

Chron

Phil has reviewed

—

rec'd 11-7-96
2:25pm



EUROPEAN UNION
DELEGATION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION

5 November 1996

Head of Delegation

Via fax :202/ 456-1210
501/ 376-2700

Dear Mr. President,

I have the honour to submit to you a personal message from the President of the European Commission, as follows

Send to USC?

11-7-96

he

Yes ☒
No ☐

" Dear Mr President

On behalf of the European Commission and on my own behalf, I send to you our warmest congratulations on your election. Your Presidential election is watched with the keenest interest and we will join me in extending our sincere congratulations won today from the American people.

It is a source of great pride to me to have worked together with you, Mr President, in launching a new era in transatlantic relations. I look forward to the opportunity of continuing the important effort to implement the common agenda we agreed in Madrid last year. Together, the United States and the European Union will make the critical difference in securing peace, liberalizing global trade, and promoting economic development throughout the world. No less important are our joint efforts to tackle the transnational problems that beset our citizens, whether terrorism, transnational crime, illicit drugs trafficking, or the degradation of our fragile environment.

I feel sure that your resounding vote of confidence from the American people will help us work even harder together to make progress on the global issues that benefit so much from joint action by Europe and the United States. In turn, the work we are able to accomplish in your second term in cementing our plans for US-EU joint action will go a long way towards reinvigorating the transatlantic partnership for the 21st century and improving the lives of not only our citizens on both sides of the Atlantic, but of people throughout the world.

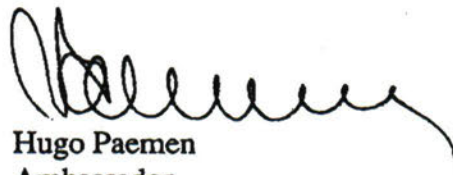
For these reasons in particular, Mr President, I look forward with great anticipation to our forthcoming US-EU summit meeting, and I extend again my warmest congratulations on your election victory.

Yours sincerely ,

Jacques Santer "

Please accept my warmest personal congratulations on your election victory.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'H. Paemen', with a long, horizontal, wavy line extending from the end of the signature.

Hugo Paemen
Ambassador

The Honourable
William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States

rec'd 11-7-96
2:23pm

EMBASSY OF BOLIVIA

3014 Massachusetts Ave. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008
Telephone (202) 483-4410
Fax (202) 328-3712
November 06, 1996

No. Pag 3 (incl. this)

FAX 460/96

FAX: (202) 456-6703

TO : Ms. Betty Currie
Executive Secretary
Office of The President
1st floor, West Wing
The White House

FROM : Fernando A. Cossio
Ambassador of Bolivia

Dear Ms. Currie,

We respectfully request that the attached letter from the President of Bolivia be delivered to President Clinton at the earliest possible convenience.

Thank you for your assistance in this matter.

Sincerely,



Fernando A. Cossio
Ambassador

From the Oval -

Send to OSC?

Yes ☒

No ☐

C.

En
/m

INFORMAL TRANSLATION

PRESIDENCY OF THE REPUBLIC OF
BOLIVIA

Tokyo, November 6, 1996

Dear Mr. President,

While I was on an official visit in Japan, I learned with great satisfaction your historic triumph in the United States presidential elections, which mark you as one of the most outstanding leaders of your country and your party in this century.

I want to take this opportunity to express to you my warmest congratulations, those of my family and the Bolivian people for such great event.

I avail myself of this opportunity, Excellency, to renew to you the assurances of my highest consideration.

(signed)

Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada
President of the Republic
of Bolivia

His Excellency
William J. Clinton
President of the United States of America
Washington, D.C.



Presidencia de la República
BOLIVIA

Tokyo, 6 de noviembre de 1996

Excelentísimo señor Presidente:

Estando de visita oficial en Japón, me he enterado con gran satisfacción de su histórico triunfo en las elecciones presidenciales de Estados Unidos, que lo consagran como uno de los más importantes líderes de su partido y de su país en el Siglo XX.

