasingly become the face of America in regions where we experience the toughest challenges with regard to the American image. Despite the military’s growing role, for the purposes of this report, we will focus more on the general issues of American public diplomacy rather than military information operations. ASP will address the efforts of the U.S. military as a communicator in future reports.

During the Cold War, public diplomacy was a strategic priority worthy of having its own independent government agency. This is no longer the case. The past 20 years have witnessed a crisis in American public diplomacy, and an inability to credibly articulate what America stands for to foreign audiences.

This report will explore several issues, including: how public diplomacy is defined, why it’s important for our national security, case studies, best practices, and an exploration of issues in measuring its success. We hope this will serve to educate people better about public diplomacy and foster serious discussion on how to reestablish and sustain a strong American message.

# Defining Public Diplomacy

While there are many ways to define public diplomacy (PD), for the purpose of this report, it will be defined as:

*Communication with foreign publics for the purpose of achieving a foreign policy objective.*

There are several elements of public diplomacy important to understanding the broad scope of its application. Dr. Nicholas Cull of the University of Southern California identifies these elements as: listening, advocacy, cultural diplomacy, international exchange, international broadcasting, and psychological warfare.<sup>1</sup> There are many facets to each of these elements, and some may question the inclusion of psychological warfare, but each is a demonstrable method of communication with foreign publics.

For government entities employing PD as a strategic element, it is vital to have a fundamental understanding of both its purpose and its limits. Though sometimes the purpose of specific projects or programs may appear vague, they are ultimately intended to achieve an effect with regards to the conduct of foreign policy.

Public diplomacy also has to be about more than simply explaining America to the world. It has to be about building partnerships, finding commonality, sharing challenges, and demonstrating why America is a great nation. Not only must America show why it is good for the world, it must be used to show that the world is good for America.

It's crucial to understand and appreciate that PD is often a long-term element of strategy. The effects of even the best public diplomacy often occur over the course of a generation. Minds are shaped by experience, and experience takes time to accrue and develop. While short term effects can be achieved, they cannot always be expected or accurately measured.



Public diplomacy can be seen as the means by which foreign publics can get aboard with policy. The speeding train of foreign policy can kill someone standing on the tracks, or instead, it can move them. The role of public diplomacy is to provide a platform for people to board that train rather than stand in its way. Yet merely providing a platform doesn't mean people will board that train if it isn't headed to the right destination.

PD is not a "cure-all," and cannot be expected to make up for shortcomings in policy. It cannot resolve issues all on its own, but must be part of a greater multifaceted strategy. No amount of good communication will placate an angry foreign public that feels negatively affected by issues beyond communications efforts.

Public diplomacy and strategic communication should be understood as tools that must inform the policy making process. They can be used to collect information vital to crafting policy that achieves U.S. objectives, especially when the participation of foreign publics is a mandatory factor in securing those objectives. Paraphrasing Edward R. Murrow, President Kennedy's Director of the United States Information Agency (USIA), public diplomacy must be in on the take-offs of policy and not just the crash landings. Amongst practitioners and academics, the phrase may be considered cliché at this point, but it goes ignored far too often. PD cannot be expected to make up for or act as a band-aid over ineffective policy.

While public diplomacy is viewed by many as being more effective when PD practitioners are involved in the policy planning process, there are sometimes situations in which the national interest trumps the necessity to shape policy that's acceptable to foreign audiences. A pertinent example of this understanding is the cross-

border raid in which the U.S. killed Osama bin Laden—a policy decision which was met with significant disapproval by the Pakistani public.<sup>2</sup> However, considering that Pakistani opinion towards the U.S. was already dismal, there was no statistically significant change in overall opinion due to the raid.<sup>3</sup>

Though it's important that PD should be considered during the planning process, it is a reality of international relations and policy making that public diplomacy efforts are subservient to achieving goals within a national security framework. Even when this is the case, and policy sometimes proves to be unpopular, policy makers must be aware of the public diplomacy ramifications of enacted policy, so they can best be prepared to react. This includes understanding that “explaining America” may not mitigate the negative reactions that its policies generate.

---



---

## PD is an Important Element of National Security

A number of national security related events over the course of more than a decade have fueled a new interest in how America is perceived abroad. These events include the 9/11 attacks, the subsequent war in Afghanistan, and the Iraq War. Because of the history surrounding these events, it can easily be argued that engagement with the Islamic world is the most significant public diplomacy challenge the United States has faced since the end of the Cold War.

Many of the problems the U.S. faces overseas could be better addressed with attention to the public diplomacy implications of policy decisions. For instance, policy makers misinterpreted the amount of good will expected from liberating the Iraqi people from the rule of Saddam Hussein. This can be partially attributed to our instigation of and subsequent failure to support the Shia Uprising of 1991, an event seen by that population as a betrayal by the United States.<sup>4</sup> Ultimately, this event put the lives of American soldiers at risk, when 12 years later, there was no effective plan for the tumultuous aftermath of the liberation of Iraq and the entrance of Al Qaeda.

Today's challenges, from energy security to preventing terrorism, are worldwide challenges that can only be solved collaboratively. These challenges require buy-in from domestic and foreign populations alike. Understanding this is imperative. The United States has neither the resources nor the capability to “go it alone” in this modern, interconnected world. Foreign opinion matters and is an important factor in tapping the collective power of populations. As UCLA Adjunct Professor Barry Sanders puts it:

*Resentments prevent collaboration. The future of American power lies in its ability to be at the center of all the varied webs of international relationships. The United States' reputation among the leaders and people of other nations determines how well it can assume this roll.<sup>5</sup>*

This has been recognized on a governmental level as well. The 2010 National Security Strategy acknowledges the value of comprehensive engagement with foreign publics:

*The United States Government will make a sustained effort to engage civil society and citizens and facilitate increased connections among the American people and peoples around the world—through efforts ranging from public service and educational exchanges, to increased commerce and private sector partnerships. In many instances, these modes of engagement have a powerful and enduring impact beyond our borders, and are a cost-effective way of projecting a positive vision of American leadership.<sup>6</sup>*

Furthermore, the need for productive communication with foreign publics is an important factor in creating collective security, and the U.S. often relies on foreigners to help facilitate this. In a place like Afghanistan, good public diplomacy can mean the difference between a villager reporting the location of an IED, or planting it himself.

Is public diplomacy a solution in itself? No, but it is certainly a vital component in developing encompassing solutions that address the fundamental challenges jointly faced by world populations.

---

---

## The Structural Problem

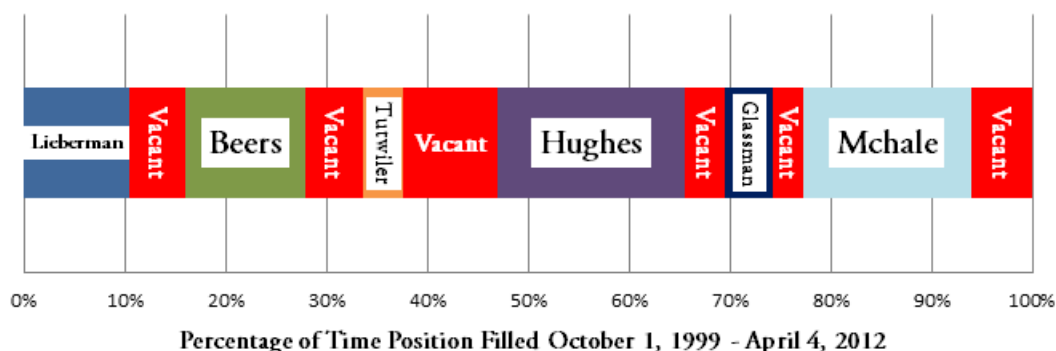
Much of the debate over the issues facing American public diplomacy has centered on the structural and institutional difficulties plaguing the PD apparatus. Since the dissolution of the United States Information Agency (USIA) in 1999, much of the responsibility for U.S. public diplomacy has been integrated into the State Department, while broadcasting institutions like Voice of America operate separately under the Broadcasting Board of Governors.

The Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs position, created with the integration of USIA into State, has yet to prove effective:

- The position has remained unfilled 30% of the time since its creation in 1999.<sup>7</sup>
- Prior to the recent appointment of Tara Sonenshine, there have been six people serving in this position, with an average tenure of 512 days.
- The amount of time this position, which the State Department equates to that of a four star general, has remained unfilled can be seen to demonstrate a lack of will, attention and seriousness by both the executive and legislative branches.
- The typically short tenures of those serving in this position may be indicative of their frustration or inability to accomplish their goals.

But even after six different people at the helm, the state of public diplomacy in the U.S. remains much in the same state that it has over the past 10 years: under-financed, under-resourced, under-led and under the radar.

### Time Served by Under Secretaries for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs



Though equipped with many of the modern tools of communication, American public diplomacy has seemed unable to cope with the political and strategic reality it faces.

Further eroding PD's support resources, Congress did not reauthorize the only government body charged with analyzing PD efforts—the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy.<sup>8</sup>

For these reasons, much of the debate about how to improve U.S. PD from the structural standpoint is not

relevant, because it has not proven relevant enough to policy makers who *can* change it, and there is not enough momentum on the subject to successfully catalyze change. What *is* relevant to the PD debate is the content—what is the message the U.S. is trying to convey, and how do we connect it to good policy that is both consistent with American ideals and increases national security? Only after fixing the content will American PD become able to gather the support it needs to make headway again in Washington.

---

## The Challenge

Modern communication faces challenges not fully experienced in decades past. The information revolution, ushered in by television, satellites, the internet, and the 24 hour news networks, has created an environment in which governments are far from being the most trusted or relied upon sources of communication. Many government communications efforts are automatically interpreted with suspicion or doubt. Public diplomacy has to be about establishing trust-relationships with foreign populations, and demonstrating why that public should place value in the word of the United States. Yet these are far from being the only obstacles that must be overcome.

On a daily basis, individuals are bombarded with information from a variety of sources. In this media and information-saturated environment, it is often difficult to ensure that a message is heard. Though the credibility of both the message and the messenger count, they are not guarantors of messaging effectiveness in a sea of competing voices. As George Washington University Professor Bruce Gregory states, “Attention — not information — is today’s scarce resource.”<sup>9</sup> There are several things to keep in mind when assuming that a message will be effective or even be noticed in the sea of information:

- Time has become a more valuable commodity than ever.
- Attention spans are increasingly limited in the modern age of instant communication.
- People have little time to absorb content, yet nuance is vital.
- Mass messaging has to overcome a variety of differing interests and opinions and still appeal.

Keeping all of this in mind, Gregory casts doubt on the ability of governments to be effective communicators, stipulating, “With few exceptions government signals in information rich media environments are no longer competitive.”<sup>10</sup>

Certainly the advent of newer, cheaper, and more widely available technology has contributed to the decline of the power of the government message. It is not only easier to create counter-narratives to government messaging, it is easier to drown it out. For instance, as of July 2012, the State Department’s official twitter account had over 301,000 followers. While that is no small number, keep in mind Britney Spears has just over 18,647,000. Of the top 190 tweeters with the most followers, President Obama is the only government affiliate or agency represented.<sup>11</sup> This demonstrates the limited reach of officials and agencies who wish to use specific online tools to connect with broad audiences—there is a great deal of competition for limited attention. Users of these tools must have a strong understanding of what they can and cannot accomplish with social media.

Over the past 20 years, we have witnessed a democratization of information that challenges the traditional role of governments as arbiters of information. Governments and large corporations no longer monopolize the tools of messaging, and in many cases are no longer major players. They are often slow to react, slow to innovate, and lack the agility necessary to change at a rapid pace. When planning PD campaigns, national governments and their institutions need to understand their weaknesses in this realm, and seek to get ahead of the game rather than lagging behind.

# Case Studies

After analyzing some of the issues and challenges in public diplomacy, the next step is to look at actual case studies.

Rather than looking at the many small-scale projects undertaken by individual embassies and consulates overseas, this report will look at large scale strategic projects or events with PD implications. They represent a mixed bag of issues, with varying degrees of success and failure.

The purpose of these case studies is to observe challenges of public diplomacy in practice, and to better understand what does or does not work. As will be seen, what may seem like a good idea during development may not fare so well in practice. In other cases, good ideas are sometimes not implemented to their full potential, or lack a comprehensive strategic plan across multiple means of communication.

Following these case studies, the report will feature 10 best practices that policy makers and practitioners should consider for future public diplomacy efforts.



## The Cairo Promises

On June 4, 2009, President Obama made the first overseas speech of his presidency at Cairo University, signifying his desire for the United States to seek “A New Beginning” with the Muslim world. The speech was ripe with cultural and political sensitivity, and tuned to appeal to directly to its target audience. In wording, it was masterful. An Egyptian political science student remarked on his choice of words, stating, “It was significant to use peace upon Mohammad, *salaam aleikum*, a lot of parts from Quran. It means for us that it’s a new approach and he specially understands where are we [sic] coming from.”<sup>12</sup>

Yet, as the old adage goes, actions speak louder than words. “A New Beginning” made a lot of promises, including:<sup>13</sup>

1. Honoring the Status of Forces agreement signed under the Bush Administration, which set a timetable for withdrawal from Iraq.
2. Prohibiting the use of torture by the U.S.
3. Closing the Guantanamo Bay Detention Facility by early 2010.
4. Personally pursuing the two state resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict with “all the patience and dedication the task requires.”
5. Supporting democracy and human rights “everywhere.”
6. Partnering with “any” Muslim-majority country to expand literacy for girls and micro-financing efforts to help create employment opportunities.



President Obama speaking in Cairo.

