



Near East University
Faculty of Economics and Administrative sciences
Department of International Relations

Master Thesis

**THE EFFORTS OF U.S. PUBLIC DIPLOMACY IN THE
MIDDLE EAST AFTER THE WAR ON IRAQ 2003**

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Thesis

Title	The Efforts of U.S. Public Diplomacy In The Middle East After The War On Iraq 2003
Description:	<p>This thesis examines the efforts of US public diplomacy in the Middle East after the war on Iraq 2003. It focuses on the image of the U.S. in the Middle East after the war in Iraq and the reasons of this image, with explanation for the importance of the Middle East region for the United States.</p> <p>It also explains the strengthening of US public diplomacy efforts after the war on Iraq in the Middle East, including: US broadcasting, expansion of the American exchange programs in, and finally the new initiatives of the information programs.</p>
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Jury's Decision

The Jury has decided to accept the student's thesis. The decision has been taken unanimously

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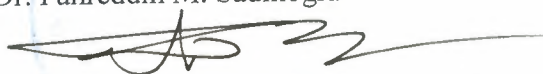
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The Efforts of U.S. Public Diplomacy in the Middle East after the War on Iraq 2003

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"There are but two powers in the world, the sword and the mind. In the long run the sword is always beaten by the mind"

Napoleon

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Abstract

This paper seeks to examine the efforts of US public diplomacy in the Middle East after the war on Iraq 2003. It argues the definitions of public diplomacy and tries to find a new definition in the light of US public diplomacy activities nowadays. This thesis discusses US public diplomacy history from 1950s till now. It also covers the tools of public diplomacy, and dimensions of public diplomacy. This paper explains the image of the U.S. in the Middle East after the war in Iraq and the reasons of this image, with explanation for the importance of the Middle East region for the United States, and why public opinion in the Middle East matter for the US.

The public opinion in the Arab street is a relatively new phenomenon. Especially, it has raised together with the TV satellite channels. At the moment you can find in the Arab countries a huge variety of opinions regarding almost every possible issue. It is also worth of noticing that those opinions have started to matter.

Moreover, the thesis explains the strengthening of US public diplomacy efforts after the war on Iraq in the Middle East, including: the new direction of US broadcasting in the Middle East, with focus on the role of radio SAWA, Al-Hurra and Al-Hurra-Iraq. Radio SAWA, Al-Hurra and Al-Hurra-Iraq consider the most important tools of American public diplomacy in the Middle East.

It also tackles the expansion of the American exchange programs in the Middle East after the war on Iraq, and finally the new initiatives of the information programs after the war on Iraq.

It also tries to analyze the message of US broadcasters during and after the war on Iraq. The analysis includes: the expressions and its denotation, the types of news and the types of programs.

And finally, this paper discusses the impact and meaning of US public diplomacy in the Middle East in the light of the increasing anti-Americanism sentiment around the world to a great length as a result of US policy in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and Iraq. In the end the paper also tries to take a look at the future and to give some concluding suggestions: what should the American public diplomacy do to be effective.

Introduction

The public diplomacy is one of the most important tools of the United States foreign policy. From the American perspective the “public diplomacy” as a term means the promotion of the national interest and the national security of the United States by understanding, informing and influencing foreign publics and by broadening dialogue between American citizens and institutions and their counterparts abroad.

The events of September 11th caused a public diplomacy crisis among the American administration. Also the war in Afghanistan (2001), the war in Iraq and the treatment of the “enemy combatants” in Abu Ghraib prison and Guantanamo have clearly damaged the image of the USA and increased dramatically the need of public diplomacy. The officials, academics, and public diplomacy practitioners all agree about the importance of the public diplomacy for the United States especially to promote the American views and cause abroad.

After the war on Iraq, the image of the United States has been badly deteriorated among the Arab and Muslim peoples, and consequently, the US administration has strongly invested in the public diplomacy efforts in the Middle East to improve the image of the only superpower in the region. Of course, the US has also used other means and ways (as military power, sanctions, economic aid and conventional diplomacy) to reach the goals in the Middle East, but especially in the “fight for the hearts and minds” of the Arab and Muslim world the public diplomacy has been considered as the core and it has recently gained more and more importance. As a retired, high-ranked British General, Rupert

Smith who has participated for example in the first Iraqi War (1991) and the Kosovon War (1999) has lately formulated it, modern wars are “wars among the people” and it is almost impossible to win them without winning the hearts and minds of the target people. Modern wars are also fought in front of the media and, consequently, the public image becomes much more important. A TV camera is almost as important weapon as a gun.

I will begin this thesis by discussing the concept of public diplomacy in the historical context of the American public diplomacy. Secondly, I will explain the dimensions of public diplomacy and tools of public diplomacy as well.

In the second part of this paper I will examine the efforts of the American public diplomacy after the war on Iraq in the Middle East, with special regard on the importance of the Middle East region to the United States and the public opinion toward US in the Middle East in the light of the increasingly negative image of the US after the war on Iraq. Furthermore, I will explain the American specifically targeted public diplomacy after the war on Iraq, which has included the international broadcasting, exchange programs, and information programs.

In the last section I will try to analyze the message of American broadcasters to the Middle Eastern audiences: what exactly is the message. And finally I will discuss the potential and opportunities of the US public diplomacy, and what should US public diplomacy do in the future to make the image of USA more positive?

In my research I depend basically on some previous studies which cover the US public diplomacy after the events of September 2001. One of the most important of them is "the Changing Minds Winning Peace, a new strategic direction for U.S. public diplomacy in the Arab & Muslim world, chaired by Edward P. Djerejian. This book covers all American public diplomacy activities all over the world. This study has been published in October 2003.

I have also used the master thesis of Researcher Ann Teideman (the Tufts University, in the USA), the title of which is "Branding America an Examination of U.S. Public Diplomacy Efforts after September 11, 2001". Teideman's thesis covers the American public diplomacy after the September 11th 2001 and it focuses on the public diplomacy efforts of Undersecretary of State, Ms. Charlotte Beers* as a case study.

I used also many original sources, such as: Broadcasting Board of Governors annual reports, United States General Accounting Office (GAO) reports about performance and accountability, reports for the US Congress, Polling and surveying reports especially from independent centers like The Pew Research Center for the People & the Press and Zogby International, and other original sources.

Some parts of my study are based on the television interviews**, statements, and testimonies for US Congress. There also are some books and many articles, and many Online and Internet sources including the news, news stories, and official websites.

* Charlotte Beers is the previous US Under secretary of Department of State for the Public Diplomacy.

** Such interviews from Al-Jazeera Channel.

To analyze the message (for example, what do they tell and what kind of terminology they use) of broadcasters - which should be considered as an important tool of the American public diplomacy in the Middle East – I followed both Al-Hurra TV and Radio Sawa during December 2005, at least 3 hours a day.

Public Diplomacy

Public Diplomacy definitions

Public diplomacy, like any instrument of national power, must be defined in terms of the targets it seeks to achieve, and the ways to achieve such targets anything short of a complete definition can ultimately lead to an inappropriate application of the Instrument. Consequently, there is a clear need for a comprehensive definition of the core term of the present thesis.

Traditional definitions of public diplomacy include government-sponsored cultural, educational and informational programs, citizen exchanges and broadcasts used to promote the national interest of a country through understanding, informing, and influencing foreign audiences.¹

The United States Department of State defines public diplomacy as follow: "Public diplomacy refers to government-sponsored programs intended to inform or influence public opinion in other countries; its chief instruments are publications, motion pictures, cultural exchanges, radio and television."²

The United State Information Agency (USIA) describes public diplomacy as: "seeks to promote the national interest and the national security of the United States

¹ University of South California, Center on Public Diplomacy, available on <http://www.uscpublicdiplomacy.org/> , visited in 15-10-2005.

² U.S. Department of State, Dictionary of International Relations Terms, 1987, 85.

through understanding, informing, and influencing foreign publics and broadening dialogue between American citizens and institutions and their counterparts abroad.”³

The United States Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy 1993 Report – defined Public Diplomacy as a follows: “The open exchange of ideas and information is an inherent characteristic of democratic societies. Its global mission is central to foreign policy. And it remains indispensable to national interests, ideals and leadership role in the world.”⁴

According to the Center for the Study & Advancement of Public Diplomacy , Tufts University the definition is: “Public diplomacy that traditionally represents actions of governments to influence overseas publics within the foreign policy process has expanded today - by accident and design - beyond the realm of governments to include the media, multinational corporations, NGO's and faith-based organizations as active participants in the field”.⁵

Public diplomacy in the view of Alan K. Henrickson (Professor of Diplomatic History, Tufts University) may be defined, simply, as the conduct of international relations by government through public communications media and through dealings with a wide range of nongovernmental entities (political parties, corporations, trade

³ United States Information Agency Alumni Association, “What Is Public Diplomacy?” Washington, D.C., updated September 1, 2002. Online at <http://www.publicdiplomacy.org/1.htm> (as of August 6, 2004). Visited in 15-10-2005.

⁴ United States Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, Excerpt from the 1993 Report.

⁵ Crocker Snow Jr. Acting Director Edward R. Murrow, Center for the Study & Advancement of Public Diplomacy · the Fletcher School · Tufts University May 2005. Available on: <http://fletcher.tufts.edu/>.

associations, labor unions, educational institutions, religious organizations, ethnic groups, and so on including influential individuals) for the purpose of influencing the politics and actions of other governments.⁶

I define public diplomacy as governmental efforts to inform and influence public opinion in other countries, and create a more favorable climate in which to conduct international affairs, public diplomacy uses international publications, broadcasts, and cultural exchanges to cultivate goodwill toward National interests, and its policies. Public diplomacy also involves monitoring global opinion and engaging in two-way dialogue with international audiences.

Elements of public diplomacy can include:

- **Cultural diplomacy** – advancing the dialogue about a country through educational institutions, cultural organizations, NGOs, or individuals from civil society and athletics.
- **Broadcasting** – printed materials, radio, television, online, mass media intended to provide a country's side of the story.
- **Corporate public diplomacy** – corporate action intended to bring about more favorable relations between companies' country of origins and foreign publics in the target countries. It is worth noticing that the big supranational companies are not marketing and selling any more "products" but "images".

⁶ The Edward R. Murrow, Center for the Study & Advancement of Public Diplomacy , available on <http://fletcher.tufts.edu/murrow/pd/definitions.html>. Updated May 2005, Visited in 15-10-2005.

History of Public Diplomacy

Public diplomacy in the case of USA first came into use during World War I (1914 -1918; the USA participated in it 1917 -1918) when President Woodrow Wilson created the Committee on Public Information. The mandate of this organization, called the Creel Committee for its chairman, George Creel, was to make American war aims widely known throughout the world. Woodrow Wilson was the first President to realize that it was important to consider public opinions in other countries because they could influence the policies of their governments. It became more important to influence the public opinions of the enemy states because militarily the First World War had ended to a stalemate. The situation is very analogical with the present situation where it is again very difficult to find a military solution in the modern wars as in Iraq.

The Foreign Information Service was established by President Franklin Roosevelt during World War II. It broadcasted pro-American news in Europe and Asia as a counter-measure to German and Japanese propaganda. Today, it is known as the Voice of America (VOA).⁷ While VOA was the official U.S. Government radio channel and was generally targeted at communist countries, also Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberation were initially financed by the American government in secret. The original missions of Radio Liberation and Radio Free Europe were different from VOA in that they were designed to provide information to “enslaved nations” – those were the states under the

⁷ http://eagle1.american.edu/~am3428a/information_war/history.htm, Visited in 15-10-2005.

Soviet control, the Satellites - disguised as domestic stations that could provide information the state prohibited.⁸

Public diplomacy after WW II also focused on reorienting defeated totalitarian nations toward democracy. This was done through exchanges, libraries, cultural centers, schools, films, social programs, and universities. The concept of cultural exchanges as a government practice came into existence with the creation of the Division for Cultural Cooperation in the Department of State in 1938 when Cultural Affairs Officers were assigned to several Latin American diplomatic posts to organize exchange programs. It wasn't until after World War II that the government began to see a bigger role for cultural exchanges.

The Fulbright Act, named for Senator William Fulbright of Arkansas, was created in 1946 to facilitate exchange opportunities for young people, professionals, trade unionists and artists in the hope of exposing people in defeated totalitarian countries to freedom and democracy.⁹ The Act should be seen in the context of the starting Cold War. The American foreign policy changed in 1946 – 1947 and the USA became fully engaged in confronting the Soviet Union.