Mediante la presente, deseo expresarle mi más cálida felicitación, la de mi familia y la del pueblo boliviano por tan grato acontecimiento.

Con este motivo, reciba Vuestra Excelencia mis consideraciones más distinguidas.

**Al Excelentísimo señor
William J. Clinton
Presidente de los Estados Unidos de América
Washington, D.C.**

rec'd 11-7-96
9:55am



BRAZILIAN EMBASSY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE AMBASSADOR

November 6, 1996

11-7-96

Todd -

This was delivered
to Mack McLarty - who
passed on to us -

Send to NSC?

Yes ☒

No ☐

C.

any den or resident.

It is my honor to forward the attached letter addressed to you by President Fernando Henrique Cardoso on the occasion of your reelection to the White House.

Lucia joins me in expressing to you, to Mrs. Clinton and to Chelsea our heartfelt congratulations.

Yours respectfully,

PAULO-TARSO FLECHA DE LIMA
Ambassador of Brazil



To His Excellency
Mr. William J. Clinton
President of the United States of America

Dear President Clinton,

Accept my warmest congratulations on your re-election to the high Office of President of the United States of America. Your victory eloquently translates the wish of the American people to move ahead in the course you have set for them over the past four years. It reflects the confidence your fellow countrymen have deposited in you, a confidence founded on the many accomplishments of your Administration and on the certainty that you can do even more for them.

You have often said that we have a bridge to build into the next century. Brazil is ready to help build this bridge, to help make of the new century an era of development and prosperity for the people of the Americas and of the world. I think we have already begun to lay the foundations of this enterprise. We are moving towards integrating our Hemisphere. Brazil and the United States have an important role to play in this process, and we should work together with our partners to help make it a reality that benefits the region as a whole.

Our two countries have made significant strides together. Over the past couple of years, our dialogue and cooperation have reached unprecedented levels. We have strengthened our mutual respect and forged an even closer friendship. My country is ready to continue to work together with the United States in this spirit of cooperation.

It would therefore give the Brazilian people, and me personally, great pleasure to be able to welcome you in our country in the near future. Not only would your visit give new meaning to the friendship Brazil and the United States share, but it would also be an affirmation that we are determined to follow the course of integration, to make of our Hemisphere an example for the rest of the world.

I remain yours, sincerely

Fernando Henrique Cardoso

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'F. Henrique Cardoso', written over the printed name.

11/6/96

Top

OK to send to NSC

✓ yes — no

recd 6:05 pm
11-6-96

S

Chitralada Villa,
Dusit Palace.

Bangkok, 15th October, B. E. 2539 (1996).

Mr. President,

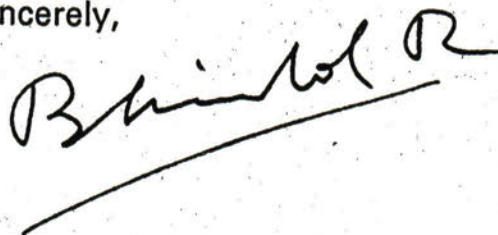
I am pleased to learn from my Government that it will be convenient for Your Excellency and Mrs. Clinton to visit Thailand from the twenty-fifth to the twenty-seventh of November, 1996.

The Queen and I, therefore, take this pleasant opportunity to extend a cordial invitation to Your Excellency and Mrs. Clinton to visit our country as our guests, staying at the Boromabiman Mansion within the Grand Palace. The Thai Government and people will surely join us on this occasion to welcome Your Excellency, Mrs. Clinton and all members of your party with warmest hospitality.

The period of your stay is, unfortunately, very short. We, however, are confident that the visit will contribute greatly to the further strengthening of friendship and co-operation between our two countries, and will also promote even better understanding between our two peoples.

We all look forward with great pleasure to welcoming you both in the near future.