7. Expanding exchange programs and scholarships.
8. Matching Muslim students with internships in the U.S.
9. Investing in online learning for teachers and students around the world.
10. Creating an online network so “a young person in Kansas can communicate instantly with a young person in Cairo.”
11. Creating a new corps of business volunteers to partner with counterparts in Muslim countries.
12. Hosting a Summit on Entrepreneurship in 2009 in order to identify methods for deepening ties between business leaders, foundations, and social entrepreneurs.
13. Launching a fund to support technological development in Muslim-majority countries.
14. Opening “scientific centers of excellence” in Africa, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia.
15. Appointing new science envoys to collaborate on programs that focus on new sources of energy, green jobs, digitizing records, clean water, and growing new crops.
16. Initiating a new global effort with the Organization of the Islamic Conference to eliminate polio.
17. Expanding partnerships with Muslim communities to promote child and maternal health.



Detainees at Guantanamo Bay.

While President Obama delivered on a number of these fronts, he has failed to accomplish several key promises made in the speech, leading to general skepticism by populations towards whom the speech was targeted. These failures include closing the Guantanamo Bay Detention Facility, pursuing an end to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, supporting democracy *everywhere*, and establishing a new relationship with Iran.<sup>14</sup> Of course, some of these issues are affected by factors not entirely under his control—such as domestic politics—but those are considerations that should have been made before promising them as part of a “new beginning.” These unfulfilled promises continued a trend of disappointment in the eyes of many Muslims.

Dalia Mogahed, who helped draft the speech, identified that despite having carried out several of the promises in the speech, the intended effect was not reached. She explained to *Spiegel Online*:

*Many people in the administration would make a strong case that there have been a lot of things that have happened as part of a follow-up on the Cairo address. They would point to partnerships that have been built in the field of science and technology and work that has been done on entrepreneurship, loan guarantees and partnerships to address health problems like polio. So there are definitely two sides to this issue. But what is clear is that, from the point of view of the Arab public, especially, not enough has been done.*<sup>15</sup>

Mogahed accurately describes the problem of perception, noting that from the view of the target audience, not enough has been done. However, further in her interview with *Spiegel Online*, she mistakenly identifies the President’s words as a form of action in itself.<sup>16</sup> Words may have represented action during the Cold War, as demonstrated by Ronald Reagan’s historic call to tear down the Berlin Wall, but that is simply not as effective a tactic in skeptical modern times.

The Cairo Speech represents a “missed opportunity” due to its correctness in approach, but fumbled execution. Speech is a powerful tool, especially when made by the President, but only when coupled with action. Even if



much of that action was carried out, the failure to deliver on several of the most vital issues led to a perception of overall failure and insincerity. Perception matters, as the message received by the audience counts more than the message delivered.

If the Cairo Speech was intended to improve the image of the United States in the Arab world, the indicators are startling. In Egypt, the Pew Global Attitudes survey actually indicated a decline by 10 percentage points in U.S. favorability from 2009-2010, dropping from 27% down to 10%.<sup>17</sup> Confidence in President Obama himself to “do the right thing in world affairs” also dropped from 42% to 33% in the same period.<sup>18</sup> Did “A New Beginning” accomplish what it set out to do? By these metrics, it would appear not.

### Take-aways

- It is vital to keep promises that are made when attempting to establish a trust relationship.
- Broken promises reduce credibility and the effectiveness of future messaging.
- Words without action are merely words, and actually further sentiments of disappointment when not followed through with policy commitments.



## Branding the Global War on Terror

The September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks were a defining moment in American foreign policy, and served to create new interest in America’s public diplomacy discourse. They also unified large portions of the world in support of America. NATO invoked Article 5 for the first time in its history, declaring the attacks on the U.S. to be an attack on all of the NATO allies.<sup>19</sup> Even in Iran, crowds turned out in Tehran’s Mohseni square to pay respects to victims of the attack,<sup>20</sup> and 60,000 people in a stadium observed a moment of silence.<sup>21</sup>

Over the years, the definition of terrorism has been widely debated, and in 2001, the different agencies of the American government had not yet agreed on a universal definition.<sup>22</sup> According to U.S. legal code, terrorism is “premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents.”<sup>23</sup> Yet over the past 11 years, there were never defining parameters set on what a “war on terror” would mean for the rest of the world, and exactly who would be considered terrorists. Was America fighting terrorism as a tactic or an ideology? Was it fighting both? These answers have never been entirely clear. Terrorism is not the monolithic blocks the U.S. has fought in the past—it is not Japanese Imperialism, it is not Nazism, and it is not Communism.



It’s important to understand that the term “War on Terror” was originally conceived to appeal to a domestic audience, but ultimately saw international consequences. Though the term “war on terror(ism)” has been used in history before, it became prominently associated with American post-9/11 efforts after President Bush used the term in his September 20<sup>th</sup> address to Congress.<sup>24</sup> Shortly thereafter, in the 2002 State of the Union Address, President Bush coined the term “axis of evil,” referring to North Korea, Iraq and Iran.

Former British Foreign Minister David Miliband explained the problems with the term “War on Terror” succinctly, when he argued that it effectively lumped “otherwise disparate groups” together in a “common cause against the west.”<sup>25</sup> Miliband further contended:

*The more we lump terrorist groups together and draw the battle lines as a simple binary struggle between moderates and extremists or good and evil, the more we play into the hands of those seeking to unify groups with little in common... The war on terror implied a belief that the correct response to the terrorist threat was primarily a military one - to track down and kill a hardcore [sic] of extremists.<sup>26</sup>*

While there are indeed elements of terror that can only be responded to with the application of violence, killing terrorists does not necessarily break down the networks that support them. Nor does it necessarily dissuade potential recruits from taking up arms. The longevity of the war also contributed to opposition against it, as there were never ridged enough parameters or objectives put in place to declare an end. Such prolonged campaigns of violence (even when justified) may be counterproductive and spurn resentment that ultimately raises the level of risk.



The War also very quickly became a debate about the role of Islam. Soon after the attacks, President Bush began making statements about the nature of Islam in an effort to disassociate it with terrorism.<sup>27</sup> Though intending to convince people that Islam had nothing to do with the war, the constant comments on the nature of Islam had the opposite effect of actually making discussions of extremist Islam analogous with the war.

After assuming the Presidency, Obama continued Bush's attempt to disassociate Islam from the War on Terror, but by other means. Rather than stepping into the debate about Islamic principles, Obama eliminated use of the term "War on Terror" and reframed it specifically as a war against Al Qaeda, arguing that terrorism is a tactic, not an ideology.<sup>28</sup> There have been different reactions domestically to this change; some argue that it is more effective while others state that it ignores the threat of Islamic terrorism against the U.S. In 2010, Stuart Gottlieb of *The Christian Science Monitor* argued that the new language hadn't proven effective, causing a decline in public trust, and demonstrated by growing Muslim pessimism about the Obama Presidency.<sup>29</sup> In contrast, David Ignatius argued that Osama bin Laden's own assessment of Obama's change in language, as revealed in documents retrieved during the raid that killed him, signified that it was effectively damaging global support for Al Qaeda.<sup>30</sup>

Whether effective or ineffective, the War on Terror entered the regular parlance of Americans and foreigners alike as a way of simplifying and describing something that was not well understood. It was an all-encompassing term used to describe the entirety of American military operations after 9/11. Unfortunately, the rhetoric surrounding the term and the fashion in which it was used had the significant downside of being deemed a never-ending war *of* terror by its skeptics.

From a public diplomacy standpoint, both the policies and the language of the War on Terror have been used as a rallying cry by foreign publics against the United States, in many ways accomplishing the opposite of what was originally intended. Most worryingly, it was used by enemies of America for their own propaganda purposes.

In the end, the War on Terror demonstrated a loss of control of the narrative. Though the intentions behind the war were noble in seeking to protect and insulate civilians from violence, the reality of warfare proved quite different. Particularly as seen in post-Saddam Iraq, the frightening amount of sectarian and terrorist violence indicated that the original intention of protecting civilians was incredibly difficult to achieve.

## Take-aways

- Narrative is important—actions must support the narrative.
- Entering into discussion about the nature of religion is dangerous.
- Tactics are different from ideology.
- Caution should be exercised to not unite disparate hostile groups into unified action.



## The Shared Values Initiative

In an effort to demonstrate the United States was a friendly nation towards Islam, a campaign was launched in late 2002 that depicted the lives of Muslims living in America. Lasting several months, the Shared Values Initiative (SVI) included a series of commercials aired in the Middle East and Asia demonstrating the “positive aspects of Muslim life in America.”<sup>31</sup>

The initiative included several components, including speeches by diplomats, and the use of internet chat rooms and websites.<sup>32</sup> The commercials explored the success stories of a Muslim baker, doctor, school teacher, journalist and firefighter, and highlighted their freedom to pursue their careers in a tolerant society without facing discrimination.

Preliminary testing for SVI was conducted using a sample audience of 105 international students at Regents College in London.<sup>33</sup> The Initiative performed well in this environment, which was chosen due to the perceived importance in reaching susceptible young men.<sup>34</sup> However, the premise of using a non-random sample of students living in a Western nation as a representative sample of greater Muslim society was questionable methodology.<sup>35</sup>

Despite positive feedback given by the sample audience, SVI turned out to be completely ineffective when it premiered to real-world audiences. SVI suffered from several conceptual problems, not the least of which was ineffective listening and misunderstanding the target audience. The advertising campaign incorrectly assumed that the Muslim audiences needed evidence of successful Muslims in America to prove that the U.S. Government did not have anti-Islamic policies abroad. This assumption demonstrated a serious misunderstanding of the perceptions of the target audience. As Dr. Nicholas Cull explains it:

*The problem [with SVI] was that it answered a question that no one was asking. Muslim hostility to the U.S.A was based not on an erroneous idea that Arab-Americans had a hard time in Dearborn, Michigan, but a fairly accurate idea of American policy in the Middle East.*<sup>36</sup>

Additionally, SVI was more prone to spurning resentment of the American Muslims depicted in the commercials than to easing the concerns of its target audience. The success of Muslims living in the U.S. has no significant bearing on Muslims living elsewhere—who feel unable to achieve the political or monetary fortune of the American Islamic community. Barry Sanders explains:

*Arabs in poor homelands know well the prosperity of their cousins who managed to do what they cannot: emigrate to the United States...Prosperous Arab Americans have achieved a dream that is denied to those who cannot get visas or who for other reasons cannot follow in their footsteps. Showing the success of other Arabs heightened the sting of thwarted ambition in societies where envy is a natural, open response.*<sup>37</sup>

The one-sided positive depiction of Muslim life in the U.S. also contradicted news reports of discrimination and hostility towards Muslims that was prominent in the aftermath of 9/11,<sup>38</sup> further challenging the credibility of the message.

Ultimately, SVI was ineffective because it didn't communicate to the target audience about issues that affected the target audience. The assumption that the message would resonate with the intended audience based on preliminary testing was incorrect, as the sample audience used was non-representative of the target population. SVI was misconceived, misbranded, and improperly executed—all because its planners failed to *listen*.

### Take-aways

- Identifying the target audience is vital—testing should include representative samples.
- Listening allows one to better craft messages and identify issues important to the target audience.
- Public diplomacy is not strictly advertising or PR.

## Alhurra TV

Alhurra TV is the U.S. government-funded Arab language satellite news channel broadcasting to the Middle East. Alhurra, meaning “the free one” in Arabic, defines its mission statement as:

*...to provide objective, accurate, and relevant news and information to the people of the Middle East about the region, the world, and the United States. Alhurra supports democratic values by expanding the spectrum of ideas, opinions, and perspectives available in the region's media.*<sup>39</sup>

Based in Springfield, Virginia, Alhurra has faced consistent scrutiny over the size of its audience since its first broadcast in 2004.

On one hand external surveys and monitoring have depicted a negligible audience share. The Broadcasting Board of Governors, which oversees the Middle East Broadcasting Networks (the parent company of Alhurra and Radio Sawa), has used different metrics to portray a reasonably large reach of 26.7 million people in FY2011.<sup>40</sup> On the other hand, a 2009 University of Maryland/Zogby poll of Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Saudi Arabia and the UAE placed Alhurra at 2% of viewers who choose it as their primary news broadcast source.<sup>41</sup> The metrics here both attempt to explain the size of Alhurra's audience, but approach the question differently. The BBG estimate is a reach-based metric, formulated on the number of people who view any Alhurra programming for any period at least once a week.<sup>42</sup> But which is the more relevant metric: preference or reach?



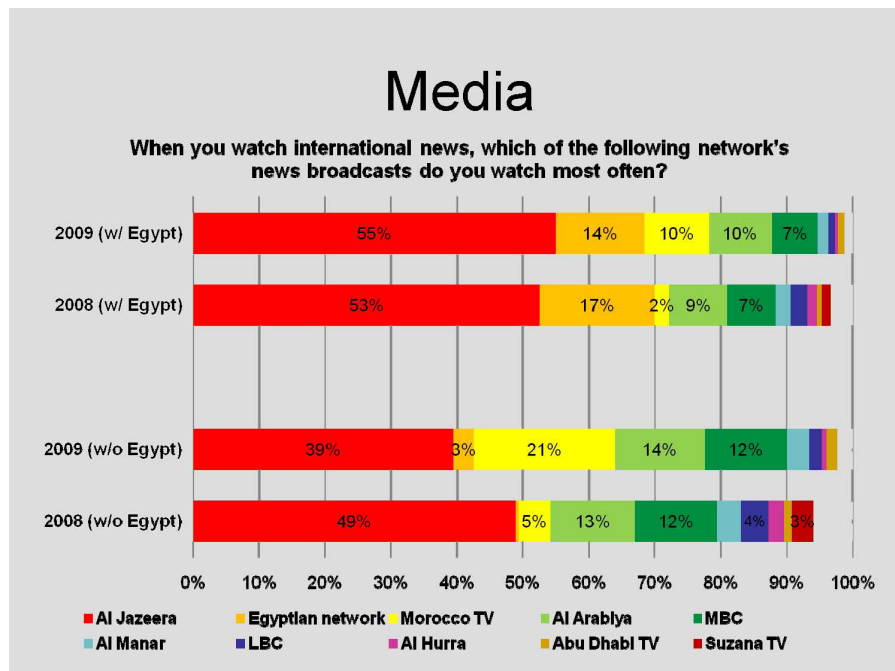
The Alhurra Studio.