During the Cold War, President Eisenhower created the U.S. Information Agency, whose mission was to understand and influence international public opinion. The USIA

⁸ Hans Tuch, *Communicating with the World*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990, 15.

⁹ Tiedemann, Anna, *Branding America an Examination of U.S. Public Diplomacy Efforts after September 11*, 2001, Master of Arts in Law and Diplomacy Thesis, the Fletcher school, Tufts University, April 2005, 18.

operated exchange programs and the Voice of America. It also created American libraries around the world and published the Washington File, which provided daily updates about Washington's policies and pronouncements.¹⁰ In addition during the Cold War, public diplomacy gained significant support and the attention of the U.S. Government. In the war of ideas (the Cold War was above all a psychological and propaganda war), it was seen as essential to win the hearts and minds of people living under communist regimes. The US Government used the exchange programs to promote democracy, the civil society and the free market economy and to help put in place the technology to link key target audiences in these countries with institutions and organizations and people in the United States.¹¹

In 1950, President Truman launched a public diplomacy campaign aimed at exposing communists to western ideas and values.¹² In the beginning of 1960s famous broadcaster and television personality Edward R. Murrow became USIA director. He served from 1961 to 1964. The Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act consolidated various American international educational and cultural exchanges, including the translation of books and periodicals and American representation in international fairs and expositions, and establish government operation of cultural and education centers abroad.¹³ By the end of the 1964, a Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs was established in the Department of State under an Assistant Secretary.

¹⁰ Gannett News Service, History of public diplomacy, (special report) posted July 14, 2002, available on <http://www.gannettonline.com>. Visited in 15-10-2005.

¹¹ Rosaleen Smyth, Mapping US Public Diplomacy in the 21st Century, Australian Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 55, No. 3, 421-444, 2001.

¹² Tiedemann 18.

¹³ The United States Information Agency, A Commemoration, Telling American's Story to the world 1953-1999, USIA Publications (October 1999)25.

In 1975, The VOA Charter was written into Public Law 94-350 and signed by President Gerald Ford. It states that VOA will serve as a “consistently reliable and authoritative source of news . . . accurate, objective, and comprehensive”, will “represent all segments of American society” and will present “the policies of the United States clearly and effectively, and will also present responsible discussions and opinions on these policies. . . .”¹⁴ . In 1978 President Jimmy Carter approved another major reorganization of USIA. The Department of State’s Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (including the Fulbright Program) is combined with the Agency to become the United States International Communication Agency (USICA). President Carter issued a new mission statement that adds a second mandate for USICA to “reduce the degree to which perceptions and misunderstandings complicate relations between the United States and other nations.” Foreign Service officers play an active role abroad in promoting the President’s human rights program.¹⁵

Under President Ronald Reagan, the agency changed dramatically. A former actor himself, Reagan understood the importance of image. Charles Z. Wick, Reagan’s USIA Director focused the resources of the USIA on building the image of the president around the world in the fight against communism. Wick was able to significantly increase the budget of the agency under Reagan. One of his big projects was the initiation of new cultural exchange programs between the U.S. and industrialized nations including

¹⁴ Ibid, 39.

¹⁵ USIA Publications ,October 1999, 41.

Reagan's International Youth Exchange Program, launched in 1982. Wick will also be remembered for creating and championing television as a tool for public diplomacy.¹⁶

After Cold War, USIA, with more than 4,000 employees, was merged into the State Department in 1999 under the new Undersecretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs. That job is held by Charlotte Beers, a former advertising executive.

After the attacks of September 11, 2001, U.S. public diplomacy efforts increased to promote better appreciation of the United States abroad and greater receptivity to its policies among foreign publics Opinion. Such efforts were led until March 2003 by Undersecretary of State Charlotte Beers, and tended to give highest priority to American issues rather than to foreign policy.¹⁷

After the events of September 11th 2001 the U.S. Senate confirmed a long-time political adviser to President Bush, Karen Hughes, as the State Department's chief of public diplomacy.

In Karen Hughes' words, the United States is "involved in a generational and global struggle of ideas, a struggle that pits the power of hate against the power of hope."¹⁸ And she plans "an aggressive effort to share and communicate America's fundamental values while respecting the cultures and traditions of other nations."

¹⁶ Tiedemann, 19.

¹⁷ William A. Rugh, *Fixing Public Diplomacy for Arab and Muslim Audiences*, Hoover Press: Garfinkle-Terrorism, 154.

¹⁸ Vice of America News, available on: <http://www.voanews.com/english/portal.cfm>, 30 July 2005, visited in 20-10-2005.

Traditional diplomacy and public diplomacy

Traditional diplomacy is generally defined as "the application of intelligence, tact, and sound judgment to conduct of official relations between the governments of independent states"¹⁹. Thus traditional diplomacy - that is "government-to-government diplomacy" - is focused mainly on efforts by officials of one country to persuade officials of another country to take particular actions. Public diplomacy differs from traditional diplomacy in that Public diplomacy engages carefully targeted sectors of foreign publics in order to develop support for those same strategic goals²⁰. It deals not only with governments but primarily with non-governmental individuals and organizations. Furthermore, public diplomacy activities often present many differing views as represented by private American individuals, organizations and official U.S. Government views. This, of course, reflects the pluralism of the American society, where the fiercest critic of the American policy often arises from the domestic sources.

The main factor in developing the diplomacy is "communication revolution". The world has become tied together by information and information networks especially the media and Internet. A Canadian scholar, Marshall McLuhan claimed already in 1960s that the world had become "a global village". Consequently, billions of people know what is happening – instantly – and have opinions in different issues. As a result; diplomacy becomes more and more public, and more and more dependent on publics around the world. The modern version of diplomacy, what some scholars call "telediplomacy" is

¹⁹ -Plischke, Elmer. *Conduct of American Diplomacy*, Third edition, D. Van Nostrand Company, INC., Princeton, New Jersey 1967, 2.

²⁰ Ross Christopher, *Public Diplomacy Comes of Age*, the Washington Quarterly, by the Center for Strategic and International Studies and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology 25:2 75–83. Spring 2002.

characterized by its reliance on real time television. The Vietnam War is called the first television war, whereas, the first Gulf War in 1991 is called the first real time television war when, especially, CNN won its spurs.²¹ Global television not only defines the method of diplomacy. But it also plays a significant role in shaping policy outcomes; and also it uses the other modern tools such as radio, internet, publications ... In addition, public diplomacy uses all kind of exchange activities which in a long term are considered as the most effective and influential tool.

Dimensions of Public Diplomacy

In view of Mark Leonard*, public diplomacy has three dimensions²²: news management, strategic communications, and relationship building:

The first dimension is the management of communications on day-to-day issues, reflecting the growing need to align communications with traditional diplomacy. the matter in this dimension that Public diplomacy seeks to support traditional diplomacy by addressing nongovernmental audiences, in addition to governmental audiences, both public and elites. Consequently; the public diplomacy and traditional diplomacy must to complete each other through the good planning of management of communications.

²¹ Anna Tiedemann and Alan K. Henrikson, U.S. Public Diplomacy in the Middle East, Lessons Learned from the Charlotte Beers Experience, Seminar on Geography, Foreign Policy, and World Order, May 4, 2004, 23.

* Director of the Foreign Policy Centre, United Kingdom.

²² Mark Leonard, with Catherine Stead and Conrad Smewing, Public Diplomacy, First published in 2002 by The Foreign Policy Centre UK, London, 8.

The second dimension is strategic communications of the public diplomacy. In order to ensure consistency, a single theme or strategic message must be communicated by all outlets. Strategic messages are usually conveyed and reinforced through a series of events and messages. To resonate with publics, a single, coherent message must be repeated regularly from a variety of credible sources. This job is complicated by that fact that it is increasingly difficult to isolate different news stories for different audiences, foreign and domestic. Although most television, radio and print media are still created with a national or local audience in mind, their networks of foreign correspondents will ensure that messages do get transferred from one region to another.

The third dimension of public diplomacy is the most long-term: Developing lasting relationships with key individuals through scholarships, exchanges, training, seminars, conferences, building real and virtual networks, and giving people access to media channels. This differs from the usual diplomatic practice of nurturing contacts as it is about developing relationships between peers - politicians, special advisers, business people, cultural entrepreneurs or academics. This can take place across the three spheres of public diplomacy and is aimed at creating a common analysis of issues and giving people a clearer idea of the motivations and factors effecting their actions so that by the time they come to discussing individual issues a lot of the background work has been done already. The most effective instruments for building enduring relationships are scholarships, visits and other exchange programs that require complex planning and administration and come with a high unit cost.

In addition to direct government public diplomacy efforts, Joseph Nye* identifies what he terms indirect public diplomacy. American culture as conveyed by Hollywood, Walt Disney, McDonald's, or Tiger Woods can have a significant impact on public opinion.²³ The American companies often are more available to people around the world than government officials.

Tools of Public Diplomacy

Public Diplomacy uses an arsenal of mass and interpersonal communications tools to educate and influence foreign public opinion. Many of these tools are pulled from the overlapping fields of public relations, advertising and marketing. Public diplomacy relies on primary, secondary and tertiary forms of communication to reach and foreign publics. The following chart lists examples of the different types of tools used for public diplomacy.²⁴

* Dean of John Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Boston.

²³ Nye, Joseph, *Soft Power*, New York: Public Affairs, 2004.

²⁴ Tiedemann, 23.

Chart (1)* Tools of Public Diplomacy

Primary – high level of control	Official statements, press releases, press conferences, paid advertisements, international broadcasting, speeches, websites
Secondary – limited control	Media relations, marketing, public relations, access to government officials, international broadcasting
Tertiary – very little control, if any	Pop culture, fashion, movies, music, exchanges, cultural diplomacy , and Hollywood movies...

US Image in the Middle East

The USA and the Middle East

The Middle East is a term traditionally applied by western Europeans to the countries of South West Asia and North East Africa. Defined on that way it includes the Asian part of Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine-Israel, Jordan, Iraq, Iran, the countries of the Arabian peninsula (Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Oman, United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Bahrain, Kuwait), and Egypt and Libya. The area was viewed as midway between Europe and East Asia. The term is sometimes used in a cultural sense to mean the group of lands in that part of the world mostly Islamic in culture. And also Middle East is considered as the cot of

*Ibid.

ancient civilizations as Sumer, Babylon, and Egypt, and the birthplace of Islam, Christianity, and Judaism, the Middle East is known as the cradle of Western civilization. The Greek Empire, Roman Empire, Persian Empire, and Ottoman Empire are among the great civilizations that developed and prospered in the Middle East.

The Middle East has been the scene of political turmoil and major warfare, including World War I, World War II, the Arab-Israeli Wars, the Iran-Iraq War and the Persian Gulf Wars, and finally American war on Iraq.

Now, the population in the Middle East is about 190 million²⁵, most of them are Muslims, nearly half of whom are under the age of 30 with unemployment rates between 25 and 30 percent; Most of the Middle Eastern peoples are increasingly alienated from their governments, which are undemocratic, highly corrupted, and authoritarian.

The importance of the Middle East to the USA

Until the end of the Second World War England was the dominant great power in the Middle East. Yet, in the end of the war Great Britain was totally exhausted and when the Soviet Union challenged the West in the beginning of the Cold War (especially, in the Middle East) Britain did its best to get the US to replace it in the confrontation with the Soviet Union. As a consequence the US changed her foreign policy in 1946 – 1947 and got more involved also in the politics in the Middle East. As Brands puts it the US got “into the Labyrinth”. Still, the great turning point for the US in the Middle East was so-

²⁵ Miniwatts International, Middle East Internet Usage & Population Statistics, available on: <http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats5.htm>, Visited in 3-11-2005.

called Six Days War in 1967 during and after which the US became fully committed to Middle Eastern affairs.