Yours sincerely,



His Excellency Mr. William J. Clinton,
The President of the United States of America,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 11-7

TO: Andy Lewis

FROM: Staff Secretary

* FYI - I will
forward to POTUS.

[Signature]



Office of
The Ambassador

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA



Office of the Ambassador
United States Embassy to Austria
Boltzmanngasse 16, A-1091 Vienna, Austria
Tel: (43-1) 31339 2414 Fax: (43-1) 3177826

TELEFAX

DATE: November 6, 1996

TO: Attention: Analee Sanchez for Nancy Henreich
Deputy Assistant to the President and Director of Oval Office
Operations
The White House

FROM: Ambassador Swanee Hunt

Please deliver the attached letters for the President to Nancy Henreich as soon as possible. Many thanks for your assistance this morning.

*through Secy on
Good showed on
Pres. 1. cc: Long Lake
Bob Kosh
Leon Panetta*

Rev

*recd
7:45pm
11-6-96*

SH



Office of
The Ambassador

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Vienna, Austria

November 6, 1996

*rec'd 7:45pm
11-6-96*

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President,

Bravo!

I'll be in D.C. (to speak at Georgetown), arriving Saturday mid-day. If I can be of any help to you, for a perspective from the other side of the Atlantic or in any other way, please give a call.

My very best,


Swanee

Embassy Vienna (Wednesday-Thursday): 43-1-313-39-2432
New York (Friday night): 212-462-2048
Washington (Saturday-Monday): Peggy Cooper Cafritz home:
202-244-1966



EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Vienna, Austria

Office of
The Ambassador

November 6, 1996

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President,

Congratulations on your stunning victory. What an accomplishment!

Strobe called a few days ago to ask about my future plans, saying conversations are now underway about foreign service posts. I now feel compelled to write you directly, even though you are in the midst of a flood of competing concerns.

The most important message I have for you is my immense gratitude for the opportunity to represent you these past three years in Vienna. I have taken great satisfaction in applying values you and I share to bilateral situations that have arisen in Austria, giving special attention to the role of intelligence and law enforcement in stemming the epidemic of international crime. In addition, I have nurtured a very close and effective relationship with Austrian political and economic leaders. And I've particularly enjoyed developing a public affairs strategy that has resulted in a high and positive public profile for our activities. Management also has been a significant part of my job; Vienna is a regional support base, with 500 employees and twelve government agencies represented.

I've made about 25 trips throughout the post communist states, addressing groups (including a full session of the Ukrainian Parliament) about the role of women in democracy. In addition, I've personally sponsored a series of intense four-day leadership development and conflict resolution seminars in our Viennese residence -- for women leaders from Eastern Europe and the war-torn Balkans.

Finally, as you know, a significant portion of my time has been spent on the stabilization of Bosnia since hosting the negotiations between the Croats and Bosnian government in our embassy in March of 1994. As a result, I have close relationships with a number of Balkan leaders, and report regularly on our conversations.

But the bulk of my work in the former Yugoslavia has been encouraging women to cross ethnic and political lines to secure the peace. Those philanthropic efforts have been political, humanitarian, and economic. On July 11th, I organized a commemoration of the fall of Srebrenica with 6,000 mourning widows, now refugees in Tuzla. Queen Noor of Jordan, E.U. Commissioner Bonino,

and I conveyed both moral support and concrete help to the refugees, joined by another 400 world leaders (presidents, prime ministers, etc.). Around this time, you announced the Bosnian Women's Initiative (which I helped design) with \$5 million for economic development.

I mention all this to give you some sense of my range of activities. If I were offered the chance to continue this work from Vienna, I would be grateful.

However, with three years experience managing a mid-sized embassy, I'm convinced I could serve you successfully in a post with greater responsibility. Specifically, I would welcome the opportunity to represent you as ambassador to London.