Though there is value to both of these metrics, and the BBG claims its survey procedures are in-line with international standards, this does not fully answer questions about whether reach matters. Does watching Alhurra for 5 minutes a week as a result of channel surfing provide any information on what that individual

gets out of that 5 minutes? Does ranking another news outlet as your primary source mean you watch that outlet 55% of the time, or 100% of the time? While the BBG contracts ACNielsen to perform its surveys, Nielsen ratings in the Middle East do not work like they do in America, as Middle-Easterners don't have set-top boxes that track viewing habits. The BBG has also not released data indicating actual viewing time. In a 2006 GAO report, the BBG was criticized for using non-probability samples in its audience reach estimates, and for failing to provide a fully documented accounting of its methodology. The report concluded:

*...we determined that MBN's reported audience size and credibility estimates are not statistically reliable and are rather rough estimates of performance.*<sup>43</sup>

These discrepancies, coupled with Alhurra's relatively large budget, would seem to require a government-mandated, non-BBG audit to effectively gauge Alhurra's audience performance.



Source: Univ. of Maryland / Zogby Int. 2009 Annual Arab Public Opinion Survey

There are a number of factors that can be attributed to troubles finding an audience, not the least of which includes the massive number of satellite channels available in the Middle East. Arabsat, a leading satellite broadcaster to the Middle East, lists 380 TV channels.<sup>44</sup> One problem with the premise of an Arab-language U.S.-sponsored channel is the assumption that it would provide Arab audiences with a perspective or information that they are not able to obtain elsewhere.<sup>45</sup> Today's Arab media market is incredibly saturated, as demonstrated by the sheer number of satellite channels available. This, of course, includes access to various Western media outlets.

Another issue revolves around the ability for Alhurra to gain credibility in the Arab world. For a news organization to be journalistically credible, it must be a neutral arbiter of information, but still be consistent with how Arabs view the world around them. This means that stories might inevitably contain information that is critical of American policy or coverage of anti-American leaders in the region. Reporting in this way, however, has caused Alhurra to take serious flak from influential critics in the U.S.<sup>46</sup> A 2008 USC Center on Public Diplomacy report on Alhurra explained the reasoning for why Al Jazeera, the Middle East's most successful news organization, has proved so popular:

...most of Al Jazeera's viewers consider credibility to be a news provider's most important attribute, and these viewers want news that is gathered independently for Arabs by Arabs, and that sees events through their eyes.<sup>47</sup>

Alhurra has faced several credibility issues with Arab populations, including the perception that it is perceived as an American propaganda channel. It has also appeared to be out of touch; when Hamas leader Ahmed Yassin was killed in 2004, Alhurra skipped covering the event and instead continued broadcasting a cooking show.<sup>48</sup>

Furthermore, Alhurra faces an existential conflict revolving around its mandate in the International Broadcasting Act of 1994 to "be consistent with the broad foreign policy objectives of the United States" while serving as an objective media outlet.<sup>49</sup> While this is a requirement for all U.S. international broadcasting apparatuses, Alhurra has faced particular scrutiny from multiple sources and political dispositions. For instance, when



An Alhurra reporter interviews an Egyptian protester.

Alhurra covered an hour-long live speech by Hezbollah leader, Hassan Nasrallah, Joel Mowbray fiercely attacked the channel in a *Wall Street Journal* editorial.<sup>50</sup> At the time, the head of Alhurra, Larry Register, defended Alhurra's decision to air the Nasrallah speech, stating "...every other Arab channel in the Middle East carried it. I think you look kind of un-credible if you don't cover it."<sup>51</sup>

Despite these criticisms, it is important to note that the coverage provided by Alhurra during the Egyptian uprising in 2011 was commended and generally viewed positively. This includes winning the 2011 Association for International Broadcasting's People's Choice Award for its coverage of the protests.<sup>52</sup> BBG also cites that Alhurra's audience reach doubled in Egypt following

its coverage of the revolution.<sup>53</sup> Alhurra's Iraq station has proven its most successful effort, attributable to better "local" coverage of Iraq-specific issues and greater access to broadcasts through increased terrestrial transmissions.<sup>54</sup>

In the end, Alhurra has certainly been controversial. It has been attacked from many sides of the political and academic spectrum, and its effectiveness has been repeatedly called into doubt. External analysis has continuously provided different conclusions than the BBG's own audience metrics. There needs to be an up-to-date inquiry into Alhurra, as most of the information on its activities is several years old. International broadcasting has long been a central tenant of American public diplomacy, but in a changing world, broadcasting, too, has to change to fit the expectations of the audience. The fundamental questions to ask about Alhurra are: "Is it accomplishing its goals? Who is the actual audience? Is it the American taxpayer, or the 'Arab Street'?"

Yet despite the controversy, the decision to create Alhurra was well-intentioned and indicates an appreciation of the historic value of international broadcasting. It sought to provide a source of credible news in local language, as well as an American viewpoint on current affairs, both of which are noble intentions. Yet in practice, these intentions have not been fully realized.

Though it has faced intense criticism in the media and Congress, Alhurra cannot be used to solely push the American viewpoint. To do so severely damages its credibility to the target audience. To counteract opposition in Congress, when Alhurra does air the views of individuals or groups contrary to American ideals or values, it *must* make an effort to provide context and debate these views. Credible journalism must be *truthful*, and that sometimes involves acknowledging and presenting information that may not favor the host government. The BBC does this—Voice of America does this. Alhurra has to do this as well.

## Take-aways

- Crowded media markets are difficult realms to break through.
- Metrics matter; BBG's metrics come to different conclusions than other organizations.
- Credible media must provide multiple perspectives but provide context.
- Presenting material that is always openly pro-American appears as propagandistic—reducing credibility, audience, and effectiveness.



## The Karen Hughes Listening Tour

In September 2005, Undersecretary for Public Diplomacy Karen Hughes departed on a “listening tour” of the Middle East, followed by trips to Indonesia and Malaysia. The tour was resoundingly criticized from all sides for a myriad of reasons. But given that listening is such an integral part of public diplomacy, why did a “listening” tour fail?

One problem is that Hughes demonstrated little understanding of the issues discussed with Muslims on her tour of the Middle East. In Saudi Arabia, Hughes pushed issues of equal rights for women, including the issue of driving. Her remarks met a great deal of opposition, and women stated they were happy and didn't need to drive.<sup>55</sup> Throughout her tour, Hughes also frequently made the point that she was a working mother. Marc Lynch argues that her attempt to connect with audiences using her love of children was “deeply patronizing, infantilizing, and condescending.”<sup>56</sup> USA Today characterized Hughes at times as coming across as “preachy and culturally insensitive.”<sup>57</sup>



Under Secretary Karen Hughes on tour.

Regional media was also highly critical of the tour. At the time of Hughes' resignation, Rami G. Khouri wrote in the Daily Star (Lebanon):

*She assumed that the problem was that foreigners misunderstood American values or foreign policy goals - but she never tried to understand Arab-Muslims in the same way she asked them to understand her country and its policies.*

*She never understood that her brand of moralizing and arrogant cultural cheerleading - “Go, Muslims, go! Reach for the sky! You can be modern and democratic, if you really try!” - was part of the problem, not part of the solution. She failed to grasp that she was handicapped from the start by trying to make us love a country whose pro-Israeli, pro-Arab autocrats foreign policy - and now the Iraq fiasco - has devastated our lands and cultures for nearly half a century.”<sup>58</sup>*

She also made several factual errors in her responses to questions, incorrectly stating that President Bush was the first President to call for a Palestinian state,<sup>59</sup> and claiming that the U.S. Constitution contained the phrase “one nation under God.”<sup>60</sup> In Indonesia, Hughes fallaciously claimed that Saddam Hussein had gassed “hundreds of thousands” of his own people, and was continuously bombarded with questions critical of American foreign policy.<sup>61</sup>

Unfortunately, as Khouri stated, the listening tour failed to accommodate the central tenet of actually listening. Though Hughes took the time to speak to average people, she demonstrated little understanding of the issues that were important to them, signifying a lack of seriousness and sensitivity on the part of the United States. Furthermore, Hughes herself held no credibility with the audiences she was seeking to reach out to. Fred Kaplan explains it this way:

*Let's say some Muslim leader wanted to improve Americans' image of Islam. It's doubtful that he would send as his emissary a woman in a black chador who had spent no time in the United States, possessed no knowledge of our history or movies or pop music, and spoke no English beyond a heavily accented "Good morning."<sup>62</sup>*

The very premise of a "listening tour" may also be considered a fallacy in its usefulness. Though a listening tour may be intended to demonstrate an interest in the opinions of a target audience, the opposite effect may occur. There should never have been a need for a listening tour; listening should be an inherent part of the public diplomacy process. Sending diplomats on listening tours is tacit acknowledgement that listening is not something that is being done at all times, resulting in skeptical audiences asking, "Why now?"

Listening tours indicate a breakdown of process and innately indicate that listening is only taking place at certain instances in time. Listening is a function that should be primarily carried out by our embassies and consulates. Mission staff and ambassadors need to be out and available to the public, and not substitute an appearance by an Under Secretary for what they should be doing on a daily basis.

### Take-aways

- Messengers and listeners need to be credible with the target audience.
- Listening "tours" may indicate selective hearing is taking place.
- Speakers need to be accurate in their statements.



## Disaster Relief in Indonesia and Pakistan

In January 2005, the U.S. military began Operation Unified Assistance as the relief effort to the December 2004 Indonesian Tsunami. By mid-month, the U.S. military contributed over 15,000 personnel and 25 ships, distributing over 2.7 million pounds of relief supplies.<sup>63</sup> It was an impressive effort made possible by the skill and capability of the military, and one that had measurable effects on Indonesian public opinion.

Polls conducted in Indonesia nearly 2 years after the 2004 Tsunami demonstrated a tripling of favorable opinion towards the United States (from 15%-44%) compared to May of 2003.<sup>64</sup> The same poll demonstrated a significant decrease in support for Osama bin Laden. Given that Indonesia is a predominantly Muslim country, this was both welcome news and a clear demonstration of the positive public diplomacy aspects of humanitarian aid.

There are, however, limits to what aid can provide, and it is a fallacy to believe that disaster relief can serve as an image rectifier on its own. For instance, the Pew Research Center notes the general ineffectiveness of disaster relief on overall public opinion in Pakistan, indicating a decline in public approval of the U.S. during the period after the 2010 floods.<sup>65</sup> In certain respects, this contrasts with the disaster relief efforts after the 2005 earthquake, which saw local increases in favorability towards the U.S. amongst populations witnessing American relief efforts in the disaster zones.<sup>66</sup> Pew states the following reasoning for the lack of effectiveness



in Pakistan:

*Distrust of American motives and opposition to key elements of U.S. foreign policy may run too deep in Pakistan for humanitarian efforts to have a significant impact over the long term. About seven-in-ten Pakistanis see the U.S. as an enemy; less than 10% consider it a partner. Most think the U.S. favors archrival India over Pakistan. American anti-terrorism efforts are viewed with suspicion, the drone campaign and the war next door in Afghanistan are widely opposed, and while President Obama receives significantly higher ratings than his predecessor across much of the globe, this is not the case in Pakistan, where Obama gets essentially the same low marks assigned to former President George W. Bush during his tenure.<sup>67</sup>*

It is also a questionable practice to directly pursue relief aid for the purposes of public diplomacy. As The Heritage Foundation's Helle Dale states, "The primary purpose of humanitarian relief is not public diplomacy[...] humanitarian relief has to be measured by an entirely different set of metric, on the most fundamental level, how many lives did it save? In that context, U.S. humanitarian relief globally is a huge success."<sup>68</sup> However, humanitarian and disaster relief certainly have public diplomacy implications. On a fundamental level they represent direct interaction and communication with foreign publics. Yet it is vital to understand that since the United States has demonstrated its capability to outperform even the host governments in many disaster zones, it is often expected to do so in times of crisis.

To renege on this "responsibility" would risk the possibility of the situation in affected countries evolving into something with negative security consequences for the U.S. There exists the possibility that less-capable non-state actors with interests contrary to those of the United States would seek to take advantage of humanitarian situations where the U.S. fails to provide support. The successful distribution of aid or assistance by these non-state actors often appears more impressive given their limited resources and lasting presence beyond the availability of American relief workers. Take, for example, Hezbollah's strong support network in Lebanon that can be partially attributed to its provision of social services, especially where the Lebanese government fails to provide. And in Pakistan, militant groups hold a presence much longer than that of American military or aid workers.



A U.S. Navy helicopter provides relief aid.

The successful distribution of aid or assistance by these non-state actors often appears more impressive given their limited resources and lasting presence beyond the availability of American relief workers. Take, for example, Hezbollah's strong support network in Lebanon that can be partially attributed to its provision of social services, especially where the Lebanese government fails to provide. And in Pakistan, militant groups hold a presence much longer than that of American military or aid workers.