The Middle East is considered the most important region in the world in terms of US interests. The history of the Middle East since World War II, before and after the end of the Cold War, and the dramatic events of September 2001, and its consequences, draw attention to an underlying issue, play the role of the USA. The USA had no colonies or bases in the Middle East prior to World War II, and little economic or political interest.²⁶ Now, the American foreign policy in the Middle East is based on its own national interests. The various interests of the USA in the Middle East can be summarized as following:

- **Geo-strategic Concerns and Regional Stability:**

The Middle East region is very important in the geo-strategic dimension, because it is existent in the heart of the world map, it controls important sea narrows, and is also very rich in natural resources especially water and oil. The United States maintains an ongoing military presence in the Middle East, including longstanding military bases in Turkey, Qatar, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Oman, and now in Iraq, and strong naval presence in the eastern Mediterranean, Arabian Sea, and the Atlantic Ocean. Now, U.S. geo-strategic interests in the Middle East are largely defined by the U.S.-led "war on terrorism" A number of other concerns

²⁶ Fred Halliday, *The Middle East in International Relations – Power, Politics and ideology*, Cambridge University press, 2005, 140-141.

are very much intertwined with the terrorism issue.²⁷ These include the U.S. occupation of Iraq, containment of Iran, and the establishment of peace between Israel and its Arab adversaries. To support these interests, roughly 200,000 American troops are stationed in the Middle East.

- **The Middle East Oil**

U.S. interests in the Middle East also continue to include access to oil. More than half of the world's known oil reserves are in the Middle East, which is also the cheapest place in the world to extract the product. The United States is largest single consumer of oil in the world, accounting for one quarter of total consumption. In 2002, 24% of U.S. crude oil imports came from the Arabic Gulf area.²⁸ Iraq contains the world's second-largest known oil reserves, after Saudi Arabia, and the country has significant unexplored reserves.

- **Relations with Israel**

One of the main US strategic interests in the Middle East is support for the state of Israel and Israel's peaceful relations with its Arab neighbors.

Since 1976, Israel has been the largest annual recipient of U.S. foreign assistance and is the largest cumulative recipient since World War II.

²⁷ Stephen Zunes, Independent Media Institute, AlterNet. Posted September 26, 2001. Available on <https://www.alternet.org/> visited in 3-11-2005.

²⁸ Craig Kauffman and Christopher L. Brown August, The Middle East in Transition Southern Center for International Studies, 2003, available on <https://www.southerncenter.org>, as in the Original Source: Energy Information Administration, "World Petroleum Consumption", Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of Energy, January 2002.

From 1971 to 2001 total U.S. Assistance to Israel is 78,908.6 \$ Million.²⁹

Israel receives \$1.2 billion in grant economic assistance and \$1.8 billion in grant military assistance annually.

U.S. military, diplomatic and economic support of the Israeli government remains unconditional despite Israel's ongoing violation of human rights, international law and previous agreements with the Palestinians.

- **Preventing the Spread of Weapons of Mass Destruction**

Nowadays the issue of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in the Middle East has become the center of world attention. The U.S. has expressed concern that Iran may be pursuing WMD. With assistance from Russia, Iran is close to completing several nuclear reactors, which it says are designed only for peaceful purpose, that is generating energy. However, the war against Iraq was under the expediency of possessed WMD of Saddam Hussein. And finally the former Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz acknowledged that “the issue of WMD was used to justify war against Iraq”

²⁹ Jeremy M. Sharp, U.S. Foreign Assistance to the Middle East: Historical Background, Recent Trends, and the FY2006 Request, Congressional Research Service ~ the Library of Congress, Updated June 13, 2005, 10.

The Public Opinion toward US in the Middle East

Major U.S. polling firms including the Gallup Organization, Zogby International, and the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press have conducted recent surveys measuring public opinion in Middle East countries. These surveys indicate that general public perceptions of the United States, its policies, and its values are extremely negative. The Pew poll found that 69 percent of Egyptians, 75 percent of Jordanians, 59 percent of Lebanese, and 55 percent of Turks had unfavorable views of the United States.³⁰

According to Zogby poll results in Middle East countries, the favorable view to the US from 2002 to 2003 increasingly declined. In Jordan, favorable view to the US was 36 percent and declined to 11 percent, in Egypt from 17 percent to 14 percent, in Morocco from 38 percent to 9 percent, in Saudi Arabia from 12 percent to 3 percent.³¹ Clearly, the general attitudes toward America declined over a short period of time.

In understanding the main source of anti-American sentiment, some academics refer the America's image problem in the Arab world is first and foremost a result of its policies. Peter Peterson, from Council on Foreign Relations, claims that many people in the world object to U.S. policy which they perceive as unbalanced, unjust, and hypocritical. Particularly, specific policies, such as the U.S. policy towards Israel and the U.S. backing of authoritarian regimes are considered as the source of troubles.

³⁰ The Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, Views Of A Changing World, The Pew Global Project Attitudes, How Global Publics View: War in Iraq, Democracy, Islam and Governance, Globalization" JUNE 2003, available on www.people-press.org.

³¹ John Zogby, Zogby International, "America as Seen Through Arab Eyes: Polling the Arab World after September 11th," March 2003.

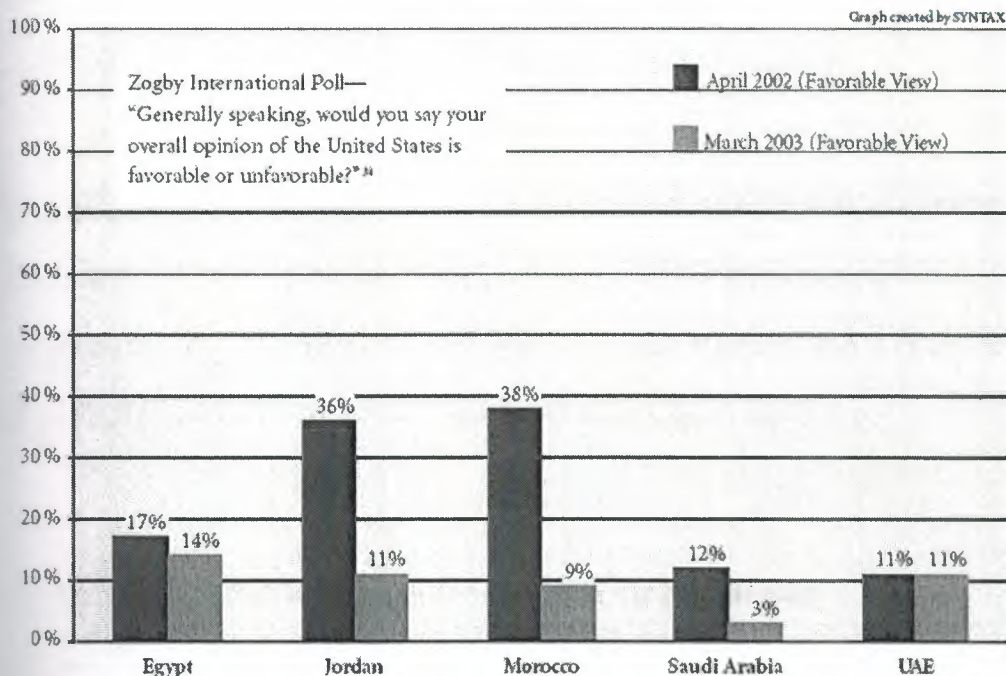
Many see U.S. actions internationally as obstructionist and selfish. From the rejection of the Kyoto Climate Change Protocol to President Bush's use of the phrase "axis of evil" to describe three unique and culturally distinct countries, the U.S. has not gained favor internationally.³² And also, US government sponsored media channels that intentionally provoke and encourage anti-American sentiment.

³² Peter Peterson, Chair, "Finding America's Voice: A Strategy for Reinvigorating U.S. Public Diplomacy" Report of an Independent Task Force Sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations. 2003.



Chart (2) the attitudes toward US in the Middle East

Percent of Population with an Overall Favorable View of the U.S.³³



Ambassador Christopher Ross* criticism of U.S. policy centered in four areas³³: America's stand on the current Israeli-Palestinian conflict, perceived as based on a double standard, American Occupation of Iraq, Superpower arrogance and unilateralism, and The United State Government's close relations with governments in the region considered authoritarian and out-of-step with values professed by Americans.

Professor, AKBAR AHMED Ibn Khaldun - Chair of Islamic Studies, American University - cited a saying of the Prophet that if one part of the body is in pain, the entire

* Ambassador Christopher Ross, Special Coordinator for Public Diplomacy Department of State.

³³ Institute for the study of diplomacy, Edmund a. Walsh school of Foreign Service Georgetown University, symposium under the title of: Talking with the Islamic world: is the message getting through? Held in February 2002.

body is in pain. The Muslim world is in pain.³⁴ There is the Palestinian situation, the American occupation of Iraq, the humiliation of the Saudis in the press, Iran cited as part of an axis of evil, and the war in Afghanistan, and the attitude of the Kashmir issue. After reviewing three different view points about the reasons of negative image of the US in the Middle East, we can conclude this part of this paper as follows:

The negative image of the US in the Middle East can be considered as a natural result of its policies toward the Arabic and Muslim issues which are Palestinian-Israeli conflict, occupation of Iraq, US attitude toward Iran and Syria, Kashmir and Afghanistan, and finally US arrogance and support to some despotic regimes in the world.

The Importance of Public Opinion for the US in the Middle East

Often, public opinion play main role in formalizing the policy and it can be influenced by public relations and the political media. US government spends billions of dollars to attempt to influence public opinion abroad and try to win minds and hearts of the foreign people. Monroe Price argues that states compete in a "market of loyalties" for the hearts and minds of citizens.³⁵ Price explains that states have an interest in political stability and require citizens to "buy in" their messages in order to maintain control. The "sellers," or the people who control the means of communication, are those for whom myths and dreams and history can be converted into power and the "buyers" are recipients of the information who "pay" for the identities with "loyalty" and sense of identity. Hence, US

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Monroe Price, *Media and Sovereignty* (Cambridge, MA and London: The MIT Press, 2002), 32.

government utilizes mass media a wide variety of advertising techniques to get out its message and change the minds of people.

Anna Tiedemann*, tied between the negative image and the threats of "terrorism", claims that countries that foster and feed anti-American rhetoric provide the environment for terrorists to conduct their work. She continued "Without buy-in from Arab and Muslim publics, the American security will continue to be threatened"³⁶. Some academics consider that the new generations of children in Arab and Muslim countries are being raised believing that America really is the enemy. Hence the U.S. must act to change these perceptions, or it will continue to face image and security problems well into the future.

The attitudes toward US and the events of September

The September 11 attacks focused on the public opinions of the Arab and Muslim countries. In the months following the attacks, policymakers, academics, and pollsters scrambled to understand Arab and Muslim mass audiences worldwide and to quickly fashion media and marketing campaigns to shape perceptions.

Attitudes toward the United States were important in the past, but now they have become a central national security concern. Although the objective of foreign policy is to promote the U.S. national interests and not, specifically, to inspire affection, hostility toward the U.S. makes achieving US policy goals far more difficult. The Defense Science Board reported nearly two years ago that effective capabilities are powerful assets necessary to

* Anna Tiedemann is researcher in the field of public diplomacy, Tufts University USA.

³⁶ Anna Tiedemann and Alan K. Henrikson, 28.

the national security. They can create diplomatic opportunities, lessen tensions that might lead to war, contain conflicts, and address nontraditional threats to America's interests.³⁷ The 9/11 terrorist attacks heightened the awareness among government officials that a important number of people, especially within Muslim people, harbor hatred for America so as to become a good environment for anti-Americanism.

The war on Iraq enhanced the negative image

A year after the war on Iraq, the image of America remained negative in most of Middle Eastern countries. In March 2004, the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press polled attitudes toward US image abroad. The poll bring out the negative image in the Middle Eastern countries has increased.³⁸ The respondents hold very unfavorable opinions of the U.S.

In 23 June 2005, the Pew center issued the latest research of the about anti-Americanism in Europe, the Middle East and Asia, which surged as a result of the U.S. war in Iraq, shows that United States remains broadly disliked in most countries surveyed, and opinion of the American people is not as positive as it once was.³⁹ Attitudes toward the U.S. remain quite negative in the Muslim world; solid majorities in five predominantly Muslim countries surveyed still express unfavorable views of the United States, as it explained in the following chart (3).

³⁷ Edward P. Djerejian, chaired, Changing Minds Winning Peace, a new strategic direction for u.s. public diplomacy, in the Arab & Muslim world, Report of the Advisory Group on Public Diplomacy for the Arab and Muslim world, October 1, 2003, 19.