In addition to reinforcing all elements of the political and economic work inherent in that "special relationship," I would commit myself to helping end the conflict in Northern Ireland, working alongside your ambassador in Dublin. My work in Bosnia has convinced me that our embassies need to play an assertive role supporting forces for peace. From Vienna, we have launched half a dozen initiatives -- some quietly, some publicly -- that have strengthened the hand of peacemakers in the Balkans. That same model could be replicated from London, finding the voices of peace and in various ways undergirding their work.

Mr. President, your confidence in women to succeed in key positions has set a new tone globally; your appointing me to London would augment that message. Many aspects of the work I've done up until now could continue -- particularly increasing the East-West dialogue among women leaders (including the vital trans-Atlantic link).

In the event you nominate me for this new assignment, I am confident I would have strong support in Congress on both sides of the aisle.

As I write, I am filled with excitement and pride about the accomplishments of your first term. You have steered our country well. I feel deeply privileged to be a part of your team.

As always, Mr. President, I send my warmest affection.

Sincerely,



Swance

11-7-96

Send to Donskmid for reply?

Yes

No ✓

11/7/96

Send to NSC
for Reply

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 11/07/96

TO: NSC

FROM: Staff Secretary

please prepare a response
for the President and
return it to this
office.

Thank you.

rec'd 11-7-96
9:25 am

**United States Advisory Commission
on Public Diplomacy**
Washington, D.C. 20547

Lewis Manilow
Chairman

William J. Hybl
Vice Chairman

Walter R. Roberts
Pamela J. Turner
Harold C. Pachios
Maria Elena Torano
Charles H. Dolan, Jr.

October 30, 1996

**The President
The White House**

Dear Mr. President:

Mack McLarty asked me to give you a note with an advance copy of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy's report, "A New Diplomacy for the Information Age," which will be released in a few weeks. My colleagues and I would like to meet with you after the election to discuss its findings.

Our bipartisan Commission is convinced a New Diplomacy that builds on the Information Revolution and the power of foreign publics is necessary for an effective foreign policy. It would capitalize on our "edge" in information and democracy and relate closely to what you have been saying about the future of American foreign policy.

We also believe a New Diplomacy will help you galvanize the American people who are seeking a fresh approach to foreign policy for a changing time.

The transition is an ideal time to announce such fundamental change. I hope you will find the report useful.

Sincerely,



Lewis Manilow
Chairman

United States Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy

A Presidential Commission created by Congress to provide bipartisan oversight of U.S. Government activities intended to understand, inform and influence foreign publics.

The Commission reports to the President, Congress, the Secretary of State, the USIA Director, and the American people.

DRAFT -- NOT FOR RELEASE

A NEW DIPLOMACY FOR THE INFORMATION AGE

The Information Age is increasing the power of information and revolutionizing how America communicates with the world.

Simultaneously, because of the growth of democratization and free markets, foreign publics have become far more powerful.

This is good news for America. We have an immense edge in a world where people and information matter more. We have unmatched communications skills and information technologies, and we have incomparable experience with democracy and free markets.

To ignore this edge would be to waste an incredible opportunity. To exploit this edge requires a complete rethinking of U.S. foreign affairs agencies.

Moreover, a New Diplomacy rooted in the Information Age is a necessity if we are to rekindle the American public's interest in foreign policy.

The Commission strongly recommends that the Administration and Congress rethink current arrangements and develop a New Diplomacy for the Information Age and the worldwide increase in the power of foreign publics. Our recommendations are designed to aid such rethinking.

Lewis Manilow
Chairman
Illinois

William J. Hybl
Vice Chairman
Colorado

Walter R. Roberts
Washington, DC

Pamela Turner
Virginia

Harold C. Pachios
Maine

Maria Elena Torano
Florida

Charles H. Dolan, Jr.
Virginia

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RECOMMENDATIONS FOR A NEW DIPLOMACY

EXECUTIVE BRANCH

White House

- Make clear through Presidential directives and appointments that information is as important as political, economic, and military power -- and that understanding, informing, and influencing foreign publics is a high national priority.
- Recognize that governments now change more frequently and that America's diplomacy must be supported by foreign publics as well as foreign governments.
- Designate the U.S. Information Agency a regular participant in National Security Council and other policy planning meetings so that advice on foreign publics and communication strategies can be built into policy decisions.
- Require that all U.S. embassies and foreign affairs agencies have access to the Internet and related technologies.
- In the selection of ambassadors, make skill in communicating with foreign publics a highly significant factor.