Policy makers should consider both the positive effects that humanitarian relief can have as well as its limits. Relief efforts may also present only temporary gains in favorability, but can also act as a method for forging relationships between people and powers alike. Efforts should be made to determine how public diplomacy can reach beyond the immediacy of humanitarian relief—that is seizing on the opportunities that relief operations present for forging new and lasting relationships to continue long after the crisis has passed. At the same time, the U.S. cannot count on expectations for people to like it more because it helped them where their governments could not. It's simply expected—and failing to fulfill those expectations risks greater negative consequences.

### Take-aways

- The U.S. is unparalleled in its ability to offer effective life-saving disaster aid on very short notice.
- Disaster relief can have a public diplomacy impact, but should not be exploited for that purpose.

- Each situation is unique.
- The impact of disaster relief may often only be short term.
- Relief efforts may provide opportunities for establishing long-term partnerships where none existed before.



## The Obama Presidency

There is no doubt that the election of Barack Obama resulted in a profound increase in favorability towards the United States in several parts of the world. There are, however, questions about the sustainability of that increase and what, if anything, it has accomplished.



The Pew Global Attitudes Project noted that in 2009, favorable ratings for the U.S. and American people rose dramatically in Western Europe and increased in various countries in Latin America, Africa, and Asia.<sup>69</sup> Many of the increases in favorable opinion took place in countries which demonstrated a significant decline in opinion during the Bush Presidency, and many poll takers attributed their increase in favorability directly to the election of President Obama.<sup>70</sup> However, it's also important to note that the Obama increase roughly returned favorability numbers to where they were in the pre-Bush period.

It must also be noted that the Obama Presidency shouldn't necessarily be labeled a public diplomacy campaign on its own. Rather, the Obama Presidency has included toning down of rhetoric from the Bush Administration years, and has seen increased attention to the standards and norms established by international institutions. Thus, the Presidency itself has had PD implications. Yet, interestingly, it can be contended that much of the increase in favorability is attributable more to an analysis of foreign attitudes towards President Obama himself than it can to a significant change in foreign policy.

In many ways, President Obama's individual foreign policies have been consistent with those established under President George W. Bush. For instance:

- The Iraq withdrawal was conducted in accordance with the Status of Forces Agreement signed during the Bush Administration.
- The Guantanamo Bay Detention Facility remains in operation.
- The strategy for Afghanistan has been to employ a "surge" of troops in roughly the same manner as Iraq.
- The use of armed unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs or drones) over conflict areas has increased significantly.



A U.S. MQ-9 Reaper Drone

What Obama has succeeded in doing is framing much of U.S. foreign policy in an inclusive and multilateral fashion. Unlike George W. Bush, President Obama has avoided outright categorization of those who oppose American foreign policy as enemies of the United States. This is a large departure from the “with us or against us” stance of the Bush Administration, and accounts for the realistic spectrum of differing public opinion.

However, what is less clear is whether the increase in favorability has affected U.S. goals around the world. Has the U.S. succeeded in accomplishing more of its foreign policy objectives in a manner that is partially attributable to the increase in favorability? This is a difficult premise to test by any scientific means. Our research into this has not indicated any clear instances in which President Obama’s increased international popularity can be directly attributed to a significant foreign policy success.

Attempts at outreach by the Obama Administration have been rebuffed in several of the U.S.’s most difficult challenges, including the efforts to reach out to Iran prior to the 2009 Green Revolution.<sup>71</sup> Increased favorability in NATO countries has not resulted in a larger non-American commitment to Afghanistan. North Korea remains a problem. Iran still presents a challenge. What does favorability actually translate to in practice? If the purpose of public diplomacy is to achieve a foreign policy objective, then a better effort must be made to analyze these connections.

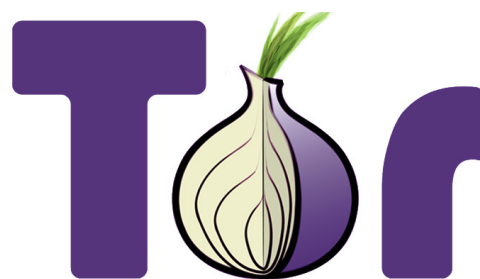
### Take-aways

- The narrative presented by President Obama initially succeeded in repairing relationships with key allies and several regions of the world.
- The Obama Presidency has had no effect on several of the regions where the U.S. has historically seen the toughest challenges.
- Public opinion returned to a pre-2001 level in many regions, but the U.S. should aim higher.



## The Tor Project

The Tor Project is a package of internet anonymity software originally “designed, implemented, and deployed” by the U.S. Naval Research Laboratory.<sup>72</sup> Tor software relies on the principle of “onion routing,” a system of disguising and obscuring the origin and destination of internet data. In an onion routing system, electronic data is split and sent along a variety of virtual paths to reach its destination, and each node in that path uses separate sets of encryption keys to send and receive, ensuring that the connections cannot be traced. In practice, Tor provides foreign publics with the ability to communicate online and bypass their governments’ censorship undetected.



Operating as a 501(c)(3), the Tor Project receives nearly 93% of its funding from the Broadcasting Board of Governors, Internews Network, and the National Science Foundation.<sup>73</sup> Since the Internews Network’s funding of Tor is channeled as a pass through from the State Department, the vast majority of the Tor Project’s funding essentially comes from the U.S. Government. What is the significance of this? Basically, the U.S. is actively supporting efforts to make it possible for the citizenry of countries with oppressive internet censoring and restrictions to circumvent those limits. This provides an accessible, easy to use pathway to bypass China’s Great Firewall, or reach the unfiltered net outside of Iran. Journalists, activists, organizers and regular citizens

are better able to communicate with significantly reduced risk of surveillance by government authorities.

There are however, significant downsides to the Tor service. Due to the anonymity it provides, it is often used by underground or illegal organizations, including terrorist groups, to practice illicit activities.<sup>74</sup> Considering that Tor is mostly funded by the U.S. Government, it's ironic that Wikileaks actively promotes the use of Tor to protect those interested in hiding their identity or their visits to the Wikileaks website.<sup>75</sup>



It also does not address instances where internet access is shut off completely, as Tor cannot reach where it cannot connect. There are, however, separate State Department-funded efforts currently underway to get around this problem, through solutions like “internet in a suitcase,” designed to provide internet access to multiple users through use of a suitcase-deployable system.<sup>76</sup>

It's also critical to understand that Tor is not foolproof. Anonymity software like Tor does not account for lapses in security caused by its users. While enabling access to social networking like Facebook, it does not protect the users from self-identification through those sites. If one creates a legitimate Facebook profile, the anonymity that the software provides is inherently rendered ineffective.

Therefore, Tor's ability to provide safe access to many of the social networking sites so-loved and relied upon by government new media gurus is rather questionable.

Even given its inherent weaknesses, the Tor system has also proven incredibly resilient to attempts to bring it down. Short of disabling internet connectivity completely, attempts to block the Tor service have often been short-lived or otherwise ineffective. In September 2011, Iran successfully managed to block Tor traffic—a problem which the Tor Project overcame in the same day without requiring users in Iran to update their software.<sup>77</sup> Thus, Tor evolves along with its environment—a key component to making it effective in achieving its goals. It must also be understood that despite Tor's resilience, it is also constantly under attack, and the Chinese government has had some notable successes in filtering out Tor traffic.<sup>78</sup>

Ultimately, the Tor Project accomplishes what the international broadcasting efforts of the United States did during the Cold War: it provides people with access to information they would otherwise be unable to obtain. Though it can be used for nefarious purposes, many other communication mediums are also used illicitly. The Tor Project upholds American standards for freedom of communication, while enabling those who do not have those freedoms to become informed and have a chance to have their voices heard by the outside world. Not only does Tor give people access to American messaging, it is a great example of tangible support for freedom put into action.

### Take-aways

- The Tor Project has specific goals, and succeeds in meeting them.
- Tor faces concerted efforts to disable it, but has successfully overcome many of those challenges.
- Tor also uses metrics as a means of finding and addressing problems.
- While accepting public funding, it operates under its own auspices, giving it the freedom to succeed and become a neutral tool where the benefits outweigh the negative consequences.
- Providing people with the means to access information and have their voices heard is consistent with American ideals.

# Best Practices of Public Diplomacy

Public diplomacy is a broad, yet specialized practice that is best carried out by communications professionals who have a clear understanding of the issues, policies, and target audiences of a particular campaign. They must consider a variety of variables, whether internal or external. Public diplomacy does not occur in a vacuum, and even the best PD will prove ineffective without good policy and action to reinforce it.

Both the case studies and experiences of public diplomacy practitioners have led ASP to develop this list of best practices for public diplomacy. By closely following these best practices, practitioners and policy makers should develop a better understanding of what their plans can and cannot accomplish. The following 10 practices should be taken as key aspects of planning any successful public diplomacy campaign.

## 1. Understand the policy objective

Public diplomacy must be synergistic with the policy goal. Does the message help to achieve the policy objective? Is the purpose of the policy understood? Does the policy employ correct strategy for achieving the objective? Does the strategic communication you are planning reflect the policy objective? Sometimes, the policy objective may be something as simple as: “Engage in activities that maintain the strong relationship between the United States and the people of x country.” Other times, it may require influencing a target audience to take a more proactive course of action.

It’s also important to understand the methods and procedures that are being employed to support policy. The goal set forth by policy may be achieved through various means, some of which may be more effective in achieving that goal while incorporating the concerns of foreign audiences. This is particularly relevant when those audiences are a vital component of achieving the policy objective.

Afghanistan serves as a prime example of this. In Afghanistan, the overall policy objective is to prevent its use as an operational base for planning terrorist attacks against the United States. The procedure adopted by the U.S. for accomplishing this is formulated around creating a large Afghan national government capable of defending itself militarily against the Taliban and Al Qaeda. Yet there may be other strategies by which the U.S. may be able to better accomplish its goals.

As ASP Fellow Joshua Foust contends, the current methods employed to seek an end to the conflict have mostly precluded an acceptable negotiated outcome for the Taliban:



*The American negotiating strategy with the Taliban seems to revolve around somehow providing sufficient incentives for the Taliban to give up their opposition to foreign forces in the country, their opposition to the Karzai government, and their opposition to the supposed anti-Islamic bent of both. In other words, it is focused on figuring out how best to bribe the Taliban to abandon their ideals and their reason for being.<sup>79</sup>*

Since it is a practical impossibility to destroy the entirety of the Taliban, not finding a way to incorporate their concerns into Afghan politics continues to foment violent opposition. The current strategy fails to establish a system of law and governance that is appropriate for Afghanistan—one which permits for a process of political opposition by the Taliban through means other than armed resistance. Joshua Foust continues:

*A real negotiated framework for defusing an insurgency would involve creating the structures and institutions of a government so that an insurgency is unnecessary--so that the Taliban, in this case,*

*can pursue their goals of removing foreigners and making the central government more Islamic and less corrupt without resorting to violence to do so.*<sup>80</sup>

The question for policy makers should be: can the policy objective in a place like Afghanistan be achieved through other, potentially more successful means? Is there a better method to acceptably achieve American goals? As military strategy ultimately cannot achieve political change on its own in Afghanistan, seeking a political end to the conflict in which Taliban can pursue its goals without violence may offer that opportunity, as Foust argues. Thus, by finding a political settlement to the war, the United States may be able to better accomplish its ultimate goal of preventing Afghanistan from being used by terrorists to plan attacks.

In order to understand how to accomplish its policy objectives, the U.S. must also understand the objectives of its audiences overseas. Public diplomacy, through listening and understanding, offers the information that is crucial to knowledgeably informing the policy making process. PD has a role in recognizing potential problems and limitations, ultimately informing the policy in a way that helps find methods and procedures that are both effective and appropriate for each unique circumstance. Since there is usually more than one way to attempt to accomplish something, PD needs to be considered when attempting to select the best method for achieving the policy objective.

## 2. Establish a communications goal

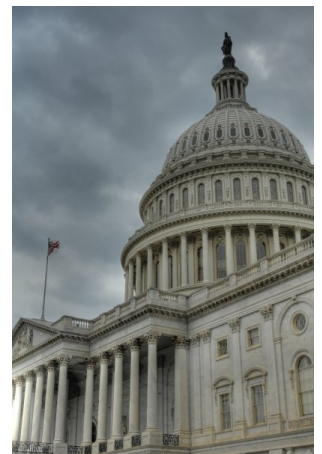
Good public diplomacy must have a purpose. This means creating strategic goals towards which communication efforts can be directed. The U.S. must look beyond the assumption that a communications void must be filled with content.

In a 2012 *USA Today* article, a senior Pentagon official acknowledged that in Afghanistan, “There has been such a desperate need to address communications vacuums that sometimes there has not been the proper coordination between thinking ahead what the mission is and the money that you apply to it.”<sup>81</sup>

Simply filling the void with content says nothing about the consequences of that content, or even whether it was necessary to fill the void in the first place. If you don’t know what you’re trying to achieve with your communications, then you can’t justify communicating, let alone your budget. You also run the serious risk of tainting that vacuum in a way that is contradictory to your overall strategic goals if you get it wrong.

As part of this goal, a system should be established for conducting metrics on the activities.