³⁸ The Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, A Year after Iraq War, Mistrust of America in Europe Ever Higher, Muslim Anger Persists, available on: <http://people-press.org/reports/display.php3?PageID=797> visited in 15-11-2005.

³⁹ The Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, U.S. Image up Slightly, But Still Negative, June 23, 2005 available on: www.pewglobal.org visited in 30-11-2005.

Chart (3)* Favorable Opinion of the US

Favorable Opinion of the U.S.					
	<u>'99/'00</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2005</u>
	%	%	%	%	%
Indonesia	75	61	15	--	38
Turkey	52	30	15	30	23
Pakistan	23	10	13	21	23
Lebanon	--	35	27	--	42
Jordan	--	25	1	5	21
Morocco	77	--	27	27	N/A ¹

During the war on Iraq some major events made the US image extremely negative, such events could be summarized in the following points:

- **Falujah battle**

The great majority of Middle Eastern people perceived US military behavior in Falujah as an aggression, and unjustified, collective punishment and the disproportionate use of force against a civilian population. An entire town of nearly 300,000 residents was under siege for more than a week while the US Marines used heavy weaponry in civilian areas. The result was, as reported in the English and Arabic press and as seen on television, more than 600 casualties and over 1200 wounded, many of whom were women and children. Scenes of families burying their dead in the courtyards of their homes, in soccer fields and

* source : The Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, available on: www.pewglobal.org

in hospital parking lots because it was unsafe to bury the dead in cemeteries.⁴⁰

The events of Falujah were infuriating most Arab and Muslim people, it was inflaming anti-American sentiment. Big demonstrations organized in most of Arab and Muslim capitals for the calling of stopping the American campaign against the Falujah, such demonstrations was a clear indicator about the increasing of the hatred toward the USA, and confirmed the US negative Image in the Arabic and Islamic worlds.

- **Scandal of Abu Ghraib prison**

In the wake of scandal of Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq, by images of US military police engaging in the sexual abuse and torture if Iraqi prisoners, the reaction of Arabs and Muslims was extremely angry; they felt abasement for all Arabs and Muslims. This event also heightened the anti-American sentiment, not among general people but also among the scholars, academics, opinion leaders, and decision makers.

- **Situation of Iraq from bad to worse**

One of the most important reasons for the decline of the US image in the Middle East; the most horrible situation in Iraq after the US occupation. Middle Eastern people refer the reason of such situation to the occupation. Compare to the Saddam regime age, the Iraqi cities became insecure, thousands of crimes

⁴⁰ Samer S. Shehata , Iraq: Winning Hearts and Minds, Prepared Testimony before the House Subcommittee on National Security, Emerging Threats and International Relations Committee on Government Reform, Center for Contemporary Arab Studies Edmund, A. Walsh School of Foreign Service Georgetown University Hearing: June 15, 2004.

occurred, such as: abduction, killing, looting, and robbery. In addition, there is the widespread problem of criminal gangs and terrorist groups.

Also there is the absence of the public services such as: electricity, the clean water, telecommunications and sewage treatment. The mass unemployment in Iraq became a serious problem, which is about 60% according to Dr. Ali Allawi, the Iraqi Trade minister in 2004.⁴¹ The percentage of unemployment during the Saddam's regime age was between 20-30%.

In addition, the widespread use of cluster munitions by the U.S. ground forces caused at least hundreds of civilian casualties.⁴² U.S. President George W. Bush called the war in Iraq "one of the swiftest and most humane military campaigns in history."⁴³ And U.S. military and civilian leaders have repeatedly stressed their commitment to avoiding civilian casualties and other harm to civilians. Nevertheless U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) reported that it used 10,782 cluster munitions, which could contain at least 1.8 million sub munitions. All these remain serious problems in Iraq enhanced the negative image of the US among the Iraqi people and the Arab and Muslim people as well.

⁴¹ Iraq Unemployment, BBC News, available on:

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/newsnight/3372029.stm> January 6, 2004. Visited in 10-11-2005.

⁴² Human Rights Watch, Conduct of the Air War U.S. available on:

<http://www.hrw.org/reports/2003/usa1203/index.htm>, visited in 1-12-2005.

⁴³ President George W. Bush, Address of the President to the Nation, September 7, 2003,

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/09/20030907-1.html> visited in 1-12-2005.

Targeted Public Diplomacy after the War on Iraq

With the end of major military action in Iraq, U.S. public diplomacy in the Arab and Muslim world has entered a new, more challenging phase.⁴⁴ Ms. Karen Hughes* - Undersecretary of state for public diplomacy and public affairs -acknowledged that she faces a daunting task in some regions, particularly in the Middle East, where many Arabs and Muslims have a negative view of the United States.⁴⁵ In this chapter we will discuss the strengthening of US public diplomacy after the war on Iraq in 2003, in three sections. Firstly, International broadcasting; secondly, exchange programs and thirdly, the information programs.

International Broadcasting

Although the role of the commercial media is outside of the frames of this study its is worth of mentioning that the commercial media also could play an important role in supporting the American views in the Middle East. Yet, the media faces big difficulties in reaching the wider audiences in the region.

International broadcasting of the USA around the world is run by following companies:

⁴⁴ R.S. Zaharna, "The Unintended Consequences of Crisis Public Diplomacy: American Public Diplomacy in the Arab World," (Silver City, NM & Washington, DC: Foreign Policy In Focus, June 2003), available on: <http://www.fpif.org/briefs/vol8/v8n02diplomacy.html>, visited in 1-11-2005.

* Ms. Karen Hughes - Undersecretary of state for public diplomacy and public affairs 2005, Hughes began working for President Bush during his 1994 gubernatorial campaign in Texas and has since become one of the president's closest advisers. After serving as communications director for Bush's 2000 presidential campaign, Hughes followed him to Washington to serve as counselor to the president. In 2002, Hughes returned to her home in Austin, Texas, but still managed to serve as an adviser to the White House and as a communications consultant for Bush's re-election in 2004. Hughes returned to Washington in 2005 when Bush charged her with the duty of reviving the Administration's public diplomacy efforts in an effort to combat terrorism and increasing hostility toward the United States.

⁴⁵ -Interview with Ms. Karen Hughes - Undersecretary of state for public diplomacy and public affairs -Al-Jazeera Channel – At the back of the News (Ma Wara'a Al-Khabar), the interviewer: Amro Al-Kahki, in 2005/9/27, available on: <http://www.aljazeera.net/Channel/Templates/Postings/ChannelProgramsDetail>. Visited in 9-10-2005.

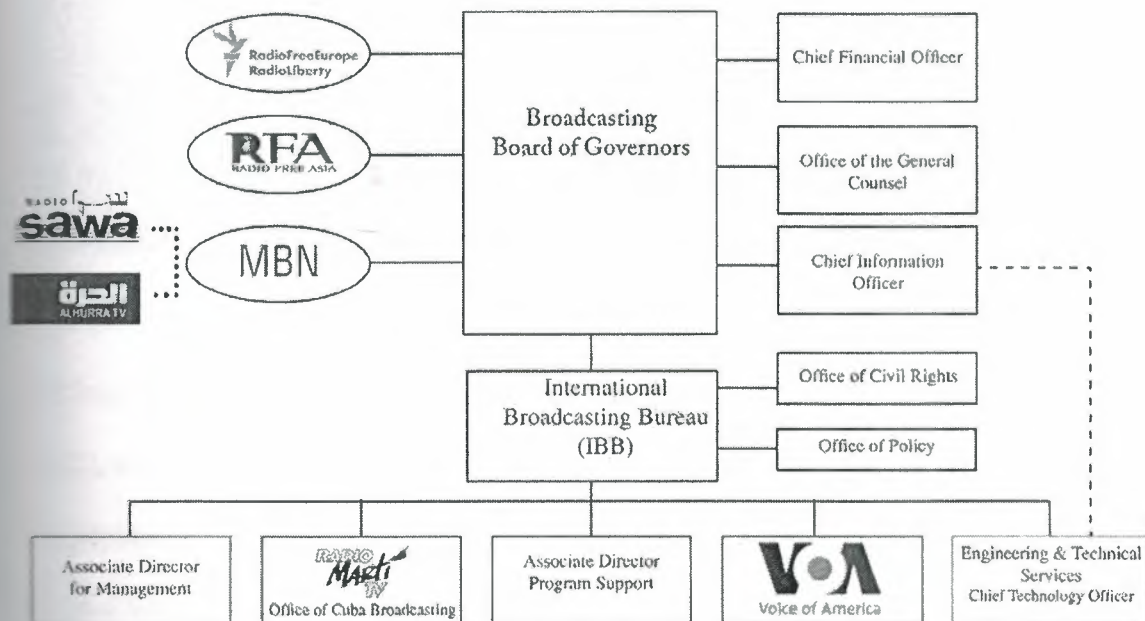
- The Voice of America broadcasts on radio and television to an estimated 96 million people each week.⁴⁶ In addition, computer users log on to VOA's Internet site, big numbers of visitors log on the VOA web site.
- Al-Hurra (Arabic for "The Free One") is a commercial-free Arabic-language satellite television channel for the Middle East devoted primarily to news and information.
- Radio Sawa, a 24-hour, seven-day-a-week Arabic-language network, is unique in the Middle East.
- Radio Free Iraq follows the Voice of America, and covers the whole of Iraq.
- Radio Farda which means "Radio Tomorrow" in Persian, Radio Farda complements the VOA's Persian-language radio and television broadcasts into Iran.
- Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, it is a private, nonprofit, U.S. government-funded radio broadcaster to Central, Southeastern and Eastern Europe, the Caucasus, and Central and Southwestern Asia.
- Cuba Broadcasting, (Radio and TV Marti) follows Voice of America, and directed to Cuba.
- Radio Free Asia, it covers: China, Tibet, Burma, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and North Korea.

⁴⁶The Voice of America, available on: <http://www.voanews.com/> visited in: 20-11-2005.

- Radio Free Afghanistan, it follows the Voice of America, and covers the whole of Afghanistan.

The above mentioned companies work under the supervision of the Broadcasting Board of Governors (BBG)* with the assistance of the International Broadcasting Bureau (IBB)**, as explained in (chart 4). It is bringing news and information to people around the world in 61 languages⁴⁷ (look at the chart 5).

Chart (4)⁴⁸ Broadcasting Board Governors



* On October 1, 1999, the Broadcasting Board Governors (BBG) became the independent federal agency responsible for all U.S. government and government sponsored, non-military, international broadcasting. This was the result of the 1998 Foreign Affairs Reform and Restructuring Act (Public Law 105-277), the single most important legislation affecting U.S. international broadcasting since the early 1950s.

** The International Broadcasting Bureau (IBB) provides the administrative and engineering support for U.S. government-funded non-military international broadcast services. The IBB was formed in 1994 by the International Broadcasting Act, which also created a nine-member, bipartisan Broadcasting Board of Governors (BBG). The IBB was initially part of the U.S. Information Agency (USIA). When USIA was disbanded in October 1999, the IBB and BBG were established as independent federal government entities.

⁴⁷ The USA government, Broadcasting Board of Governors, available on: <http://www.bbg.gov/> visited in: 20-11-2005.

⁴⁸ Source, Broadcasting Board of Governors, Annual report 2004, p. 12, available on internet: <http://www.bbg.gov>, visited in 10-11-2005.

Chart (5) ⁴⁹ BBG Broadcasting Languages



During the crisis, U.S. international broadcasting goes into "surge broadcasting" mode which may include expanded coverage of events as they unfold and in the languages of the populations being affected; creating a new broadcast medium, such as satellite TV, in an area where the U.S. previously did not operate one; increasing interviews with U.S. government officials, Congress and experts from think-tanks giving the American perspective of the situation; and cooperating with other countries' broadcast operations to achieve a 24 hour-a-day broadcasting operation into a region being affected.⁵⁰ In the wake of 11 September, the Broadcasting Board of Governors has expanded news

⁴⁹ Source, broadcasting board of governors, FY 2004 performance and accountability report, November 15, 2004, 5.

⁵⁰ Susan B. Epstein, U.S. Public Diplomacy: Background and the 9/11 Commission Recommendations, CRS Report for Congress, Congressional Research Service - the Library of Congress, February 2005, 7.

programming into Iraq through the creation of a surrogate news and entertainment radio station - Radio Sawa - and a new television - Middle East Television Network (METN).