Department of State

- Transform the State Department's thinking and priorities so that it can deal as effectively with foreign publics as with foreign governments.
- In the recruitment of new officers and in their subsequent training, put much greater emphasis on the necessity to communicate with foreign publics and the skills to do so.

U.S. Information Agency

- Build a global, high speed interactive digital network for multilingual voice, video, print, and data communication worldwide. This network should be separate from and complementary to the Department of State's telecommunications service (DTS-PO) whose highest priority is secure communications.
- Increase polling and research studies to better understand foreign attitudes for effective decision-making and communication.
- Funding for such a global digital network and increased foreign opinion research should come from a reduction of international broadcasting and consolidation of exchanges.

U.S. Agency for International Development

- AID is becoming less a source of funds for large capital projects and more a facilitator of programs that promote economic growth, advance democracy, deliver humanitarian assistance, protect the environment, and create digital technology infrastructures. A New Diplomacy will clarify and build on these missions.

Defense Department

- The Defense Department recognizes that understanding, informing, and influencing foreign publics reduces tensions and saves lives. Current ad hoc inter-agency coordinating mechanisms between the Department of Defense, USIA, and other foreign affairs agencies should be institutionalized.

CONGRESS

- House and Senate appropriations subcommittee structures force foreign affairs to compete for funds with prisons, the FBI, the National Weather Service, and other domestic programs. Congress should install "firewalls" so that foreign affairs does not compete with domestic spending.
- The budgeting process should assure adequate funding for information age technology and programs intended to influence foreign publics.
- Invite USIA to provide periodic briefings and research reports on foreign public opinion.

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

- NGOs are an enormous asset to countries in transition to democracy and free markets. A New Diplomacy should define appropriate relations between government and NGOs and identify clearly the strengths of each.

FOUNDATIONS OF A NEW DIPLOMACY

The twin pillars of the information revolution and the growing power of foreign publics are the foundations of a New Diplomacy. Together with the globalization of issues and the rapidly expanding reach of NGOs, they are fundamentally changing how the U.S. pursues its interests abroad.

In the following sections, the Commission addresses America's advantages in this new world and how these forces are transforming traditional diplomacy. The Commission then cites five broad areas where change is needed in USIA, the government agency principally engaged in public diplomacy.

Information Revolution

Information technologies are fundamentally transforming the way we live, work, govern, and communicate.

In country after country, governments, corporations, educators, military leaders, and a growing number of citizens' groups are defining their future with the knowledge that ideas, products and activities can be delivered in digital form.

America has an unmatched capacity to create and integrate complex information systems. This is our edge. It is extraordinarily attractive to other countries. Helping them develop their own information societies can have positive consequences in our relations.

These technologies hold enormous promise for America's leadership. Yet, U.S. foreign affairs agencies have barely scratched the surface in capitalizing on their potential.

The United States should move quickly to build open, reliable networks for communication within and between Washington agencies and U.S. missions abroad, and with NGOs and populations worldwide.

Information technologies will never replace human contact. Indeed, their value in furthering U.S. interests abroad will make diplomats on the

ground even more essential in connecting useful information with influential users.

Traditional communications will remain necessary in much of the world. But digital technologies increasingly will become universal and taken for granted. They will enhance and replace many traditional programs. They are the inevitable and cost-effective tools of a New Diplomacy.