Appropriate metrics are critical in identifying to what degree a goal is achieved. This may be one of the most difficult aspects of public diplomacy planning, as opinion is inherently variable and may only reflect how an individual is feeling at a given point in time.<sup>82</sup> Poll numbers are one of the most widely accepted, easy-to-digest metrics for analyzing opinion and perceptions, but they are flawed in a myriad of ways. Though polls may be easy to employ for the purposes of navigating D.C. politics, practitioners would be wise to develop additional or alternative methods for justifying their programs to Congress. This could include educating members of Congress about appropriate metrics.



**Practitioners must educate Congress on appropriate metrics for their programs.**

The problem with many of the best forms of public diplomacy, like exchange, is that they are often long term programs where demonstrating attitudinal shifts is incredibly difficult. In many

cases, the purpose of exchange programs may be merely to maintain or reinforce what is already a friendly relationship between two publics. In this case, success might be gauged by the lack of a downturn in relations between these publics, as opposed to any perceivable increase. In other cases, exchange produces more tangible results, as can be seen in the science diplomacy exchanges of the Cold War.

After the Cold War, science was recognized as being an area that needed continued engagement. The Nunn-Lugar program, created with the goal of reducing the threat of vulnerable weapons of mass destruction from the former Soviet Union, actively made science exchange a central tenet of its operations. Fearing that the knowledge possessed by former scientists facing unemployment could be easily proliferated for nefarious purposes, Nunn-Lugar and the International Science and Technology Center (ISTC) in Moscow fostered relationships between former scientific adversaries that reduced the risk of weapons-knowledge proliferation. Furthermore, efforts made by the ISTC, which was founded by the EU, Japan, Russia, and the U.S., helped employ 73,000 scientists in areas such as “disposal of weapons-grade plutonium, chemical weapons destruction, and nuclear material control and accounting.”<sup>83</sup>

Establishing a communications goal should ultimately be about how to achieve the policy objective. By fully understanding the policy objective, practitioners can more effectively structure their PD programs.

### 3. Identify the target audience

**W**ho is the audience? Is it women? Children? Teachers? Religious leaders? Swayable militants? Hardliners? What is their primary language? How can that audience be influenced?

Just as in the United States, the citizenry of a foreign country can rarely be considered a monolithic block. At any given time, a country’s population is made up of a variety of ethnicities, languages, backgrounds, and political ideologies. This must be taken into account. There may be instances when targeting a blanket population is the correct strategy, but proper strategic communication goals require strategic targeting in order to maximize effectiveness.

This involves understanding the target audience. A sincere effort must be made to obtain a nuanced grasp of the differences in populations, and their perceptions of how the world, or American policy and public diplomacy affect them. Additionally, understanding an audience allows one to identify the best mediums for communication, whether new media, traditionally based, or by other means. Sometimes, this process involves identifying and communicating with different elements of society in order to affect the intended target group.

For example, in response to declining Japanese public sentiment towards American culture in the post-9/11 period, the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo sought a way to rectify the problem. The embassy identified “younger, well-educated Japanese” as the most affected by the decline, and acknowledged growing public concerns that the country was “covering itself in concrete from sea to polluted sea—and losing its soul in the process.”<sup>84</sup> This concern indicated a perception that Japanese land-use policies and construction were a reflection of the worst forms of Americanization. In order to counteract this, the Embassy engaged in a cultural diplomacy program which used photography to explore the preservation of historic American architecture.<sup>85</sup> By bringing architects and land-use decision makers to events where the photos were displayed, the Embassy directly engaged the people who would have the most impact on construction projects in Japan in face-to-face communication.<sup>86</sup> Their efforts also attracted 60,000 visitors, becoming the most visited U.S. Embassy exhibit ever in Japan.<sup>87</sup> The overall effort informed the Japanese about American historic preservation and architecture, creating commonality between the concerns of the target audience and American culture.

The Embassy’s efforts are a prime example of how to use different segments of a target audience to maximum

effect. As demonstrated here, directly engaging specific portions of a population can be used to reach a wider audience. When planning a communications campaign, it is important to identify areas of commonality which are important to both the communicator and the target audience. In correctly identifying the preservation of historic architecture as a point of commonality between Americans and the Japanese target audience, the Embassy was able to best maximize its reach and influence.

## 4. Listen

A commonly undervalued aspect of PD is the *listening* component. Foreign policy decisions affecting foreign publics are not made in a vacuum. However, oftentimes these decisions are made as though they are. While the U.S. may see a foreign policy decision as necessary for the immediate national interest, the negative long term consequences resulting from foreign perception of those decisions may ultimately trump any short term security gain. Foreign policy decisions *must* be made with full understanding of how that decision will affect a foreign public, and should be crafted in a manner that both achieves American objectives while generating foreign public acceptance, or at least minimizing actionably overt objection.

Efforts must be made to truly understand the audiences with which we are trying to communicate.

This goes beyond polls, surveys, and merely speaking with foreign publics. Listening involves an effort to understand the context, perspective, emotions and needs of foreign publics, including their social, economic, historical and cultural characteristics. There must be an effort to analyze and understand how U.S. foreign policy affects them. This will help America develop policies and procedures that accomplish our strategic objectives, particularly in environments when the participation of foreign publics is crucial to the success of the policy.

Many efforts at listening have been misguided and ineffective. Hearing does not equate listening. Listening involves understanding; the process of taking information gained and incorporating it into strategic thinking. Bruce Gregory asks, “Do we really understand cultures, beliefs, media filters, and social systems,” arguing that despite more attention by American leadership to the need to listen, we still don’t truly understand foreign publics.<sup>88</sup> This type of understanding is often crucial for communicating in ways that ultimately help accomplish strategic goals.



Is the United States really listening?

Essentially, listening is about creating two-way, mutually beneficial communication. Kathy R. Fitzpatrick identifies “mutuality” as being an important aspect of dialogue with foreign publics, explaining:

*Mutuality requires reciprocity of parties and interests, as well as the opportunity for free expression. Foreign publics are viewed by nations/international actors as equal participants in a relationship guided by mutual regard and not as objects or means to self interested [sic] ends.<sup>89</sup>*

This is a key aspect of creating a credible message. If a foreign public sees the United States as acting solely in its self-interest, and perceives itself as a mere pawn in the game of international relations, it is less likely to act in a favorable manor. Conceivably, this may actually encourage that population to act in a manner contrary to American interests. In order to prevent this, and lead foreign publics to see the U.S. as a viable partner, listening must go beyond the occasional one-off publicized efforts at doing so. It must be an ingrained part of public diplomacy strategy to be practiced at all times.



Listening in public diplomacy is also about reciprocity.

In our communication efforts, it's vital to understand that the U.S. cannot expect foreign publics to listen to or accept its messaging if it is not willing to reciprocate. To do otherwise is equivalent to speaking to someone with your fingers in your ears and creates the impression that the other person is unimportant.

In further exploring the roles of mutuality and dialogue in public diplomacy, Kathy Fitzpatrick outlines the two types of engagement in public diplomacy: symmetrical and asymmetrical. Symmetrical engagement allows for the persuasion of both parties. Asymmetrical involves two-way communication that is employed for the purpose of influencing "the attitudes and behaviors of foreign publics but not necessarily those of sponsoring nations or other international actors."<sup>90</sup> Essentially, this is the difference between pure advocacy and listening.

Why is listening ultimately important?

Listening provides one with the ability to craft messages and policies that resonate with the target audience. It demonstrates that the communicator cares about the target audience, and makes people less likely to tune out, "change the channel," or actively campaign against American interests. Advertisers practice and engage in listening regularly, using focus groups, surveys, audience research, and other practices. This allows them to create products that fit consumer wants or needs, and then sell that product to the public. However, this is not a foolproof procedure.

For instance, in April of 1985, Coca-Cola introduced "New Coke" after four years of taste tests with over 190,000 people indicated that a new formula could boost sales. During this testing period, the new formula was chosen 55% of the time, leading Coca-Cola to announce an end to the original formula.<sup>91</sup> After replacing the original formula with the new product, public backlash was intense, ultimately forcing the company to reintroduce the original formula under the label "Coca-Cola Classic." Paul Worthington, head of strategy for Wolff Olins, explained Coca-Cola's mistake, stating, "They failed to understand the emotional significance to people that messing with Coke would have, and that's gone down in history."<sup>92</sup>

Though Coca-Cola "listened," it failed to incorporate its listening into the broader context of understanding. By *understanding* its audience—that is taking into consideration the public's cultural and emotional attachment to original Coke—Coca-Cola could possibly have avoided this debacle. Though a majority of 55% chose the new formula over both original Coke and Pepsi, it didn't necessarily imply that the original Coke was a bad product, nor did it account for the anger that would arise from taking that product away. The elimination of the original Coke formula essentially served as a self-inflicted attack on the company's own already strong brand.

Certainly, foreign policy communication shares a great deal of differences with conventional product advertisement. Yet there are also many similarities with advertisement that should be considered, especially as multinational companies now essentially exercise their own foreign policies. Many companies have to adapt in order to operate or sell in other countries, and that adaptation is a key component of applying the information gained through listening.

Listening is also about adapting tactical policy to best achieve strategic goals. While some may argue that the opinions of foreigners should have no say over how the United States conducts its policies overseas, that argument assumes that foreign opinion is incongruous with American policy goals. Certainly, while American foreign policy should not be subservient to foreign influence, the connectivity between the interests of America and foreign audiences has become increasingly strong and difficult to ignore. Listening ultimately may allow policy makers to adjust or craft foreign policy in a fashion that better achieves strategic goals because it is more acceptable to overseas audiences.

## 5. Establish a narrative

A narrative is a story that provides a background and basis for communication. It defines the types of thoughts that should surface within the target audience when they think about the United States or the public diplomacy efforts it is making.

Deciding what the message or narrative should be is undoubtedly one of the most crucial steps in initiating a public diplomacy campaign. This is also arguably one of the areas the United States has faced the most difficulty over the past 20 years. What is it that America stands for? Why is it communicating in this manner? What are the alternatives to the choices America presents? How should it brand the message? Is the U.S. Government actually the best actor to convey this message, or is it best handled by another party? What commitments is America making, and will it follow through on them? Does the message answer the question asked?

In many communication campaigns, branding is an important element. During the Cold War, the U.S. established an effective brand in a bipolar world against the Soviet Union. Now that the world is no longer bipolar, it has proven much more difficult to establish a message of national purpose. The conventional American vision of itself is that the United States is about freedom and democracy—freedom to succeed, freedom of expression, freedom to participate. How should the U.S. translate these expressions into policy that reflects this vision?

In public diplomacy, branding is about more than developing logos, catch phrases, and other multimedia. Branding is about attaching value to the message, as value attracts people. Value can be emotional or physical. If emotional value can be attached to something, the response that particular “thing” may generate often goes beyond reason—whether affected by love or hate. Emotions drive people to act, and this must be understood.

Within the field of public diplomacy, the premise of branding inevitably leads to a discussion about nation branding. Practitioners should be weary of attempting to rebrand the overall image of the United States, and should study preexisting notions about what America means to their target audience. Simon Anholt, developer of the Nation Brand Index notes:

*...there has been no detectable correlation between changes in national brand value and expenditure on the so-called ‘nation branding campaigns’. Several countries that have done no marketing... have shown noticeable improvements in their overall images, while others have spent extremely large sums on advertising and PR campaigns and their brand value has remained stable or even declined.<sup>93</sup>*

Efforts to brand PD campaigns need to take this into account during the planning process. It is unlikely that branding will change pre-existing perceptions about a country, its policies, or its messaging. In order to brand effectively, PD planners must understand which elements (positive or negative) of the American brand are already established in the minds of the target audience. Keeping this in mind, people tend to look at the actions of America as an indicator of value and demonstration of brand.

For some, the American message has very practical applications. For instance, Brand USA, a “public private partnership with the mission of promoting increased international travel<sup>94</sup>” to the United States, highlights American diversity as one of its greatest strengths. As part of its “Land of Dreams” campaign, Brand USA produced a video spot featuring many of America’s diverse aspects—including culture, ethnicity, architecture, geography, and even love.<sup>95</sup> In many ways, “Land



Brand USA’s “Land of Dreams” video

of Dreams” manages to encapsulate many traditional American values while still including some of the lesser-seen aspects of this country. From a practical standpoint, Brand USA will have to work with government to prevent bottlenecks by helping simplify tourist visa process—this means being able to meet the demand. Some efforts to simplify understanding of this sometimes intimidating process are available on its tourism website.<sup>96</sup>

Narratives are ultimately strengthened through demonstrable action. It is one thing to say something—it is another to actually do it. For efforts like Brand USA, encouraging people to visit the U.S. won’t be as effective without efforts to make the process easier. When developing a message, considerations must be made towards actually committing to that message on the policy side. Does the message reflect something that can actually be done? Engaging in messaging that is not or cannot be backed up by action will inevitably reduce one’s credibility and erode trust—and trust is much harder to earn than it is to break.

## 6. Be truthful

Truthfulness is a key component of credibility, especially in today’s information-rich atmosphere. As Director of USIA, Edward R. Murrow stressed the importance of truthfulness in a 1963 testimony to Congress:

*American traditions and the American ethic require us to be truthful, but the most important reason is that truth is the best propaganda and lies are the worst. To be persuasive we must be believable; to be believable we must be credible; to be credible we must be truthful. It is as simple as that.*<sup>97</sup>

In modern times, the presence of 24-hour news media, the ubiquitous number of camera phones, and the far reach of the internet make it extraordinarily difficult to pass off information that is not truthful. Attempts at untruthfulness are often easily rebuked. The world has witnessed this all throughout the Arab Spring, where camera phones have captured violence against unarmed protestors despite the claims of their governments.