New Directions in US Broadcasting in the Middle East

In January 2003, the President of the USA established a more permanent coordination mechanism, the White House Office of Global Communications, which is intended to coordinate strategic communications from the U.S. government to overseas audiences. The President also established the Strategic Communication Policy Coordinating Committee, co-chaired by the State Department and the National Security Council to work closely with the Office of Global Communications, to ensure interagency coordination in disseminating the U.S. message across the globe.⁵¹ This step was important for the US administration to face the challenges in the Middle East region, especially after the war on Iraq, and try to change the negative Image to the US among Arabic and Muslim people.

After the United States war on Iraq, the Congress and the Bush Administration have created a U.S. government-sponsored Arabic-language television station to strengthen U.S. public diplomacy efforts in the Middle East.⁵² It has been also a respond to the 9/11 Commission Report, which strongly recommended that the United States should direct

⁵¹ Statement of Jess T. Ford, Director International Affairs and Trade, U.S. Public Diplomacy, State Department and Broadcasting Board of Governors Expand Post-9/11 Efforts but Challenges Remain, United States, Government Accountability Office (GAO) August 23, 2004.

⁵² Jeremy M. Sharp, The Middle East Television Network: An Overview, Congressional Research Service Report for Congress, The Library of Congress, Updated February 9, 2005.

more resources to broadcasting activities in Arab and Muslim-majority countries.⁵³ This channel called Al-Hurra (it means “the free one” in Arabic language).

Al-Hurra began broadcasting in February 2004. In the annual report 2003, Broadcasting Board of Governors (BBG) explained that the mission of Al-Hurra Channel is as follows: to broadcast accurate, timely and relevant news and information about the region, the world and the United States to a broad, Arabic-speaking audience, thereby advancing both freedom and democracy in the Middle East and long-term U.S. national interests.⁵⁴ Al-Hurra aims to reach 300 million Arabs, many of whom are doubtful about the United States and its policies⁵⁵. Mouafac Harb - head of Al-Hurra channel said: “We at Al-Hurra Television and Radio Sawa have considered ourselves a vital component in the war on terror, as we use professional journalism to advance the cause of freedom and democracy. We fight on a battlefield of ideas; our enemies are the biased perceptions that have ruled unchallenged in people’s minds since their childhoods.”⁵⁶ In view of Brian Conniff, the mission is simple: “Promote and sustain democracy by broadcasting accurate and objective news and information about the United States and the world to audiences overseas.”⁵⁷ Some people see the purpose of this channel as to promote the policy of the USA in the Middle East, and to cover the events for the American perspective among Arabic and Muslim worlds.

⁵³ National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States. The 9/11 Commission Report. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2004.

⁵⁴ Broadcasting Board of Governors, annual report 2003, p 12, available on internet: <http://www.bbg.gov>, visited in 10-11-2005.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Mouafac Harb - head of Al-Hurra channel - Middle East Broadcasting Networks, Testimony before the Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations Committee on International Relations, November 10, 2005.

⁵⁷ Brian Conniff, new directions in U.S. international broadcasting, Foreign Policy Journal, January 2004.

To attract the audiences, Al-Hurra uses high technology with some symbols from the Arabic culture. Also Al-Hurra programming has shows mixed reviews, such as discussion programs "All Directions" for featuring a mix of Arab and U.S. political analysts, who have raised numerous questions regarding the U.S. role in Iraq, domestic Arab politics in Egypt, Lebanon, and Syria, and lately the consequences of Israel's Gaza withdrawal plan.

In addition, Al-Hurra do not show pictures of violence in troubled areas in the region or use inflammatory language. Editors use the descriptive term of suicide bomber rather than the religious term of martyr to describe a suicide attacks in Palestinian occupied territories.

The role of Radio SAWA in the war on Iraq

Radio SAWA was a one of the important companies in covering the war in Iraq, providing up-to-the-minute stories on the most significant news event of 2003.⁵⁸

The Voice of America had four reporters embedded with the U.S. military at the time of the occupying of Iraq; one of them was Radio Sawa reporter in Iraq who broadcasted live from Baghdad, and Radio Free Iraq's reporter who was killed when his convoy was bombed in Northern Iraq. In the wake of the fall of Baghdad, the reporting continued. The Arabic-language Radio Sawa quickly became the most-listened-to station across the country.⁵⁹ Sawa station is available on FM in major cities of Iraq and on AM throughout the country. Radio Sawa presented reports on humanitarian assistance, reconstruction,

⁵⁸ BBG, Annual Report 2003, p 14

⁵⁹ Ibid.

political developments, human rights, and other relevant social issues.⁶⁰ And also it focused on the light on the issues affecting Iraqis, including rebuilding, political and social events, education, and health. At that time it disregarded violations of Human Rights by the US military and Iraqi police as well. Radio Sawa also don't focus on the suffering of the Iraqi people from the lack of the normal services such as the electricity, the clean water, and getting the gas and gasoline (Petrol). Radio Sawa uses the internet on the web site: radiosawa.com, at the current time, this site is a portal for listening to radio broadcasts via the Internet, and also the web site shows written news up-to-date

The role of Al-Hurra and Al-Hurra-Iraq

Basically, the Al-Hurra channel has established by the US government to attempt to win over public opinion in the Arab and Muslim world, especially with the U.S. bad reputation in the region in the wake of the war on Iraq and the U.S. bias toward Israel in its conflict with the Palestinians. In the wake of Al-Hurra launch, Brad Sherman, a California Democrat who sits on the House international relations committee, said: "We're waging a battle on many battlefields. And the battle on the air is not only for airplanes."⁶¹

In a short time, Al-Hurra has become one of the news and information sources in the Middle East. During the US war on Iraq, Al-Hurra Television was an important instrument in the war, it played main role in promoting the US policy in the Middle East

⁶⁰ Office of Inspector General, Report No.IBO/IQO-A-05-02, Review of Radio Sawa Support to the Transition in Post-Saddam Iraq United States Department of State and the Broadcasting Board of Governors Office of Inspector General, October 2004, 12.

⁶¹ Ori Nir, America's Arabic TV Aims For 2003 Launch, Forward March 21, 2003, available on : <http://www.forward.com/index.html>, visited in 2-12-2005.

area. The reporters of Al-Hurra were accompanied with US troops in Iraqi Cities during the military operations. Al-Hurra's daily programs includes three hour-long newscasts and 10-minute news updates and headlines every hour, along with live coverage of breaking news as warranted.⁶² Al-Hurra showed exclusive reports from different Iraqi Cities about previous Iraqi regime, for example, report about the life of Saddam's son, Oday Saddam Hossain, the report showed a unique pictures on the Oday Palaces, and his exorbitance life. In addition to up-to-the-minute news, Al-Hurra broadcasts a wide variety of informational programs on health and personal fitness, sports, science and technology as well as entertainment news and special events.

In April 2004, a second 24-hour channel was launched specifically for Iraq. Al-Hurra-Iraq current affairs programs concentrate on Iraq's developing political system and the changes facing the country during this critical time. It focuses on the events in Iraq, such as the US operations against Iraqi cities, Iraqi government activities, the national society elections etc...

Middle Eastern broadcasting budget has increased

With a start-up of Al-Hurra TV for the Fiscal Year 2003, the budget was \$62 million - and \$40 million extra for Iraq-specific programming -⁶³ . The budget of Al-Hurra and Al-Hurra Iraq for the For Fiscal Year 2004 was \$80.5 million.⁶⁴ It has increased in the Fiscal Year 2005 to \$ 85.169 million (The budget was 64,969,000 for both of Al-Hurra and Al

⁶² BBG, Annual Report 2004, 15.

⁶³ BBG, Annual Report 2003, 14.

⁶⁴ BBG, Annual Report 2004, 15.

Hurra-Iraq the Fiscal Year 2005 appropriation increased by \$20,200,000 above the Bush Administration's original request to be \$ 85169000).⁶⁵

Before 2003 Radio Sawa was under the supervision of IBB, then it has moved to the department of Middle East broadcasting network. In 2004 the budget of Radio Sawa was \$ 8.2 million.⁶⁶ The budget provided for a doubling of Radio Sawa's resources with outbreak of the war on Iraq. The increasing of the Budget of Al Hurra and Radio Sawa is a clear indication on the US government interest in the Broadcasting in the Middle East during and after the War on Iraq.

Exchange programs

Educational and cultural exchange programs are important part of public diplomacy.⁶⁷ Cultural diplomacy, which has been defined as "the exchange of ideas, information, art, and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples in order to foster mutual understanding,"⁶⁸

Exchanges have been the most successful and most effective public diplomacy tool over the last 50 years.⁶⁹ Since 1940, when Nelson Rockefeller invited a group of Latin American journalists to come to the United States, under the exchange programs which had been an integral part of U.S. public diplomacy brought about 700,000 promising

⁶⁵ Sharp, 6.

⁶⁶ BBG, Annual Report 2004, 17.

⁶⁷ Ross, 8.

⁶⁸ Milton C. Cummings, Jr. Cultural Diplomacy and the United States Government: A Survey, Washington, D.C: Center for Arts and Culture, 2003, 1.

⁶⁹ Karen Hughes, Keynote Address, Remarks to the 2005 Forum on the Future of Public Diplomacy, Washington, DC, October 14, 2005, available on <http://www.state.gov/r/us/2005>, visited in 16-11-2005.

foreigners have been to America, among them the young Anwar Sadat and Margaret Thatcher. In the late 1950s – the primary goal of the exchanges programs was to promote American culture in Europe.⁷⁰

James F. Hoge considers that the exchange programs are one of the most significant and most important tools in the US public diplomacy. He emphasizes – for example – the bringing foreign journalists to the country to learn American ways and absorb our culture and values while advancing their skills. And the reverse, sending American journalist overseas, not to train, but to learn about the world, considering these programs have the strong effect at their core.⁷¹

The Purpose of Exchange Programs

The main purpose and objective of the Exchange Programs are “to enable the Government of the United States to promote a better understanding of the United States in other countries and to increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries.”⁷²

Among the means to be used in achieving these objectives is the international exchange of persons, knowledge, and skills. One of the well-known expressions of Karin Hughes about the exchange programs is: “Americans who go overseas talk about their lives being

⁷⁰ András Szántó, *A New Mandate For Philanthropy? U.S. Foundation Support For International Arts Exchanges*, Center For Arts And Culture, 2003, 17.

⁷¹ James F. Hoge, *the Benefits of Public Diplomacy and Exchange Programs*, National Council for International Visitors, March 12, 2003, p5

⁷² Report of the Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy, *Cultural Diplomacy: The Linchpin of Public Diplomacy*, U.S. Department of State, September 2005, 7.

forever changed. People who come here have the opportunity to learn and see for themselves that Americans are generous, hardworking people who care about the same things they do; who value family and value faith".⁷³

The early practitioners of cultural diplomacy defined it this way: "A nation's culture is the sum total of its achievement, its own expression of its own personality; its way of thinking and acting."⁷⁴ International exchange of persons and projects constitute an integral and essential technique in attaining the general objectives of this educational exchange program. Persons participating in such projects carry to other countries, and bring back to their own, information, knowledge, and attitudes which through personal experience and personal influence promote a better understanding of abroad and increase mutual understanding between the peoples.

The Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy in U.S. Department of State specified the goals of cultural diplomacy as follows:

- Create the trust with other peoples, which policy makers can build on to reach political, economic, and military agreements, and enhance of shared interests.
- One of the most important goals is that the persons who participate in the exchanges programs could be reached to influential position of foreign societies, such as parliament's members, ministers, ambassadors, politicians, academics, and opinion leaders etc...

⁷³ Hughes, Keynote Address, Remarks to the 2005.

⁷⁴ Juliet A. Sablosky, Recent Trends In Department Of State Support For Cultural Diplomacy 1993-2002, Cultural Diplomacy Research Series, Center For Arts And Culture, 2003.

- Demonstrates American values, and try to change the image about popular notion that Americans are shallow, violent, and godless, and affirms that Americans have such values as family, faith, and the desire for education in common with others.
- Educates Americans on the values and sensitivities of other societies, helping US to avoid gaffes and missteps.

The US exchange programs Activities

The US exchange programs work under supervision of The Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (ECA)* in the U.S. Department of State. It is run by following associations:

➤ The Fulbright Programs.