People and Power

The United States has enormous capacity to achieve favorable outcomes through what Joseph Nye has called "soft power," or the "ability to set the agenda in ways that shape the preferences of others."* Soft power strengthens American diplomacy through attraction rather than coercion. Our interests are enhanced to the extent people speak English and are familiar with or use our legal and financial systems. Democracy and free markets can lead to better trading partners and governments less inclined to war and terrorism.

People are changing their governments and influencing what governments can do more than any time in history. The number of societies in democratic transition is unprecedented. Recent democratic elections in Russia, Taiwan, the Palestinian West Bank and elsewhere have profound consequences for diplomacy. Even in one party states, regimes can not act entirely or for long without regard for public opinion.

America still needs diplomacy between governments, but policies and negotiated agreements will succeed only if they have the support of publics at home and abroad.

* Joseph S. Nye, Jr. and William A. Owens, "America's Information Edge," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April, 1996.

Globalized Issues

The globalization of issues – trade, financial markets, immigration, drug trafficking, weapons of mass destruction, the environment, intellectual property, disease, terrorism – is blurring the separation of foreign affairs and domestic politics.

The State Department now accounts for less than half the staffing at most U.S. embassies. In Mexico, for example, U.S. interests are shaped by 32 government agencies including the Departments of Justice, Agriculture, Treasury, Commerce and Defense, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the FBI and the Drug Enforcement Agency.

Add financial investments, American popular culture, family ties, a host of NGOs, California and Texas, San Diego and San Antonio, and it is clear that relations between the United States and Mexico are far more complex than what happens between the State Department and the Mexican foreign ministry.

This globalization of issues and actors means America must practice a new kind of diplomacy. It will require state-of-the-art information systems. It will demand new ways of helping non-foreign service officers understand foreign publics, history, and cultures. It will call for ambassadors to manage missions where U.S. interests are served by diverse organizations with ambitious agendas.

Non-governmental Organizations

NGOs are powerful players in an international scene transformed by the increased power of ordinary citizens. They are independent of the U.S. government. They reflect the quintessentially American tradition of volunteerism – and a civil society in which Americans organize themselves to solve problems rather than leaving them to government.

NGOs are an enormous asset in assisting countries make the transition to democracy and free markets. In many ways they can do things better than government. They foster a flexible style that encourages innovation. Many are

exploiting digital technologies in their daily work. They offer the world a winning combination of America's greatest strengths: professional skills, a wealth of experience, fresh perspectives, and enormous good will.

The proliferation of NGOs presents new opportunities for America's diplomats. The activities of NGOs should be seen as different from, but complementary to, those of the U.S. government. Building civil societies is important and difficult work with room for all comers. Through cooperation with NGOs, U.S. officials will learn more about the societies in which they work, accomplish more in an era of limited resources, and send a message to societies in transition that the American people – not just their government – care deeply about their success.

Defining appropriate relations between government and NGOs, identifying clearly the strengths of each, and helping NGOs do what they do best will be critical tasks for a New Diplomacy.

EXECUTION OF A NEW DIPLOMACY – USIA

Recommendations for a New Diplomacy regarding the foreign affairs agencies of the U.S. government are included in the opening summary. Inasmuch as the United States Information Agency is the principal U.S. agency engaged in understanding, informing, and influencing foreign publics, more detailed recommendations are warranted.

The information revolution and the power of publics make USIA's work more essential. At the same time, these forces require fundamental changes in USIA's priorities and programs. For example:

Direct radio broadcasting and news gathering (USIA will need far less);

Traditional libraries (many will be replaced by on-line reference services and electronic libraries);

The Washington File (is being transmitted via the Internet);

Publications (are giving way to Internet publishing);

Speakers (are being augmented and replaced by digital video conferencing).

The Commission sets forth below needed changes in information technologies and USIA's central operating elements: opinion research, overseas missions, exchanges, and international broadcasting.

We recommend increases for a global digital network (an estimated \$10 million in capital investment for 150 sites and \$6 million in annual operating funds) and for opinion research (\$5 million annually). Offsets for these increases should be more than covered by savings from international broadcasting, exchange consolidation, and reduced communications costs.