Being truthful also means reporting information that may not be favorable to one’s goals. This may appear contradictory to some. However, when one is honest about the bad, as well as the good, it furthers one’s credibility as a messenger, and establishes a better position from which to dispel misinformation. If dishonesty or hiding information is necessary for the success of a public diplomacy initiative, it may be best to reconsider the policy goal being served.

Some American international broadcasting efforts, like Alhurra, have faced scrutiny for coverage of events and individuals who are unfavorable to American interests. Yet this is part of being truthful about reality, and recognizing that these factors exist and are relevant. Talking about them accurately and honestly establishes an environment that ultimately improves the credibility of American messaging.

If the U.S. is untruthful, it runs the very probable risk of being exposed. Given the number of conspiracy theories already abound and the credibility issues America already faces, dishonesty would prove counterproductive.

## 7. Follow through on policy commitments

The United States has a fundamentally problematic tendency to overpromise, and under-deliver. This creates enormous credibility gaps and discourages foreign publics from buying into American messaging, becoming a consistent, emblematic aspect of American foreign policy. That’s not to suggest that it is always the best choice to commit and stick to unwise or unworkable policy, but rather that it’s better to set policy goals

that are actually achievable, while having multiple levels of contingency planning. When the United States commits to do something, it is critical that it actually follows through.

The inattentiveness to following through on commitments has been particularly problematic in Afghanistan. During a panel discussion in 2012 about the course of the war in Afghanistan, Joshua Foust noted:

*When I was living there, in 2009, working for the Army and trying to investigate what the social effects were of our war there, the most common thing that Afghans always said is Americans overpromise and under-deliver. And that was consistent, no matter where you went, what region of the country you went to, what level of importance of Afghans that I spoke with. They all said America overpromised and under delivered.<sup>98</sup>*

The importance of rectifying this type of belief is critical to reestablishing the credibility of the U.S. and cannot be overemphasized. This is actually a relatively easy thing to fix, and there are two methods from which it can be approached. The first is to actually commit actions to our words. If the U.S. makes an *achievable* commitment, be it verbal or written, it is imperative that it sticks to that commitment in order to establish or maintain credibility. The second option is to simply not promise what we cannot or will not deliver on. Under-promising and over-delivering is far preferable to the opposite.



A poster promoting the Marshall Plan.

This reflects back to the stage when a message is being developed. The core problem with the 2009 Cairo Speech was that the major policy commitments it set out were not fulfilled. One such commitment, the closing of the Guantanamo Bay Detention Facility, did not account for the difficulty of overcoming concern in Congress about what to do with the detainees.<sup>99</sup> Had sufficient thought been given to the potential difficulties surrounding this issue, a case could have been made for avoiding the framing of Guantanamo closure as a promise.

Another example is our tendency for promising new “Marshall Plans,” for countries like Iraq<sup>100</sup> and Afghanistan.<sup>101</sup> Reference to the Marshall Plan after World War II is associated with the rebuilding of the whole of Western Europe and ushering in decades of prosperity. This creates unrealistic expectations amongst Americans and foreigners alike for improving warzone situations that are not analogous to post-WWII reconstruction.<sup>102</sup> In neither case has

spending billions in reconstruction money produced the type of results seen in Europe, and the future of our commitments to these countries has yet to unfold.

In the end, following through on policy commitments is really about connecting actions with words. Doing so establishes credibility as a communicator, creating trust with the target audience while helping avoid accusations of hypocrisy.

## 8. Use force multipliers

Force multipliers are about reducing cost and increasing effectiveness. Sometimes, they should be used to amplify PD efforts, and other times they should be tapped to lead PD efforts. When starting a PD program, practitioners should ask:

- Who is already doing this?
- What networks already exist?

- Who are potential partners?
- How do we get the message out beyond our own immediate tools?

Oftentimes, public diplomats may not be best equipped to take the lead in carrying out a communications campaign. Public diplomacy practitioners must identify partners with the potential to carry the some of the weight of a campaign. Oftentimes, NGOs already on the ground may be carrying out work that is similar or complementary to one's goal. Funding and resources may best be applied to finance or equip their efforts, rather than pursuing a campaign independently.

Sometimes, force multipliers may be influential individuals within a particular society. This of course depends on the political position or persuadability of those particular elites within society. These elites may be considered to be the target audience, as they may more credible or better equipped to spread the intended message, or in a position where their word carries much more effect than communicating directly with the general public. Often times, elites hold their own networks that can be tapped to reach a broader audience.

The media is a classic force multiplier, whether it be TV, radio, print, or even new media. These outlets allow the American voice to be spread beyond its immediate reach. The word of journalists often carries a lot of weight, and it is sometimes your only means of reaching segments of the target population. Part of tapping the power of the media will involve building positive relationships with journalists, realizing that these relationships are mutually beneficial even if journalists sometimes take a critical tone. It is their job to ask tough questions, and it is the public diplomats' job to be ready for those questions. If your message does not hold up to scrutiny, then that needs to be rectified. Thus, journalists can be seen as a means of ensuring the best possible work out of the PD apparatus.

The point behind force multipliers is ultimately to do more with less. It's about maximizing the efficiency and effectiveness of any PD campaign.

## 9. Don't reinvent the wheel

There is no reason to develop an entirely new channel for communication when there is one in place that already has a better chance of reaching the target audience at minimal cost. Attention is a zero-sum game, and it is extremely difficult to change ingrained viewing preferences. If a public diplomacy program replicates something that already exists, or attempts to provide an alternative, there must be a compelling and credible reason for individuals to switch their attention.

Take the example of U.S. efforts to establish a pro-American media outlet in the Middle East, which has struggled to compete against already established media. In an analysis of the efforts of Alhurra, the USC Center on Public Diplomacy stated:

*In the new era of proliferating satellite television channels, state-controlled and Western broadcasters have found that they are at a significant competitive disadvantage in the Arab world because they are not as credible as Al Jazeera. Furthermore, the presentation of news on Al Jazeera reflects a passion that is well suited for an audience that feels passionately about many of the issues and events that the channel covers.*<sup>103</sup>

Though this presents a serious challenge to the very notion of international broadcasting, it does not necessarily suggest that international broadcasting efforts should be abandoned. Rather, in hypercompetitive environments, the U.S. should focus efforts on institutions that already exist or are more credible to a larger audience.

Think of information as water. Connected individuals are confronted with a flood of information on a daily basis. Adding more water to that flood accomplishes nothing other than adding more water. Floating a boat is much more effective, as it takes advantage of the water to provide propulsion or carry a message. For the Obama Administration, that boat has been the deliberate effort to mend relations with and have American officials appear on Al Jazeera.<sup>104</sup>

The point is: public diplomacy needs to take advantage of already trusted institutions and mediums. Duplicating or competing with existing mediums is often more wasteful, less effective, and more difficult than tapping what already exists.

## 10. Select the appropriate medium(s)

Modern technology has brought a variety of tools for communicating across numerous mediums. From the traditional forms, including print, television, and radio, to the newer forms, like social media, PD practitioners have myriad of options to choose to communicate with.

With the advent of web 2.0, there is a general over emphasis of the power of the internet and social media to reach intended audiences. While the internet is an important factor in modern communication, it cannot be relied upon as a sole means of disseminating a message. The internet, twitter, and other social media are merely tools, not solutions to a messaging dilemma.

Practitioners should avoid overreliance on the internet for achieving their objectives for a variety of reasons:

- The internet is easily censored or shut off.
- Governments aren't very good at tapping the internet's viral potential.
- There are often more appropriate technologies.
- Huge portions of many foreign populations have little or no access.
- Users must be literate.
- Social media often reaches a very specific sect of society while ignoring those who are unable or unwilling to use it.

It's important to explore several of these issues.

Internet access is relatively easily censored by governments seeking to restrict the information available to the general populace. For instance, the "Great Firewall of China" currently blocks access to a variety of websites, including search engines and social media. Internet censorship in China is fast and effective—in 2011, Chinese internet discussion of Secretary Clinton's talk about promoting internet freedom was rapidly censored by the Chinese government.<sup>105</sup> In another example, also in 2011, the State Department launched the virtual U.S. Embassy in Iran, a website which was promptly blocked by the Iranian government.<sup>106</sup> Though there are efforts to help get around censorship, as evident in projects like Tor, these projects cannot make up for the entire net effect of censorship.

Additionally, governments often lack the ability to produce internet content that resonates in a way that taps the viral potential of online communication. Viral content is often more shocking, humorous, and less-politically correct that a government is willing to produce. A notable exception to this, though produced for

domestic consumption, is the CDC's zombie-apocalypse campaign, which tapped into pop culture to bring awareness to proper disaster supply preparation. The campaign drew so many visits to the CDC's website that the traffic caused it to ultimately crash.<sup>107</sup> Of course, it should also be kept in mind that a downed website is an ineffective messaging tool.



**A U.S. soldier hands out a radio to Afghans.**

In many cases, there are more appropriate technologies for messages than the internet, which has limited penetration in various parts of the world. In those cases, satellite TV, radio, or print may be more appropriate. In places like Afghanistan, which has a literacy rate below 30%,<sup>108</sup> leaflets, posters, and flyers and other print media are often ineffective. Literacy rates must therefore be considered especially when assuming that making apps for the growing number of smart phones is a solution. It is thus vitally important to select a medium, or *combination of mediums*, which is best suited to reach the intended audience.

The internet and social media certainly have their place within the public diplomacy realm. They can, and should be utilized to communicate on a two-way basis. They are excellent tools for connecting with *specific* segments of a population which are in tune with those types of mediums. However, this type of medium cannot be over-relied upon, or stand in as a substitute for actual on-the-ground, person-to-person communication. Keeping in mind the nature of tools, it often takes more than one tool to finish a job.

The power of people-to-people, face-to-face communication as a medium must never be underestimated. It is often personal interaction with people that has the most effect in shaping results. In March 2012, the U.S. Mission in Kampala, Uganda identified female genital mutilation (FGM) as a major area of concern in the host country through discussion that was occurring on its Facebook page. In response, the Mission hosted an event for International Women's Day and invited the first 20 RSVPs from its Facebook page into the Embassy, where the Deputy Ambassador, Virginia Blaser, led a discussion about FGM. As a result of this face-to-face communication, participants stayed in communication with the Embassy, and one individual founded a group dedicated to reducing incidents of FGM within Uganda. Additionally, the Post's Facebook fans grew from 700 to more than 5,500 within an 8 month period, and face-to-face communication challenged impressions of the Embassy as an "unapproachable monolith."<sup>109</sup>



**The U.S. Embassy in Kampala turns virtual communication into face-to-face communication.**

Ultimately, it was only the combination of several mediums that allowed the Mission to accomplish its goals. As can be seen in this example, Facebook was used as a basis for initiating face-to-face communication—without that in-person component, it is unlikely the Mission's efforts would have been as successful. The results of this physical interaction helped drive an expansion of the Embassy's audience, and motivated the target audience to pursue a course of action.

Ultimately, it was only the combination of several mediums that allowed the Mission to accomplish its goals. As can be seen in this example, Facebook was used as a basis for initiating face-to-face communication—without that in-person component, it is unlikely the Mission's efforts would have been as successful. The results of this physical interaction helped drive an expansion of the Embassy's audience, and motivated the target audience to pursue a course of action.

Connecting PD Case Studies to Best Practices		
Best Practice	Applicable Case Study	Conclusion
Understand the Policy Objective	Disaster Relief in Indonesia	Accomplished primary policy goal of saving lives.
	Cairo Promises	Set objective of resetting relations with Muslims, but did not accomplish goals.
Establish Communications goal	Tor Project	Successfully provides freedom of communication with system of adaptation for environments. Has built in system for metrics.
Identify Target Audience	Shared Values Initiative	Testing was done with non-representative focus groups, demonstrating misidentification.
Listen	Karen Hughes Listening Tour	Became platform for hostility, not viewed as credible. Listening “tour” indicates selective hearing.
	Shared Values Initiative	Planners did not fully understand the concerns of the target audience.
Establish a Narrative	Branding the War on Terror	War on Terror terminology and actions did not resonate. Used to advantage of enemy.
	Obama Presidency	Softer rhetoric and outreach to international organizations painted Pres. Obama as an internationalist, returning public opinion about U.S. to pre-2001 levels in Europe.
Be Truthful	Tor Project	Acknowledges attempts to block Tor service and difficulties in overcoming attacks.
	Alhurra	Ignored important newsworthy but unfavorable events. Attempts at covering controversial issues and figures were not properly balanced with context, causing uproar in Congress.
Follow Through on Policy Commitments	Cairo Promises	Failure to follow through on key promises resulted in lack of credibility.
Use force multipliers	Cairo Promises	Covered intensely by media.
	Tor Project	Uses decentralized architecture. Started as U.S. Navy project, but now operates through government funded NGOs separately.. Asks for help from other organizations.
Don't Reinvent the Wheel	Alhurra	Entering into a crowded market in information rich region resulted in lack of attention. Perceived bias reduced credibility.
Select Appropriate Mediums	Alhurra	Correctly identified satellite TV as an effective medium in target region.
	Cairo Promises	Making the Middle East the location of Pres. Obama's first overseas speech was significant.



# Evaluating Public Diplomacy

As the section on establishing a communications goal explained, metrics are important for understanding whether or not public diplomacy is actually helping accomplish anything. Metrics don't necessarily mean numbers, but include identifying trends, sentiments or actions of the target audience, and whether they are being maintained or otherwise altered.

Finding appropriate metrics for evaluating public diplomacy has traditionally been an area of ambiguity and difficulty. As the effects of good PD are often seen over the course of a generation, they can be exceedingly difficult to appropriately track or examine.