One of the most important associations in the field of exchange programs is the Fulbright Educational Exchange Program, which was established in 1946, it is the U.S. government's flagship international educational exchange programs.⁷⁵ It provides grants for Graduate Students, Scholars and Professionals, and Teachers and Administrators. Since its inception more than 50 years ago, more than a quarter of a million Fulbrighters have been

* The Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (ECA) fosters mutual understanding between the United States and other countries through international educational and training programs. The bureau does so by promoting personal, professional, and institutional ties between private citizens and organizations in the United States and abroad, as well as by presenting U.S. history, society, art and culture in all of its diversity to overseas audiences. The Bureau works in close cooperation with U.S. Embassies overseas to promote personal, professional and institutional ties between private citizens and organizations in the United States and abroad, as well as by presenting U.S. history art, and culture in all of its diversity to audiences overseas (From the US Department of States Web site <http://exchanges.state.gov>.) Visited in 16-11-2005.

⁷⁵ Catherine P. Ailes and Susan H. Russell, Outcome Assessment of the U.S. Fulbright Scholar Program, Executive Report, May 2002, 1.

exchanged,⁷⁶ as well as mandating professionals and independent scholars, to lecture and conduct research in 140 countries throughout the world.

➤ **The Office of English Language Programs**

It creates and implements high quality, targeted English language programs in specific regions and countries of the world.⁷⁷ All programs are administered through the local American Embassy or Consulate. The Office of English Language Programs provides professional teacher training programs worldwide to promote understanding of American language, society, culture, values and policies. It is only through a thorough understanding of each other's cultures that we can establish and maintain a foundation of international cooperation and trust.

➤ **The International Visitor Leadership Program**

The International Visitor Leadership Program brings participants to the U.S. to meet and confer with professional counterparts and to experience firsthand the U.S. and its institutions. The visitors, who are current or potential leaders in government, politics, the media, education, and other fields, are selected by American Officials overseas. More than 200 current and former Heads of State, 1,500 cabinet-level ministers, and many other distinguished

⁷⁶ The Fulbright Program, Facts and Figures 2003, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Department of State, United States, Washington, D. C 2003, 2.

⁷⁷ The Office of English Language Programs web site, available on: [http:// English.state.gov/](http://English.state.gov/), visited in 1-12-2004.

world leaders in government and the private sector have participated in the International Visitor Leadership Program.⁷⁸

➤ **Youth Exchange and Study (YES)**

It is a program that was established in October, 2002 and sponsored by ECA to provide scholarships for secondary school students from countries with significant Muslim populations to spend up to one academic year in the U.S. The program is vital to expanding communication between the people of the United States and partner countries in the interest of promoting mutual understanding and respect.⁷⁹ Students live with host families, attend high school, and engage in activities to learn about American society and values, acquire leadership skills, and help educate Americans about their countries and cultures.

➤ **The Office of Citizen Exchanges**

The Office of Citizen Exchanges develops professional, cultural and youth programs with nonprofit American institutions, including voluntary community organizations, professional associations, and universities. Thematic categories for grants include civil society, NGO development, civic education, media development, judicial training, intellectual property rights, and public administration among other themes. The office has three

⁷⁸ International Visitor Leadership Program web site, available on: <http://www.state.gov/ivp/overview.htm>, visited in 1-12-2004.

⁷⁹ Citizen Exchanges – Youth Programs Division, Fact Sheet on ECA Youth Programs, 2005, 2.

geographic divisions: Europe/Eurasia, Western Hemisphere and East Asia as well as divisions for youth and cultural programs.⁸⁰

➤ **Educational Partnerships Program**

Education USA promotes U.S. higher education abroad, supports overseas advising centers, collaborates with U.S. educational organizations to strengthen international exchange, and manages the Gilman study abroad scholarship program.⁸¹

➤ **The Ambassador's Fund for Cultural Preservation**

The Ambassador's Fund for Cultural Preservation established by Congress in year 2001, aims to assist less developed countries in preserving their cultural heritage and to demonstrate U.S. respect for other cultures.

When the War on Iraq begun in March 2003, it exacerbated negative opinions of America in the Middle East according of Pew research in the Arab and Muslim countries (as we mentioned before), Therefore in 2004 a sense of urgency to utilize public diplomacy to the maximum extent possible was expressed by top level officials.

The Congress focused on the importance of public diplomacy by including public diplomacy, promote free media in Islamic countries, scholarships for Muslims to attend American-sponsored schools, public diplomacy training in the Department of State, and

⁸⁰ Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, US Department of States Web site <http://exchanges.state.go>, visited in 1-12-2005.

⁸¹ Educational Partnerships Program, Web site, <http://exchanges.state.go/education/partnership/fulbright.htm>, visited in 1-12-2005.

establish an International Youth Opportunity Fund within an existing organization such as the United Nations Educational, Science and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).⁸²

US Has Expanded exchange Programs in the Middle East

After came the Iraq on war the United States needed "soft power" as well as military, soft power is the ability to get what we want by attracting others rather than by threatening or paying them. It is based on our culture, our political ideals and our policies.⁸³

The specialist departments of the US offered numerous suggestions, which included increasing cultural exchanges; facilitating visits to the United States by foreign artists and scholars; sponsoring trips abroad by American artists; the reopening of libraries and cultural centers; and the expansion of English-language programs and cultural workshops.⁸⁴ The exchange programs after the war on Iraq stated in December 9, 2003 when the ECA brought the Iraqi National Symphony to Washington, D.C. to join in a performance with the National Symphony Orchestra.⁸⁵

In October 2003, Ambassador L. Paul Bremer and Deputy Secretary of State Richard L. Armitage announced the reestablishment of the Fulbright Program in Iraq. The first group of Fulbright grantees to subsequently come to the United States from Iraq in 14 years

⁸² Epstein, 5.

⁸³ Joseph S. Nye, A Dollop of Deeper American Values, the Washington Post Company, 29th march, 2004.

⁸⁴ Alan Riding, Entr'acte: An Old Weapon Revived: U.S. Cultural Diplomacy, International Herald Tribune, Thursday, October 27, 2005.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

included 23 students and two scholars.⁸⁶ Their fields of study included public health, public administration, business, journalism, law, and English teaching, among others.

Public diplomacy funding increased in the Near East from \$39 million to \$62 million from fiscal year 2001 through 2003. During the same period, authorized American Foreign Service officers' spending in the Near East rose from \$45 million to \$57 million.⁸⁷

Furthermore, in 2002, State redirected 5 percent of its exchange resources to better support "the war on terrorism" and to strengthen U.S. engagement with Muslim countries. In 2003, US has continued to emphasize exchanges with Muslim countries through its Partnership for Learning Program designed to target young and diverse audiences through academic and professional exchanges such as the Fulbright, International Visitor, and Citizen Exchange programs.

According to Department of States, under this program, 170 high school students from predominantly Islamic countries have already arrived and are living with American families and studying at local high schools. State has also carried out increased exchanges through its Middle East Partnership Initiative, which includes computer and English language training for women newly employed by the Afghan government and a program to assist women from Arab countries and elsewhere in observing and discussing the U.S. electoral process.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ William Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board, Fortieth Annual Reports 2003-2004, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Department of State, United States, Washington, D. C 2004, 13.

⁸⁷ Statement of Jess T. Ford, 5.

⁸⁸ Djerejian, 46.

In addition, US is expanding its American Corners program, which uses space in public libraries and other public buildings abroad to provide information about the United States. In fiscal year 2004, US planned to establish 58 American Corners in the Middle East and South Asia. In fiscal year 2005, it plans to open 15 Corners in Iraq.⁸⁹

Information Programs

The famous academic, Joseph Nye correctly claims that the Information is power, and modern information technology is spreading information more widely than ever before in history.⁹⁰

Theorists interested in public opinion and information as an element of power can be grouped into categories of discourse and instrumental communication.⁹¹ However, the US Government funding for the U.S. embassies cultural and information programs began only in the 1930s.⁹² The great advances in communication technology in recent years have been positively affected on the public diplomacy tools, as well as global communications. Consequently, public diplomacy activities now include new instruments such as:⁹³ Web sites on the Internet, CD ROMs, e-mail, teleconference (Video

⁸⁹ Statement of Jess T. Ford, 7.

⁹⁰ Joseph Nye, *Soft Power: the Means to Success in World Politics*, Public Affairs Press: New York, II.

⁹¹ Bruce Gregory, *Public Diplomacy and Strategic Communication: Cultures, Firewalls, and Imported Norms*, Conference on International Communication and Conflict, George Washington University and Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., August 31, 2005, 9.

⁹² Bruce Gregory, *Public Diplomacy and Strategic Communication: Cultures, Firewalls, and Imported Norms*, Conference on International Communication and Conflict, George Washington University and Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., August 31, 2005, 23.

⁹³ Diana B. Gant, *How are we doing? Tracking country image in the information age*, School of Information Studies, Syracuse University, May 2003, 1.

Conference) programs, video tapes, recording cassettes, printed materials, and other marvels of the late Twentieth Century communications revolution.

Karen Hughes emphasizes that in this age of information it is extremely important to all of people, and all of embassies, not just to the ambassadors and the public diplomacy professionals, but to all of people who work for foreign service and everyone who works within an embassy, that they communicate on behalf of the US to foreign publics and with foreign publics.⁹⁴

The US information programs run by the Bureau of International Information Programs (IIP), which works under Department of State. It is the principal international strategic communications entity for the foreign affairs community.⁹⁵ IIP informs, engages, and influences international audiences about U.S. policy and society to advance America's interests. In addition, IIP provides localized context for U.S. policies and messages, reaching millions worldwide in English, Arabic, Chinese, French, Persian, Russian, and Spanish. And also, these information products and services are designed to reach key audiences such as foreign media, government officials, cultural opinion leaders, as well as the general population in more than 140 countries.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Karen Hughes, Around-The-World Review of Public Diplomacy, Hearing of the House International Relations Committee, Washington, D.C., November 10, 2005. (Document from American Embassy in Nicosia- sent by E-mail in 1-11-2005).

⁹⁵ Bureau International Information Programs web site, available on : <http://www.state.gov/rof>, visited in 1-12-2005.

⁹⁶ Epstein, 6.

The USIA Alumni Association explains the information programs in the following points:⁹⁷

➤ **The Washington File**

"The Washington File" is received at U.S. embassies on computer terminals where it arrives via satellite, cable, microwave, land line, or a combination of these. Contents of the file include full texts of official statements and speeches by U.S. officials; transcripts of press conferences and briefings by The White House, State Department, and other U.S. Government agencies as well as special features and interpretive articles.

➤ **Speakers and Specialists**

Americans representing government, business, academia, media, and community organizations conduct short-term speaking programs under State Department auspices. Most are independent academics and professionals who present their personal views and experiences

➤ **Professionals-in-Residence.**

Professional specialists in such fields as law, business, public administration, and the media spend from two weeks to several months in a country serving as advisors to non-academic institutions.

➤ **Teleconference Programs**

⁹⁷ Public Diplomacy Activities and Programs, USIA Alumni Association, <http://www.publicdiplomacy.org/9.htm> Updated: 8 September 2002, visited in 18-12-2005.

Through the combination of advanced technology and the telephone, speakers unable to travel are linked with audiences overseas through either voice or voice-and-video communications.

➤ **Publications and Electronic Media.**

A broad range of booklets, pamphlets, brochures, and other special publications, often in multiple language editions, formerly published by USIA for distribution by USIS posts, embassies and cultural centers overseas, will now be a part of State Department programs.

➤ **Foreign Press Centers.**

Foreign Press Centers established by USIA in Washington, New York, and Los Angeles provide a variety of services to more than 1,600 resident foreign journalists, along with thousands more who visit the U.S. each year on short-term assignments.