During the past four years USIA has reduced staff more than 25 percent and overall funding by 28 percent in real terms. The Agency has eliminated core programs, closed overseas posts, and cut personnel at headquarters and in the field. The Commission believes continuation of these reductions would exceed levels that are wise and that national needs require in the Information Age.

Global Digital Network

Interactive digital technologies have significant cost-saving implications for many administrative and program activities.

The U.S. government does not have the state-of-the-art digital network it needs for open communication with U.S. missions, and with local populations and NGOs around the world. The Department of State's Diplomatic Telecommunications Service Program Office (DTS-PO), which is responsible for creating such a network, has not developed a system that meets USIA's needs. DTS-PO's first priority is to build a network for closed communication within 46 U.S. government agencies. For example, it does not permit digital video conferencing or

provide sufficient access to the World Wide Web.

Congress and OMB should authorize USIA to develop, in partnership with the private sector, a global, high speed interactive digital network with adequate bandwidth for multilingual voice, video, print and data communication. The network will enable USIA, the State Department, and other agencies to use the low cost, readily available technologies that are revolutionizing global communications.

Opinion leaders and decision makers increasingly are users of the Internet, the World Wide Web, electronic libraries, personal computers, digital video, and other new information technologies. Many are young, educated, and affluent — future leaders with whom it is in America's interest to have a dialogue.

USIA's Advisory and Research Role

A New Diplomacy requires strengthening the USIA Director's role as advisor to the President, Secretary of State, and National Security Council on the impact of U.S. policies on public opinion abroad. Knowing what foreign publics think is crucial to effective policies and communications strategies.

USIA should be a regular participant in NSC and other policy planning meetings. The Agency should develop the institutional support needed to enhance its advisory role — to put opinion research and the views of professionals who understand foreign publics at the service of the wider government and NGO community that now shapes U.S. interests abroad.

There is a fundamental imbalance in USIA's priorities. USIA spends nearly \$1 billion annually on radio broadcasting, exchanges, and a variety of press and public affairs activities intended to "inform and influence" foreign publics. USIA spends only \$5 million — of which a mere \$1.9 million is for polling — on opinion surveys, research studies and other tools essential to "understanding" foreign attitudes and cultures.

Funding for foreign opinion research should be increased from \$5 million, to \$10 million.

USIA should increase dissemination of research studies to U.S. agencies, NGOs, think tanks, and universities. It should initiate the commercial sale of polling results to private sector clients, and it should seek to increase co-funding arrangements for polls useful to other U.S. agencies.

U.S. International Broadcasting

Although audiences for U.S. government radio broadcasts are falling, USIA still spends \$101 million annually on the Voice of America, \$94 million on surrogate radios (RFE/RL, Radio Free Asia, and Radio Marti), and \$116 million on signal delivery costs.

U.S.-financed radio broadcasts should be decreased. The savings should come from the 57 language services and not from English broadcasts, which should be accorded higher priority. More people than ever before understand English, and the Commission welcomes VOA's new 24-hour English language network.

Savings should come also from privatization of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty's surrogate services not later than December 31, 1999 as called for by Congress in the United States International Broadcasting Act.

Television is by far the world's most influential broadcast medium. Interactive dialogues (USIA's one-way video, two-way audio tele-press conferences) are valuable, especially when senior U.S. officials are interviewed on high profile issues.

In contrast, production costs for U.S. government broadcast television programs are high and placement is difficult. Given its importance as a communications medium, however, USIA should give higher priority to planning, research, and experiments with broadcast television such as VOA TV.

The Internet, digital video conferences, and other on-line services have great potential, and USIA should be the preeminent provider. Anticipated worldwide growth in the use of these technologies will justify a shift in the proportion of funds to interactive digital communications as compared with radio broadcasting.