Though polling data is a heavily used form of evaluation, there are several problems with how they are often used:

- Top line numbers only represent individual's emotions and opinion at given points in time, and do not necessarily reflect actual action taken by that individual in support of or in opposition to policy goals.
- Polling is a quantitative measurement of how a person feels, and attaching a number value to emotion discounts the complexity of human thought and feeling.
- Polls are relatively easily manipulated to show different trends based on how questions are asked.
- While polls allow people to create graphs, charts, and simple methods to substantiate the effectiveness of their programs, they do little to actually explain why/how people think or feel about topics or policy.

Efforts should be made to develop better metrics of public diplomacy's efficacy, possibly requiring unique approaches for different types of PD programs. Take the coveted "independent" vote in the United States. Independent voters may vote Republican or Democrat, but top line polls don't really account for why they make those choices or why they may switch which party they vote for from election to election.

Top-line polling should be reduced as a primary method of measurement. While polling in this way may seem useful for the demonstration of short-term gain when justifying budgets and programs to Congress, Congress needs to be better informed about the long term strategic consequences inherent to public diplomacy. Thus, it is important to educate Congress about appropriate metrics used to justify particular programs. Adjusting the way polls are conducted to better find causality would prove more useful in the long term.

There are other challenges to evaluating PD efforts as well, particularly when it comes to analyzing if a program has affected public opinion towards a U.S. policy goal. Though exchange programs are often recognized as being one of the most effective forms of public diplomacy, Dr. Robert Banks points out that numerous studies on exchange programs have found that "positive changes in attitude toward U.S. foreign policy stood out as the hardest objective to achieve."<sup>110</sup> It is thus important to understand what PD programs are intended to achieve, and to apply metrics that measure appropriate goals tailored to the intent and limitations of the programs.

For instance, Joshua Foust explains that in Afghanistan, most studies on education have focused on "the number of schools built, or the number of children with access to education, or the number of children who attend school" as a measures of success. This, as Foust argues, is an incorrect metric of whether children are actually learning in Afghanistan, as the number of students in school is irrelevant if they are not learning while there. Rather, a better metric would be the measurement of literacy rates.<sup>111</sup> Thus, quantity is not necessarily an appropriate measurement of success.

Perhaps an effective method of PD metrics lies in one of its fundamental tenants: listening. As PD practitioners strive to make the US public diplomacy more omnidirectional, the information learned through active listening may generate the appropriate measurements of effectiveness. It is through feedback from the targets of our PD efforts that we will learn the most about how we are doing as communicators, and understand how we need to improve. How are publics actually responding to our initiatives? What are foreign newspapers stating? What's being discussed on the internet, and is that discussion actually reflective of the greater population? What are they telling our Foreign Service officers?

## Conclusions

American public diplomacy is at a crossroads—America knows its strengths, but is no longer sure how to apply them in the Information Age. Modern technology and its impressiveness has caused policy makers and practitioners alike to lose focus on the message and instead focus on the medium. The U.S. Government has been slow to adapt to ever-changing communications technology partially because it is large. Individuals are much more nimble, quicker to change, and often more effective than governments at getting their message out online.

The task of updating strategy and equipment in this environment for hundreds of thousands of federal employees is daunting, confusing, and slow. Like the Golden Gate Bridge, after it has been painted from end to end the process starts over again just to keep up with the effects of weather and age. Technology is the same.

Thus, the work the State Department has been doing on the digital side should be merely a fact of doing business. It's no less important than basic tasks such as making sure there's air in a car's tires—but that's not what impresses people. What does impress is performance, whether that's on a level of comfort, speed, or efficiency.

Digital diplomacy may be new, but it does not revolutionize the core elements of good public diplomacy. Yes, the U.S. should be communicating on Twitter. Yes, it should be communicating on Facebook. Yes, it should be challenging disinformation online. But these are things we *should* be doing as very small part of a much larger strategy, rather than making them the headline strategy.

Practitioners of public diplomacy should also have built-in accountability metrics to their programs. They must understand the policies they are trying to support, understand who their target audiences are, and be able to determine if they are having the intended effect. If their programs cannot hold up to scrutiny, then why are they being done? Volume is different than results, and a lack clear goals runs not only runs the risk of endangering future funding when needed, it runs the risk of being counterproductive to the mission at hand.

America also means different things to different people overseas, just as it means different things to Americans. There is no one universal American brand, as the many meanings of America are as diverse as the people that make comprise it.

The United States must also make an effort to go beyond merely listening, and attempt to understand foreign publics. This means comprehending why they come to have the opinions they have, and place less emphasis on the results of polls. If these publics point to American foreign policy as a problem, this needs to be understood



**Public diplomacy needs constant maintenance, just like the Golden Gate Bridge.**

so that we can consider policy options that accomplish our foreign policy goals without alienating the target audience. These audiences must be made to feel like partners, and not merely subjects to American policy. Making them feel they are partners in our message means making them partners in our security. By finding our commonalities and our shared challenges, we will increase our collective security.

Furthermore, policy makers, speech writers, and other officials must consider the weight of their choice of words and actions. Promises that cannot be kept severely erode American trustworthiness overseas. Failing to follow through on our commitments weakens our credibility. If we want foreigners to risk their lives to support American policy, we must uphold our end of the bargain. Part of that involves deciding whether we are in a position to make that bargain in the first place.

In the end, the problem with American public diplomacy is not about “better explaining the story of America” — it’s about better understanding ourselves and the people we communicate with. What does America want to accomplish in the world, and are those goals compatible with the audiences we are trying to reach? We cannot impose ourselves, our opinions, or our story on others and simply expect positive response.

We can, however, work to better understand what our words and actions mean to people overseas, and shape our future efforts in a manner that’s much more effective.

---

---

*Matthew Wallin is a policy analyst at the American Security Project and holds a master’s in public diplomacy from the University of Southern California.*

# References

1. Cull, Nicholas J. (2009) Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the Past. p. 18-23 <http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/publications/perspectives/CPDPerspectivesLessons.pdf>
2. Pew Research Center (2011, June 21) U.S. Image in Pakistan Falls No Further Following bin Laden Killing. *Pew Global Attitudes Project*. <http://www.pewglobal.org/2011/06/21/u-s-image-in-pakistan-falls-no-further-following-bin-laden-killing/>
3. Ibid.
4. Arango, Tim (2011, November 8) A Long-Awaited Apology for Shiites, but the Wounds Still Run Deep. *The New York Times*. <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/09/world/middleeast/iraqi-shiite-anger-at-united-states-remains-strong.html?pagewanted=all>
5. Sanders, Barry A. (2011) *American Avatar: The United States in the Global Imagination*. p. 186. Potomac Books, Washington, D.C.
6. National Security Strategy (2010, May) p. 12, [http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss\\_viewer/national\\_security\\_strategy.pdf](http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/national_security_strategy.pdf)
7. U.S. Department of State (2011, December 12) Staff Report on the Office of the Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs. <http://www.state.gov/pdcommission/reports/179164.htm>
8. U.S. Department of State (2012, February 10) United States Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy. <http://state.gov/pdcommission/>
9. Gregory, Bruce (2008) Public Diplomacy and National Security: Lessons from the U.S. Experience. *Small Wars Journal*. <http://smallwarsjournal.com/blog/journal/docs-temp/82-gregory.pdf?q=mag/docs-temp/82-gregory.pdf>
10. Ibid.
11. Twitaholic (2012) Top Twitter User Rankings & Stats. <http://twitaholic.com/>
12. Amos, Deborah (2009, June 4) Mixed Reaction in Cairo to Obama Speech. <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=104967625>
13. Obama, Barack (2009, June 4) Remarks by the President on A New Beginning. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-cairo-university-6-04-09>
14. Carlstrom, Gregg (2010, November 10) Scorecard: Obama Since Cairo. *Al Jazeera*. <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2010/11/2010119947466214.html>
15. Spiegel Online (2010, June 4) Obama's Cairo Speech, One Year On: A Perceived Lack of Follow-Up. <http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/0,1518,698640,00.html>
16. Ibid.
17. Pew Research Center (2010, June 17) Obama More Popular Abroad than at Home, Global Image of U.S. Continues to Benefit. *Pew Global Attitudes Project*. <http://pewresearch.org/pubs/1630/obama-more-popular-abroad-global-american-image-benefit-22-nation-global-survey?src=prc-latest&proj=peoplepress>
18. Ibid.
19. NATO (2005, February 18) What is Article 5? <http://www.nato.int/terrorism/five.htm>

20. TIME (n.d.) Candle Power: Iran Mourns America's Dead. Retrieved from the Wayback Machine. <http://web.archive.org/web/20101104112451/http://www.time.com/time/europe/photoessays/vigil/index.html>
21. Corera, Gordon (2006, September 25) Iran's Gulf of Misunderstanding with US. *BBC News*. [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/5377914.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/5377914.stm)
22. Libaw, Oliver (2001, October 11) How do you Define Terrorism? *ABC News*. <http://abcnews.go.com/US/story?id=92340&page=1#.T9Y56sXQgcs>
23. 22 U.S Code § 2656F(d)(2). Annual Country Reports on Terrorism. <http://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/text/22/2656f>
24. Bush, George W. (2001, September 21) Transcript of President Bush's Address. *CNN*. <http://edition.cnn.com/2001/US/09/20/gen.bush.transcript/>
25. Borger, Julian (2009, January 14) 'War on terror' was a mistake, says Miliband. *The Guardian*. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2009/jan/15/war-on-terror-miliband>
26. Ibid.
27. Bush, George W. (2001, September 17) Bush: U.S. Muslims Should Feel Safe. *CNN*. [http://articles.cnn.com/2001-09-17/us/gen.bush.muslim.trans\\_1\\_muslims-islamic-quran?\\_s=PM:US](http://articles.cnn.com/2001-09-17/us/gen.bush.muslim.trans_1_muslims-islamic-quran?_s=PM:US)
28. Baker, Peter (2010, January 4) Obama's War Over Terror. *The New York Times*. <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/17/magazine/17Terror-t.html?pagewanted=all>
29. Gottlieb, Stuart (2010, October 14) War on terror: Obama Softened the Language but Hardened Muslim Hearts. *The Christian Science Monitor*. <http://www.csmonitor.com/Commentary/Opinion/2010/1014/War-on-terror-Obama-softened-the-language-but-hardened-Muslim-hearts>
30. Ignatius, David. (2010, March 16) The bin Laden Plot to Kill President Obama. *The Washington Post*. [http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/the-bin-laden-plot-to-kill-president-obama/2012/03/16/gIQAwn5RGS\\_story\\_1.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/the-bin-laden-plot-to-kill-president-obama/2012/03/16/gIQAwn5RGS_story_1.html)
31. Kendrick, Alice and Fullerton, Jami A. (2004) Advertising as Public Diplomacy: Attitude Change Among International Audiences, *Journal of Advertising Research*, 44(3), pp. 2-3 <http://smu.edu/smunews/adamerica/advertising%20as%20Public%20Diplomacy.pdf>
32. Ibid, p. 8
33. Ibid. p. 8
34. Ibid. p.10
35. Ibid. p.10
36. Cull, Nicholas J. (2009) Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the Past. p. 43 <http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/publications/perspectives/CPDPerspectivesLessons.pdf>
37. Sanders, Barry A. (2011) *American Avatar: The United States in the Global Imagination*. p. 188. Potomac Books, Washington, D.C.
38. Kendrick, Alice and Fullerton, Jami A. (2004) Advertising as Public Diplomacy: Attitude Change Among International Audiences, p. 16. <http://smu.edu/smunews/adamerica/advertising%20as%20Public%20Diplomacy.pdf>
39. Alhurra TV (n.d.) About Us. <http://www.alhurra.com/info/english/112.html>