➤ **Books and Information Resource Centers.**

Information Resource Centers formerly maintained by USIA and now by the Department of State, exist in many countries. Library programs in many cultural centers also receive support. Book programs include the translation and production of selected titles by foreign publishers. By underwriting a portion of the production costs, translated copies not only enter foreign commercial markets but copies become available for Information Resource Centers and

binominal center libraries, and for presentation to selected individuals and institutions

New initiatives of the IIP after the war on Iraq

Since September 11th, the Department of State has targeted toward the Middle East a total of almost \$8.7 million for IIP-related activities.⁹⁸

In the wake of the war on Iraq, Department of State's Office of International Information Programs and the US Department of State have developed new initiatives to support US policy in the Middle East. They expanded their interactive Web site in Arabic, Persian, and other languages to inform broad audiences about U.S. policy.⁹⁹ And promote America's image and reach larger Muslim and Arab audiences. Such activities and initiatives could be summarizing as follows:

- The IIP tripled the publishing of text in Arabic, developed an Arabic-language magazine and started a Persian language website.
- The IIP increased to 140 the number of overseas multi-media centers called American Corners - rooms in office buildings or on campuses where students, teachers, and the general public can learn America's story through the use of books, computers,

⁹⁸ Epstein, p 8

⁹⁹ United States General Accounting Office (GAO), U.S. Public Diplomacy: State Department Expands Efforts but Faces Significant Challenges, Report to the Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives, September 2003.

magazines and video.¹⁰⁰ The number of American Corners increased from 180 at the end of 2004 to 257 at the end of FY 2005.¹⁰¹

- IIP established Strategic Information, a counter-disinformation capability to provide rapid response to inaccurate stories or misinterpretations of fact about the United States.
- IIP expanded electronic products that support potential spokespersons.¹⁰² The USINFO Web site, available in six critical foreign languages plus English, is now incorporating audio and video clips into its front-page articles and electronic journals. IIP's use of technology is attracting more visitors for high-profile issues and events.
- The Department of State has launched an "offered speakers program" to identify and promote interesting people and ideas to share with foreign audiences.¹⁰³ The pilot program was launched in Europe and has expanded to the Arab and Muslim world. The Department of State directed staff to work more closely with think tanks, universities and individual experts to identify ideas and trends that engage youth audiences.

¹⁰⁰ Epstein, p 8.

¹⁰¹ The U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, 2005 Report, Washington, DC, November 7, 2005, 13, (this document sent by the US embassy in Nicosia, Cyprus in 15-11-2005).

¹⁰² Ibid, 9.

¹⁰³ The U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, 2004 Report, Washington, DC, September 28, 2004, 10.

The Message of US Broadcasters

In the wake of September 11th attacks, the United States Administration decided to expand its public diplomacy efforts in the Middle East and the Islamic world. Such efforts emerged new broadcasting entities which are Radio Sawa and Al-Hurra Television Channel.

Al Hurra and Sawa brought professional journalists from famous Arabic televisions like Al Jazeera and Al Arabeyya; they also work in high technology and have many attracting methods. Nevertheless, both the radio and the TV channel are facing a great deal of difficulty to succeed in the Arab world. One theory relates the failure to the language used in Radio Sawa and Al-Hurra. Another one is: among Arabs, there is no arguments about the goals of Radio Sawa and Al-Hurra, Arabs are aware that America is trying to improve its image in the area. However, in this chapter we will discuss the core of the message of American broadcasters in three sections, first: the expressions and its denotation, second: the types of news, and finally; the types of programs.

The Expressions and Its Denotation

Both of Sawa and Al Hurra uses the terms of the language from American perspective. Here we have some examples picked directly up from the programs in which Sawa and Al-Hurra are following the American line.

➤ **Resistance and Terrorism**

Such terms use always in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. They describe the Palestinian resistance as terrorist groups, and the Israeli occupation forces as Israeli defense forces, how can man imagine that the occupation forces could be "defense forces". According to the International Law, any nation come under occupation have the right to resist until they gain their freedom. This is not just the case in the Arab-Israeli conflict, but and also in Iraqi case. Anybody has never heard Sawa and Al Hurra talk about the resistance in Iraq.

➤ **Suicide Bomber and Martyr**

Much of the argument in the Middle East politics is on the expressions as it makes a political statement to a very large extent. Palestinians, as Muslims, don't commit suicide because it is forbidden in Islamic religion, therefore, they call those who blow themselves up while attacking an Israeli targets as Martyrs. Israel, western media, and some of the Arabic media backed by the US government call them suicide bombers. calling them Martyrs given legitimize their struggle against the Israel, while branding them as terrorist or suicide bomber means they don't have any right to fight against the occupation. Also, the term of suicide indicate to the terrorist dimension.

➤ **Coalition Forces or Occupation Forces**

Both of Sawa and Al-Hurra use the term "coalition forces" to describe the occupation troops, nevertheless, most of the military operations in Iraq are done by American troops, furthermore, Iraq is occupied according the United Nations.

➤ **Islamic Terrorism**

Radio Sawa and Al-Hurra are following the American line when it covers stories dealing Islamists. The expression Islamic terrorist is used very often in Radio Sawa and Al-Hurra TV news bulletin to describe violent events around the Arab and Muslim worlds with Muslim activists involve in it.

These are just examples about the expression which Al-Hurra and Sawa are using, it confirms that in the message of both of them viewed there is a clearly tendency to appeal to use American terminology and the American approach to the Middle East. This partiality means the losing of the impartiality.

Types of News

The news market in the Middle East attests a strong competition in both of Radios and TV channels. Beside Al-Hurra and Sawa there are famous News channels and stations such as Al-Jazeera, Al Arabeyya, MBC, BBC, Radio Monte Carlo, and others. Nevertheless, both of Al-Hurra and Sawa are considered one of news resources, but many

challenges face both of Al-Hurra and Sawa to pass their message among Arab and Muslim people. Both of Al-Hurra and Sawa provide the news up-to-date 24/7.

Sawa and Al-Hurra share the same news director; the same professional standards, the same regional and global network of correspondents, and the same commitment to covering the news straight.¹⁰⁴ Sawa has one of the largest Arabic-language radio news departments in the world, with correspondents and stringers throughout the Middle East and beyond.¹⁰⁵ Station broadcasts over five hours of news each day in 325 newscasts per week. Every hour at 15 and 45 minutes past the hour, Sawa provides 5-15 minute updates.¹⁰⁶ Al-Hurra's daily schedule includes three hour-long newscasts and 10-minute news updates and headlines every hour, along with live coverage of breaking news as warranted.¹⁰⁷

Both of Al-Hurra and Sawa have provided comprehensive coverage of some of the biggest news stories affecting the Middle East. Here are some examples of the types of news:

➤ **The Situations in Iraq**

The events and situations in Iraq have the biggest part of the news in the coverage of Al-Hurra and Sawa. They focus on the "Democratic operation", including the Iraqi elections, Iraqi governmental activities, the "reconstruction" of Iraq, the Iraqi armed group's attacks against

¹⁰⁴ Norman J. Pattiz, *Radio Sawa and Al-Hurra TV: Opening Channels of Mass Communication in the Middle East, Engaging the Arab and Islamic Worlds through Public Diplomacy*, Washington, 13.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Radio Sawa Web Site, available on: <http://www.radiosawa.com/> visited in 20-12-2004.

¹⁰⁷ BBG, annual report 2004, 15.

Iraqi civilians by the suicide bombers or the car bombs, for example, the suicide bombings in the popular market in Baghdad with the beginning of the holy month (Ramadan). And also, the inclusive coverage for the role of the United States in the "political Operation" in Iraq, for example; the meetings of American ambassador in Iraq Zalmay Khalil Zad with the leaders of the political parties to convince them to participate in Iraqi elections.

In addition the news programs focus on major U.S. official's statements, or the press conferences, such as the statements of US president George W. Bush, and the secretary of states. And also the daily press conferences of the White House, department of states, and the Ministry of Defense. And the press conferences of the Iraqi officials with live coverage. They use the communicating directly with the American and Iraqi officials.

Al-Hurra has covered exclusive news and interviews; the most famous interview was with the US president George W. Bush, when he talked about the events in Iraq.

Here we have to explain that Al-Hurra - sometimes -doesn't appear the Amissions of the American military forces in Iraq, and doesn't show any pictures for the American soldiers who killed or wounded in Iraq.

As it known, Al-Hurra is following the American law in its news policy, so it couldn't show the pictures of the catafalques of American killed soldiers according to this law.

➤ **The Israeli-Palestinian conflict**

The events in the Palestine-Israeli conflict have an important position in the coverage of both of Al-Hurra and Sawa.

They cover all the events in both of Palestinian and Israeli sides; the coverage in Palestinian side includes: the government and Palestinian president activities, Palestinian domestic affairs such as the presidential and parliamentary elections, the relations between the Palestinian authority and the Palestinian parties, they cover also the Israeli attacks on the Palestinian territories, such as the assassinations operations of the Palestinian leaders, and the Israeli military operations on the Palestinian cities.

In addition, they focus on the United States role in the peace process between the Palestinian and Israeli government, and try to appear the US actions in this area.

My note here is that the coverage of Al-Hurra and Sawa cover the events of the Middle East conflict from American perspective, it is - sometimes- clearly unbalanced. For example, Sawa reported that three

Palestinians had been injured in an Israeli "operation" in Khan Yunis, but only the BBC bothered to add that these were civilians, one of them a sixteen year-old girl.¹⁰⁸

It means that Sawa's approach is not to tell outright lies news, but not the whole truth and it subtly distort the news through careful selection and omission.

The coverage in the in the Israeli side includes; the Palestinian attacks inside - The Green Line - especially the explosions attacks, the Palestinian attacks on the southern cities in Israel by the self made rockets from Gaza strip, and situation of the Arabs of Israel citizen.

In addition both of Al-Hurra and Sawa cover the developments of the political polarizations in Israel, as well as the relations between the security coordination between the Palestinian and Israelis.

➤ **Democracy, Human Rights, and Reform**

Both Al-Hurra and Sawa focus on Democracy, Human Rights, and Reform in the Middle East area, for example; the Egyptian presidential and parliamentary elections, the elections in Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar and other Gulf countries. They cover also the Human Rights violations

¹⁰⁸ Ali Abunimah, Radio Sawa: All dressed up with nowhere to go, 2000 electronic Intifada website, available on: <http://electronicintifada.net/> visited in 1-1-2006.

in the Middle East countries, like using the violence against the demonstrations as in Egypt case.

One issue in this topic has an important position in Al-Hurra and Sawa coverage; it is the Democracy and Human Rights activists in the Middle East, Saad Eddin Ibrahim, Egyptian democracy activist, Founder of the Ibn Khaldun Center, and Ayman Noor, the leader of the (ALGHAD) Tomorrow Party in Egypt, and some Saudi Arabian activists.

➤ **Afghanistan issue**

Sawa and Al-Hurra focuses on general news in Afghanistan, reconstruction and democracy-building, they try to show Afghanistan as an oasis of democracy as a result of the collapse of Taliban regime, and create new government by the elections; both of Sawa and Al-Hurra covered the Afghani election intensively, as well as the American military operations in Afghani cities.

➤ **The Situation in Sudan**

They also cover crisis in Sudan, especially the humanitarian case in Darfour west of Sudan, they focus on the role of international community in solving the crisis,

Types of Programs

In the field of broadcasting, both of Al-Hurra and Sawa face huge challenges to attract the Middle Eastern audience, because there is a tough competition in field of the programs with hundreds of Arabic channels.

The programs of Radio Sawa differ from Al-Hurra. Radio focuses on entertainment programs, so it uses a mix of American and Arab popular music beside the news and other programs to get the American message out to the Arab world.¹⁰⁹ But Al-Hurra uses bunch of programs on a high professional level, such as All Directions, Free Debate, Al-Hurra Sports, I-Tech, New Explorers.

Radio Sawa Programs

The programs of Sawa are designed to broaden the audiences' view of the world and foster political expression.¹¹⁰ Sawa, for example, broadcasts numerous regular features that support the freedom and democracy. Sawa is conceived to be local in flavor but American in spirit. The editorial contributions in Sawa programs are little; it plays music most of times, with short programs and the news. The music included Arabic popular music and western famous music.

Sawa broadcasting includes the following programs:

➤ Sawa Chat:

¹⁰⁹ George Gedda, Radio Sawa: Music as a Tool, Foreign Service Journal / November 2002, 53.

¹¹⁰ Pattiz: Radio Sawa and Al-Hurra TV, 81.

Sawa Chat is an interactive program, broadcasted hourly, providing the audience an opportunity to express opinions on political and social issues of interest to Arab youths in response to the question of the day. For example, in December 2005, when I followed Sawa broadcasting, one of the questions was: What do you say about the women in working life? The answers were from Egypt, Jordan, Sudan, Lebanon, and other countries.