Exchanges

Exchanges are in the national interest. They are the best way for Americans to learn about others, and for others to learn about us. The enthusiastic and growing involvement of NGOs in exchanges offers striking evidence of the growing power of people-to-people contacts in all fields. Exchanges help societies grasp democracy, free markets, and rule of law. They help build civil societies. Many U.S. ambassadors have called them the single most valuable asset in American foreign relations.

USIA manages 68 exchange programs including the Fulbright and International Visitor programs. To increase efficiencies through reduced layering and fragmentation, the Agency should merge these programs into two core elements: academic exchanges and professional exchanges.

U.S. government exchanges, many of which are Congressionally earmarked, have greatly proliferated. At least 39 U.S. agencies spend \$1.6 billion annually on international exchanges. AID accounts for 38 percent of all government exchanges compared with USIA, which accounts for only 13 percent. Other agencies run the gamut from the Departments of Energy and Health and Human Services to the Census Bureau and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service.

It will take a government-wide effort to make the hard choices needed to set priorities, consolidate programs, and increase oversight and evaluation. The Administration and Congress should examine all exchanges and establish principles applicable to all agencies. Such principles should include:

- (1) All U.S. agencies with international exchange programs should continue to report annually to USIA, which will maintain a current inventory of USG exchanges and report to the Administration and Congress.
- (2) USIA's reports should recommend where exchanges that share objectives and target similar participants should be consolidated, identify approaches to increased administrative efficiencies, and suggest strategies for leveraging private funds for federal programs.

Overseas Presence

Between 1990 and 1996, USIA closed 28 posts overseas, but opened 26 new posts, most in the former Soviet Union. Yet during the same period, the Agency cut overseas staffing by 19 percent.

The United States must have the capacity to communicate quickly and effectively anywhere in the world. Rapid change propels small countries and large to center stage in ways that fit no clear pattern. Yesterday, Somalia and Haiti. Tomorrow, possibly Turkey and China.

USIA should develop a "surge capacity" that will allow it to redirect resources ahead of normal planning cycles as crises and priorities warrant. This means greater freedom from budget earmarks and fewer programs that, while politically popular, are no longer cost-effective. It means giving USIA authority to shift up to 25 percent of its funds within a fiscal year. It means willingness to work with "just in time" public affairs assets including contracts with NGOs and private companies where appropriate.

The tools of the New Diplomacy make it easier to expand or contract. Tomorrow's USIA officer may well be part of a multi-agency rapid deployment team as in Bosnia or Haiti. Coordinating with other departments will be important. Self-sufficiency, mobility, and flexibility will be at a premium.

A New Diplomacy can not be left to the commercial media. Private media focus on immediate, often sensational, headlines, on popular culture, and ultimately on what's profitable. CNN will never make the persuasive case, in context, for U.S. interests: for selling American agricultural products in Japan, for protecting intellectual property rights in China, or for extraditing terrorists in the Middle East. Nor should it.

These are tasks for the executive branch and Congress that will capitalize on America's unmatched skills and advantages.

CONCLUSION

The information revolution and the power of foreign publics offer America's diplomacy a unique edge. We must embrace these sweeping changes if we are to advance our interests in the 21st century.

A New Diplomacy will build on America's success as a multicultural civil society and the appeal of our values and ideals. America will need diplomats with new skills and new tools. In a world of more powerful publics, engaging the right audience at the right moment can resolve conflicts that might lead to war, create markets for profitable trade, and deal with the problems of terrorism, drugs, immigration, and the environment. More and more that "right audience" may not be in the foreign ministry.

Traditional diplomacy remains crucial as does military strength and adequate intelligence. These are what create a Bosnia peace accord or an Israeli-Palestinian Declaration of Principles. But only public support for these agreements will sustain them. This is not just public relations. It is a political, economic, and often a military necessity.

A New Diplomacy will require substantive rethinking and thoughtful bipartisan discussion. No single agency can do the job. It is a task for the executive branch and Congress and for the American people.

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