40. Broadcasting Board of Governors (2011, December) BBG Global Audience Estimate from the FY 2011 Performance and Results Report Overview of Facts and Figures. <http://www.bbg.gov/wp-content/media/2011/12/2011PARAudeinceOverview.pdf>
41. Telhami, Shibley (2009) 2009 Arab Public Opinion Survey. [http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/events/2009/0519\\_arab\\_opinion/2009\\_arab\\_public\\_opinion\\_poll.pdf](http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/events/2009/0519_arab_opinion/2009_arab_public_opinion_poll.pdf)
42. King, Letitia (2009, May 31) The latest on Alhurra – Email from Letitia King, BBG. *John Brown's Notes Essays*. <http://johnbrownnotesandessays.blogspot.com/2009/05/latest-on-alhurra-email-from-letitia.html>
43. Government Accountability Office (2006, August) U.S. International Broadcasting: Management of Middle East Broadcasting Services Could be Improved. <http://www.gao.gov/assets/260/251033.pdf>
44. Arab Satellite Communications Organization (n.d.) Arabsat TV Channels and Radio. Retrieved July 17, 2012 from <http://www.arabsat.com/pages/Channels.aspx>
45. For further discussion, see:  
Lynch, Marc (2007) The Alhurra Project: Radio Marti of the Middle East. *Arab Media & Society*. Issue 2, Summer 2007. <http://www.arabmediasociety.com/?article=268>
46. Youmans, William (2009) The War on Ideas: Alhurra and US International Broadcasting Law in the ‘War on Terror.’ *Westminster papers in Communication and Culture*, pp. 46-48, [http://www.westminster.ac.uk/\\_\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0010/19990/004WPCC-Vol6-No1-William\\_Youmans.pdf](http://www.westminster.ac.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0010/19990/004WPCC-Vol6-No1-William_Youmans.pdf)
47. USC Center on Public Diplomacy (2008, July 31) An Evaluation of Alhurra Television Programming. <http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/media/AlHurraReport.pdf>
48. CBS News (2009, February 11) U.S.-Funded Arab TV's Credibility Crisis. [http://www.cbsnews.com/2100-18560\\_162-4196477.html](http://www.cbsnews.com/2100-18560_162-4196477.html)
49. U.S. Code Chapter 71 – United States International Broadcasting. <http://uscode.house.gov/download/pls/22C71.txt>
50. Mowbray, Joel (2007, March 18) Television Takeover. Retrieved with the Wayback Machine <http://web.archive.org/web/20090104042957/http://opinionjournal.com/editorial/feature.html?id=110009801>
51. CBS News (2009, February 11) U.S.-Funded Arab TV's Credibility Crisis. [http://www.cbsnews.com/2100-18560\\_162-4196477.html](http://www.cbsnews.com/2100-18560_162-4196477.html)
52. The Association for International Broadcasting (2011) 2011 AIB Award Winners. <http://theaibs.tv/2011-aibs-award-winners/>
53. Broadcasting Board of Governors (2011, November 10) Alhurra Wins AIB People's Choice Award. <http://www.bbg.gov/press-release/alhurra-wins-aibs-peoples-choice-award/>
54. For analysis of Alhurra Iraq's success, see:  
Snyder, Alvin. (2009, January 7) Alhurra locates the “Arab Street.” *The CPD Blog*. [http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/index.php/newswire/cpdblog\\_detail/alhurra\\_locates\\_the\\_arab\\_street/](http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/index.php/newswire/cpdblog_detail/alhurra_locates_the_arab_street/)
55. Weisman, Steven R. (2005, September 28) Saudi Women Depart from the Script. *The New York Times*. <http://www.nytimes.com/2005/09/27/world/africa/27iht-diplo.html>
56. Lynch, Marc (2005, October 5) The Karen Hughes Rainbow Tour. [http://abuaardvark.typepad.com/abuaardvark/2005/10/the\\_karen\\_hughe.html](http://abuaardvark.typepad.com/abuaardvark/2005/10/the_karen_hughe.html)
57. USAToday (Ed.) (2005, September 28) Sales Pitch Falls Flat. [http://www.usatoday.com/news/opinion/editorials/2005-09-28-our-view\\_x.htm](http://www.usatoday.com/news/opinion/editorials/2005-09-28-our-view_x.htm)

58. Khouri, Rami G. (2007, November 3) Karen Hughes' Two Year Halloween. *The Daily Star*. Lebanon. <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/Opinion/Commentary/Nov/03/Karen-Hughes-two-year-Halloween.ashx#axzz1yRs0NBBU>
59. Weisman, Steven R (2005, September 30) On Mideast 'Listening Tour,' The Question is Who's Hearing. *The New York Times*. <http://www.nytimes.com/2005/09/30/international/middleeast/30hughes.html>
60. U.S. Department of State (2005, September 26) Briefing en Route to Ankara, Turkey. Retrieved via the Wayback Machine. <http://web.archive.org/web/20060106203650/http://www.state.gov/r/us/2005/54062.htm>
61. Sipress, Alan (2005, October 22) Hughes Misreports Iraqi History. *The Washington Post*. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/10/21/AR2005102101870.html>
62. Kaplan, Fred (2005, September 29) Karen Hughes, Stay Home! *Slate* [http://www.slate.com/articles/news\\_and\\_politics/war\\_stories/2005/09/karen\\_hughes\\_stay\\_home.html](http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/war_stories/2005/09/karen_hughes_stay_home.html)
63. Department of Defense (2005, January 14) DoD Briefing on Operation Unified Assistance, the Post-Tsunami Relief Effort. <http://www.defense.gov/transcripts/transcript.aspx?transcriptid=1653>
64. Terror Free Tomorrow (2006) One Year Later: Humanitarian Relief Sustains Change in Muslim Public Opinion. <http://www.terrorfreetomorrow.org/upimagesft/INDONESIA%202006%20Poll%20Report.pdf>
65. Wike, Richard (2012, March 6) Does Humanitarian Aid Improve America's Image? <http://www.pewglobal.org/2012/03/06/does-humanitarian-aid-improve-americas-image/>
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid.
68. Dale, Helle (2012, March 12) Disaster Relief as Public Diplomacy. [http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/index.php/newswire/cpd-blog\\_detail/disaster\\_relief\\_as\\_public\\_diplomacy/](http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/index.php/newswire/cpd-blog_detail/disaster_relief_as_public_diplomacy/)
69. Pew Research Center (2009, July 23) Confidence in Obama Lifts U.S. Image Around the World. *Pew Global Attitudes Project*. <http://www.pewglobal.org/2009/07/23/confidence-in-obama-lifts-us-image-around-the-world/>
70. Ibid.
71. Fox News (2009, June 23) Hot Dog Diplomacy: Obama Says it's Up to Iranians to Accept July 4 Invitations. <http://www.foxnews.com/politics/2009/06/23/hot-dog-diplomacy-obama-says-iranians-accept-july-invitations/>
72. Tor Project (n.d.) Tor: Overview. <https://www.torproject.org/about/overview>
73. Tor Project (2011). The Tor Project, Inc.: 2010 Form 990. [https://www.torproject.org/about/findoc/2010-TorProject-combined-Form990\\_PC\\_Audit\\_Results.pdf](https://www.torproject.org/about/findoc/2010-TorProject-combined-Form990_PC_Audit_Results.pdf)
74. PC Pro (2010, March 9) The Dark Side of the Web. <http://www.pcpro.co.uk/features/356254/the-dark-side-of-the-web>
75. Wikileaks (n.d.) Wikileaks: Tor. <http://wikileaks.org/wiki/WikiLeaks:Tor>
76. Glanz, James and Markoff, John. (2011, June 12). U.S. Underwrites Internet Detour around Censors. *The New York Times*. [http://www.nytimes.com/2011/06/12/world/12internet.html?\\_r=1&pagewanted=all](http://www.nytimes.com/2011/06/12/world/12internet.html?_r=1&pagewanted=all)
77. "arma" (2011, September 14) Iran Blocks Tor; Tor Releases Same-Day Fix. <https://blog.torproject.org/blog/iran-blocks-tor-tor-releases-same-day-fix>
78. Wilde, Tim. (2012, January 7) Knock Knock Knockin on Bridges' Doors. <https://blog.torproject.org/blog/knock-knock-knockin-bridges-doors>

79. Foust, Joshua (2011, August 29) The Cost of Ignoring Afghanistan's Politics. *The Atlantic*. <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2011/08/the-cost-of-ignoring-afghanistans-politics/244291/>
80. Ibid.
81. Vanden Brook, Tom and Ray Locker (2012, February 29) U.S. 'Info Ops' Programs Dubious, Costly. USA Today. <http://www.usatoday.com/news/military/story/2012-02-29/afghanistan-iraq-military-information-operations-usa-today-investigation/53295472/1>
82. Sanders, Barry A. (2011). *American Avatar: The United States in the Global Imagination*. p. x-xi. Potomac Books, Washington, D.C.
83. Lugar, Richard G. (2012, March 9) Nunn-Lugar: Science Cooperation Essential for Nonproliferation Effort. *Science & Diplomacy*. <http://www.sciencediplomacy.org/perspective/2012/nunn-lugar>
84. Davidson, Mark J. (2008) Elements of Cultural Diplomacy: "Landmarks of New York" in Tokyo. *Fletcher World Affairs*. Vol. 32(3) p.75-82.
85. Ibid.
86. Ibid.
87. Ibid.
88. Gregory, Bruce (2008) Public Diplomacy and National Security: Lessons from the U.S. Experience. *Small Wars Journal*. <http://smallwarsjournal.com/blog/journal/docs-temp/82-gregory.pdf?q=mag/docs-temp/82-gregory.pdf>
89. Fitzpatrick, Kathy R. (2011, September) U.S. Public Diplomacy in a Post-9/11 World: From Messaging to Mutuality. P. 19. Figueroa Press, Los Angeles. [http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/publications/perspectives/CPDPerspectives\\_Mutuality.pdf](http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/publications/perspectives/CPDPerspectives_Mutuality.pdf)
90. Fitzpatrick, Kathy R. (2011, September) U.S. Public Diplomacy in a Post-9/11 World: From Messaging to Mutuality. P. 10. Figueroa Press, Los Angeles. [http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/publications/perspectives/CPDPerspectives\\_Mutuality.pdf](http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/publications/perspectives/CPDPerspectives_Mutuality.pdf)
91. Clifford, Stephanie (2009, January 30) Coca-Cola Deleting 'Classic' from Coke Label. *The New York Times*. <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/01/31/business/media/31coke.html>
92. Ibid.
93. Anholt, Simon (2008) Place branding: Is it marketing, is isn't it? <http://www.palgrave-journals.com/pb/journal/v4/n1/full/6000088a.html>
94. See: <http://www.thebrandusa.com/>
95. YourDiscoverAmerica (2012, April 20) "Land of Dreams" Full Length Video. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WWUA1CXIku8>
96. See: <http://www.discoveramerica.com/>
97. Public Diplomacy Alumni Association (<http://publicdiplomacy.org/pages/index.php?page=about-public-diplomacy#traditional>)
98. Center for National Policy (2012, January 24) The End of the Afghan War: Talking with the Taliban and What Comes Next. <http://cnponline.org/index.php?ht=a/GetDocumentAction/i/36077>
99. Becker, Jo and Shane, Scott (2012, May 29) Secret 'Kill List' Proves a Test of Obama's Principles and Will. *The New York Times*. [http://www.nytimes.com/2012/05/29/world/obamas-leadership-in-war-on-al-qaeda.html?\\_r=1&pagewanted=all](http://www.nytimes.com/2012/05/29/world/obamas-leadership-in-war-on-al-qaeda.html?_r=1&pagewanted=all)



100. Witte, Griff (2006, November 12) Despite Billions Spent, Rebuilding Incomplete. *The Washington Post*. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/11/11/AR2006111101076.html>
101. President Bush called for the U.S. to follow in the steps of George Marshall for Afghanistan. See the transcript of a Speech given at VMI, available at: <http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/020417/se.02.html>
102. Vaquez, Ian (2003, May 9) A Marshall Plan for Iraq? <http://www.cato.org/research/articles/vasquez-030509.html> and  
The New York Times (Ed.)(2002, April 9) Afghanistan's Marshall Plan. <http://www.nytimes.com/2002/04/19/opinion/afghanistan-s-marshall-plan.html>
103. USC Center on Public Diplomacy (2008, July 31). An Evaluation of Alhurra Television Programming. <http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/media/AlHurraReport.pdf>
104. Bennett, Brian (2011, February 7) U.S. mends frosty relations with Al Jazeera. *The Los Angeles Times*. <http://articles.latimes.com/2011/feb/07/world/la-fg-al-jazeera-20110207>
105. Chao, Loretta (2011, February 17) U.S. Boosts Web Freedom Efforts in China, Iran. *The Wall Street Journal*. <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052748703961104576148174253905418.html>
106. Mostaghim, Ramin and Sandels, Alexandra (2011, December 7) Access to U.S. 'Virtual Embassy' Blocked in Iran. *The Los Angeles Times*. [http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/world\\_now/2011/12/iran-us-virtual-embassy.html](http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/world_now/2011/12/iran-us-virtual-embassy.html)
107. Marsh, Wendell and McCune, Greg (2011, May 19) CDC "Zombie Apocalypse" Disaster Campaign Crashes Website. *Reuters*. <http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/05/19/us-zombies-idUSTRE74I7H420110519>
108. CIA (2012, June 20) The World Factbook: Afghanistan. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/af.html>
109. Willard, Jed (personal communication 2012, June 26) Public Diplomacy Section of the U.S. Embassy, Kampala.
110. Banks, Robert (2011, November) A Resource Guide to Public Diplomacy Evaluation. CPD Perspectives on Public Diplomacy. [http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/publications/perspectives/CPD\\_Perspectives\\_Paper%209\\_2011.pdf](http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/publications/perspectives/CPD_Perspectives_Paper%209_2011.pdf)
111. Foust, Joshua (2011, October 6) Measuring Success: Are We Winning? 10 Years in Afghanistan. <http://americansecurityproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/10/Measuring-Success-Are-We-Winning-10-Years-in-Afghanistan-FINAL.pdf>

## Building a New American Arsenal

The American Security Project (ASP) is a nonpartisan initiative to educate the American public about the changing nature of national security in the 21st century.

Gone are the days when a nation's strength could be measured by bombers and battleships. Security in this new era requires a New American Arsenal harnessing all of America's strengths: the force of our diplomacy; the might of our military; the vigor of our economy; and the power of our ideals.

We believe that America must lead other nations in the pursuit of our common goals and shared security. We must confront international challenges with all the tools at our disposal. We must address emerging problems before they become security crises. And to do this, we must forge a new bipartisan consensus at home.

ASP brings together prominent American leaders, current and former members of Congress, retired military officers, and former government officials. Staff direct research on a broad range of issues and engages and empowers the American public by taking its findings directly to them.

We live in a time when the threats to our security are as complex and diverse as terrorism, the spread of weapons of mass destruction, climate change, failed and failing states, disease, and pandemics. The same-old solutions and partisan bickering won't do. America needs an honest dialogue about security that is as robust as it is realistic.

ASP exists to promote that dialogue, to forge consensus, and to spur constructive action so that America meets the challenges to its security while seizing the opportunities the new century offers.



American Security Project

[www.americansecurityproject.org](http://www.americansecurityproject.org)