➤ **Ask the World Now:**

Ask the World Now is a program the goal of which is to inform about of American policies; for example, there are editorial comments which use statements from senior U.S. policymakers.

➤ **What's New?**

This program is focuses on Internet, DVDs, cinema, music, science, and technology. It presents Arab and Western culture in the same context. The program promotes openness to new ideas and to acceptance of regional and national differences.

➤ **The Free Zone:**

This program focuses on freedom and democracy issues in the Middle East, including interviews with democracy advocates throughout the region on human rights, freedom of the press, elections, women's rights, and related topics.

➤ **You and Your Health:**

You and Your Health present authoritative information about personal health and fitness. The program try to give the impression that the west always export the since and the others just receives it.

Al Hurra Television Programs

Al Hurra Television faces difficult challenges to *penetrate* the Arab market because the Arab television market is highly saturated with channels that Arab audiences *have* found interesting.¹¹¹ Al-Hurra tried to face such challenges by the different programs such as daily newscasts with a host of current affairs discussion programs as well as lifestyle features to inform the audience of the Middle East about the American values through the political, social, entertainment, and sport programs.

Al-Hurra programs include:

➤ All Directions

All Directions is a weekly talk program, it is shown with newsmakers and experts on topical issues in the Middle East, for example; in its covering of the Egyptian parliament elections, the program hosted newsmakers from the different parties, like the National Democratic Party, Al-Tajamo'a (aggregation) Party, and Muslim Brotherhood party.

➤ Free Hour

¹¹¹ William A. Rugh, Comments on Radio Sawa and al Hurra Television, Washington DC, April 29 2004, 2.

This program is a one-hour is a daily talk show, examining the latest news and issues with expert analysis and debate. It hosts also newsmakers and experts.

➤ **Free Debate**

Free Debate is a weekly one-hour talk show that tackles social issues in the region, including critical social issues of the eastern societies, such as the customs and traditions and their effects on the society.

➤ **Al-Hurra Presents**

Al-Hurra Presents is an hour-long weekly conversation program with famous politicians, newsmakers, experts, and opinion leaders.

➤ **Talk of Two Rivers**

The Two Rivers are Tigris River, and the Euphrates River. It is a weekly program focusing on the situation in Iraq. It is a talk show that provides in-depth analysis of the previous week's events in Iraq.

➤ **Al-Hurra Sports Weekly**

Al-Hurra Sports Weekly is a program *which* focuses on sports in the Middle East. In sports field Al-Hurra shows American Basketball matches (NBA).

➤ **Cinemagazine:**

Profiles a different movie each week, with actor interviews and background footage. The movies included American movies and Middle Eastern movies, especially Egyptian films.

➤ **I-Tech:**

I-Tech program brings the latest in computer and information technology to the Middle East. The program covers the Technology events such as; Gitex international Exhibition in Dubai, and the Technology exhibition in Lebanon.

➤ **The New Explorers**

The New Explorers is a documentary program *about* the most important scientific work of our time.

The Failure of US public diplomacy

Although the USA spends hundreds of millions of dollars in public diplomacy efforts, including the international broadcasting, exchange programs, and information programs, the image of the US around the world remains negative, especially in the Middle East. This problem and imbalance between the input and output has been the core of my thesis.

Excluding the exchange programs the influence of the public diplomacy is very limited at best. The big question here is why? The recent public diplomacy failures of the USA have not come from any lack of expertise but because of other reasons. Those reasons could be summarized as follows:

- Absence of a sufficient integration of public diplomacy with traditional diplomacy. The other way to express this problem is to say that the United States policy in the Middle East, the US public diplomacy language and the US policy are contradictory. For example, the USA heavily stresses the importance human rights and that one of the main reasons of the war in Iraq was to bring human rights to the people under the dictatorial regime of Saddam. Yet, the United States systematically violates Human Rights in Guantanamo and Abu Ghraib prisons.
- Secondly, how can the Middle Eastern people be convinced that the US came to the region for building new democracies. Yet, the US at the same time supports authoritarian regimes in the Middle East? There is a famous eastern expression: "The persons who bereaved things never give it", credibility is the cornerstone of effective persuasion, and America has an immense credibility problem.
- In the field of broadcasting, the US public diplomacy in the Middle East faces huge challenges in both Radio and Television. One of these challenges is the tough competition in the Arab media market, especially in the news networks and channels. For example, in new research prepared by Maryland University and Zoghbi Center for researches, Al-Hurra channel is in the fourth option as a news resource after Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabeyya, and Al-Manar TV (Lebanese Hizb-Allah television, which is identified as a terrorist organization by the

United States). This is clear evidence on the failure of Al-Hurra in the Middle East.

- The policy of "Winning the hearts and minds" of Arab and Muslim populations must arise from the change in the United State policy toward Arab and Muslim issues, including the US attitude in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and Iraqi occupation. The problem with Arab and Muslim world does not much lay with American people, but with the American Government and its policy. This policy is simply not accepted in the Arab and Muslim world. Public diplomacy alone cannot address America's credibility or image problem in the region. For that, American officials may need to reassess the country's policies so that they will be able to get their message through and stress their better sides to the public in the Middle East.
- An important thing of US public diplomacy in the Middle East is that the American public diplomacy failed to get the message to reflect the cultural sensibilities and needs of Middle Eastern audience.

What should Public Diplomacy Do?

No doubt the Public Diplomacy is one of the most important instruments for the US foreign policy, and it has a huge potential to be effective. Nevertheless, its impact is very limited nowadays! The question is: what should the American public diplomacy do to be effective?

- Public diplomacy should express the American values, and try to change the popular image that the Americans are bad and violent. It should increase awareness of and explain U.S. culture and U.S. values through cultural diplomacy efforts, exchanges of people, American corners in embassies - these are tools that can give foreign people a better understanding of American culture and American values which call for the democracy, human rights, freedom, justice and the other kind values. Here the US Administration must to tell the truth about America as convincingly and widely as possible - about US policies, values, ideals, and even shortcomings (during the early stages of the Cold War the slogan of the American propaganda was "The truth is our weapon").
- The American public diplomacy completes the American foreign policy, so Public Diplomacy should explain the US foreign policy message. It can create an awareness of American foreign policy and the motivations among the people who have a negative image of the US.
- Public diplomacy is a two way form of communication. Consequently, there should be a heavy stress on the feedback from the field. This feedback indicates the public opinion toward the USA in the target countries, and according to these indications public diplomacy can help the US administration to formulate its policy. It is important to remember that successful public diplomacy efforts also help to create a

dialogue between the government and the people of another country. The most effective dialogue can be reached if a certain level of trust is achieved and both sides can see that the other party is listening to them.

- Public diplomacy can decrease the hostility toward the American policy. This is important because the hatred and hostility certainly effect negatively on various fields such as trade and tourism. As a consequence public diplomacy officials must encourage American companies to contribute more to strengthen their own professional exchanges. It is also important to streamline visa application procedure for student visitors and encourage more American citizens to represent the United States abroad.
- Public diplomacy should provide further training to ambassadors, spokespersons and public diplomacy practitioners on the region in which they operate. Especially it is essential to increase their awareness of the culture of their target country. Unless the messages sent out by the government are modified correctly to ring with foreign publics they will at best be ineffective and at worst they will elicit a negative reaction. The only way to create an atmosphere of trust is to understand the audience and their existing needs, desires and perceptions. One of the best ways of doing this is to ensure that the government has a highly trained staff acutely aware of the intricacies of the cultures of local populations.

- Public Diplomacy should support civil society actors in the Arabic and Muslim world by building closer alliances with NGOs and protecting them from crackdowns, even when the governments are American allies. For example, the support to local press freedom in countries can do far more good than adding another television station.
- Public diplomacy should do its best to win the hearts and the minds of the youth of the foreign societies. The youth in the Middle East comprises more than 60% of the population. The fast growing cohort of youth in the Middle East countries should be seen as an opportunity for American policy, rather than just a threat. For example¹¹², research shows that youth is more likely to have an affinity for American values, especially when they have internet access. Technological access not only creates broader job prospects, but also opens broader perspectives and familiarizes the youngsters with American culture and policy.
- Public diplomacy should maintain long term relationships with individuals. The individuals who have for example, been in the USA as exchange students feel usually positively toward the USA, and they can deconstruct myths or stereotypes of others who have not lived in the USA. Such exchange programs must include student exchange, professional exchanges or cultural exchanges, will provide the U.S.

¹¹² Peter W. Singer, Six Guidelines to Improve American Public Diplomacy, The Daily Star (Beirut), February 28, 2004, available on: <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/>, visited in 25-12-2005.

with a network of individuals who have a very good understanding of life in the U.S.

- The target of Public diplomacy should be the peace and security of the USA. Peace e.g. means coexistence and mutual interdependence. Philip Taylor writes: "In a nuclear age, we need peace propagandists, not war propagandists - people whose job it is to increase communication, understanding, and dialogue between different peoples with different beliefs. As much of the truth as can be, must be told."
- Public diplomacy should work with credible sources to present the positive attributes of the USA. In the absence of credibility, the U.S. Government should turn to organizations such as non-governmental organizations, educational institutions and the private sector to embrace the causes of cross cultural communication, American cultural diplomacy, education and tolerance and advance the positive message of liberty, democracy and freedom around the world.

Conclusion

Public diplomacy is governmental efforts to inform and influence public opinion in other countries, and create a more favorable climate in which to conduct international affairs, public diplomacy uses international publications, broadcasts, and cultural exchanges to grow goodwill toward national interests, and its policies. Public diplomacy also involves monitoring global opinion and engaging in two-way dialogue with international audiences.

In the American administration there is consensus on the importance of public diplomacy as one of the national security tools for the United States. Hence, the US administration spends hundreds of millions of dollars on the public diplomacy effort.

The United States intensively directs the public diplomacy efforts to the Middle East region, because of the importance of the Middle East for the US, such importance relates of strategic interests like: the geo-strategic concerns (the Middle East being in the heart of the world), Middle East oil (The United States is largest single consumer of oil in the world), US relations with Israel and finally for preventing the spread of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD).

The American partiality to Israel against Palestinian, the occupation of Iraq, and the arrogance and unilateralism of the superpower are the basic reasons of increasing of anti-Americanism in the Middle East and the world. Moreover. We can speak about "double standards": the general image of the US in the Middle East simply is that the only superpower speaks one thing and does another.

After the war on Iraq, the US public diplomacy has clearly increased in all public diplomacy aspects, including the international broadcasting, exchange programs, and information programs.

Even though the intensive efforts of US public diplomacy in the Middle East after the war on Iraq, the public opinion polling and surveying indicate to widely increasing of the negative image of the US in the Middle East. That means the influence of the US on the public of the region is very limited at best.

The negative image of the United States in the Middle East is a natural result of its policy toward the Arab and Muslim issues, especially the US extremely partiality to Israel against the Palestinians, and the unlimited support to Israel. Consequently, the United States couldn't win hearts and minds in the Middle East.

- In the field of broadcasting which can be followed by millions of people in Arab and Muslim countries, Al-Hurra television is ranked as a fourth option as a news source among the middle eastern people. The problem is that both Radio Sawa and Al-Hurra television cover the Middle East events from American perspective. Moreover the programs of both aims to promote the American values among Middle East people.
- The exchange programs are one of the most effective tools of American public diplomacy, but such programs target to a little number of the Arab

and Muslim people. Consequently, they can reach only a very limited number of people.

- And finally, the information programs are directed to limited people. As a result, they do not reach the wider public.

The United States' policy in the Middle East and the US public diplomacy language are contradictory. Thus the United States lost its credibility in the Middle East.

"Winning the hearts and minds" of Arab and Muslim people must start from the change in the United State policy toward Arab and Muslim issues, including the US attitude in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and Iraqi occupation. The problem with Arab and Muslim world does not much with American people, but with the American Government and its policy. This policy is not accepted any way in the Arab and Muslim world.

Public diplomacy alone cannot address America's credibility or image problem in the region. For that, American officials may need to reassess the country's policies so that they will be able to get their message through and stress their better sides to the public in the Middle East.

The US can regain its credibility only by listening to Middle East publics and gaining a better understanding of their side. To win hearts and minds here the US must to be the real guard for the humanitarian values which are based on the justice, freedom, and human rights. That must be the practice not just logos and lipservice.

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